AN

UNIVERSAL

HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

COMPILED FROM

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological, and other TABLES.

VOL. XVI.


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CHAP. XXVII.

The Roman History, from the death of Julian, to the death of Valens, continued.

The following year, while Valens was passing the winter at Antioch, many of all ranks and conditions were accused of attempting to learn, by magical practices, and forbidden arts, the name of the person who was to succeed Valens in the empire. Some of them owned the crime laid to their charge, and declared, that Theodorus, the emperor’s second secretary, was the man whom the stars seemed to have destined to the empire. Theodorus was descended of an illustrious family in Gaul, or, as others will have it, in Sicily, endowed with extraordinary accomplishments, and in every respect worthy of the empire, if he had not had the ambition of aspiring at it, and endeavouring to raise himself, by unlawful means, to that high station; for all authors agree, that he was privy to the execrable practices of the magicians. Ammianus, who, it seems, was then at Antioch, or at least in that neighbourhood, gives us a very particular and distinct account of what passed on that occasion, which it would be too tedious to transcribe. Theodorus was found guilty, not only of magical practices, which were forbidden on pain of death, but of having conspired with others to take away the emperor’s life; whereupon he was beheaded, as we read in Ammianus, whose authority

\[c^A\text{mmian, ibid. Sozom, l. vi. c. 35. p. 229.} \]

\[d\text{Ammian. p. 389.} \]
authority is of more weight with us than that of Sozomen, who writes, that he was burnt alive. As Theodorus, and the others concerned in this conspiracy, were pagans, Libanius endeavours to extenuate their crime; nay, he is not ashamed to tell us, that Theodorus was condemned unjustly, though both Zosimus and Ammianus own, that he aspired at the empire; that by his own letters he was convicted of treason; and that the emperor narrowly escaped being assassinated. No one would have complained, if only Theodorus and his accomplices had suffered; but innumerable innocent persons were, on that occasion, inhumanly racked, and afterwards either executed, or sent into banishment: a diligent search was made, not only after those who had been privy to the conspiracy, but after such as was only suspected of practising magic, or using magical remedies. Such numbers were daily accused and feized, that the public prisons could no longer contain them, and few of those who were apprehended, had the good luck to escape death or banishment. Diogenes, formerly governor of Bithynia, was publicly executed; and Salia, treasurer of Thrace, fell down dead at the officer's feet who was to examine him, overcome, as was supposed, by an apprehension of the torture he was to undergo. Baffianus, whom some writers suppose to have been the son of Basianus Caesar, brother-in-law to Constantine the Great, was saved by the powerful intercession of his relations, who were all persons of great distinction; but stripped of his estate, and all his effects. The two brothers Eufeius and Hypatius, brothers-in-law to Constantius, who had been consuls in 359, were accused of having aspired at the empire; and tho' the charge could not be proved, yet they were banished, and condemned to pay a great fine, but soon after recalled with great honour. Eutropius, proconsul of Asia, was accused of having been privy to the conspiracy of Theodorus; but the philosopher Panphilus, who was brought as an evidence against him, having suffered all the torments cruelty itself could invent, without laying any thing to his charge, he was dismissed, but deprived of his employment, which was given to Festus the historian, who discharged it for the space of five years with the utmost cruelty. Alypius, formerly vicar of Britain, and employed by Julian in rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem, was accused

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* Sozom. p. 694.  
* Liban. vit. p. 69.  
* Zos. p. 743.  
* Ammian. ibid.  
* Cange Byz. fam.  
* Ammian. l. xxix. p. 392.  
accused with his son Hierocles, the disciple of Libanius, as a
poisoner; the father was stript of his estate, and banished;
and the son condemned to death, but faved, as Ammianus
writes, without explaining himself any farther, by a favoura-
ble accident. But the most rigorous enquiries were made
after the pagan philosophers, who were, generally speaking,
addicted to the study of magic. The most considerable
among them were publickly executed, viz. Hilarius, who
was burnt alive, Patricius, Andronicus, and Ceranius; Max-
imus, the famous master of Julian, was carried to Antioch to
be examined there, and afterwards sent back to Ephesus,
where Feftus ordered his head to be cut off, tho' he was
then so ill, that he must have ended his life in a few days,
without the intervention of the executioner. Zonaras
writes, that the philosopher Iamblichus, by a draught of poi-
sen, prevented his falling into the emperor's hands. Val-
ens expected and greatly desired, to find Libanius in the
number of the guilty; but nothing was alleged against him,
though, as to magical practices, he was, as he himself owns,
not free from all guilt; but as to the conspiracy of Theo-
dorus, he solemnly protests, that he was altogether a fra-
ger to it. A diligent search was made, not only after
magicians, but after all books treating of magic, which,
where-ever discovered, were committed to the flames, with
those in whose possession they were found. These enquiries
extended to all the provinces subject to Valens; and from
the most remote parts were daily brought to Antioch num-
bers of people to be tried as magicians, because books of ma-
gic had been found in their custody. Ammianus tells us,
that the officers themselves, out of spite or malice, often
conveyed privately among the other writings, some charm or
inchantment; upon which the persons, to whom they were
supposed to belong, were immediately seized and condemned,
and their estates confiscated. Hereupon persons of all ranks
were seized with such dread and terror, that they burnt their
libraries, left, among their other books, any should be found
unknown to them, treating of forbidden arts. On this occa-
sion Feftus, proconful of Asia, distinguished himself above
the other ministers of the emperor's cruelty, torturing with
the utmost inhumanity, and putting to death, without di-
inction of sex, age, or condition, such as were convicted
or only suspected of having used any kind of charms or in-
chantments:

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chantments: he tortured the philosopher Coeranius till he expired, for no other crime but because in a private letter to his wife he had used a proverbial expression, which looked like a charm: he put to death a woman for pretending to cure agues by a charm, tho' she had before been sent for, with his knowledge and consent, to cure his own daughter, and had been, as we are told, attended therein with success: a young man being observed in a public bath to touch the marble with the fingers of both his hands, the one after the other, and then putting them to his breast, to repeat the seven vowels, which he fancied was a present remedy against a pain in the stomach, Festus caused him to be immediately seized, tortured, and executed. At Antioch, a person being accused of having written a book of magic, found an opportunity of throwing it into the river before he was apprehended: but this did not save him; for though the book could not be produced against him, yet he was, after a short hearing, condemned and publicly executed. A few days after, St. Chrysoftom, who relates this, and was then a youth, going with a companion to visit a church in the neighbourhood, found the book on the strand: his companion, not knowing what it contained, took it up, and, led by his curiosity, began to read it aloud, when they both perceived it was a book of magic, and at the same time observed, not without dread and horror, a soldier at a small distance, so that they neither dared tear it, nor throw it again, as they had designed at first, into the river, lest the soldier should suspect and seize them. However, Chrysoftom's companion concealing the book with great care under his garments, they had both the good luck to escape without being searched, tho' every soldier was impowered to search all he met for books of magic and charms. Had the book been discovered, they must both have inevitably perished; but they found means of throwing it again into the river, without being observed. Socrates writes, that an oracle having answered those, who came to enquire who should succeed Valens, that the first part of his name was Theod, the emperor, acquainted with that answer, caused not only Theodorus to be put to death, but all those whose names began with those letters, such as Theodulus, Theodotus, Theodosius, &c. among these was, according to that writer, one Theodosiulus or Theodosius, a Spanish lord of great distinction. Ammianus and Zosimus give us

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us a very minute account of the other cruelties of Valens, without taking the least notice of this, which makes us question the truth of what Socrates writes. Be that as it will, the extraordinary severity which Valens exerted on this occasion against magicians, auripiges, astrologers, and diviners of all denominations, is highly blamed, not only by the pagan, but even by the chriftian writers. If Valens looked upon magic as a vain imagination, he ought not to have been thus alarmed; if he gave credit to their predictions, he could not, without being inconsistent with himself, strive to prevent their being accomplished: and truly, in spite of all his cruelties, he was succeeded by Theodosius, whose name began with the letters, which, if Socrates is to be credited, he so much dreaded. This fire, to use the expression of Libanius, continued raging till the emperor was diverted by another, which the Goths kindled three years after in Thrace. This year is likewise remarkable for the death of two princes, both treacherously murdered by the Romans, viz. of Gabinius, king of the Quadi, in the west; and of Paras, king of Armenia, in the east. Of the former we have spoken in the reign of Valentinian: as to the latter, he had in some degree submitted to the king of Persia, as we have observed above, but afterwards renewed, it seems, his alliance with the Romans, and was by them acknowledged king, since Ammianus gives him that title; but several persons, at the head of whom was count Terentius, having transmitted to court disadvantageous accounts of his conduct and administration, the emperor sent for him, as if he designed to advise with him about the prosecution of the Persian war. Upon his arrival at Tarsus in Cilicia, he was commanded to wait there till further orders; but being in the mean time informed, that the emperor's design was to arrest him, and send another to be king of Armenia in his stead, he resolved to make his escape, with the assistance of three hundred of his own subjects, who persuaded him to it, and privately provided horses for that purpose. They set out in the dusk of the evening; but were soon pursuaded and overtaken by a whole legion, sent on purpose to prevent their escape. At their approach, Paras faced about, and charged them with such resolution, that they made more haste to fly from him, than they had done to overtake him. After this he travelled night and day till he reached the Euphrates, which he passed upon barrels joined together.

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	her, and pursued his journey with extraordinary expedition. But in the mean time the emperor, having notice of his e-
scape, dispatched a thousand archers, under the command of
two principal officers, to bring him back. These being well
acquainted with the country, to which Paras was altogether
stranger, getting through by-ways before him, divided
their forces, and seized on two passes, three miles distant from
each other, through one of which they took for granted he
would pass. But being informed of his danger by a traveller,
and conducted by him through by-paths and thick woods, he
escaped the ambush, and got safe to his dominions, where
he was received with inexpressible joy, while the Roman offi-
cers, who had long waited for him, were by all derided and
ridiculed upon their disappointment. This incensed them to
such a degree against Paras, that, in order to haften his ruin,
they made the credulous emperor believe, that the young
prince was a famous magician, and knew how to consumse
and waffe by degrees a man's body, though at never so great
distance. This so alarmed the emperor, that though Paras,
forgetting the late affront, continued faithful to the Romans,
yet his death was resolved on, and orders sent to Trajan, who
commanded the Roman forces in Armenia, to dispatch him
by private treachery, if he could not by open force. The
manner which Trajan chose to put this base and inhuman
command in execution, was no less base and inhuman, than
the command itself; for he having gained the young prince's
confidence, by frequenting his table, and producing counter-
feit letters from Valens, filled with the most tender expressi-
ons of kindness, prevailed upon him to accept of an entertain-
ment at his house, during which he caufed him to be barba-
rously murdered by a ruffian hired for that purpose. The
death of Paras gave great uneafines to Sapor, who had hoped
to gain him over in the end to his interest. He was therefore
no sooner informed of his misfortune, than he dispatched em-
bassadors to Valens with proposals for an accomodation.
The remaining part of this year was spent in negotiations,
but without success, the emperor who was then at the head
of a numerous and well disciplined army, being desirous of
retrieving the glory of the Roman arms, and recovering the
provinces given up by the treaty with Jovian. But in the
mean time, Thrace being threatened with a general invasion
of the Gothifh nation, he was obliged to conclude a peace
with the Persians, but upon what terms we know not. The
following

following year, 375, Valens was alarmed by an embassy from the Goths, who, being driven out of their own country by the Hanns, desired leave to settle in Thrace. But before we speak of that embassy, and the memorable events attending it, we must take a cursory view of what happened in the west after the death of Valentinian, who, as we have related already, died at Bregetio on the seventeenth of November of this year. He left two sons, viz. Gratian, born in 359, and by his father created emperor on the twenty-fourth of August 367, and Valentinian born in 371. As Gratian was at a great distance from the army when his father died, having been left, as we have observed above, at Treves, the great officers of the court, uncertain what such an extraordinary and unexpected accident might produce, especially among the Gauls, who served in the army, and were then ravaging the country of the Quadi beyond the Danube, dispatched a messenger with private intelligence of the emperor’s death to Merobaudes their leader, who, thereupon sent immediately out of the way, pursuant to his instructions, count Sebastian, an officer greatly beloved by the soldiery, and then marched back to the camp at Bregetio. Upon his arrival, it was resolved in a general council of all the chief officers both civil and military, that Valentinian, the second son of the deceased emperor, then a child but four or five years old, should be declared emperor. He was therefore sent for without delay from a village, named Murocintha, about an hundred miles distant from Bregetio, and upon his arrival proclaimed emperor with the usual solemnity the sixth day after the death of his father. This step they took to prevent any sudden attack from the enemy, or mutiny in the army. They hoped, that Gratian, who was then but seventeen years old, and had already given proofs of an extraordinary mild temper, and an uncommon understanding, would acquiesce to the motives, which had induced them to prefer his brother to the empire without his knowledge or consent. Gratian at first complained of their taking such an extraordinary step before they had made him privy to it, but immediately confirmed their election, and ever after treated young Valentinian more like his child than his brother. Victor and Zosimus will have Equitius and Merobaudes to have been the chief authors of this election, which by Rufinus is ascribed to Probus. 

\[ x \text{ Ammian. l. xxx. p. 433, 434.} \]
\[ y \text{ Vict. epit.} \]
\[ z \text{ Zos. ibid.} \]
\[ a \text{ Ruf. l.} \]

\[ \text{B. 4} \]
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robaudes was, according to Victor, related to young Valentinian, probably by marriage; for he seems, so far as we can conjecture from his name, to have been a barbarian. The election being confirmed by Gratian, and soon after by Valens, the western provinces were divided between the two brothers: young Valentinian had for his share Italy, Illyricum, and Africa; and Gratian, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. The division was made, not by Gratian, who was yet too young, as Zosimus pretends b, but by the great officers of the court. As they did not therein consult Valens, some misunderstanding arose between that prince and his nephew c. Notwithstanding this partition, Gratian alone governed the western provinces to his death, Valentinian not having been capable of acting on account of his age, so long as Gratian lived. The first thing Gratian did, after the death of his father and the promotion of his brother, was to recall to court his mother Severa, who had been divorced and banished by Valentinian, and restored her to her former honours d.

The following year, 376, Valens was consul the fifth time, and young Valentinian the first. This year Gratian, being informed of the unheard-of cruelties practised by the famous Maximinus both in Italy and Gaul, caused him to be publicly executed; and named one Antonius, prefect of Gaul, in his room. Simplicius, who had been vicar of Rome in 374, and Doryphorianus, who had succeeded him in that office, underwent the same fate, being accused of the like crimes: the former was beheaded in Illyricum, and the latter put to a cruel death, at the instigation of Severa, says Ammianus, in Gaul, whither he was conveyed from the Tullian prison in Rome e. As thee three cruel and bloody magistrates had, with the utmost injustice, put a great number of senators to death, Gratian, by a declaration published this year, established the method of trying senators f, which was read by Symmachus in the senate on the thirteenth of August g. To the above-mentioned execution St. Jerom no doubt alluded, when he wrote, that this year several persons of distinction were executed h. Maximinus, Simplicius, and Doryphorianus, had long deserved the doom which at length overtook them, and died un lamented; but the

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the death of the renowned count Theodosius, one of the greatest officers and best men of his age, is a stain on the character of Gratian never to be effaced. Of his glorious exploits in Britain and Africa, we have spoken at length in the reign of Valentinian; but notwithstanding the eminent services he had rendered the empire, he was this year by an order from court beheaded at Carthage, after he had triumphed over Firmus, and with his prudence and industry restored Africa to its former tranquillity. His death was owing, if St. Jerom, Orosius, and St. Ambrose, are to be credited, to the malicious suggestions of certain persons at court, who, envying him the mighty reputation he had deservedly acquired, filled the young prince's mind with jealousies and suspicions, and by that means compassed the ruin of a person worthy, both for his valour and unblemished conduct, of the greatest honours the emperor could confer upon him. He was, at his earnest request, baptized just before he died; so that his death was no less exemplary, than his life had been glorious. Socrates writes, as we have observed above, that, on occasion of the conspiracy of Theodorus, all those were by Valens put to death, whole names began with Theod; and among the rest of the names one Theodosiolus, who was, says he, a man of great courage, and descended from an illustrious family in Spain, meaning perhaps count Theodosius; at least Baronius, Jorhanes, who, for the most part follows Socrates, and Flechier, in his life of the emperor Theodosius, are of that opinion. But Theodosius was put to death at Carthage, and not in the east, where Valens reigned. Besides, we cannot help looking upon the whole account of Socrates as a fable, to which he too easily gave credit, since neither Ammianus nor Zosimus, who seem to take particular pleasure in displaying the cruelties of Valens, make any mention of such a remarkable piece of cruelty as his putting several persons of distinction to death merely for the fake of their names. Sozomen indeed speaks of it, but as of a thing that was reported, perhaps because he had read it in Socrates. Be that as it will, statues, and other extraordinary honours, were decreed to Theodosius some years after his death by the

1 Hier. chron.  k Oros. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219.  l Ambros. div. 3. p. 125.  m Oros. ibid.  n Baron ad ann 370.  o Jor. de reg. succ. c. 40. p. 652.  p Soz. l. vi. c. 35. p. 694.
the senate of Rome; and several inscriptions, setting forth his virtues and exploits, have reached our times ⁹. His son, named likewise Theodosius, who being duke of Mælia in 374, had, with a courage and conduct above his years, defended that province against the incursions of the barbarians, as we have related above, was obliged to yield to the storm, and retire to Spain, his native country, where he lived in a kind of exile, till he was recalled by Gratian, and raised to the empire. As Ammianus takes no notice of these remarkable executions, we cannot help thinking there is a chasm in this part of his history, the more because he had promised elsewhere ¹⁰ to speak in a more proper place of the death of Maximinus and his accomplices, of which, however, no mention is made in such of his books as have reached us; nay, we find nothing in them relating to the western provinces, from the death of Valentinian I. that is, from the year 375, to 378. This year Valens sent the celebrated philosopher Themistius, with the character of embassador, to Gratian, then in Gaul; but what was the subject of his embassy, we know not. The philosopher, on his return to the east, came to Rome, complying therein with the request of Gratian, deferring the Romans might have the pleasure and honour of seeing so great a man ¹¹. It was at Rome, and before the senate of that great metropolis, that Themistius pronounced an oration altogether unworthy of a philosopher, nay, of any person who pretended to the least gravity ¹². However he bestows great encomiums upon Gratian; extols his liberality and generous temper; and observes, among other things, that the avaricious and cruel exactions of the old debts due to the exchequer were in the utmost confusion, because the instruments of their malice and cruelty had by the prince’s order being consumed in the flames ¹³, alluding, no doubt, to what we read in Aufonius, viz. that Gratian remitted whatever was due to the exchequer at the time of his father’s death, and caused all the papers relating thereunto to be burnt throughout the provinces that were subject to him ¹⁴. Themistius writes, that he found Gratian not far from the ocean ¹⁵, that is, in Gaul; for he was, as appears from the dates of several laws, during the

the months of March, April, May, and September, at Treves; and we have no proof of his being elsewhere this year. By a law dated from Treves the twenty-third of May, he raises the salaries of all public professors in the metropolis cities of Gaul, especially in the most illustrious city of Treves, as it is styled. From this law some pretend to infer, that Spain and Britain were at this time governed, not by vicars, but proconsuls, independent of the prefect of Gaul. However that be, it is certain, that vicars were soon after re-established in both provinces. By another law dated the seventeenth of the same month, which was an answer to Artemius vicar of Spain and several bishops, the emperor declares, that religious matters ought to be judged and decided on the spot by a synod of the diocese. By a diocese is meant the district within the jurisdiction of a vicar. By a third law, addressed to Nitentius, Gratian forbids all heretics, especially the Donatists, to hold assemblies; and commands the places where they shall assemble to be confiscated, except the churches, which he orders to be restored to the Catholics. From several monuments of this year, it appears, that the emperor allowed more liberty to the pagans, than to the Donatists, Arians, and other heretics.

Whilst these things passed in the west, a dreadful storm was raised in the east by the Huns, a nation till this time quite unknown to the Romans. They dwelt on the east side of the Palus Mæotis, now the sea of Zabache, and were near neighbours to the Goths, as Sozomen styles them, or rather to the Alans, who inhabited the country bordering on the opposite side of that marsh, which both nations looked upon as a deep sea, and were therefore altogether unacquainted with each other, till a hind, pursued by some hunters, or, as others will have it, an ox stung by a gad-fly, having passed the marsh, some Huns followed their guide to the opposite side, where they discovered a country far more agreeable and fruitful than their own. What we find concerning the Huns in Ammianus Marcellinus, the most ancient author that speaks of them, and most worthy of credit, is, that they first broke into the country of the Alans, who dwelt on the banks of the Tanais, the boundary between Europe and Asia; and having obliged that nation to enter into

\[\text{\footnotesize \textit{v}} \text{ Cod. Theod. 1. xiii. tit. 3. leg. 11. p. 39, 43.} \quad \text{\footnotesize \textit{a}} \text{ Idem, tit. 6. p. 224, 225.} \quad \text{\footnotesize \textit{b}} \text{ Jorn. rer. Goth. p. 614.}\]
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into an alliance with them, they fell, thus re-inforced, upon the Goths, called by Ammianus, Greuthongi, and by Jornandes, Ostrogoths, and spread every-where such terror among them, that Ermenric, or, as Jornandes calls him, Ermanaric, their king, tho' a martial prince, laid violent hands on himself, to avoid by that means the dreadful calamities that threatened him. The Hunns were headed, according to Jornandes, by one Balamir, by him styled king, probably because he was the most powerful man of their nation; for, according to Ammianus, they had no kings, but several chiefs, whose authority was very precarious. Vithimir, created king of the Greuthongi or Ostrogoths, in the room of Ermenric, attempted to make head against the Hunns; but was killed in a battle. Alatheus and Saphrax, governors to his son Vitheric, apprehending all their efforts would prove unsuccessful against the numerous and formidable forces of the enemy, abandoned the country, and withdrew into the plains between the Borysthenes and the Danube; that is into the present Podolia. Athanaric, king or chief of the Thervingi, who had assisted Procopius in his late usurpation, resolved to stand upon his guard, and prepared for a vigorous defence; but the Hunns, falling upon him before he had the least notice of their approach, obliged him to retire in disorder, after he had lost great numbers of his men. As the enemy, overloaded with booty, pursued him but slowly, he improved the short respite they allowed him, in fortifying himself by a wall, which he carried through the country of the Taifali from the Gerasus, or the Pruth, to the Danube. The other Goths, who had the good luck to escape the dreadful havoc which the Hunns made of their nation, found no other recourse, but to abandon their country, and save themselves within the Roman dominions. They therefore approached the banks of the Danube, to the number of two hundred thousand men, most of them the subjects of king Athanaric, and those whom Jornandes calls Visigoths. From thence they dispatched embassadors to Valens, who was then at Antioch, begging, in a most submissive manner, to be admitted into Thrace, where they promised to live peaceably, and to serve, whenever called upon, in the Roman armies. At the head of this embassy was their bishop Ulphilas, who, on this occasion

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casion, out of complaisance to Valens, became a proselyte to the doctrine of Arius, and infected with the tenets of that heresich, not only such of his nation as already professed the christian religion, but those two who promised to embrace it, provided proper persons were sent to instruct them. The demand of the Goths occasioned great debates in a grand council held at court soon after the arrival of their embassadors; but Valens in the end resolved to grant them their request, several sycophants about him flattering him, and extolling his good fortune, which had unexpectedly brought him a perpetual supply of excellent soldiers, with which he could be furnished at his pleasure, and by that means save the expense of new levies, to the great benefit of his treasury; nay, their demand was thought so advantageous to the empire, that some Roman officers having cut off a party of Goths, who attempted to pass the Danube before the return of the embassadors, whom both their nation and the governor of Thrace had sent to Antioch, they were cashiered as good officers, but bad politicians. Valens, upon the imaginary prospect of the great advantages that would accrue to the empire from such an encrease of people, ordered them to be immediately transported, to be plentifully supplied with provisions, and lands to be assigned them to cultivate. He took, however, therein such precautions, as would perhaps have prevented the disturbances which soon followed, had they been duly observed; for, according to the instructions which he sent to his officers and ministers, the children were to pass the first, and be sent into Asia, where they were to be kept as hostages; and as for the rest, they were not to be suffered to land on the Roman side, till they had quitted their arms. But the heads of the nation, by presenting the Roman officers with sums of money, with beautiful women, and robust slaves, prevailed upon them to neglect both these orders. Thus the Goths, in this year 376, abandoned to the Hunns the country, in which they had dwelt for the space of one hundred and fifty years. We are told, that great numbers of them were drowned in their passage, the river happening to be greatly swelled at that time. Ammianus writes, that the Roman officers designed to have counted them as they passed, but could not by reason of their numbers, which that writer compares to the sparks which at that very time issued out


[i] Ibid. [ii]
out of mount Ætna, and to the sands of the Lybian shore: They were under the conduct of Ablavivus and Fritigern, who are styled kings. Vitheric, king of the Greuthongi, with his governors Saphrax and Alatheus, and another chief named Farnobius, being likewise driven out of their country by the Hunns and the Alans, flocked in swarms to the banks of the Danube, and, encouraged by the reception which their countrymen had met with from Valens, dispatched embassadors to him, begging, that they too might be admitted within the Roman dominions; but the emperor not thinking it consistent with the safety of the state to comply with their request, they continued for some time on the banks of the Danube, which they passed in the end, in spite of the Romans, as we shall relate hereafter. As for Athanaric, he retired with his people to a place defended by inaccessible rocks, named Caucala, having driven from thence the Sarmatians and the Taifali. The latter people followed and joined the Greuthongi. A numerous body of Goths had been admitted some time before, on what occasion we are no where told, and were at this time encamped in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, under the command of their two chiefs Suerid and Colias: perhaps Valens had sent for them on occasion of his intended expedition into Persia; for Ammianus assures us, that he hired troops of the Goths. The following year 377, when Gratian was consul the fourth time, with Merobaudes, Valens was, as appears from the dates of several laws, at Antioch on the fourth of April; at Hierapolis on the fourth of July and the ninth of August; and again at Antioch on the twenty-fourth of September. The Romans ought in policy to have immediately led the Goths away from the Danube; for by that means they would have got them into their power, and, remaining masters of the river, prevented their receiving any assistance from their countrymen, encamped in great numbers on the opposite bank; but, instead of that, Lupicinus and Maximus, who commanded in Thrace, the former with the title of count, and the latter with that of duke, suffered them to continue long in that neighbourhood, pretending scarcity of provisions, in order to impose upon them, and oblige them to buy necessaries at extravagant rates. The Goths, thus pinched with hunger, and provoked by other outrages, began to mutiny; which Lupicinus perceiving, he ordered them to begin their march, and remove from the neighbourhood of the Danube, charg-

ing the soldiers who guarded the banks of the Danube, to drive them on, and take care that they committed no disorders in the countries through which they passed. The Greuthongi, finding the banks of the river unguarded, laid hold of that opportunity to pass it, following at some distance Fritigern and Ablavivus, who were advancing at the head of the Thervingi to Marcianopolis, the capital of Lower Moesia. Upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of that city, Lupcinus, who resided there, invited the two chiefs to a banquet; but at the same time placed guards at the gates, to prevent their troops from entering the city, tho' they desired to be admitted as friends, only to buy the necessary provisions, of which they stood in great need. Hereupon the Thervingi, who were in a starving condition, falling upon the guards, cut most of them in pieces; which Lupcinus no sooner heard, than, by way of retaliation, he commanded the attendants of the two chiefs to be assassinated in the height of their mirth. The Thervingi without the walls, provoked at the treachery and cruelty of the governor, vowed revenge; but nevertheless wisely forbore for the present all hostilities, and dissembled their just resentment, lest the Romans should offer any affront to their chiefs, or detain them as hostages. This Fritigern himself apprehended, and therefore begged leave of Lupcinus to go with Ablavivus, and shew himself to his men, who were ready to mutiny, upon a false report, that they had both been killed with the rest. Lupcinus, who by this time was so intoxicated with wine, that he knew not what he did, complied with his request; and the two chiefs, being received with great joy by their countrymen, immediately mounted their horses, declared themselves enemies, and began to plunder the open country. Lupcinus marched out against them the next day, with the few troops he had with him; but the Goths, falling upon him with great resolution and intrepidity, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged him to fly back into the city. We have observed above, that a considerable body of Goths was encamped in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. There, upon the news of the revolt, and the victory gained by Fritigern, continued quiet in their camp, without betraying the least inclination to join him; but when they received orders to pass without delay over into the Hellespont, and the chief magistrate of Adrianople, incensed against them for some damage they had done at his country-feast, instead of supplying them with the necessary provisions for their march, ordered the people of the country to fall upon them, they likewise began to mutiny, put to flight the disorderly
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multitude that offered to attack them, and joining Fritigern,
laid siege to Adrianople; but not being able to reduce it,
they left a sufficient force to block it up, and ravaged all
Thrace, growing daily stronger by the accession of incred-
ible numbers of Gothi flaves, flocking to them from all
quarters; nay, many Romans, not able to pay the exorbi-
tant taxes with which they were loaded and oppressed, took
part with them, and it is not to be doubted, but Vitheric
with his Greuthongi joined them soon after; for they too
fought against the Romans in the memorable battle of Adria-
none, of which hereafter. Valens, who was then at An-
tioch, watching the designs of the king of Per sia, upon the
first notice of these dangerous commotions, dispatched Victor
to the Persian court, with the character of embassador,
charging him to conclude a peace with that king, upon the
best terms he could obtain; and at the same time ordered the
two generals, Trajan and Profuturus, to march with the ut-
moft expedition against the Goths, at the head of the legions
that were quartered in Armenia. Gratian, alarmed at the
danger that threatened his uncle’s dominions, sent to his af-
flance Richomeres, with a considerable reinforcement out
of Gaul; but the soldiers deserted in great numbers, on their
march, solicited to it, as was reported, by Merobaudes,
who apprehended the barbarians might take advantage of
their ableness to break into Gaul. As Profuturus and Trajan
were commanders of more courage than conduct, instead
of securing the passes, and shutting up such multitudes in the
province of Thrace, where they must inevitably have soon
perished with famine, they ventured to engage them at Sal-
ces, a city of Lower Scythia. The battle lasted from morn-
ing to night, both armies fighting with such obstinacy and
resolution, as can hardly be expressed. Victory continued
doubtful to the last; but the Romans, having loft more men
in proportion to the small number of their forces, thought
it adviseable to retire to Marcianapolis. Thus Aminius,
whom we have all along followed m. But Theodoret n,
St. Jerom o, and Orosius p, write, that the Romans were
defeated, and put to flight. This battle was fought in the
latter end of the summer of this year 377. Trajan and
Profuturus being afterwards reinforced by a considerable
body of troops sent by Valens, under the command of Sa-
turninus general of the horse, they attempted to shut up the

m Ammian. p 447—449. n Theodor. l. iv. c. 30. p. 703.
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enemy in certain narrow places, and intercept their provisi-
on; but the Alans and Hunns themselves hastening in great
numbers to their relief, the Romans were obliged to retire,
and suffer them to raveage and lay waste all Thrace, without
daring to oppose or molest them. At a place called Dibaltum,
you fell upon a tribune, who was stationed there with his
own legion and some other forces. As the tribune, by name
Barzimeres, was an old experienced officer, he drew his men
up in a close body, and, endeavouring to make his way
through the enemy's squadrons, cut great numbers of them
in pieces; but was at length overpowered, and put to the
sword, with all his men. Animated with this success, they
went in quest of Frigerid, who commanded in Illyricum, and
had been ordered by Gratian to march from thence to the
assistance of Valens. The Goths, under the command of
Farnobius, met him near Berea, a city in Thrace properly
so called, and attacked him with great resolution. But Frig-
erid, who was an officer of great experience, tho' perhaps
over-cautious, and thence by some reproached with timo-
rousness, stood his ground, and, after a long and obstinate dis-
pute, killed their leader on the spot, and put the rest to the
sword, excepting a very small number, who throwing down
their arms, were spared, and sent captives into Italy, where
they were employed in tilling the ground about Mutina,
Rhegium, and Parma. With this battle, which was fought
in the latter end of the autumn, ended the campaign of this
year 377.

As for Gratian, he was on the twenty-seventh of Febru-
ary at Treves, where he had passed the winter, and on the
twenty-eighth of July at Mayence, perhaps on some expedi-
tion against the Germans not mentioned in history; for Au-
onius tells us, that he took some Germans prisoners, and
brought them with him into Gaul. He was returned to
Treves on the seventeenth of September. By a law dated
the fifth of March, and addressed to Cataphronus vicar of
Italy, he grants several exemptions to the clergy, compri-
ing under that name, not only bishops, priests, and deacons, but
likewise sub-deacons, exorcists, readers, and janitors or
door-keepers. A dreadful plague raged this year in most
of the western provinces, and swept off incredible numbers

a Ammian, p. 452. r Idem, p. 443-453. s Aufon.
conf. p. 378. t Cod. Theod. chron. p. 97, 98. n Cod.
Theod. 1. xvi. tit. 2, leg. 24 p. 55.

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of people. The following year 378, when Valens was
conquered the sixth time, and young Valentinian the second,
the Goths, from Thrace, advanced into Macedon and
the Rhodopes, committing every-where dreadful ravages; nay,
they approached Constantinople itself, plundered the suburbs,
and kept the city for some time blocked up. Valens there-
fore, having first sent a body of Scythians to drive them from
the neighbourhood of that metropolis, set out from Antioch,
in order to head his army in person, and arrived at Constan-
tinople on the thirtieth of May, where he found the people
highly dissatisfied with his conduct, in admitting the Goths
into Thrace, and by that means giving rise to the present
war. Soon after his arrival, he discharged Trajan general of
the foot, and put count Satrapian, a brave and experienced
commander, in his room. Theodoret tells us, that Trajan,
who was a professed enemy to the Arians, and a zealous de-
defender of the Nicene faith, hearing himself reproached by
the emperor with cowardice, as if the loss of the late battle
had been owing to want of courage in him, answered boldly,
that heaven justly provoked at his driving out the orthodox
bishops, and putting the infamous followers of Arius in their
room, had declared for the Goths; and consequently that he
ought to blame not his generals, but himself, for the losses
he had hitherto sustained, and for the far greater calamities
that would soon overtake him, unless he altered his conduct.
The generals Arintheus and Victor declared, adds Theodo-
ret, that they were of the same opinion, and begged the em-
peror not to refuse their speaking, as his true friends, their
sentiments without disguise. The piety of Trajan is great-
ly commended by the ecclesiastic writers, especially by Theo-
doret and St. Basil, with whom he lived in great intimacy.
But it is no easy task to reconcile his extraordinary
piety the death of Pintas king of Armenia, whom, if the ac-
count of Ammianus be true, he caused to be murdered with
the utmost treachery and barbarity, as we have related above.
Valens continued but a very short time at Constanti
nople; for he left that city on the eleventh of June, highly exa-
pered against the inhabitants, who had insulted him as the
author of the present war, and threatening, if he came back
safe, to turn their city into a desert. From Constan-

x Ammian. p. 458. y Theodot. 1 iv. c. 30. p. 703.
nople he marched to Melanthias, an imperial castle, about eighteen miles distant from the city; and thence detached Sebastian with a body of chosen troops against Fritigern, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. Sebastian, coming upon the enemy unawares, cut off several of their parties, who were roving about the country, without the least apprehension of danger, and recovered the booty with which they were loaded. Hereupon Fritigern, having sent orders to all the parties that were dispersed about the country, to join him without delay, retired upon their arrival to the city of Catyle, of which geographers can give no account. Zosimus tells us, that Sebastian engaged to force the Goths either to quit the Roman territories, or to submit to Valens, with two thousand men only, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their provisions; but that Valens, defirous to equal, by some memorable action, the glory acquired this year by Gratian in the famous battle of Argentaria, rejected his proposal, and leaving Melanthias, advanced to the neighbourhood of Adrianople, with a design to give the enemy battle. He was at the head of a very numerous and well-disciplined army, commanded by officers of great renown, and among the rest by Trajan, whom he had restored to his former post. While he lay at Adrianople, Richomeres arrived there with letters from Gratian, acquainting him, that he was on full march with his victorious army to join him, and earnestly entreating him, not to hazard a battle till his arrival, nor make that victory doubtful, which the conjunction of their forces would render certain and indisputable. Hereupon a council of war being immediately summoned, Victor, who commanded the horse, and was both a brave and prudent officer, advised him by all means to wait the arrival of his nephew, and the reinforcement of the Gaulish troops; but Sebastian was for giving battle without delay; and his opinion the emperor preferred to that of Victor, and almost all the other officers, being induced thereto by his flatterers, telling him, that he stood in no need of the assistance of his nephew, and therefore ought not to allow him any share in the victory, and the glory attending it. At the same time Fritigern sent deputies to him, at the head of whom was a chritian priest, offering to conclude a peace upon very reasonable terms, which most of his officers advised him by all means to embrace, remonstrating, that an honourable and certain

Vide Baud. p. 142.
certain peace was preferable to an uncertain victory; but he, desirous to all their remonstrances, and obstinately bent upon engaging before the arrival of his nephew, leaving the great officers of the court, with his treasures, in Adrianople, and all the baggage of the army near that city, with a strong detachment to guard it, set out with the rest in quest of the enemy, whom he discovered about noon in the neighbourhood of Nice, about fifteen miles from Adrianople. The Goths, commanded by Aleuthus and Saphrax, were encamped at a considerable distance from the rest. Messengers were therefore immediately dispatched to them; and in the mean time, to amuse the emperor till they arrived, ambassadors were sent to him, with proposals of peace, to which the emperor gave ear; but inflicting upon their delivering up to him some of their chief men as hostages. At the same time, Fritigern, further to amuse the emperor, acquainted him by a private letter, that he was ready to bring all his forces over to him, provided some persons of distinction were sent to him as hostages. Valens, overjoyed at this proposal, named first Equico his kinsman for one of the hostages; but he, as he had been taken prisoner by the Goths the preceding year, and had made his escape, begging to be excused, Richomeres offered himself of his own accord; but, before he reached the enemy's camp, Bacurius, prince of the Iberians, and one Cassus, who commanded a party of archers, falling upon the Goths, gave beginning to the battle, which was fought with great obstinacy and resolution on both sides. Ammianus gives us a long, but confused account of this memorable engagement. According to him, the foot in the left wing of the Romans, having advanced too far, and separated themselves from the main body of the army, and from the cavalry that was to support them, were surrounded by the enemy, which inspired the barbarians with great courage. St. Jerome and Socrates write, that the foot was abandoned by the cavalry; and Sozomen, that Valens, being in too great haste to engage, did not allow himself time to draw up his men as he ought. Libanius says, that he fought with more courage than prudence or conduct. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the Romans were utterly defeated.

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defeated; that two thirds of their army were cut in pieces, and the rest forced to save themselves by a precipitous and disorderly flight. The Roman writers themselves own this to have been the greatest overthrow their state had ever received since the battle of Cannae. Their foot did all that men, whose native courage was emboldened by despair, could do; but were in the end overpowered with numbers, and obliged, in spite of their utmost efforts, to yield to an enemy, who was not only infinitely superior to them in numbers, but equalled them in courage and bravery. Among many other eminent persons, fell in this action the brave generals Trajan and Victor, with Valerian the tribunus stabuli, or master of the horse; Equico the emperor's kinsman, and majister palatii, or great steward of the household; and Patentius, a youth of extraordinary hopes, and by all greatly respected, in regard of his father Ursicinus, so famous in the reign of Constantius. But nothing has rendered this battle more memorable in history, than the unhappy end of Valens himself, who perished on this occasion, as all authors agree, tho' they differ in their accounts of his death; for some write, that he was killed upon the spot; and others, that being wounded in the field, and not in a condition to fly, he was carried to a countryman's house, which his attendants made good against the barbarians, till they, not suspecting the emperor to be there, set fire to it, which consumed the house, and all who were in it, except a youth, who having made his escape, first out of the flames, and afterwards from the enemy, who had taken him prisoner, gave the Romans an account of the emperor's unhappy end. Both these opinions are related by Ammianus; and the former was adopted by Libanius, as more proper for a pacygic; but the latter, which is generally thought the most probable, by Victor, St. Jerome, Rufinus, Orosius, Zosimus, and Socrates. Sozomen and Philostorgius follow the same opinion; but add some circumstances, which seem quite improbable. St. Chrysostom speaks of the death of Valens perishing in the flames, as a memorable instance of the vanity of all human grandeur. Theodoret follows the same opinion; but was certainly mistaken in supposing

\[\text{C3}\]

\[\text{Valens}\]

\[\text{The death of Valens variously related.}\]

\[\text{Ammian. p. 463.}\]

\[\text{Idem, p. 462.}\]

\[\text{Vict. Epit.}\]

\[\text{Hier. chron.}\]

\[\text{Ruf. I. ii. c. 13. p. 184.}\]

\[\text{Oros. I. vii. c. 33. p. 219.}\]

\[\text{Zos. p. 750.}\]

\[\text{Socr. I. iv. c. 38. p. 255.}\]

\[\text{Sof. I. vi. c. 40. p. 703.}\]

\[\text{Philos. I. ix. c. 17. p. 131, 132.}\]

\[\text{Chrys. ad vid. p. 464.}\]

\[\text{g}\]

\[\text{h}\]

\[\text{i}\]

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\[\text{l}\]

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\[\text{o}\]

\[\text{p}\]
Valens not to have been present at the battle. Ammianus observes, that before Valens left Antioch, it was become a common curse or imprecation among the inhabitants of that metropolis, May Valens be burnt alive. The same writer pretends that unhappy end to have been pretended by several prodigies, as a punishment inflicted upon him by heaven, for having cau ted Paras king of Armenia to be inhumanly murdered, and for putting many innocent persons to death, on occasion of the conspiracy of Theodorus. The reader will find in Zosimus the description of a spectacle, which, says he, was seen by Valens and all his court, when he marched out of Constantineople against the Goths. To this perhaps Ammianus alludes in a passage, which seems to us very obscure. Theophanes takes notice of some other prodigies, and affurces us, that some of the emperor’s officers owned after his death, that he had suffered the aruspices to be consulted concerning the issue of this war. Ammianus, and other writers, tell us, that near the place where the emperor died, was discovered, agreable to a pretended prediction, the tomb of an antient Macedonian captain, by name Mirmanto. All authors agree, that neither his body, nor the least remains of it, were ever found; and that his memory was honoured by no funeral obsequies. Ecclesiastic writers look upon his death as a judgment from heaven, for his persecuting with great cruelty the catholics, and his encouraging the heresy of Arius, which flourished and encroached in his reign, more than it had done under any of his predecessors. With him perished in the flames, according to the modern Greeks, his great chamberlain, a zealous patron of the Arians, and an avowed enemy to the orthodox believers. Such was the end of Valens, after he had lived about fifty years, and reigned fifteen, four months, and some days. He was quite a stranger to every branch of literature, and no better acquainted with the military art, than with the liberal sciences. He did not so much as understand the Greek tongue, tho’ he had reigned so many years in the east among the Greeks. He found out no expedients of himself; but, when they were proposed by others, he had discernment enough to

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to know which was the best and most proper. He was naturally indolent and inactive, an enemy to all labour, and averse to business; which was owing to the easy life he had led, free from trouble, till he was created emperor. He was timorous to a great degree, and unwilling to expose himself to any danger. To this disposition most authors ascribe the extraordinary deference which he ever paid to his brother Valentinian. Themistius commends his chastity; and Ammianus, a writer no-ways biaffed in his favour, does not reprove him with any kind of lewdness or debauchery. He was constant and faithful in his friendship, whereof several instances are related by Ammianus. He raised such only of his relations as were persons of merit, and, generally speaking, had regard to nothing but merit in the disposal of employments. He kept a watchful eye over his ministers, exacted the military discipline with great rigour, not suffering his soldiers to do the least injury to those through whose countries they marched, and flayed himself on all occasions ready to hearken to the complaints of his injured subjects. He seems to have discharged the foreign guards, who had been employed by other princes as the ministers of their cruelty. He was thoroughly acquainted with the state of his finances, and therefore did not suffer himself to be imposed upon, as most of his predecessors had done, by those who managed them. Tho' he was quite unacquainted with the liberal sciences, yet he is said to have composed some speeches, with the assistance of one Heliodorus, a man of a mean descent, and infamous character, as we read in Ammianus, who complains of the emperor, for obliging persons of the first rank to attend his funeral. Themistius styles him the father of the provinces, by reason of the great care he took in easing them, by all possible means, of the heavy taxes with which they had been loaded by his predecessors. Ammianus owns, that he could not with more care consult the good of his own family, than he did the welfare of all his subjects; and that the eastern provinces had been under no prince happier than under him. However, all authors agree, that he had a strange bias to avarice and cruelty.
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cruelty, which, joined to his jealous and suspicious temper, prompted him often to condemn innocent persons, and seize on their estates. The least suspicion of treason rendered him inexorable, says Ammianus, and his ears were open to all manner of accusations. All the ecclesiastic writers agree, that he allowed to the many facts that then prevailed, nay, even to the Jewish and pagans, the free exercise of their religion; but persecuted the catholics with the utmost cruelty, of which we have seen one remarkable instance in the history of his reign; and the reader may find many others in the above-mentioned writers. He left two daughters behind him, Carofo and Anaftatia; but all we know of them is, that Preocipius, who become famous in the latter end of the reign of Theodosius, married one of them, he being styled by Zofimus and Sozomen, the son-in-law of Valens. What become of the empress Albia Dominica, after the death of her husband, we are no-where told. St. Chrysostom, writing about the year 381, observes, that the widow of an emperor, who had been banished by another prince, was then recalled by the mediation of many persons of distinction, who with much ado obtained that favour. Most writers take the empress, of whom he speaks in that place, to have been the widow of the emperor Valens. But as to the cause of her disgrace and misfortune, we are quite in the dark. With the death of Valens, Ammianus Marcellinus ends his history; but of him, and Eutropius, who wrote his abridgment of the Roman history in the reign of Valens, and by that prince's command, we shall speak in note (K).


(K) Ammianus Marcellinus was a native of Antioch, where his family made some figure (1). He served several years in the army, from the year 350 to 359; under count Ursinus, partly in Mesopotamia, and partly in Gaul, in quality of domesticus, which was then an honourable post. He attended Julian in his Persian expedition, and was at Antioch, or in that neighbourhood, when the conspiracy of Theodosius was discovered in the reign of Valens (2). Afterwards he renounced the profession of arms, and retired to Rome, where he wrote his history, as appears both from the history itself (3), and from a letter which Libanius wrote to him from Antioch (4), while

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while he was composing it. His twenty-sixth book was not ended before the year 399, and the twenty-second was written the year before (5). His work was divided into thirty-one books, and comprised the reigns of all the emperors, from Domitian, where Suetonius ends, to the death of Valens; but of his thirty-one books, only the last eighteen, beginning after the death of Magnentius in 353, have reached our times. Tho' he was a Greek, he chose to write in Latin; but his Latin, in the opinion of Vossius, speaks him both a Greek and a soldier (6). But his other good qualities make sufficient amends, says the same writer, for their faults; for he writes with great judgment, and seems to have been a great lover of truth (7). However, he plainly betrayed a great zeal for the religion of the ancient Romans, and no small partiality for those who countenanced it, especially for his hero Julian. In his history he frequently makes long and tedious digressions on the comets, and other things, which fall not within the province of an historian. In his accounts he is now-and-then somewhat confused, and often leaves out the most material circumstances of the facts he relates; which has induced some to believe, that his history is in several places maimed and imperfect. But, after all, without his history, we should have been quite in the dark with respect to the most remarkable transactions of those times. Some epigrams by one Ammianus have reached our times; but whether they were the work of the historian, is altogether uncertain. The reader will find several things relating to Ammianus have reached our times; but whether they were the work of the historian, is altogether uncertain. The reader will find several things relating to Ammianus, and his history, in the prolegomena, which Mr. Valois has prefixed to the last edition of the works of that historian at Paris in 1681. Eutropius wrote his abridgment of the Roman history in the reign of Valentinian and Valens, and inscribed it to the latter, having undertaken it at his request. He gives that prince the title of Gothicus, a plain proof that he published his work after the year 369, in which Valens defeated Athanaric, one of the kings or chiefs of the Goths. Mr. Valois styles him a polite and elegant writer; but Vinetus, who published his works in 553, concludes from his style, that he was not a Roman, but a Greek (8). Vossius too finds fault with his style; but, upon the whole, commends his work, as an abridgment of the Roman history done with great judgment (9). He is often copied by St. Jerom in his chronicle, and quoted by other Latin writers. His work seems to have been in great request among the Greeks; for two translations of it were done into that language,

guage, the one by Pænius, and the other by Capito. The latter, who was by birth a Lycian, not only translated into Greek the abridgment of Livy, says Suidas, done by Eutropius, but wrote besides the history of Iasulia in eight books, and likewise that of Lycia and Pamphylia. The translation of Eutropius by Pænius, was published among the other Augustian writers by Sylburgius at Francfort in 1590. Sylburgius is of opinion, that Pænius was contemporary with Eutropius. However that be, it is certain, that he often deviates both from the meaning of the original, and the truth of history (10). As for Eutropius himself, Suidas styles him an Italian sophist; and adds, that he published several other works (11). From his works it does not appear, whether he professed the Christian religion, or no. He was present, according to Codin, at the laying the foundations of Constantinople, and left behind him an account of the origin of that city (12). If what that author writes be true, Eutropius must have been very young at that time. He attended Julian in his expedition into Persia (13). He seems to have been of the senatorial order; for, at the head of his work, he is distinguished with the title of clarissimus, which was peculiar to senators. In the reign of Valentinian, and before the year 376, died, according to St. Jerom, Aquilius, or Acilius Severus, a native of Spain, who wrote the history of his own life in prose and verse, under the title of catastrophe. He was descended from another Severus, to whom Laetantius inscribed two books of his letters. St. Jerom places him among the ecclesiastic writers (14); but his work has been long since lost.

The Roman history, from the death of Valens to the division of the empire.

GRATIAN, alarmed at the danger that threatened the eastern provinces, overrun by the barbarians, resolved to march in person to the assistance of his uncle, as soon as the season would permit; and in the mean time ordered part of the forces he had with him in Gaul to hasten into Illyricum, and, joining the troops quartered in that province, to enter Thrace, and reinforce the army which Valens had sent thither. This the Germans, called Lentienfes, whose country bordered upon Rhaetia, no sooner understood, than by an open breach of the treaty, which they had but lately concluded with Gratian, they passed the Rhine upon the ice, to the number of forty thousand men, and upwards; and entering Gaul, began to commit dreadful ravages in the neighbourhood of that river. Hereupon the emperor recalled the troops which he had ordered to march into Illyricum, and sent them reinforced with those that were left in Gaul under the conduct of count Nannianus, and Mallobaudes, king of the Franks, who served in the Roman army in quality of comes domesticorum, to drive back the Lentienfes, whose numbers increased daily, the Romans, who guarded the banks of the Rhine, having through fear of the barbarians, abandoned their stations. The two generals, though at the head of a handful of men, gave them battle in the neighbourhood of Argentaria, which most geographers take to have flood where the present city of Colmar stands. The Romans at first gave ground, being overpowered with numbers; but in the end gained a complete victory, and made such a dreadful havoc of the enemy, that, out of such a prodigious multitude, scarce five thousand had the good luck to make their escape, thirty thousand of them being killed upon the spot, and the rest either slain in the pursuit, or taken prisoners. Their king Triarius, the chief author of the war, was in the number of the slain. Orosius writes, that Gratian was present at the battle; and that, depending

1 Ammian. l. xxxi. F. 453, 454. Vict. epit. Hier. in chron.
The Roman History. Book III.

ing upon the assistance of heaven, he attacked the enemy, tho' greatly superior to him in number. But Ammianus only writes, that Gratian advanced to support his generals. This battle was not fought before the month of May; for on the twenty-second of April the emperor was still at Treves, as appears from a law bearing that date. After this victory, Gratian passed the Rhine at the head of his army; and, entering the enemy's country, shut them up on all sides among the barren mountains, to which they had fled with their families; and by that means reduced them in a short time to such straits, that they were forced to submit to the terms the conqueror thought fit to prescribe; one of which was, that they should deliver up their youth to serve in the Roman army, which they did accordingly. Thus were the Romans greatly reinforced by this new accession of strength, and at the same time that inconstant and faithless nation put out of a condition of raising new disturbances in the emperor's absence. In this expedition Gratian gave signal proofs of his courage, prudence, good-nature, and generosity; which gained him the esteem and affection of all who served under him. He immediately wrote to Valens, acquainting him with his victory, and begging him not to hazard a battle till he had joined him, which he assured him would be very soon. But Valens, now jealous of the reputation of his young nephew, which he thought eclipsed his own, and desirous of equaling his exploits against the Germans, resolved to give battle before his arrival, that he might enjoy, without a rival, the glory of the victory, which he looked upon as certain. In the mean time, Gratian having sufficiently provided for the security of Gaul, began his march, and with great expedition advanced to Arbor Felix, now Arbon, on the lake of Constance, and from thence to Lauriacum, now Lorch, in Austria, on the Danube, between the Traun and the Ens. There he embarked part of his troops on the Danube, and marched by land with the rest to Bononia in Lower Dacia, and from thence to Sirmium, where he sallied but four days, tho' he was then ill of an intermitting fever. From Sirmium he pursued his march along the Danube to a fort in the same province, called Castra Martis. In his march, some of his men, who had straggled from the army, were intercepted and cut off by the Alans. From Castra Martis he dispatched Richomeres, his comes domes-

* Orof. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219.  
* Ammian. ibid  
* Tactod. chron. p. 98.  
* Ammian. ibid. p. 455.
domiciliorum, to acquaint Valens, that he was at hand, and earnestly entreat him in his name not to engage the numerous forces of the enemy till his arrival. But Valens, hastening the battle, that his nephew might have no share in the victory, was utterly defeated and perished, with two-thirds of his army, in the manner we have related above. The day after the battle, the Goths, informed by a deserter, that Valens had left many per sons of great distinction in Adrianople, and that the imperial treasure was lodged there, laid siege to the place; but being repulsed with great slaughter, as quite strangers to the art of besieging towns, they dropped the enterprise; and marching towards Perinthus or Heraclea, laid waste that fertile country, and then advanced to Constantinople, hoping to make themselves masters of that flatly metropolis, and of the immense wealth lodged in it. But the Saracens, whom Mavia their queen had sent to the assistance of the Romans, and who were more dextrous at sudden onsets, than regular engagements, having in several sallies cut off great numbers of the Goths, the rest thought it advisable to break up the siege, and retire from the neighbourhood of that city. The remaining part of this year they spent in ravaging, without opposition, Thrace, Scythia, Moesia, and even Illyricum, as far as the Julian Alps, which part that province from Italy. The neighbouring barbarians, namely the Quadi and Sarmatians, entered the Roman territories at the same time, putting all to fire and sword, and surpassing the Goths themselves in the un-heard-of cruelties they practised. St. Jerome gives us a pathetic account of the calamities suffered at that time by the subjects of the empire. The whole country, says he, from Constantinople to the Julian Alps, have been swimming these twenty years in Roman blood: Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Dardania, Dacia, Thessalonica, (or rather Theffaly) Achaia, both Epirus’s, Dalmatia, both Pannonia’s, are filled with Goths, Sarmatians, Quadians, Alans, Hunns, Vandals, Marcomans, &c. whose avarice nothing has escaped, whose cruelty has been felt by persons of all ranks, ages, and conditions. How many eminent persons of both sexes, how many sacred virgins, have been outrageously insulted, and hurried into captivity? Bishops have been inhumanly massacred, with their clergy; churches pulled down, the relics of the holy martyrs dug up, and the

Valens given battle, and is defeated and killed before his arrival.

The Goths besiege in vain Adrianople and Constantinople.

Dreadful ravages committed by the Goths, and other barbarians.

the sacred altars turned into mangers. The downfall of the Roman empire is at hand. The same saint, writing in the year 406, that is, eight years after the present time, tells us, that Illyricum, Thrace, and Dalmatia, his native country, looked still like deserts, and that nothing was to be seen in them but briars and thick forests. The cities of Illyricum, which suffered most on this occasion, were Petavio and Murfia; the former is said to have been betrayed to the barbarians by Valens, whom the Arians had attempted to raise to that see. As there were great numbers of Goths, who served in the Roman armies, quartered in the forts and cities of Asia, Julius, who commanded in that province, apprehending they would rise and join their countrymen, if they should move that way, by private letters sent to the governors of the cities where they were quartered, ordered them all to be massacred at the same time. This severe, but perhaps necessary, order was put in execution without the least noise or disturbance, and Asia delivered from the danger it had just reason to apprehend; for Zosimus assures us, that the Goths only wanted an opportunity to revolt, and treat the Romans as they were treated by them.

We left Gratian on the frontiers of Thrace, ready to enter that province, and join Valens; but he no sooner heard the news of his death, and of the great loss the Romans had sustained in the fatal battle of Adrianople, which was brought to him by Victor, who had had the good luck to escape the general slaughter, than he marched back to Sirmium, to deliberate there on the most proper measures to be taken in so critical a conjuncture. After a short stay at Sirmium, he marched at the head of all the forces he could assemble, to Constantinople, to secure that metropolis; and in the mean time considering with himself how many brave officers had perished in the present war, and how much he stood in need of an able and faithful general, he sent for young Theodosius, who, after having given signal proofs of his courage, conduct and experience in military affairs, had, upon the death of his father, retired to Spain, his native country, to avoid, as we have related above, the storm that threatened him. Theodosius complied with the emperor's command; and quitting his retirement, hastened into Illyricum, where he was received by Gratian with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and soon after sent at the head of a considerable
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considerable army against the Sarmatians, who were in full march to join the Goths: but Theodosius, falling upon them, cut the greater part of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass the Danube. The victory he gained on this occasion was so complete, that the emperor could not believe the account which Theodosius himself gave him of it upon his return to court, till he was informed of the truth by persons sent on purpose to view the field of battle d. To this victory, and the other which Gratian had gained this year over the Germans before he left Gaul, Aufonius no doubt alluded, when he wrote, that the emperor in one and the same year appeased the troubles on the Rhine and the Danube e. From Constantinople the emperor returned to Sirmium, and passed the winter there. As he was a zealous catholic, he no sooner saw himself by the death of Valens, master of the east, than he recalled and restored to their sees, the orthodox bishops, who had been banished by Valens; and, by an edict, granted an entire liberty of conscience to christians of all denominations, except the Manichees, the Photinians, and the Eunomians, whom he would not suffer to have any churches f. This edict put an stop to the persecution, which the Arians had raised, and carried on with great cruelty against the catholics, during the whole reign of Valens. Gratian, notwithstanding his zeal for the orthodox faith, did not think it advisable for the present to meddle any farther with religious affairs, through fear of raising new disturbances, which, in the present distracted state of the empire, might have been attended by dangerous consequences. This law, granting liberty of conscience to all christians, seems to have taken place only in the east, where the catholics did not enjoy it before; for by another law enacted this very year, and addressed to Flavianus, vicar of Africa, he absolutely condemns the Donatists, orders their churches to be delivered up to the catholics, and declares, that he will suffer no other doctrine to be taught or held, except that which is agreeable to the gospel, to the faith of the apostles, and to the tradition of the church g. While he resided at Sirmium, surrounded on all sides by the barbarians, he named Aufonius and Olybrius consuls for the ensuing year. He wrote to Aufonius, who had been his preceptor, a most obliging letter.

Who gains a complete victory over the Sarmatians.

Gratian recalls the banished bishops.

Hecondemns the Donatists.

He raises the poet Aufonius to the consulship.

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d Theodoret. l. v. c. 5. p. 710.

e Aufon. conf. p. 378.

f Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 5 p. 116.

g Idem. tit. 6. leg. 2. p. 194.
ter, acquainting him with his promotion, and at the same time sent him the consular robe, that which the emperors wore when they triumphed. As Valens died without issue male, Gratian by his death, became sole master of the empire; but not thinking himself, being then only in the twentieth year of his age, equal to so great a burden, especially at so critical a conjuncture, when the Goths, Hunns, Alans, Sarmatians and Quadians had broken into the empire on one side, and the Aleman and other German nations were ready to invade it on the other, he resolved to take a colleague capable of easing him of part of his burden, and extricating the state out of the difficulties under which it laboured. Young Valentinian shared indeed with him the title, but not the authority of emperor, he being but seven or at the most eight years old. Without any regard therefore to his own relations, or rather looking upon those, to use the expression of Themistius, as his nearest relations, who were best qualified for so great a trust, he determined to assume Theodosius for his partner in the supreme power; a person of most extraordinary accomplishments, and no less admired by all on account of his exemplary piety, than for his prudence, his experience in war, and the mighty exploits he had already performed. Pursuant to this resolution, he declared him emperor at Sirmium on the nineteenth of January of the ensuing year 379, whilst Ausonius and Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius were consuls. It was with the utmost difficulty that Gratian prevailed upon him to accept, says Pacatus, what others sought with so much ambition, and employed the most unlawful means to attain. He refused, continues the same author, what others looked upon as the greatest happiness, in such manner as evidently shewed, that he accepted it in the end by mere constraint. After Gratian had to the general satisfaction both of the people and soldiery, declared him emperor with the usual solemnity, he committed to his care the east, Thrace, and the rest of the provinces, which had been governed by Valens, reserving for himself only Gaul, Spain, and Britain; for Italy, Illyricum, and Africa, were held by his brother Valentinian. Sozomen writes, that to the east Gratian added Illyricum; which, if true, must be

be understood of the east part of Illyricum; for the west part was always held by the princes of the western empire, who till this time had been masters of both. West Illyricum comprised both Pannonia’s, the one and the other Noricum, Dalmatia, and Savia, which we take to be the province that was for some time known by the name of Valeria. That Gratian kept these provinces is past dispute. East Illyricum consisted of Macedon, the one and the other Epirus, Thesaly, Achaia, Crete, both Dacia’s, Upper Moesia, Dardania, and Praevalitana.

Theodosius, whom Gratian raised to the empire, was, according to most authors, a native of Cauca in Galicia, which city still retains the same name; but Marcellinus in his chronicle supposes him to have been born in Italic near Seville, the birth place of the emperor Trajan; and both that writer and Claudian reckon him among the great men of the Ulpian family, from which Trajan was sprung. Theodosius resembled that prince according to Victor, both in the features of his face, and the virtues of his mind; but was a stranger to the vices of Trajan, such as drunkenness, incontinence, and ambition. He was the son of Thef-mantia and the celebrated Theodosius, who conquered a new province in Britain, overcome Firmus in Africa, and was deservedly accounted the greatest commander of his age. But his triumphs and great reputation having raised him many enemies at court, he was executed at Carthage in the year 376, the second of Gratian’s reign, as we have related above. Victor tells us, that the name of the emperor Theodosius’s father was Honorius; but he is therein contradicted by Ammianus Marcellinus, and all the other writers. Both the emperor and his father, in most ancient coins bear the prænomen of Flavius, which, after Constantine’s time, became common to those who had none of their own: whence some authors conclude, and perhaps not improbably, that the family of Theodosius made no great figure before that prince’s reign; and that Claudian and Victor only flattered him in deriving his pedigree from Trajan. Pacatus observes, that he was a native of Spain, as well as Trajan and Adrian; but takes not the least notice of

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* Notit. c. 3. p. 6.
* Marcell. chron p. 78.
* Claud. p. 40.
* Viet. p. 546, 547.
* Ammian l. xxviii. p. 368.
* Viet. p. 546.
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of his being of the same family, which we can scarce believe he would have omitted, had Theodosius been allied to those two great princes. He had, according to Victor, only one brother and a sister, whose children he brought up with the same care as he did his own. St. Ambrose and Symmachus suppose him to have had several brothers. One of his brothers, by name Honorius, had by his wife Maria, whom Claudian styles one of the most illustrious women Spain ever produced, two daughters, Thermantia and Serena, of whom the latter was married to the famous Stilicho, and the former to another general, whose name is not mentioned. Eucherius, whom we shall see consul in 381, is supposed to have been another of the emperor’s brothers. The emperor himself was born in the year 346, so that he was advanced to the empire in the thirty-third year of his age. We are told that he was called Theodosius, not only because his father had been so named, but because both his parents were commanded in a dream to give him that name, signifying according to the import of the Greek word Theodosius, that the child was in a particular manner the gift of God. He served under his father in Britain, when he was yet very young; and being soon after created duke of Maecia, he gained a memorable victory over the Samaritans in 374, being then only eighteen years old. After the death of his father he withdrew to Spain, to avoid the storm which threatened him too; and there led a retired life, employing his time partly in reading, and partly in works of agriculture, till he was recalled by Gratian in 373, and declared emperor. He was then married to Flaccilla, called by most of the Greek writers Phacilla, and by some Placidia. She is thought to have been the daughter of Antonius, who, after having been prefect of Italy and Gaul in 376, and the two following years, was raised to the consulship in 382. She was a native of Spain, and sister to the mother of Nebridius, who married Salvina, the daughter of Gildo a Moorish prince, and count of Africa. Nebridius, was proconsul of Asia in 396, but died soon after; for Salvina was a widow, when St. Jerome, who had lived in great intimacy

timacy with the father of Nebridius, wrote to her in 400. Theodosius had at least three children by Flaccilla, viz. Arcadius, born about the year 377, during his father's retirement; for he was thirty when he died on the first of May 408. Honorius, born in 384, and a daughter, named Pulcheria, born before the year 379, since Theodosius had then according to Claudian 1 several children. To these some add, and among the rest St. Ambrose 2, and Themistius 3, a third son, named Gratian. They do not tell us whether he was the son of Flaccilla, or Galla, the emperor's second wife, of whom hereafter; but Gregory of Nyssa writes in express terms, that the emperor had by Flaccilla only three children, viz. two sons and one daughter 4. Besides Gratian, who died before his father, the emperor had by Galla the celebrated Placidia, mother to Valentinian III. and another son; but the mother died in child-bed, and the child with her m.

The joy which the news of Theodosius's promotion gave to all the subjects of the empire, was equal to the mighty opinion they entertained of his justice, integrity, moderation, and abilities in war; and truly, tho' commendations in the mouth of a poet are of no great weight, yet we cannot help thinking with Claudian, that the empire, without the assistance of Theodosius, would never have recovered its former lustre, but rather become a prey to the barbarians n. But to return to Gratian, he seems to have continued some months at Sirmium, after the promotion of Theodosius 5; nay, Socrates, tho' in this place somewhat confused, tells us, that he gained considerable advantages over the barbarians, who surrounded him on all sides; and soon after set out for Gaul, upon intelligence, that the Germans were up in arms, and ready to break into that province 6. He was at Aquileia in the beginning of July, and in the latter end of the same month at Milan 7, where he contracted great intimacy with St. Ambrose, to whom he ever after shewed the highest respect and veneration, as appears from a letter he wrote to him with his own hand, which in our opinion deserves no less to be admired for the elegance of the style, than for the

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\[\text{2 Idem ibid.} \quad \text{h Claud. ibid. p. 194.} \quad \text{1 Ambros. ibid. p. 122.} \quad \text{k Themist p. 477.} \quad \text{i Greg. Nyss. in funere Flaccilla, p. 533.} \quad \text{m Zof. l iv. p. 777.} \quad \text{n Claud. consul Hon. c. 4. p. 40, 41.} \quad \text{o Auton. ep. 2 p. 5, 6.} \quad \text{p Socr. l. v. c. 6. p. 260.} \quad \text{q Cod. Theod. chron p. 100.}\]
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pious and truly Christian sentiments it contains. It was at
his request that St. Ambrose wrote, tho' unwilling to en-
gage in religious debates, his excellent treatise on faith, in
which he proves the divinity of the Son, and another proving
the divinity of the Holy Ghost. The pious emperor was so
well pleased with these two pieces, that he immediately or-
dered a church to be delivered up to the catholics, which he
had sequestrated at Milan in 380, with a design, as was
thought, to give it to the Arians, out of compliance to his
mother-in-law Justina. At the same time, revoking the
law by which he had granted, the preceding year, liberty of
conscience to all sects, he published another, forbidding all
heretics, especially the rebaptizers, to preach their tenets, or
to hold assemblies in any part of the empire. This law is
dated from Milan the third of August of the present year
379, and was, no doubt, owing to the zeal of St. Am-
brose. Gratian left Milan soon after; and passing thro' Rhetia, the province of the Sequani, and Germania Prima,
repaired to Treves, where he was on the fourteenth of Sep-
tember, and perhaps before; for he is said to have march-
ed with incredible expedition, and to have surprized the peo-
ple of Gaul with his unexpected arrival. He passed the
winter at Treves, and consequentially was in that city, when
Ausonius, upon the expiring of his consulship, pronounced
the oration, which has reached our times, thanking the em-
peror for that and the other honours he had conferred upon
him. This year we find the Lombards, whom we shall
see two hundred years hence masters of Italy, first men-
tioned in history. Prosper, who after having copied the chroni-
icle of St. Jerome to this time, begins now one of his own,
tells us, that the Lombards, abandoning the most distant
coasts of the ocean, and their native country Scandinavia,
and seeking new settlements, as they were overstocked
with people at home, attacked first, and overcame about
this time the Vandals, a German nation. They were headed
by two chiefs named I boreus and Aionus, who dying
about ten years after, they created Agelmon, son to the
latter, their first king, who reigned thirty-three years.
We are told, that the Lombards, and the Gepide, were
for many years one and the same nation; and that they

1 Ambros de fide, p. 109—112. 2 Idem ibid. & de Spir.
1 i. c. 1. p. 213. 3 Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 117. 4 Cod.
Theod. chron. p. 100. 5 Auson. conf. p. 411. 6 Idem
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passed the Danube together about the year 400, in the reign of Honorius, who allowed them settlement about Sirmium and Singidunum. This is what Grotius writes upon the authority of Paulus Diaconus, who flourished in the ninth century. Grotius adds, that the Gepidæ, and consequent-
ly the Lombards, held the tenets of Arius, and that they were originally Vandals. Tho' we have said after Grotius, that Prosper is the first author who mentions the Lombards, yet we must own, that their name is to be met with in Ptolemy, Tacitus and Strabo. But to this Grotius answers, that by the name of Lombards in those authors are meant, not the people we are here speaking of, but other German nations, who from their long beards were called Longobar-
bi and Longobardi.

We left Theodosius at Sirmium, where he had been declared emperor on the nineteenth of January of this year 379. He was surrounded on all sides by numberless multitudes of barbarians, who, after the defeat and death of Valens, scour-
ed the neighbouring countries without restraint, destroying all with fire and sword. Dacia, Thrace and Illyricum were already lost. The Goths, the Tajfali, the Alans and the Hunns, were masters of the greatest part of these provinces, and had ravaged and laid waste the rest: the Armenians, Iberians and Persians, were likewise up in arms, and ready to take advantage of the present distracted state of the empire. What evils, says Gregory Nazianzen, have we not seen or heard of? whole countries have been destroyed with fire and sword; many thousand persons of all ranks and ages have been inhumanly massacred; the rivers are still dyed with blood, and the ground covered with heaps of dead bodies. Let us not ascribe the calamities we suffer to the cowardice of our soldiers, who have conquered the world; our sins, and the Arian impiety, which has so long prevailed, are the only cause of our misfortunes. The few soldiers who had survived the late defeat, struck with terror and dismay, kept within the cities and strong-holds of Thrace, without daring so much as to look abroad, much less to make head against the victorious enemy, who moved about the country in great bodies. Gratian, in all likelihood, gave the new emperor some troops; 'tis at least certain, that he left with him two officers of great distinction, viz. count Ricomer,

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Ricomer, a Frank by nation, and Majorianus, who commanded the troops of Illyricum under Gratian, and was by Theodosius raised to the post of general both of the horse and foot. Both these officers distinguished themselves under Theodosius in a very eminent manner, and gained great advantages over the Goths. Theodosius, leaving Sirmium soon after the departure of Gratian, repaired to Thessalonica, the capital of East Illyricum, which Gratian had yielded to him, as we have observed above, and was still there on the seventeenth of June. During his stay in that metropolis, the chief cities of the east sent deputies to him, congratulating him upon his accession to the sovereign power, and craving his protection. At the head of the deputies from Constantinople was the celebrated orator Themistius, who, in a speech which he pronounced on that occasion, begged the emperor to confirm the privileges granted to that great metropolis by his ancestors. The emperor received them all in a most obliging manner, promising to redress, as far as in him lay, the evils of which they complained.

Having reinforced his army with new levies, and made other preparations for war, during his stay at Thessalonica, he took the field, probably about the end of June; for on the seventh of July he was at Scupi in Dardania, and on the tenth of August at a place called Vicus Augusti, the situation of which is unknown to geographers. Several battles were fought this year, of which we can scarce give any account; for our best guide, Ammianus Marcellinus, fails us here; and other authors are so obscure in their accounts, so inconsistent with each other, and often with themselves, that we can scarce depend upon any thing they relate. Idatius, Proserp, and Orofus, tell us, that many great battles were fought, and as many signal victories gained by Theodosius. On the other hand, Zosimus mentions but one battle, which he describes at length; but as he studies on all occasions to detract as much as he can from the glory of Theodosius, he ascribes the signal victory that was gained, not to him, but to one Modares, a prince of royal extraction among the Goths, who had lately taken party with the Romans. Zosimus, prompted by his blind zeal for the worship

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* Sidon, car. v. p. 312.  
† Zos. I. iv. p. 751.  
§ Themist. or. xiv. p. 180—183.  
* Cod. Theod. chron. p. 100.  
† Idat. chron.  
‡ Proserp. chron.  
§ Orof. I. vii. c. 34 p. 229.  
† Zos. I. iv. p. 751, 752.
worship of the idols, omits no opportunity of vomiting his venom against a prince who completed, as we shall see, the ruin of idolatry, which other princes had suffered out of policy, or had not been able utterly to extirpate. We ought to be very cautious in giving credit to what that writer relates to the prejudice of a prince, against whom he betrays on all occasions an inveterate hatred, and unsurmountable prejudice. As to Modares, by whose conduct Thrace was delivered, according to that writer, from ruin and destruction, he was a man of great address, intrepidity and experience in war. St. Gregory Nazianzen wrote some letters to him, wherein he extols his piety, and recommends to him the peace and tranquillity of the church; whence we may conclude him to have been, not only a christian, but a catholic. Prosper tells us, that Theodosius not only overcame the Goths in several pitched battles, but forced them to repass the Danube, and by that means delivered Thrace from the insupportable yoke under which it groaned. Great numbers of them took part with the Romans, after having delivered up to the emperor some of the chief men among them as hostages. Thus Prosper, Zosimus, and Sozomen. However, it is no easy matter to determine, whither those retired who repassed the Danube, since their own country was possessed by the Huns, who had driven them out. The operations of this campaign are by some authors confusedly related, and only hinted at by others; and therefore we have not been able to give any distinct account of them. All we know for certain is, that part of the Goths submitted to Theodosius, and the rest withdrew from Thrace. In this, at least, all authors are unanimous. The emperor, having thus restored Thrace to its former tranquillity, returned in the latter end of the autumn to Thessalonica, and there took up his winter-quarters.

The following year 380, the two emperors were consul, Gratian the fifth time, and Theodosius the first. The former, after having passed the winter at Treves, from which place we find two laws dated the sixth and fifteenth of February, set out early in the spring for Italy, and was on the fourteenth of March at Aquileia and at Milan on the twenty-fourth of April. From Milan he advanced to Sirmium, and continued till the end of the summer, partly in the neighbourhood of that city, and partly in Pannonia. Theodosius

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dosius was seized in the month of February of this year with a dangerous malady; and this was what obliged Gratian to quit Gaul, and hasten into Illyricum, lest the neighbouring barbarians should lay hold of that opportunity to break into Thrace. As the Goths were still in arms, and threatened to pass the Danube, Gratian, during the malady of his colleague, propos'd, and concluded a treaty of peace with them, which, however advantageous to their nation, was confirmed by Theodosius upon his recovery. One of the articles of this treaty was, if Zosimus is to be credited, that the Goths, who served in the Roman armies, should be at liberty to quit the service when they pleased, provided they found others to substitute in their room. Gratian, by a law dated from Milan the twenty-fourth of April, exempts from the obligation of acting upon the stage such women as had embraced the christian religion, th'o' bound by their birth to follow that infamous profession. He renewed the same law the following year, adding this clause to it, that if such women behaved for the future more like players than christians, they should be condemned to serve the stage, and the remaining part of their lives, without remission. As for Theodosius, being seized in the beginning of this year with a dangerous malady, as we have hinted above, he demanded with great earnestness the sacrament of baptism; which he received with exemplary piety at the hands of Attalus bishop of Theßalonica, after having carefully informed himself of the faith that prelate professed. Finding him to be both orthodox in his belief, and blameless in his manners, the pious emperor immediately sent for him to court, was baptized by him, and from that instant, the violence of the malady abating, he began to recover. Soon after, the emperor gave a signal proof of his zeal for the orthodox faith, by the famous law dated from Theßalonica the twenty-eighth of February of the present year 380. In that law Theodosius declares, that he will have all his subjects, without exception, to adhere to the faith which the church of Rome had received of St. Peter, which was taught by Damasius bishop of that city, and by Peter bishop of Alexandria, a man of great sanctity; that is, that they must all acknowledge and confess the divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of

1 Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 27. p. 649.  
2 Prosp. chron.  
3 Zos. 
4 Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 7. leg. 4. p. 355.  
of the Holy Ghost; that those who held this doctrine, should be deemed christian catholics; but, on the contrary, such as rejected it, should be treated as heretics and infamous persons; their conventicles should not be called churches, and they themselves should undergo those punishments, which were due to their wickedness, from the imperial authority and divine justice, it being a crime and a sacrilege to depart from the true faith through contempt, nay, or out of ignorance. This is that memorable law, which was addressed to the people of Constantinople, and to the prefect Eutropius, with orders to send it into all the provinces, and cause it to be every-where observed by the subjects of the empire. To this law St. Austin, no doubt, alluded, when he wrote, that Theodosius, upon his accession to the empire, by a law full of mercy and justice, curbed the fury of the wicked, and relieved the church, long oppressed by the protection given by Valens to the Arians. Besides this, the emperor published several other laws this year, tending to the reformation of manners, viz. one dated the twenty-seventh of March forbidding all capital trials during the forty days preceding Easter; that is, during Lent; another of the eighteenth of December, prohibiting, under severe penalties, widows to marry during the time of mourning for their deceased husbands, which was by this law extended from ten months to a whole year: several laws against informers, who were to be punished with death, if they were found to have informed thrice, tho' their informations had always proved true. By a law dated the sixteenth of November, the emperor declares it unlawful for any one to beg the estate of such persons as were condemned for treason; adding, whereas the importunity of such petitioners often wrecks from the prince what he ought not to grant, his rescript in their favour shall be of no force; and such as shall by that means have obtained the confiscated estates, shall be punished as transgressors of the laws. These estates he will have the prince to grant merely of his own motion. Under other princes, the estates of persons condemned for treason were frequently granted to those who had accused them, which proved a great encouragement to informers; but this, and the other laws of Theodosius, put a stop to their vile practices. By former laws, the estates of such as had been banished, or executed,
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cuted, fell to the exchequer; but Theodosius, by two laws of this year, dated the seventeenth of June, orders the estates of the former to be divided between the exchequer and the criminal, or his children; and those of the latter to be left entire to their children or grand children. We are not told what induced the emperor to be more indulgent the children of those who were executed, than to the children of such as were only banished. In cases of treason, only one sixth of the criminal's estate was to be left to his children, whether he was banished or executed. The emperor published several other laws this year, which are so many instances of his good-nature, his application to business, and his care of the public welfare.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treaty which the Goths had concluded with Gratian, during the malady of Theodosius, that prince had no sooner left Illyricum, to return to Gaul, than they paffed the Danube, under the conduct of Fritigern, Alatheus, and Saphrax; and, breaking into Thrace and Pannonia, advanced as far as Macedon, destroying all with fire and sword. Zosimus writes, that they laid waste Theffaly and Epirus, and penetrated as far as Achaia, without meeting with the least opposition. Theodosius, having in the mean time drawn together his troops, took the field; and coming up with the enemy on the frontiers of Macedon, thought it advisable not to venture an engagement with forces so much superior to him in number; but to haras them, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys. The Goths, apprized of his design, attacked the Roman camp in the dead of the night, made themselves masters of it, cut most of Theodosius's men in pieces, and would have taken the emperor himself prisoner, had he not saved himself by a speedy flight, while the Goths were busied in plundering the tents. Thus Zosimus. But Idatius, Marcelinus, Gregory Nazianzen, who was then at Constantinople, and Philostorgius, an Arian writer, and consequently no-ways partial to Theodosius, assure us, that the emperor gained a complete victory over the Goths; and that, upon his return to Constantinople, which happened according to some, on the seventeenth, according to others, on the twenty-fourth, of November, entered that metropolis in triumph.

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* Idem, l. ix. tit. 42. leg. 8. p. 335.  
* Idem, l. ix. tit. 2. leg. 5. p. 29. tit. 3. leg. 6. p. 31. tit. 2. leg. 6. p. 32. & l. x. tit. 13. leg. 2. p. 486.  
* Jorn. ibid. p. 649.  
* Zos. p. 756.  
* Idem p. 757.  
* Idat. axt.  
* Marcel. chron.  
* Philos. l. ix. c. 19. p. 133.
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umph. Jornandes, who omits no opportunity of setting forth the exploits of his Goths, takes no notice of their pretended victory over Theodorus. Besides, Gregory Nazianzen describes his triumphal entry into Constantinople, of which he was an eye witness; and adds, that he well deserved that honour, for having checked the fury of the barbarians, who, confiding in their numbers and natural fierceness, had ventured to engage him. The emperor, soon after his arrival in that metropolis, appointed Gregory Nazianzen bishop of the place in the room of the Arian bishop Demophilus, who refused to subscribe to the doctrine of the council of Nice. The emperor in person conducted the new bishop to the great church, and put him in possession, both of that, and of all the other churches in the city, with their revenues, driving out the Arians, who had held them for the space of forty years. Thus was the orthodox faith re-established in the metropolis of the east, about the latter end of this year 380. The next consuls were Fl. Syagrius and Fl. Eucherius, uncle, as is supposed, to Theodosius. Gratian was this year, as appears from the dates of several laws, at Milan on the twenty-ninth of March; at Aquileia on the twenty-second of April and eighth of May; and at Treves on the fourteenth of October. He returned to Aquileia on the twenty-sixth of December, and seems to have passed the winter in that city. Valentinian had introduced the custom of setting yearly at liberty some criminals, on occasion of the festival of Easter. This custom Gratian confirmed by a law addressed to Anti
dius, vicar of Rome; but excludes from such indulgence all criminals guilty of treason, parricide, murder, adultery, rapes, incest, magic, all false coiners, and such as had been condemned before. This law was read at Rome on the twenty-first of July of this year 381. As to the affairs in the east, Theodosius continued at Constantinople, at least to the nineteenth of July. During his stay in that metropolis, he published a law dated the tenth of January, forbidding heretics of all denominations to hold assemblies in cities, and commanding the churches throughout the empire to be immediately delivered up to the catholics. The execution of this memorable law was committed to Sapor, one of the greatest generals of his time, who was sent into the several provinces.

provinces, with orders every-where to drive out the heretics, and put the catholic pastors in possession of the churches the sectaries had usurped. Sapor met no-where with the least difficulty in the execution of his commission, except at Antioch, where the catholicks were divided among themselves. Philostratus writes, that the Arians were not only driven from the churches, but from the city of Constantinople. This year Athenaric, the most powerful of all the Gothish princes, who had maintained a three years war with Valens, as we have related above, being driven out by a faction at home, took refuge in the Roman territories, notwithstanding his pretended oath never to tread on Roman ground; and coming to Constantinople, was there received with great marks of friendship by Theodosius, who went out to meet him, and attended him, and his numerous retinue, into the city on the eleventh of January of the present year. But Athenaric died soon after, viz. on the twenty-fifth of the same month; and Theodosius caused him to be buried after the Roman manner, with such pomp and solemnity, that the Goths, who had attended him in his flight, astonished at the magnificence of the funeral, returned home, resolved never to molest the Romans; nay, out of gratitude to the emperor, who had thus honoured the memory of their deceased prince, they took upon them to guard the banks of the Danube, and prevented the Romans from being attacked on that side. Orosius writes, that the emperor's generous behaviour to Athenaric made such a deep impression on all the Gothish nations, that, charmed with his virtue and singular good-nature, they renounced all farther thoughts of war, and submitted to the laws of the empire. The same thing is confirmed by Idatius and Marcellinus; but this did not happen till the third of October of the following year, as we shall relate anon. A few days after the arrival of Athenaric at Constantinople, and before his death, the philosopher Themistius pronounced his fifteenth oration in the palace before the emperor, in which he observes, among other things, that Theodosius, who was then in the third year of his reign, had granted innumerable favours, but had not yet condemned one person to death. The pious emperor, no less desertious to heal the divisions that rent the church, than to redress

dress the abuses which prevailed in the state, summoned this year, in the month of May, the second general of eccumenical council, which was held at Constantinople by all the bishops of his dominions. While the council was assembling, the emperor published a law dated the second of May, deprivingsuch as had renounced the Christian religion to embrace paganism, of the right of disposing of any thing by will. By a law dated the eighth of the same month, he extends that penalty to the Manichees, whose estates he declares confiscated, unless their children should embrace the true religion; in which case they were to enjoy the inheritance of their parents. In a council held before the emperor on the twenty-ninth of June, Theodosius declared, that the respect due to the priesthood not suffering bishops to be summoned to the public courts as witnesses, they were by the laws exempted from the obligation of appearing there. By another law dated the nineteenth of July, he forbids the Eunomians and Arians to build churches, either in the cities, or in the country, and declares the places where they shall have preached, or performed any other function, confiscated. All these laws are dated from Constantinople; but two others, of the twenty-first of July, from Heraclea in Thrace, whether the emperor had advanced against such of the barbarians as were still in arms. Zosimus tells us, that having demanded assistance of Gratian, that prince sent him a considerable body of troops commanded by Baudo, or Bauto, and Arbogastes, who were both Franks, but experienced officers, and greatly attached to the empire. The former was father to Eudoxia the wife of Arcadius, and maintained a correspondence by letters with Symmachus. Of the latter we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Upon the arrival of these two renowned commanders, the Goths, who were ravaging Macedonia and Thessaly retired with great precipitation into Thrace; but not being able to subsist in that province, which they themselves had laid waste the preceding year, they were forced to sue for peace, and submit to Theodosius. Thus Zosimus, detracting, according to his custom, as much as he can, from the glory of Theodosius. However, he owns, that the emperor gained a complete victory over the Scyri and Carpodace, who had, jointly with the Hunns, broken

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broken into the empire, and that he obliged them to repay the Danube. We find the Scyri frequently mentioned amongst the northern barbarians; but of the Carpodacae no farther notice is taken in history. This campaign ended, it seems, in September; for, on the fifth of that month, the emperor was at Adrianople, and on the twenty-eighth at Constantinople, where he continued the remaining part of the year.

The following year 382, when Antonius, called also by some Antoninus, and supposed to have been father-in-law to Theodosius, was consul with Syagrius, the neighbouring barbarians broke into Italy; but were soon driven back by Gratian, who passed the greatest part of this year at Milan, or in that neighbourhood, watching their motions. From some laws published in the month of September of this year, it appears, that the emperor was forced to raise new levies, and demand extraordinary subsidies, for the defence of Raetia and Illyricum. A law dated the fifteenth of December informs us, that perfons of fortune were obliged to supply the army with horses. As Rome was infested by multitudes of beggars, Gratian by a law dated the twentieth of June, orders Severus, prefect of the city, to seize such of them as were capable of earning their livelihood by working, and to bestow them upon those who shall have informed against them, either as slaves if they were such by condition, or to be employed the remaining part of their lives, if they were free-born, in tilling their grounds, and in other works of agriculture. By another law dated the eighteenth of August, he suspends, for the space of thirty days, the execution of all criminals, reckoning from the day they received sentence. By another law, he ordered the altar of Victory, which stood in the place where the Roman senfr assembled, to be removed, and declared the revenues belonging to it confiscated. This altar had been removed by Constantius, when he came to Rome in 357, but re-established by Julian in 361, and suffered to continue there by Valentinian, who allowed to all his subjects the free exercise of what religion they liked best. At the same time, Gratian declared void and null all the privileges and exemptions granted by other emperors to the pagan pontiffs, or to the vestal virgins, ordering the officers of

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of the revenue to seize on the lands, which, for the future, should be bequeathed to them or their temples. The pagan senators sent deputies, at the head of whom was Symmachus, to try whether they could prevail upon the emperor to revoke these laws; but Gratian would not so much as admit them to his presence. The heretics met with no less severe treatment in the east from Theodosius, than the pagans in the west from Gratian; for by a law dated the last of March, he declared such of the Manichees, as were then known by the names of Encratitae, Saccosori, and Hydropara斯塔e, that is, the continent, the sack-bearers, the water-drinkers, guilty of death, encouraging all to inform against them, and likewise against such as, in the celebration of Easter, differed as to the day from other christians; these he likewise pronounced guilty of death. All the laws enacted this year by Theodosius are dated from Constantinople; which gives us room to believe, that he continued in that city without taking the field, the Goths having, by their deputies, offered to submit to him, as we have related above. As they had been driven out of Macedon, and shut up in Thrace, where they could not subsist, Theodosius, not caring to drive them to despair, received their deputies in a very obliging manner; and as they could not return to their own country, which was held by the Hunns, upon their laying down their arms, he gave them leave to settle in Thrace and Moesia, which two provinces were almost quite depopulated by the frequent incursions of the neighbouring barbarians, and the late wars. The emperor exempted them from all the tributes and taxes that were paid by the other subjects of the empire. This was in all likelihood one of the articles on which they submitted. Great numbers of them entered into the Roman service; but formed a separate body, and were commanded by officers of their own nation, which proved the source of many evils; but as they were well acquainted with the avarice, injustice, and cruelty of the Roman officers, they refused to put themselves into their power, and insisted upon their continuing united, in order to secure themselves against such insults as they had reason to apprehend, when dispersed among the Roman troops. Zosimus does not forget to blame the conduct of Theodosius, and his want of foresight, in this particular; but Themistius, in a speech which he pronounced

nounced before the emperor himself, tells him, that he gained by his indulgence and good-nature the barbarians, whom he was not perhaps in a condition to conquer by force of arms. The Goths therefore were not yet so far weakened, as to submit to what terms the emperor thought fit to impose upon them.

The next consuls were Fl. Merobaudes the second time, and Flavius Saturninus. Gratian was, from the twenty-ninth of January of this year 383, to the second of May, at Milan; at Padua on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of the same month; and at Verona on the seventeenth of June. He published several excellent laws this year, and among the rest one dated the nineteenth of January, revoking all the privileges and exemptions granted to particular persons, to the prejudice of the body to which they belonged; another dated the twenty-seventh of February, inflicting severe penalties on such as should conceal defectors or robbers; a third, condemning informers to such punishments as were due to the crimes of which they accused others, when they could not make good the charge; a fourth, forbidding any deference to be paid to such orders as tribunes, secretaries, counts, or any other persons, however dignified and distinguished, should pretend to have received from the emperor by word of mouth: the former of these two laws is dated the twenty-seventh of May, and the latter the seventeenth of June. By a law dated the twenty-second of May, he declares those incapable of disposing of their estates by will, who shall renounce the Christian religion to embrace paganism, Judaism, or the execrable tenets of the Manichees. Those by whom they shall have been seduced, are subjected to the same penalty. This year is remarkable for a dreadful famine, that raged in Rome, but more on account of the disturbances that were raised in the state by Maximus, and put an end to the life and reign of the excellent emperor Gratian. That usurer, named Magnus Clemens Maximus, was by birth a Briton, as a learned modern writer pretends to gather from Socrates; but, in our opinion, that author speaks of the place where he began to reign, and not of the place

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* Themist. ibid. p. 211.  
† Idem. p. 212.  
§ Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 13. p. 10c  
‖ Idem, l. ix. tit. 29. leg. 2. p. 222.  
¶ Idem, tit. l. leg. 12 p. 19.  
** Idem, l. i. tit. 3. leg. 1. p. 27.  
*** Idem, l. xv tit. 7. leg. 3. p 205.  
place of his nativity, as does likewise Gildas. Pacatus, who flourished in those times, affirms, that he was a stranger in Britain, and had been banished into this island. Zosimus writes, that he was a native of Spain, which is not improbable, since it is certain, that he pretended to be allied to Theodosius. He was brought up, says Pacatus, in the family of Theodosius as a servant, and employed in the meanest offices. Zosimus pretends, that he served in Britain with Theodosius, who, as we have observed above, attended his father into this island in the year 368. Be that as it will, seeing Theodosius raised to the empire, says Zosimus, while he could not attain to any creditable employment, prompted by jealousy and envy, he began to foment the avarice of the Roman soldiers to Gratian, whom they looked upon as too great an encourager of foreigners; insomuch that in the end they revolted, declared Maximus emperor, and, with the usual solemnity, gave him the purple and diadem. He gave out, that he was allied to Theodosius, and that it was with his participation and consent he had taken upon him the sovereignty. Thus Zosimus. But Sulpicius Severus, and Orosius, tell us, that the soldiers mutinying, forced him to accept the purple. The authority of these two authors, of whom the former flourished at that very time, and the other soon after, is of great weight with us. Orosius styles him a man of courage, and worthy of the empire, had he attained it by lawful means; and Sulpicius speaks of him as one, who, abating this usurpation, deserved in every other respect to be esteemed and commended. Gregory of Tours writes, that, before his usurpation, he had gained several signal victories in Britain; and some modern authors, that he drove the Scots quite out of the island. But neither is consistent with what we have related above out of Zosimus. Maximus at first was supported only by a small number of the inhabitants of this island; but others flocking to him from all parts of Britain, he found himself in a very short time at the head of a numerous army, which, without loss of time, he transported into Gaul; and landing at the mouth of the Rhine, he prevailed over into Gaul.

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*c Vid. Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 270.  
*d Gild. de excid. Britan. c. 10. p. 117.  
*e Pacat. p. 263, 269.  
*f Zos. p. 760.  
g Pacat. p. 264.  
h Zos. p. 760.  
j Oros. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220.  
k Oros. ibid.  
m Sulp. Sev. l. ii. c. 7. p. 290.  
vailed upon the neighbouring provinces to revolt from Gratian, and join him, not so much by force of arms, as by art and address, extending, says Gildas, by lies and perjuries the empire which he had acquired by wickedness and rebellion. Gratian was then making war upon the Germans, called Juthungi; but he no sooner heard of the arrival of the usurper in Gaul, than he hastened to Treves, to put a stop to his farther progress. On his march, great numbers of his troops, gained over by the emissaries of Maximus, abandoned him, to take part with the usurper. However, thinking himself still a match for Maximus, he left Treves, went in quest of his enemy, and offered him battle. Baronius writes, that Gratian, finding himself abandoned by his own troops, had called the Hunns and Alans to his assistance, and that his army consisted chiefly of those barbarians. The learned Ufher was once of the same opinion; but afterwards retracted it. St. Ambrose, on whose authority it was grounded, speaking in the letter quoted by Baronius, not of Gratian, but of Valentinian II. Gratian’s army was commanded by Merobaudes, and count Balio, an officer of known valour and fidelity. Some authors write, that a battle was fought near Paris. But Zosimus tells us, that the two armies continued for five days together in the presence of each other, without any action, except a few skirmishes, in which no great advantage was gained on either side; but that in the end the troops of Gratian, provoked at his shewing so much favour, and giving the preference, to foreigners, as if he chiefly relied on their courage and fidelity, shamefully deserted him, and went over to Maximus. Gratian, seeing himself thus betrayed and abandoned, fled towards the Alps, attended only by three hundred horsemen; and having got into Lions, after he had been refused admittance into other cities, he was there taken prisoner, and soon after put to death. That he was put to death at Lyons, all authors agree, except Zosimus, who mistook, as is supposed, Singidunum in Mecia for Lugdunum in Gaul. Socrates and Sozomen relate his death with several cir-

\[ p \text{ Zos. l. iv. p. 760.} \quad q \text{ Gild. excid. Brit. c. 10, 11. p. 117.} \]
\[ s \text{ Eron ad ann. 583.} \quad t \text{ Usf. Brit. eccles. antiqu. p. 590.} \]
\[ u \text{ Idem ibid. p. 1018.} \quad w \text{ Ambros. ep. 56. p. 320.} \]
\[ x \text{ Prosper. p. 267. Ambros. ep. 56. p. 322, 321.} \quad y \text{ Prosper. Tyro. chron.} \]
\[ a \text{ Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 279.} \]
\[ b \text{ Soz. l. vii. c. 13. p. 721.} \]
cumstances unknown to other writers; for they tell us, that Andragathius, who was general of the horse under Maximus, and sent by him to pursue Gratian, coming up with the fugitive prince as he was crossing the Rhone, put himself into a close litter, and ordered his men to give out, that in the litter was the empress Læta, whom Gratian had lately married, going to her husband. The emperor, giving credit to this report, and impatient to see one whom he so tenderly loved, turned back to meet her; but while he was standing with open arms ready to receive her, Andragathius, starting out of the litter, seized him, and soon after put him to death. This account cannot be reconciled with what we read in St. Ambrose, a contemporary writer, viz. that Gratian was betrayed by a perfon whom he had trusted with entire provinces: that being by the traitor invited to a banquet, he refused at first to comply with the invitation, suspecting some treachery; but being in the end deceived by false oaths, and seigned protestations, he came to the banquet, but was murdered, as he withdrew by those who had feasted with him. These circumstances are not mentioned by historians; only Orofius and Marcellinus write, that he was surprized by the artifice of Maximus, and soon after put to death. Thus died Gratian in the flower of his age, having lived only twenty-four years, and three or four months, and reigned, from the time he had been created emperor, sixteen years, and one day, but from the death of his father, only seven years, and nine months. He married in 374 or 375 Constantin, the posthumous daughter of the emperor Constantius, and had by her a son, and other children; but they all died, it seems, before him, as did likewise his wife Constantia, whose body was brought this very year to Constantinople, according to Idatus and the chronicle of Alexandria, on the thirty-first of August, and interred on the second of December. Gratian not long before his death married to his second wife Læta, to whom, as well as to her mother, by name Pifamine, Theodofius allowed a yearly pension, to support them according to their rank, which they employed in relieving the poor of Rome, while that city was besieged by Alaric in the year 408. The death of Gratian was no sooner known at Milan, than St. Ambrose, who had lived

\[\text{E} 2\]

\[\text{e Ambros. psal. lxi. p. 843.} \quad \text{f Oros. p. 220.} \quad \text{Marcell. chron.} \]
\[\text{t Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 270.} \quad \text{Marcell. chron.} \]
\[\text{Aug. civit.} \quad \text{Dei, l. v. c. 25.} \quad \text{Ambr. de fid. l. i. c. 20.} \]
\[\text{Theodor. l. v. c. 12. p. 722.} \quad \text{Soz. l. vii. c. 13. p. 721.} \quad \text{Idem ibid. Zos.} \]
\[\text{l. v. p. 815.} \]
in great intimacy with him, and was, as appears from his
works, deeply affected with the loss of such an excellent and
imitable prince, as he styles him, set out in great haste from
that city to demand his body of Maximus in the name of
Valentinian. But the usurer refused it to him, pretending,
that the transporting of his ashes would serve only to renew
the grief of the soldiery k. However, they were afterwards
brought to Milan, and interred there near the tomb of Va-
len tinian II. As for his character, all writers, whether
christians or pagans, agree, that he was endowed with every
good quality that can be desired in a prince, extolling with
one voice his modesty, his justice, his moderation, and de-
sire of doing good to all, in which he seemed to place his chief
happiness. Ammianus Marcellinus, tho' a zealous pagan,
writes, that he would have equalled the greatest princes of
antiquity, had he lived longer; but at the same time blames
him, as being too much addicted to hunting, and other div-
ersions l, which may be justly imputed to his youth, and
for which he would, in all likelihood, have made ample a-
mends by applying seriously to business in his riper years.
St. Ambrose, Theodoret, Rufinus, Ausonius, and even Zo-
симus himself, give us a great idea of his piety, in which he
surpassed all the princes who had reigned before him, Con-
fantine himself not excepted. St. Ambrose, in his answer
to a letter the emperor had written to him, gives him the
title of most christian m. The many laws he enacted in fa-
vour of the catholics, are so many instances of his zeal for
the orthodox faith. Tho' none of the christian princes his
predecessors had scrupled to assume the habit of the high pon-
tiff of the pagans, yet when it was, according to custom,
brought to him, he rejected it, saying, that it was not con-
sistent with the principles of the christian religion to wear
that habit. Thus Zosimus n; but it will be no easy task to
prove, that either Constantine after his conversion, or any
other christian prince, ever assumed the habit or title of
Pontifex Maximus, though the latter was commonly
given to them by the pagans, and even to Gratian himself o.
The pagan priests, adds Zosimus, finding the emperor would
not accept either of the habit or title of high-pontiff, the
chief man among them uttered these memorable words; If
the prince will not be styled pontifex maximus, Maximus

k Ambros. psl. lxi. p. 849.
l Ambros. de fid. p. 110.
m Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 344.
n Zos. l. iv. p. 761.
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will soon become pontifex, foretelling, that Maximus would be raised to the empire. But this pretended prediction, or, as we may call it, pun, was, without all doubt, invented after the revolt of Maximus. However that be, Maximus was no sooner informed of the death of Gratian, than he took his son Flavius Victor for his colleague in the power he had usurped, and gave him, though then only an infant, the title of Augustus, as we read in Victor the historian; which is confirmed by some antient inscriptions, tho' Zosimus gives him only the title of Caesar. The usurper fixed the seat of his empire at Treves, and extended his wings, to use the expression of Gildas, over Spain and Britain, being master, according to Zosimus, of all the countries, which Gratian, in the division of the western provinces, had reserved for his own share. We do not find, that he put any of Gratian's favourites to death, except Merobaudes, the consul of this year, and Balio, or, as some style him, Vallio, one of the best officers of his age; their only crime was their inviolable attachment to Gratian, by whom they had been raised for their eminent services to the greatest offices in the state. Merobaudes received orders from the tyrant to dispatch himself, which he did accordingly, to avoid a more ignominious death. Pacatus writes, that Balio was strangled in his own house by the Britons, who served under Maximus; but from St. Ambrose it appears, that the usurper had commanded him to be conveyed to Challon on the Saone, to be there burnt alive; but that he, by a violent death, prevented the execution of so cruel a sentence. Prosper, in his chronicle, writes, that Gratian was betrayed by Merobaudes; but is therein contradicted by all other writers, and the death of that brave officer sufficiently clears him from so black an aspersion: whence in the chronicle of Prosper, some, instead of Merobaudes, read Mellobaudes; for Mellobaudes, king of the Franks, served under Gratian in quality of comes domesticorum; and treachery was in those days the peculiar character of that nation. Maximus commanded count Narces likewise, and Leucadius, governor of a province, to be put to death for their attachment to Gratian; but was prevailed upon by the famous St. Martin to spare them.

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them. Paulinus Diaconus, in his life of St. Ambrose, tells us, that that prelate was sent into Gaul to propose an accommodation between Maximus and young Valentinian; on which occasion he treated the usurper as one cut off from the communion of the church, exhorting him to atone by a sincere repentance for the enormous crime he had committed in imbruing his hands in the blood of an innocent prince, his lawful sovereign: the same author adds, that other bishops, more complacent, flocking from all parts to the tyrant’s court, by their low and shameful flatteries, lulled him asleep in his wickedness. As Maximus had brought over with him into Gaul the flower of the British youth, and the Roman soldiers quartered in the island, the country remained by that means exposed to the incursions of the Scots and Picts, who meeting with little or no opposition, over-ran the northern parts, committing everywhere dreadful ravages. The Romans now-and-then sent over troops to drive them back into their own country; but they constantly returned, and continued thus harassing the Roman provinces till the arrival of the Angles and Saxons, who made themselves masters of that part of the island which is now known by the name of England, about the middle of the fifth century. Those Britons, who attended Maximus into Gaul, never returned to their native country; but are supposed to have settled in Armorica, which was allotted to them by Maximus, and from its new inhabitants called Britain, now Bretagne. Colonies are said to have been sent from this island into Bretagne at three different times, viz. in the reign of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great, during the usurpation of Maximus, and when the Angles made themselves masters of this island. The ancients mention the latter, but take no notice of the other two colonies; which gives us room to question the truth of what the moderns have written on that head. Constantius, who in the end of the fifth century wrote the life of St. Germain of Auxerre, calls Bretagne, Armorica; but Sidonius of Clermont, who flourished about the same time, speaks of Britons inhabiting the country that borders on the Loire; nay, amongst his letters we find one to Rhiotam their king. That the Britons,

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tons, who went over with Maximus, settled in Armorica among the natives of the country, is not affirmed by any antient historian, but may be looked upon as a conjecture not altogether improbable; but that they, driving out the antient proprietors, made themselves absolute masters of the country under the conduct of their leader Conon Meriodoc; and wanting women, had recourse to Dionutus, or Diodochus, king of Cornwall, who sent them his own daughter, by name Urfula, with eleven thousand young women of quality, and sixty thousand of an inferior rank, is now deemed an arrantable, even by the Roman-catholic writers. Had the Britons wanted women, they would, without all doubt, have kept those of the country, when they drove out the men. Besides, it is altogether improbable, that Cornwall was so formed with women as to spare seventy-one thousand virgins. The fleet, fraught with these unhappy virgins, is supposed to have been driven by a storm to the mouth of the Rhine, and to have failed up that river to Cologn, where they fell into the hands of the barbarians, who fought for Gratian against Maximus, and were by them either put to death, or carried into captivity. Urfula is still revered in the church of Rome as a saint; but the number of eleven thousand virgins, said to have suffered martyrdom with her, has been not many years since left out of the Roman breviary. Of Aufonius, who was preceptor to Gratian, we shall speak in note (L).

But (L) Decius, or rather Decimus Magnus Aufonius, was a native of Bourdeaux. He tells us, that he was descended of a noble family (15); however, his father, who was a native of Bazas, and lived at Bourdeaux, followed the profession of physic, till his son procured him the rank and title of honorary prefect of Illyricum. He practised gratis, and was generally esteemed a man of learning; but, what may seem strange, was better acquainted with the Greek than the Latin tongue. He died in 377, at the age of eighty eight or ninety (16). Crecilius Argicius Arborius, uncle to Aufonius by the mother, was born in Autun, and descended of an illustrious family; but his father and uncle being proscribed in the reign of Gallienus and Aurelian, he was obliged to abandon his country, and retire to Bayonne, where he married Æmilia Corinthia Maura, descended of a good family, and had by her one son, named Æmilius Magnus Arborius, and three daughters, Hiluria, Dryadina and Æonia: Arbo-

But to resume the thread of the history. Theodosius, who had never stirred this year from Constantinople, or the neighbourhood

rion was a celebrated professor of eloquence; Hilaria confessed celibacy, and became famous for her virtue; Dryadia was betrothed, but died a little before the celebrations of her nuptials; Æonía was mother to Aufonius. Julia Cataphronia, the sister of Julius Aufonius, our author's father, embraced the state of virginity, and lived to a great age (17). As for Aufonius himself, he studied rhetoric under his uncle Arborius at Tolouse, where Arborius taught about the year 325, before he was invited to Constantinople by Constantine: he studied likewise at Bourdeaux under Minervius, Nepotianus, and Staphylus, professors of grammar and rhetoric (18). When he had ended his studies, he first pleaded at the bar, and afterwards taught grammar and rhetoric; which profession he followed for the space of near thirty years, till he was by Valentinian I. appointed preceptor to his son Gratian in 367, whom he attended into Germany the following year 368 (19). He had soon after some employment at court with the title of comes or count, and was by degrees raised to the first offices in the state. Valentinian made him questor, and had even promised him the consulship (20). After the death of Valentinian, Gratian raised him to the high station of praefectus praetorio, first of Italy and Africa, and afterwards of Gaul. He was prefec of Gaul, and likewise consul, in 379 (21). He was, it seems, at Treves when Gratian was killed (22); but soon after retired to Guienne (23). In a letter to Paulinus about the year 392, he describes the place where he then led a retired life (24), which is supposed to have been in Saintonge. He professed, without all doubt, the christian religion; but his writings are, even in the opinion of Scaliger, altogether unworthy of the christian name, being filled with pagan expressions, and the most bare-faced obscenities, in which he surpasses the most infamous among the pagan poets. As for his style, it is commended by some, and found fault with by others. The reader will find the different opinions of critics concerning his writings in Baillet (25). His works, which give some light to

neighbourhood of that metropolis, was no sooner informed of the death of Gratian, than he drew together all his forces, with
to history, are the epigrams he wrote on the professors of Bourdeaux, his verses on the chief cities of the empire, and the speech in which he returned thanks to Gratian for the honour he had done to him in raising him to the conf核ship. He wrote verses on all the emperors who had reigned till his time, and likewise confular tables, extending to the year 382 or 383 (26). But the latter work has been long since entirely lost, and of the former only a small part has reached us. His poem on the Mofelle was greatly esteemed by Symmachus (27), and is still looked upon by the best judges as his master-piece (28). Some ascribe to him, but without sufficient ground, the difficulties that pass under the name of Cato (29). The emperor Theodofius, who had a particular esteem for him, wrote to him with his own hand, demanding his works (30). Aufonius and Symmachus lived in great great intimacy, as appears from their letters to each other (31). Gratian, out of gratitude to his preceptor, not only preferred him to the greatest employments of the state, but likewise raised most of his relations. His father was by him honoured, as
we have hinted above with the title of prefect of Illyricum before the year 379, for in that year he died, being then in the eighty-eighth or ninetyth year of his age (32). Sanctus, who married his wife’s sister, was made governor of Britain (33). Paulinus, son-in-law to his sister Dryadia, was raised to the government of the province of Tarraca in Spain, and the husband of his other niece by the fame Dryadia to great employments (34). Arborius, prefect of Rome in 380, is supposed to have been his nephew by the fame sister (35). Aufonius married Attusia Lucana Sabina, the daughter of Attusius Lucanus Talius, one of the chief citizens of Bourdeaux, and had by her two sons, viz. Aufonius and Hesperus, and one daughter, whose name is not mentioned in history. Aufonius died in his infancy; but Hesperus was prefect in Africa in 376, of Italy in 378, and the same year prefect of Gaul with his father. The daughter of Aufonius was married first to Vallatinus Euromius, who died when he was yet very young, tho’ he had been already governor of a province in Illyricum, and afterwards to Thalaflus, who was proconsul of Africa in 378. She had one son by Euromus or Euromius, and several children by Thalaflus, of whom the eldest was

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with the design to march against the usurper, and prevent him from seizing on Italy and West-Illyricum, belonging to young Valentinian. But in the mean time, Maximus having assured him by his deputies, that he had no design upon the dominions of Valentinian, but that he would suffer him peaceably to reign in Italy, Africa, and Illyricum, Theodosius thought it advisable to put off his journey into the west. Not long after, Maximus sent his great chamberlain to Theodosius, not to make an apology, says Zosimus, for the murder of Gratian, but to propose an alliance with the emperor against the common enemies of the empire; and in case he rejected that friendly offer, to denounce war against him. Theodosius not thinking the glory that might accrue to him from revenging the death of Gratian a sufficient motive for entering into a war, which he foresaw would be attended with great evils, and perhaps with the ruin of the empire, the neighbouring barbarians being ready to invade it on all sides, hearkened to the proposals of Maximus; and acknowledging him in the end for his colleague, sent Cynegius, then comes


was named Auseonius (35). Symmachus mentions a son of Thalaffus, to whom the senate had at his request granted some favours (37). Auseonius had taken care to instruct his daughter in the liberal sciences (38). His wife Sabina died in the twenty eighth year of her age (39); and Auseonius composed her epitaph thirty-six years after (40). He wrote his consular tables, and some other historical pieces, for the use and instruction of his son Hesperus, whom he commends as a young man of extraordinary parts, and naturally more grave and composed than himself (41). Hesperus married the daughter of Severus Cenfor Julianus, and Pomponia Urbica, who was descended of an illustrious family, and had by her at least three children, of whom the youngest, named Paflor, died when he was but a youth: of Paulinus, his eldest son, furred the penitent, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. From the poem he wrote on his repentance, and styled Eucharisticon, it appears, that his father was first vicar of Macedon, where Paulinus was born in 376, and afterwards procounsel of Africa, which employment he held for the space of twenty-eight months (42).

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comes largitionum, and afterwards prefect of the east, into Egypt, with orders to proclaim Maximus there, and to cause his image to be set up in Alexandria. Zosimus in this place writes, that Theodotius only pretended to be reconciled with Maximus, to divert him from surprizing young Valentinian, who was not in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy; and elsewhere blames him for observing the treaty he concluded with the usurper, when he ought both in policy and honour to have made war upon him. Pacatus tells us, that when Maximus revolted, Theodotius was engaged in a war on the most distant confines of the east, perhaps with the Saracens; for he is said by Marcellinus to have overcome them about the beginning of his reign; and Libanius writes, that the news of the victory gained this year by Richomer was received with great joy by the inhabitants of Antioch. The Hunns, likewise called Euthalites or Nephalites, whose country bordered on Persia, as appears from Procopius, are said to have broken into Mesopotamia about this time, and to have even laid siege to Edessa, which obliged Theodotius to send part of his forces to the relief of that city. No wonder therefore, that the emperor at this juncture chose rather to receive Maximus for his partner in the empire, than, by rejecting his proposals, to kindle a war in the very bowels of the empire, which, in all likelihood, would have proved fatal to both parties. The wars we have mentioned were managed by his generals; for the emperor himself, as we have observed above, continued the whole year at Constantinople, or in that neighbourhood. In the very beginning of the present year 383, that is, on the sixteenth, or, as others will have it, on the nineteenth of January, he had declared his son Arcadius emperor. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp at the palace of Hebdoman, distant seven miles from Constantinople. Arcadius was then about six years old; for at the time of his death, which happened on the first of May 408, he was, according to Socrates, in the thirty-first year of his age. As for Valentinian II. who possessed the western provinces of Illyricum, with Italy and Africa, while Maximus held Gaul, Spain, and Britain, he was at this time but twelve, or at most thirteen,

Who acknowledges him for his colleague.

Arcadius declared emperor.

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e Idem, p. 761.  
d Idem. p 768.  
e Pacat. p. 263.  
f Marcell. chron.  
g Liban. vit. p. 67.  
h Sup. 15 Novemb.  
P. 342.  
j Socr. 1. vi. c.

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23 P. 332.
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thirteen, years old; and the great disturbances which his mother Juftina raised, by espousing with too much warmth the cause of the Arians, give us room to believe, that she reigned in her son's name. Under her Probus, who had been consul in 371, and prefect of Illyricum and Italy in 368, had the chief direction of affairs; but, in all matters of moment, the young prince had recourse to Theodosius; nay, Orofius looks upon Theodosius as sole emperor, after the death of Gratian, of the western as well as the eastern provinces.

The next consuls were Richomer and Clearchus. The former was of the royal blood of the Franks, had been comes domesticorum under Gratian, and was left by that prince with Theodosius, when created emperor. In a law of the year 391, he is styled general of the horse and foot. He was a pagan, but a man of great integrity, valour, and experience in war, as appears from the several letters which Symmachus wrote to him. He is by some called Ricimer, and by others Richimer, and Ricomer. Gregory of Tours speaks of one Richimer, the father of Theodorgir king of the Franks, whom some authors, whose opinion is not ill grounded, take to be the consul of this year 384. Clearchus, his colleague, had been proconsul of Asia in 264, and afterwards prefect of Constantinople, in which employment he was succeeded this year by the philosopher Themistius, who, on that occasion, made a short speech in commendation of Theodosius, who had raised him to that dignity. This year Proculus, count of the east, being accused of extortion, and several outrages committed by his orders at Daphne near Antioch, was ignominiously deposed, and obliged to abscond, till the rage of the multitude was appeased. Icarius, the son of Theodorus, who had conspired against Valens, was appointed count of the east in his room, which office he discharged with great rigor and severity, not sparing even the public magistrates, whom he put to the rack, in defiance of the laws, says Libanius, which had been but lately published; that is, of the laws dated the twenty-

3 Orosi. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. 
4 Cod. Theod. chron. p. 123. 
5 Symm. l. iii. ep. 59, 61. p. 129. et ep. 54, 56, 69, &c. 
7 Themist. orat. xvii. p. 213. 
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Twenty-sixth of April 380, and thirty-first of July, 381. A famine in Syria.

This year a famine, attended as usual with a dreadful plague, raged in Antioch, and most other cities of Syria. The plague soon ceased; but the famine continuing, Libanius, in the name of the people of Antioch, had recourse to Icarius, entreaty him to relieve, by some means or other, the poor, who had flocked from all parts to that metropolis, and were daily perishing in great numbers with hunger. But Icarius, without being in the least affected with their calamity, return-
ed no other answer, than that they were abhorred, and justly punished, by the gods. This occasioned great disturbances in Antioch, which, however, were appeased without bloodshed. The same year, Theodosius, resolving utterly to extirpate the idolatrous worship of the pagan gods, enacted several laws, forbidding all his subjects, on pain of death or perpetual banishment, to offer sacrifices to idols; to consult augurs, or diviners of what denomination soever; or to practice any of those ceremonies, which had been forbidden by his christian predecessors. Zosimus, in his usual style, better becoming a declamer than an orator, tells us, that Theodosius proclaimed war against the gods; that he attacked them in their temples; that he proceeded with such severity against those who worshipped them, that no one dared own he believed there were gods, or could with safety lift up his eyes to heaven, and adore the stars that shine there. Libanius writes, that on a certain occasion, standing in need of the assistance of the gods, he had recourse to their altars; but not daring to implore their protection, or shed a tear before their statues, he only bewailed within himself his unhappy condition. It was on occasion of the above-mentioned laws, that Libanius made his famous speech in defence of the temples, wherein he inveighs with great bitterness against the monks; blames the conduct of Constantine the Great; extols Julian; and ends his speech with threatening, that the country-people, who were more attached to the religion of their ancestors, than the inhabitants of the cities, will, if further provoked, take arms, and defend them by force. The attachment of the country-people, or inhabitants of villages, called by the Latins pagani, to their idols and temples, gave rise to the denomination of paganus or

Lib. vit. p. 63.  
Zos. p. 758.  
Lib. vit. p. 63.  
Idem,  
Lib. pro temp. p. 10—63;
or pagan, which began about this time to be given to all who worshipped idols. Libanius, in that speech, often addresses himself to Theodosius as present; but nevertheless we cannot persuade ourselves, that he had the boldness to pronounce it before so religious and zealous a prince. It ought, in our opinion, to be looked upon only as a declamation, delivered not in the presence of the emperor, but perhaps of his own scholars, and other pagan auditors. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the pious emperor was so far from yielding to the arguments which the pagan sophist alluded in favour of his idols, that, on the contrary, having appointed Cyanegius this very year prefect of the east, he strictly enjoined him to shut up all the temples within his jurisdiction. Cyanegius executed his orders with such zeal and fidelity in the East, properly so called, that he was soon after sent by the emperor for the same purpose into Egypt, where, by breaking in pieces the idols, by prohibiting all manner of idolatrous worship, and by shutting up the temples, in such manner that no one could have access to them, he, in a short time, utterly abolished the very remains of idolatry in a country, which, for many ages, had been, above all others, addicted to superition. The zeal, which he exerted on this occasion for the true religion, procured him after his death, which happened in 388, the honour of being interred in the church of the Apostles at Constantinople, the burying-place of the emperors; whence his ashes were conveyed the ensuing year by his wife Acancia into Spain, probably the place of his nativity. He was comes largitionum from 381 to 383, when he was made prefect of the east, in which office he continued till his death; that is, to the year 388, in which he died, being then consul with the emperor Theodosius. Libanius himself, notwithstanding his zeal for idolatry, could not help commending him as a magistrate of an unblemished character; and Theodosius, in a law addressed to him in 385, says, that his justice and equity were known and applauded by all the world. It is surprising, that Baronius should confound the prefect Cyanegius with another of the same name, who, in 401, was sent by Arcadius to demolish the temple of Marnas, and other temples in the city of Gaza.

Gaza. This year the emperor published a law, forbidding the marriages of cousin-germans, which had been always deemed lawful among the Romans, and no one ever looked upon as incestuous. However, Theodosius not only prohibited such marriages, but, by the same law, commanded the contracting parties to be burnt alive, their estates to be confiscated, and their children to be deemed illegitimate. Arcadius softened the rigor of this law by another, dated the twenty-sixth of November 396, whereby he exempts the transgressors from the penalties inflicted on them by the law of Theodosius; but nevertheless declares such marriages unlawful and incestuous, and the children incapable of receiving the least legacy from their parents. In 405, he entirely revoked the law of his father, declaring the marriages of cousin-germans absolutely lawful. This revocation was not received in the west till the time of Justinian, who caused it to be put into his code; by which means it became general, and such marriages were celebrated without restraint or scruple in the west, as well as in the east. At the same time, and under the same penalties, Theodosius revived the antient law, forbidding the marrying of nieces, which he extended to the niece of a first wife. By another law of this year, dated the twenty-first of January, he ordered Cyanegius to make a diligent search after the Eunomian, Macedonian, Arian, and Apollinarian bishops and clergy in Constantinople, and to drive them all, without exception, out of the city. By a third he forbids the Jews to buy Christian slaves; and allows all Christians the liberty of setting free such slaves as they shall have purchased. Theodosius, as appears from the dates of his laws, paffed most part of this year at Constantinople, and there received a solemn embassy sent to him by the king of Persia, to solicit, or rather to buy, a peace with rich presents, and to excuse, says a pagan writer, by his submission, all the evils, which, till that time the Romans had suffered from the Persian nation. They had lost their great king Sapor II. who died about the year 379, after having lived and reigned seventy years. He was succeeded by Artaxerch, whom Eutychius supposes to have been his son, the Agathias and Abulfaragius call him

* Idem, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 13. p. 129.  
* Idem, l. iii. tit. 1. leg. 5. p. 246.  
* Pacat. p. 263.  
* Eutych. p. 470.
his younger brother. But if Sapor himself was born after
the decease of his father, as most authors write, he could not
be succeeded by his younger brother. Artaxer, styled Ar-
dashir by Abulfaragius and Eutychius, and Artaxerxes by Sca-
liger and Petavius, reigned only four years, and was succe-
deed in 383, by his son Sapor III. called by Theophanes,
Arsabel, who, after having reigned five years, bequeathed
the kingdom in 388, to his son Varanes or Varanes IV.
furnamed Kermafa, perhaps from some country called Ker-
ma, conquered by his father. Varanes reigned eleven years,
and maintained the whole time a good understanding with
the Romans. The embassadors, of whom we have soken
above, were sent, not by Sapor II. as Pacatus seems to sup-
pose; but by Sapor III. who reigned in Persia this year 384,
Orofius writes, that a treaty was concluded between the Per-
sians and the Romans, in virtue of which the whole east
still enjoyed a profound tranquillity at the time he was com-
posing his history; that is, about the year 416. The arti-
cles of this treaty are not mentioned by any historian; but
from a law of Theodosius, dated the fourteenth of June 387,
and addressed to Gaddanes, satarpa or governor of Sophe,
it appears, that the authority of the Roman emperors was
acknowledged in that province, which, by most geographers,
is placed in the south of Armenia, and is reckoned, by some
historians, one of the five provinces which Jovian yielded to
the Persians. While the Persian embassadors were still at
Constantinople, a second son was born to the emperor in that
city on the ninth of September. Theodosius gave him the
name of Honorius, to honour in his son, says the poet Clau-
dian, the memory of his brother, distinguished him with the
title of nobilissimus, or most noble, and named him con-
fus for the year 386.

The same year, the Sarmatians having made an irruption
into the dominions of Valentinian, he dispatched one of his
generals, not named in history, against them, who drove
them back with great slaughter, and took many prisoners,
who were all sent to Rome, to be either massacred in the
shews of gladiators, or destroyed by the wild beasts. The
emperor, in the letter which he wrote to the senate, ac-
quainting them with the successes that had attended his arms,
beftowed

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c Pacat. p. 263. d Orof. ibid. e Claud. de Ser. p. 194.
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bestowed the highest encomiums on the general who commanded on that occasion. As for Valentinian himself, he continued the whole year, as appears from his laws, in Italy; for, during the months of March and April, he was at Milan; at Aquileia in the month of September; and again at Milan in October, and the two remaining months of the year. By a law dated the twenty second of March, which was this year good-friday, he commanded all the prisoners, who were not charged with the enormous crimes mentioned in the law, to be set at liberty, in honour of the approaching great festival. This year died Vettius Agorius Prætexatus, a person greatly commended and extolled, as one of the most deserving men of his age, by Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote his history about this time, by Zosimus, Symmachus, Libanius and in general all the pagan writers; for he was not only a pagan himself but augur, high-pontiff of Vesta and the sun, and the head, as we may style him, of the pagan superstition. He was by Julian made proconsul of Achaia in 362, by Valentinian I. prefect of Rome in 367, and afterwards prefect of Italy and Illyricum; in which employments he acquitted himself so as to be at the same time feared and beloved. Ammianus writes, that, from his youth, he excelled in every virtue becoming a man of his rank; that he revived the gravity and probity of the antient Romans. Zosimus calls him a man of an unblemished character, and proposes him as a pattern to be imitated by all governors of provinces, and other magistrates. Macrobius supposes the banquet of the learned men, which is the subject of his Saturnalia, to have been celebrated at the house of Prætextatus. Symmachus looked upon him as in every respect the best, or, at least, as one of the best men of his age. He tells us among other things, that he accepted no legacies, but constantly yielded to the children or relations of the testator, whatever was bequeathed to him; that he was no less affected with the misfortunes of others, than with his own; and that such as possessed estates adjoining to his, in the disputes which arose between him and them, concerning the limits of their lands, would admit of no other judge but himself; so great was the opinion they had of his integrity.

The many letters which Symmachus wrote to him, and after his death, to the emperors concerning him, are so many panegyrics, in which he extols his wisdom, his integrity, his modesty and moderation, his humanity and good-nature to all, not excepting even his most inveterate enemies. He came this year to Rome, and entered that metropolis in a kind of triumph, being attended by all the magistrates, by the nobility and the people, and repairing, amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude, to the capitol, pronounced there an elegant oration in praise of Valentinian. He was then consul elect; but before he entered upon that new office, he was snatched away by a natural, but sudden, death, to the inexpressible grief of the Roman people. The senate erected several statues to the honour of a person, who lived, to use the expression of Symmachus, even after his death, in the memory of all good men. St. Jerom, who was then at Rome, compares the death of Prætextatus, whom he styles a sacrilegious idolater, with that of the holy abbess Lea, who died a few days after him. Prætextatus was no friend to the christians; but used to say, by way of raillery, that he would readily embrace their religion, provided they would make him bishop of Rome. About this time, Symmachus was appointed prefect of Rome, in which employment he acquitted himself with great reputation, and procured a law from the emperor, moderating the expences of the new consuls, praetors and quaestors. The consuls used, agreeable to a custom which then obtained, to send rich presents to their friends, and to all persons of distinction; and the praetors and quaestors to expend immense sums in the public sports, which they were bound to exhibit. The value of the presents to be given by the consuls, and the sums to be laid out in the public shews by the two other magistrates, were fixed by this law, and those declared infamous, who should solicit an exemption from it. This year a famine being apprehended in Rome, by reason of the scarcity of corn, in Africa, which used of late years to supply that metropolis, Theodorus, at the request of Symmachus, delivered the Roman people from the danger that threatened them, by sending them great plenty of grain from Egypt and Macedonia.

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  ** Idem, ep. 61. p. 165.
  & *mod. Theod. tit. 5 p. 383, 384.
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don. For this seasonable supply Symmachus returned thanks, not only to Theodosius, but to count Ricomer, and likewise to Rufinus, who, it seems, made already some figure in the emperor's court*. The great power he afterwards acquired there, does no ways redound to the honour of Theodosius. The following year 385, when Arcadius and Bauto were consuls, St. Auguftin, then professor of rhetoric in Milan, pronounced on the first of January a panegyric on the two new consuls*. Bauto was by nation a Frank, and had been sent by Gratian in 381, to the assistance of Theodosius; but returning afterwards into the west, he served Valentinian II. with great fidelity. Valentinian passed the first six months of this year at Milan, and the rest either at Aquileia or Verona*. Tho' he enacted this year several excellent laws in favour of the church, yet he suffered his mother Justina to persecute and oppress the catholics, because they would not yield the great church at Milan to the Arians, whom he countenanced and protected#. Theodosius continued all this time at Constantinople, where a dangerous conspiracy was formed against him; but discovered a little before it was to be put in execution. Most of the conspirators were apprehended, tried, and sentenced to death; but Theodosius generously forgave them, and would not allow any enquiries to be made after their accomplices, tho' some persons, in whom he reposed great confidence, were suspected to be in that number#. Not long after died at Constantinople the emperor's daughter Pulcheria, who was soon followed by the empress Flaccilla her mother, to the great grief of Theodosius, who was no less a tender father than husband. The empress died at Scutuminum in Thrace, where she was drinking the waters for the recovery of her health, but her body was brought back to Constantinople, and interred there with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. Gregory of Nyssa, who was then at Constantinople, pronounced her funeral oration, as he had done some time before that of her daughter Pulcheria*. The fathers of the church who lived in that age, bestowed upon her the highest encomiums; and the pagan writers themselves cannot help extolling her piety, moderation, and other virtues.

* Symm 1 iii. ep 55, 82. p. 127, 138.  
* Aug. contra lit. Petiliani. i. iii. c. 25. p. 131.  
* Cod. Theod. chron p. 144.  
* Socr. 1. v. c. 11.  
* Themist. orat xix. p. 231.  
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The Greeks honour her as a saint, and celebrate her feast on the fourteenth of September, perhaps the day on which she died. The next consul was Honorius, styled in the fasti nobilissimus puer, and Evodius, perhaps the prefect of Gaul under Maximus. This year Theodosius continued at Constantinople till the third of September, when he is supposed to have left that metropolis, in order to march against the Greuthongi, who were ready to pass the Danube, and break into the empire, under the conduct of Odotheus, whom Claudian honours with the title of king. The barbarians were attacked, and utterly defeated by the two emperors Theodosius and Arcadius, who returned to Constantinople, leading with them an incredible number of captives, and entered that city in triumph on the twelfth of October. Thus Idatius in his fasti, and Marcellinus in his chronicle. Claudian likewise speaks of a victory gained this year by the two emperors over the Greuthongi. But Zosimus, to rob Theodosius of the glory of this, as he does of most other victories, ascribes it to Promotus, who commanded in Thrace, in quality of general of the foot. According to his account, Promotus sent to the enemy's camp some persons, who, pretending to be defectors, undertook to conduct the barbarians over the river, and to betray the Roman commander and his army into their hands. Odotheus, not suspecting any treachery, suffered himself to be conducted by them; but, in the mean time, Promotus, informed by his emissaries of the enemy's design, received them so briskly, while they expected to meet with no opposition, that great numbers of them were driven back into the Danube, and drowned, and the rest either taken prisoners, or cut in pieces. After this, Promotus attacked and made himself master of their camp, in which he found a great booty, and an incredible multitude of women and children, whom he immediately sent to Theodosius; but the emperor ordered them to be set at liberty, and having made them rich presents, gave them leave to return to their own country, hoping by that means to gain the good-will of the barbarians, says Zosimus, to entice them into his service, and to employ them in the war against Maximus, for which he was then making great preparations under-hand. All other writers suppose Theodosius to have commanded

\[\text{b Themist. orat. xix. p. 231. orat. xviii. p. 225.} \]
\[\text{d Claud. conf. Hon. 4. p. 55.} \]
\[\text{e Idat. p. 61. Marcell. p. 6} \]
\[\text{f Claud. ibid.} \]
\[\text{g Zosil. iv. p. 759—763.} \]
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commanded his troops in person; nay, Claudian tells us, that he engaged Odotheus himself, who was killed in the battle. The emperor, soon after his return to Constantinople, married to his second wife Galla, sister to Valentinian II. and daughter to Valentinian I. by the empress Justina. He had by her a son called Gratian, who died before his father, and a daughter named Galla Placidia, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reign of her brother Honorius, and her son Valentinian III. As for Valentinian, he was at Milan on the eighteenth of January; at Ticinum or Pavia on the fifteenth of February; at Aquileia on the twentieth of April; at Milan during the months of June and July; at Aquileia on the third of November; and again at Milan on the eighteenth of the same month, and on the third of December. Baronius produces a letter written this year by Valentinian to Salust prefect of Rome, enjoining him to rebuild the church of St. Paul in the neighbourhood of that city, and to enlarge it, by taking in, with the consent of the senate and people of Rome, part of the public road: he commands him to acquaint the senate, and the christian people, with the orders he had received, and to follow in every thing the directors of the venerable bishop of that city. Prudentius describes the church of St. Paul placed on the Oftian-way, or the way leading to Ostia, and tells us, that it was built by an emperor, which Baronius understands of the emperor who reigned in Prudentius's time, and thence concludes, that the above-mentioned church was finished by Honorius. That it was finished in the reign of Honorius, is certain, not from the words of Prudentius quoted by Baronius, but from an antient inscription, which informs us at the same time, that it was begun by Theodosius, perhaps when he came to Rome in 398, and imbellished by his daughter Placidia, in the time of Leo the Great, bishop of Rome. However, it is manifest from the code, that Valentinian issued orders this year 386, for the building of that church, tho' the work was not begun till the reign of Honorius. The next consuls where the emperor Valentinian the third time, and Eutropius, who had been proconsul of Asia, and afterwards prefect of the east. In the very beginning of this year 387, Theodosius published a law addressed by way of letter to all the cities of the east, en-

\[\text{He married Galla.}\]

\[\text{Valentinian orders the church of St. Paul in the Oftian-way to be rebuilt.}\]

\[\text{Claud. ibid. p. 55.} \quad \text{Philost. i. x. c. 7. p. 139.} \quad \text{Cod.}\]

\[\text{Theod. chron. p. 116--117.} \quad \text{Baron. ann. 386.} \quad \text{Idem.}\]

\[\text{Ib.}\]

\[\text{Gruter. p. 1100.} \quad \text{Cod. Theod. chron. p. 383.}\]

\[\text{F.}\]

\[\text{joining}\]
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joining the magistrates to honour the solemnity of Easter, by setting at liberty such as on the approach of that great festival they should find in their prisons, unless they had been confined for very enormous crimes. It was on this occasion that the emperor uttered those memorable words; I wish it were in my power to restore life to the dead. This year, Theodosius finding the exchequer quite drained, and being on the other hand obliged to celebrate, according to custom, the fifth year of the reign of his son Arcadius, to which he added, it seems, the solemnity of the tenth year of his own reign, tho' he was then only in his ninth, an extraordinary tax was laid on the people to defray that expense; for we are told, that on such occasions each soldier received five pieces of gold. Most cities submitted cheerfully to this burden; but the people of Antioch, complaining of it as an unreasonable oppression, crowded to the house of Flavianus their bishop, as soon as the edict was published, to implore his protection; but not finding him, they returned to the forum, and would have torn the governor of the city in pieces, had not the officers who attended him, with much ado, kept back the enraged multitude till he made his escape. Being thus prevented from venting their fury upon him, they fell upon the emperor's statues, broke some of them in pieces, and dragged others, with the statues of his two sons Arcadius and Honorius, of the late empress Flaccilla, and of his father Theodosius, through the chief streets of the city, uttering the whole time most injurious and abusive reflections against their persons. Having thus demolished most of the emperor's statues, they set fire to the house of one of the principal citizens, to whom they bore some grudge, and would have committed other disorders, had they not been dispersed by a body of archers, who, by wounding only two of the rabble, struck terror into all the rest. The governor, hearing the archers were come, shewed himself to the multitude, and with an air of authority commanded them to disperse, and retire to their houses. Thus was the sedition quelled at once; and the city restored by noon to its former tranquility. The two persons, who had been wounded by the archers, being taken, informed against their accomplices, who were all by different ways put to death by the governor of the city: some were beheaded; others exposed to the wild beasts in

\[ Cit. S. com. \textit{or.} \ 6. \ f. \ 82. \ \textit{lbiam. or.} \ xxiii. \ p. \ 526. \ \textit{Ann.} \ p. \ 314. \ 315. \ \textit{Lib.} \ or. \ xv. \ p. \ 447. \ \textit{Idem}, \ \textit{c. xii.} \ & \ xxiii. \ p. \ 395. \ 415. \]
in the theatre, and some burnt alive; he did not even spare the children, who had insulted the emperor's statues; and caused several persons to be executed, who had been but bare spectators of the injuries offered them. While the cruel governor was thus proceeding with inexorable severity against the unhappy Antiochians, almost without distinction of guilty or innocent, a report was spread, that a body of troops was at hand, with orders to plunder the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. Hereupon that populous metropolis of Syria was at once turned into a desert, the citizens abandoning in the utmost terror and confusion their dwellings, and retiring with their wives and families to the neighbouring mountains and deserts. As that report proved groundless, some returned to their native country; but the far greater part, dreading the cruelty of the governor, and the just resentment of the emperor, kept themselves concealed in the neighbouring cities, or amongst the rocks and mountains. To those who returned, St. Chrysoftom preached some of those inimitable homilies, which have reached our times, and are wonderfully adapted to stir them up to repentance, and to make them look upon the danger that threatened them as drawn down upon them from heaven by their sins. The eloquence and zeal of the preacher, joined to the apprehension they were under of the effects of the emperor's indignation, wrought a great change in that licentious and dissolute people, as appears not only from St. Chrysoftom himself, but from Sozomen, and even from Libanius. In the mean time, Theodosius, being informed of what had passed at Antioch, and particularly of the insults offered to his statues, and to those of his father, of the late empress, and of his children, was provoked to such a degree, that in the first transports of his passion, he commanded the city to be laid in ashes, and the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, to be put to the sword. This shews, that he was naturally choleric, and apt, when in a passion to enter into the most violent measures. His indignation seemed to him the more just, as he had favoured that city above all the rest; for he had designed to reside some time there, as Valens had done, and had with that view built

built a magnificent palace at Daphne, and another in the old city, besides several other structures, with which he had at a great expense embellished that metropolis. But nothing incensed him so much against that ungrateful city, as their having insolently insulted even the dead, that is, his father and the empress Flaccilla. However, as his wrath soon awaged, he revoked the order he had given, and contented himself for the present with causing the public baths, the theatre, and the circus, to be shut up, with degrading the city from the rank of a metropolis, and subjecting it as a common village to its rival Laodicea. A certain quantity of bread was there daily distributed among the poor, as at Rome and Constantinople; and of this largess too the emperor thought fit to deprive them. These punishments Theodosius inflicted on the Antiochians in general, but at the same time he dispatched Cæsarius, magister officiorum, and Ellebichus, magister militum, or general, with full power to try and punish such as had been concerned in the late riot. Ellebichus was a man of an unblemished character, and is said to have squared all his actions by that golden and truly christian rule, "Do as you would be done by." Gregory Nazianzen wrote a letter to him, entreatng him, by their antient friendship, to discharge a reader from the service, and assuring him, that by so doing he would draw down the bleffing of heaven upon his arms, in a war of which he had the whole management. Cæsarius, his colleague in this commission, was at this time magister officiorum, was prefect of Constantinople in 365, prefect of the east in 395, and consul in 397. He is commended by Sozomen and Libanius as a man of great integrity, and one who never promised what he did not design to perform. These two officers the emperor chose in regard of their known integrity, to try and punish, according to the laws, such of the Antiochians as should be accused and found guilty of having of been any-ways concerned in the late sedition. St. Chrysostom describes, with his usual eloquence, the dread and terror which on this occasion feized the inhabitants of Antioch: they apprehended nothing less than the utter de-

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\[\text{Theodore's} \quad \text{Theodoret's} \quad \text{Chrys.} \quad \text{Lib.} \quad \text{Chrys.} \quad \text{Lib.} \quad \text{Chrys.} \quad \text{Lib.} \quad \text{Greg.} \quad \text{Cod.} \quad \text{Soz.} \quad \text{Lib.} \text{ c. 19. p. 731. & c. 19. p. 733.} \quad \text{ibid. p. 137. Lib. or. xvii. p. 197. Theod.} \quad \text{Lib. p. 428.} \quad \text{Lib. or. xvii. p. 195.} \quad \text{Lib. or. xxii. p. 529.} \quad \text{Greg. Naz. ep. cxxiii. p. 857.} \quad \text{Cod. Theod. tit. 6 p. 354.} \quad \text{Soz. l. ix. c. 2. p. 802. Lib. or. xxii. p 518.} \]
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The destruction of their city; the emperor, as they were well informed, was highly offended, especially at the outrages offered to his deceased father and to the late empress, and resolved to punish them with the utmost severity; the judges were men not to be moved by entreaties, or gained over with presents; the crime they had committed was open rebellion, and, according to the laws of the empire, punishable with death and, the confiscation of their estates; even such as were barely suspected, were liable to the most rigorous enquiries, to racks and tortures. The consternation was, as St. Chrysostom informs us, so great and general, that the inhabitants were preparing to retire, all to a man, with what effects they could carry with them, to the mountains and deserts; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he and the governor diverted them from that resolution. As the two judges approached the city, the whole people went out to meet them, and were received by them, especially by Ellebichus, in a very obliging manner, which allayed in some degree their fears. The next morning the alarm was renewed; for the two commissioners, having placed guards in the several quarters of the city, to restrain the people from assembling, summoned all the members of the senate or public council to their lodging, examined them concerning the late riot, heard with great patience what they alleged in their own defence, and in defence of their fellow-citizens; and after various enquiries, dismissed them, highly satisfied with the treatment they had met with, especially from Ellebichus, who could not refrain from tears, when they, throwing themselves at his feet, implored his protection. The compassion and good-nature he shewed on this occasion revived in a manner the whole city; their fears began to abate, and joy appeared in every face. But the scene soon changed; for Ellebichus, having caused great numbers of persons of all ranks to be seized in the night-time upon private informations, repaired early next morning to the place where justice was usually administered; and ordering the prisoners to be brought in chains before his tribunal, sentenced such of them to death as owned their crime, and ordered those who denied it to be cruelly racked, without shewing the least pity or compassion, as if he had changed his nature. Those who had seen him the day before, could scarce persuade themselves he was the same man; for not satisfied with causing persons of the first quality to be racked and tortured, like so many slaves, he uttered dreadful menaces against the whole city, threatening to lay it in ashes.

Ellebichus, one of the judges, proceeds with the utmost severity.
ashes, and put the inhabitants, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, to the sword, unless they redeemed themselves and their children from impending ruin, by a timely discovery, not only of the authors and ringleaders of the late treasonable and wicked attempts, but of all who had been any-ways concerned in them. St. Chrysostom, who was an eye-witness of all that passed, so far as his tenderness and compassion for the unhappy sufferers would allow him, gives us a lively, but dreadful description of this scene of horror, which he compares to that of the last day, when all distinction of birth, wealth, and rank will cease, and every one be punished or rewarded according to his deserts. Multitudes were dragged in chains from every quarter of the city to the tribunal of the inexorable judges, who, unmoved with their tears, and deaf to the entreaties of their relations, after a short hearing, either sentenced them to death, or ordered them to be racked till they owned themselves guilty, and discovered their accomplices. St. Chrysostom mentions a lady of the first quality, who, seeing her son apprehended by an officer on horseback, laid hold of his bridle, and suffered herself to be dragged in that manner through the streets to the tribunal, where, with her hair dishevelled, and bathed in tears, she threw herself at the feet of Ellebichus; but he, deaf to all entreaties, pursued his enquiries with such rigor, as threw the whole city into the utmost confusion. St. Chrysostom, who, with some others of the facerdotal order, was admitted into the hall where the criminals were examined and tortured, exerted all his Eloquence to move the judges to compasion, and was therein seconded by the hermits, who were very numerous in the neighbourhood of Antioch, where they led a retired life amongst the adjacent mountains; but, quitting their solitude, they had flocked to the city on this extraordinary occasion, to comfort with their presence the disconsolate citizens, and try whether they could raise any sentiments of humanity or commiseration in the hearts of their judges. With this view they repaired to the hall, where the judges were sitting; and having exhorted them in a very pathetic manner to treat their fellow-creatures with more humanity and compassion, they prevailed upon them in the end to suspend the execution of the sentence pronounced against those who were found guilty, and all proceeding against such as were not yet convicted, till a report of the whole

St. Chrys.

Chrys.

St. Chrysostom and the hermits obtain a reprieve for such as were condemned.

Chrys. orac. iii. p. 147—150, & orac. viii. p. 252.
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whole had been made to the emperor, and his further pleasure were known. One Macedonius, an anchorite, universally esteemed and revered for his sanctity, distinguished himself above the rest; for meeting Ellebichus and Caesarius on horseback in the forum, laying hold of one of them by the garment, he commanded them both, with an air of authority, to dismount. As neither of them knew him, they were not a little surprized, that a person, in appearance so mean and contemptible, should dare to speak to them in such a style; but they were no sooner informed who he was, than dismounting from their horses, they threw themselves at his feet; when the holy anchorite, addressing them in the Syrian tongue, "The emperor, said he, however distinguished by his imperial dignity, is still a man; and therefore ought to consider his nature, as well as his rank. Those whom he commands, are of the same nature with himself, and the images of the Supreme Being; let him therefore take care not to provoke the Almighty, by destroying the living images of the divine nature, for an affront offered to the inanimate images of his body. Other statues may be easily raised to him in the room of those that have been demolished; but he, notwithstanding his boasted power, is not able to make the least preparation for a single life, which he has once taken away." We are told, that both Ellebichus and Caesarius heard these words, which were interpreted to them in Greek, with the greatest respect and veneration, and immediately acquainted the emperor with what they had heard. The judges having, at the request of the ecclesiastics and hermits, agreed to suspend the execution of the criminals, till the emperor's further pleasure was known, such as had been found guilty were conducted under a strong guard to the publick prison, and the rest dismissed. Amongst the former were all those who composed the senate or council, that is, all the chief men in the city, whose estates were immediately seized, together with their houses and effects, their wives and children being driven out by the officers of the revenue, and obliged to lie in the streets, their friends and nearest relations fearing, left, by harbouring them, they should be involved in the ruin of their husbands and fathers. The hermits, having thus obtained of the judges a reprieve for the criminals, did not doubt but they should prevail upon the emperor to pardon them. In order

2 Idem ibid.
3 Idem, p. 517.
order to this, they resolved to repair without delay to Constantinople, and throw themselves at the prince’s feet; but Ellebichus and Cæsarius, affected with their zeal, and unwilling they should expose themselves to the fatigue and inconveniencies of so long a journey, advised them rather to draw up a memorial in behalf of the unhappy citizens, and took upon themselves to present it to the emperor. The hermits followed their advice, and leaving the memorial in their hands, returned the same day to their mountains and deserts. Upon their departure, it was agreed between Ellebichus and Cæsarius, that the former should remain at Antioch, and the latter carry the memorial to the emperor. Accordingly Cæsarius set out that very evening, and pursued his journey with such expedition, that the sixth day about noon he reached Constantinople, distant above five hundred miles from Antioch. In the mean time, Ellebichus caused those who had been condemned to be removed from the public prison to a more convenient place, allowing them the liberty of taking the air in the gardens belonging to it, and seeing their friends and relations. St. Chrysostom let no day pass without visiting them, in order to bring them, while thus kept in suspense between hope and fear, to an entire resignation to the will of the Almighty, in whom alone he daily exhorted them to place their confidence. The Antiochians, dreading the effects of the emperors resentment, had sent, a few days after the riot was committed, Flavianus, bishop of the place, to intercede with Theodosius in their behalf. Flavianus had met Ellebichus and Cæsarius on the road, who acquainted him with the commissioun they were going to execute at Antioch. The holy bishop, in hearing it, burst into tears; but nevertheless pursued his journey, still hoping he should be able to soften the good-natured emperor into compassion. The day after his arrival at Constantinople he appeared at court; but in order to move the emperor to compassion, stood at a distance from him, silent, and bathed in tears, as if he dared not look up, or approach him. But the emperor no sooner observed him, than he flew to him, not to upbraid him for undertaking the defence of the rebellious city, but to justify his own conduct, and complain to him of the ungrateful return the Antiochians had made for the many favours he had heaped upon them. Flavianus,

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Vianus, bursting into tears, answered, that the severest punishment he could inflict upon them, was too mild and gentle for the enormous crimes they had committed, and their undutiful return to so indulgent a prince; but at the same time he told him, that to forgive one’s enemies was a duty incumbent upon every Christian; that from his pardoning such enormous offences, great glory would redound to the religion he professed; that the Jews, Greeks, and barbarians, would admire and extol the purity of its morals, &c. He added, that now an opportunity offered to make himself a laffing instance to all posterity of humanity and good-nature; and reasonably put him in mind of the order he had issued this very year, commanding all prisoners to be let at liberty against the solemnity of Easter, and of the memorable words he uttered on that occasion, viz. I wish it were in my power to recall the dead from their graves, and restore them to life! This admirable speech, which is related at length by St. Chrysostom, made so deep an impression on the mind of the emperor, that he could not refrain from tears, nor forbear crying out, that he pardoned the ungrateful city, and restored the inhabitants, however guilty, to his favour. Thus St. Chrysostom says. But Libanius and Theodoret tell us, that the emperor, tho’ greatly softened by the speech of Flavianus, yet did not grant a general pardon till the arrival of Caesarius, who presenting to him the memorial of the hermits, and at the same time pleading with great energy in favour of the unhappy city, which, he said, had been already sufficiently punished, prevailed upon him to grant a general pardon. He therefore wrote a letter to the citizens of Antioch, shewing, that it was not without reason he had treated them with so much severity, after they had, in such an outrageous manner, insulted his deceased father and wife. He added, that as his anger, however just, was soon appeased, he pardoned all without exception, whether condemned to death or banishment, restored to them their estates, their fiefs, baths, theatres, and territory, and to their city the privileges and rights of a metropolis. He concluded with expressions of the deepest concern for the death of those who had been condemned by the governor, and executed without his knowledge. This letter the emperor delivered to Flavianus, that he might have the honour of carrying the joyful tidings to


*Theod. l. v. c. 19 p. 732.*
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the disconsolate city; but the holy bishop, impatient to put an end to the affliction of his people, yielded that honour to another, whom he thought capable of performing the journey with more expedition. It is more easy to conceive than express the joy, which the arrival of the messenger caused in Antioch. St. Chrysostom, to whom we refer our readers, describes at length what passed on this occasion, and concludes with these words: Let the pagans be ashamed, or rather instructed; and learning our philosophy of an emperor and a bishop, renounce their errors, and embrace a religion, which encourages and produces such eminent virtues.

While these things passed in the east the boundless ambition of Maximus raised far greater disturbances in the west; for that usurper, not satisfied with the provinces which had been held by Gratian, passed this year the Alps all on a sudden, with a design to seize on Valentianians share too; and, meeting with no opposition, marched straight to Milan, where Valentian usually resided. The young prince, not finding himself in a condition to make head against him, fled first to Aquileia, and from thence, being closely pursued by Maximus, to Thessalonica, with his mother Justina, and the prefect Probus, to implore the protection and assistance of Theodosius. That pious prince, in a letter which he wrote to Valentian, in answer to one he had received from his mother Justina, told him, that he was not at all surprized at the progress Maximus had made, nor at the bad success that attended his affairs, since the tyrant had protected and persecuted, the orthodox faith; for Valentian, as we have hinted above, had not only embraced the doctrine of Arius, but persecuted the orthodox prelates, and driven several of them from their sees, being induced therunto by his mother Justina, a most zealous Arian. Soon after, Theodosius removed from Constantinople, attended by several members of that senate, to Thessalonica, in order to comfort with his presence the young prince, who had taken refuge in his dominions. Upon his arrival, he repaired to the palace where Valentian was lodged; and after having assured him, that he was resolved to employ all the forces of the east in his defence, he prevailed upon him to renounce the Arian impiety, as the only obstacle to the success which they might expect from heaven. Suidas relates the discourse which Theodosius

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Zosimus writes, that in a great council held at Theßalonika, all the counsellors to a man were of opinion, that war should be forthwith declared against Maximus; but that Theodosius, foreseeing and dreading the evils inseparable from a civil war, sent first ambassadors to the tyrant, seriously exhorting him to restore to Valentinian the usurped provinces, and content himself with Gaul, Spain and Britain, which had been yielded to him by himself and Valentinian. Maximus would not, it seems, hearken to any proposals; for this very year he laid siege to Aquileia, which he reduced, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the inhabitants, as he did Quaderna, Bononia, Mutina, Regium, Placentia, and several other cities in Italy; nay, he was the ensuing year acknowledged in Rome, and in all the provinces of Africa. Theodosius, therefore, finding a war inevitable, spent the remaining part of this, and the first month of the following year 388, when he was consul the second time with Cynegius, in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigor. His army confounded chiefly of Goths, Hunns, Alans, and other barbarians, whom he was glad to take into the service, to prevent their raising disturbances on the frontiers. He appointed Promotus general of the horse, and Timasius of the foot; and having committed the government of the eastern provinces to such persons as, he knew, would, in his absence, consult the welfare of his subjects, and maintain the public tranquillity, he set out from Theßalonika, in the beginning of the summer, marching with great expedition through Illyricum, with a design to surprize Maximus, who had not yet taken the field, but continued, without the least apprehension of danger, in Aquileia. Andragathius, one of the usurper’s generals, a man of great courage and experience in war, had been appointed to guard the passes of the Julian Alps; but a report being spread, that Theodosius designed to pass the Ionian sea, and invade Italy, he was ordered to quit those passes, and to man with the utmost expedition what ships he could, in order to intercept the emperor in his passage. Thus was Maximus deprived of the assistance of that excellent commander, and of the flower of his troops, who were employed in manning the fleet, which Andragathius assembled, pursuant to his orders, on the coast of the Ionian sea. In the mean time, Theodosius entered

\[w \text{ Suid. p. 347.} \quad x \text{ Zof. I. iv. p. 768.} \quad y \text{ Ambros. ep. 17.}
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The army of Maximus defeated.

Theodosius gains a second victory.

Maximus taken.

And beheaded.

tered Pannonia, and advanced to Sciscia, now Seisleg, before the enemy had the least notice of his approach. However, the general, who commanded the troops of Mxaimus in that neighbourhood, having drawn them together with incredible expedition, fell upon Theodosius as he was paffing the Save; but his army was utterly defeated, and he himself drowned in the river. From Sciscia the emperor advanced to Petovio, now Pettaw on the Drave, where he was met by Marcellinus, the brother of Maximus, at the head of an army far more numerous than his own. However, the emperor offered him battle, which he readily accepted; but was utterly defeated, tho' his men fought with extraordinary courage and resolution. We are not told, that Maximus was present at either of these battles; but he must have at least advanced to support his generals; for both Pacatus and St. Ambrose write, that after his forces were twice defeated, he fled with the troops that attended him, and with the remains of the shattered army, to Aquileia, whither Theodosius pursued him, having sent Arbogaistes before to invest the place, and prevent the tyrant from making his escape. Zosimus writes, that the emperor arriving soon after, took the town by assault; and Socrates, that it was delivered up to him by the soldiers of Maximus. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the tyrant was seized, according to some, by his own men, according to others by the soldiers of Theodosius, who had entered the city, and dragged in chains to the emperor, encamped about three miles from the city. Theodosius reproached him with the death of Gratian, and his unbounded ambition, which had prompted him to murder one brother, and drive the other out of his dominions. As Maximus was, or at least pretended to be, touched with remorse for the crimes he had committed, and publicly owned he had no claim or title to the power he had usurped, Theodosius began to look upon him with an eye of compassion; which those about him observing, and fearing he might pardon him, they removed him out of the emperor's sight, and without waiting his orders, struck off his head. He was executed at a place about three miles distance from Aquileia, on the twenty-seventh of August, according to Socrates; or on the twenty-eighth of July, as Idatius will have

have it. St. Ambrose writes, that Maximus was at the same time defeated by the Saxons, the Franks, and Theodosiust. Those two nations had broken into Gaul, as appears from Gregory of Tours, under the conduct of Genobaud, Marcomir, and Surno; and having ravaged the country bordering on the Rhine, were preparing to repuls that river with an immense booty, when Nannius and Quentinus, two of Maximus's generals, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces. Quentinus followed the Franks cross the Rhine, which he palled near the present city of Nuyas; but, as he was not acquainted with the country, most of his men were cut off by the enemy in the woods and marshes, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a shameful and precipitous flight. Maximus had left his son Victors, whom he had declared Augustus, in Gaul, to awe the inhabitants of that province during his absence. Against him Theodosius dispatched Arbogastes, who took him prisoner, after having dispersed the troops that attended him, and put him to death. Zosimus calls him a youth; but all other writers style him an infant. Andragathius, hearing of the defeat and death of Maximus, as he was cruising in the Ionian gulf, threw himself headlong into the sea, and was drowned, chusing that kind of death, to prevent a more ignominious one, which, as Gratian had been seized and murdered by him, he had reason to apprehend. Orosius writes, that he was overcome in battle; and St. Ambrose, that he had joined Maximus, before his defeat, and perished soon after. Thus ended a war, which at first threatened the empire with endless calamities; and the glory which Theodosius acquired by his victory, was greatly heightened by his moderation and clemency in the use of it; for immediately after the death of Maximus, he published a general amnesty, and was so far from persecuting the friends and relations of the usurper, that he would not even suffer them to be reproached with their rebellion. No man was banished, says Pacatus, no man's estate was confiscated; and those who defied, and would have suffered, the most cruel death under any other prince, were dismissed by Theodosius, without so

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f Idat. chron.  
g Ambr. ep. 17. p. 215.  
hist. Franc. l. i. c. 9. p. 58, 59.  
i Idem ibid. p. 59, 60.  
j Zof. l. iv. p. 770.  
k Vict. ep. 17. p. 214.
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so much as hearing from him an angry word ⁹. Those who had with most warmth espoused the tyrant’s cause, were allowed to return unhurt, continues the same author, to their wives and children, to enjoy their estates unmolested, and with them the same rank, dignity and honours, by which they had been distinguished before the rebellion ⁷. The wife and daughter of Maximus had been taken, and confined in a public prison by some of the emperor’s officers; which the good-natured prince no sooner knew than he ordered them to be set at liberty, settled a considerable pension upon them, and charged one of their kinsmen to take care, that no one injured or insulted them ⁸. But what St. Ambrose and Zosimus himself most of all admired in Theodosius, was his not only restoring to Valentinian his own share, when no one was in a condition to dispute with him the possession of the whole empire, but his generously relinquishing to him Gaul, Spain, and Britain, which, before the revolt of Maximus, had been held by his brother Gratian. He was satisfied says St. Ambrose, with the good he had done, without reaping any advantage from it himself, tho’ no one could have blamed him, had he retained some of those provinces, considering the immense charge he had been at in restoring the young prince to the quiet possession of the rest ⁷. As Julina, the mother of Valentinian, died about this time, Theodosius, during the three years he continued in the west, governed in the name of that prince, who was, at the death of his mother, scarce seventeen years old, and consequent not yet equal to so great a burden ⁴. While Theodosius was pursuing the war in Illyricum, a report was spread at Constantinople, that his army was cut off, and he himself in great danger of falling in the hands of the usurper. Hereupon the Arians, whom he had highly disobliged, by driving them from their churches in 380, as we have related above, rising in the night time, set fire to the house of Nectarius, the orthodox bishop of Constantinople, who perished in the flames, and committed several other disorders. But the news of the entire defeat of the usurper being brought soon after to that metropolis, the Arians, dreading the effects of the emperor’s indignation, had recourse to the clemency of Arcadius, whom Theodosius had left at Constantinople in setting out for the war; and the young prince not only forgave them himself, but prevailed upon his father to confirm the pardon which he had granted. ⁵

ed them. It was without all doubt, on this occasion that the Arians set fire to the church of St. Sophia, which consumed the roof of that lately edifice, as we read in Codin; but Theodosius, notwithstanding his zeal for the orthodox faith, to encourage his son to acts of clemency, at his request overlooked that, and the other enormous disorders committed by the fanatics on that occasion. The emperor was still at Aquileia on the twenty-second of September; but on the tenth of October at Milan, where he seems to have passed the winter. Being informed, while he resided in that city, that the christians had burnt a synagogue of the Jews and a temple of the pagans at Callinicum in Mesopotamia, he condemned the bishop of the place to rebuild the synagogue at his own expence, and ordered all those who had been any-ways concerned in either of these riots, to be punished with the utmost severity. But St. Ambrose, thinking a prince, who had lately overlooked far greater disorders in the Arians, ought not to exert so much rigor against an orthodox bishop and his people, wrote to him from Aquileia in their favour; and upon his return to Milan persuaded the emperor, by a speech he pronounced before him in the great church, to revoke the order he had given. About the latter end of this year, the senate of Rome dispatched deputies to Theodosius, earnestly entreating him to give them leave to restore to its former place the altar of Victory, which had been removed by Gratian. The emperor seemed at first inclined to grant them their request; but was in the end persuaded by St. Ambrose to deny it. However, Symmachus, the chief of the deputies, a man universally esteemed for his eloquence, and greatly beloved by the pagans, in regard of his zeal for the antient religion of the Romans in a pagenyrie which he pronounced soon after on Theodosius, renewed the same request in the name of the senate; which so provoked the emperor, that he immediately ordered him to come down, and to be put that instant into a chariot, in order to be conveyed into banishment, forbidding him, under the severest penalties, ever to come within an hundred miles of Rome. The emperor’s indignation seemed the more just, A deputation from the senate of Rome, for restoring the altar of Victory.

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just, as Symmachus had been but very lately pardoned by him, when accused by his enemies of treason, in having pronounced a panegyric during the war on the usurper Maximus. However, as Theodosius was never more ready to pardon, than when he seemed most provoked, the friends of Symmachus no sooner spoke in his behalf, than the emperor recalled him, restored him to his former rank, and to convince the world that he retained no ill will to him, raised him two years after to the consular dignity. This year Theodosius enacted several laws against heretics, viz. one dated the second of March, forbidding them, especially the Apollinarians, to hold assemblies, to have bishops or clergy, to live in cities, to appear at court, or to present any petition to the emperor. The same prohibition was renewed by another law, dated the fourteenth of June. By another enacted two days after, all public disputes concerning religion were forbidden under the severest penalties. A law dated the twenty-ninth of February declares all marriages between Jews and christians unlawful, and subjects the contracting parties to the punishments due to adultery; another, addressed to Cynegius, forbids any one to marry his brother's wife, or his own wife's sister. The same prohibition had been made by Constans in 335. Theodosius, who was still at Milan on the twenty-second of May, left that city soon after, and repaired to Rome with young Valentinian and his son Honorius, whom he had sent for from Constantinople, after the defeat of Maximus. He entered that metropolis in triumph on the thirteenth of June; and a few days after Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, an orator of Gaul, pronounced his panegyric in the senate, the emperor himself being present. The orator takes notice of his liberality towards the people on that occasion, of his affability and condescension, not only in viewing the rarities of the city, but in entering the houses of private persons, which won him the hearts of the Roman people. The poet Claudian tells us, that at Rome he received embassadors sent by the king of Persia to treat with him about a peace between the two

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*Ridem, tit. 4. leg. 2. p. 100. 4 Idem, l. iii. tit. 7. leg. 2. p. 278 & cod. Justin. l. v. tit. 5. leg. 5. p. 423. 5 Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 2. p. 296. 6 Idem, p. 120. 7 Soz. p. 273. Ruf. l. ii. c. 15. p. 183.
two empires. To Theodotius's journey to Rome was
owing, according to Prudentius, the conversion of the senate
and people of that city to the christian religion; not that he
used any violence, says that writer, for he indifferently raised
pagans and christians to the first employments in the state;
but so great was the force of his example, that few, either
in the senate or among the people, were so attached to their
errors as to withstand it. Prudentius mentions several illustrious families converted on this occasion to the true religion,
viz. the families of the Paulini, of the Baffi, of the Annii,
and of the Gracchi, at that time the most antient and noble
family in Rome. The people, continues that writer, flocked
to the Lateran church, to receive there the sacred sign of the
royal chrism, and to the Vatican, to visit the ashes of the
father of the faith; meaning, we imagine, St. Peter, who
was then supposed to have planted the faith in Rome. The
idols, says St. Jerom, were every-where pulled down; their
temples abandoned; and the gods, once so much revered,
left in their nitches alone, or attended only by mice and owls:
the capitol, continues the same writer, formerly so much
frequented, is now turned into a desert; the other temples
are covered with dust, and filled with cobwebs; the whole
city crowds to the tombs of the martyrs; and the people, in
passing by those antient temples, behold them with joy ready
to fall, and bury the gods under their ruins. Rome forfakes
Jupiter and his temples, despises his ceremonies, and is ashamed
of the worship formerly paid him. Theodotius, however,
would not suffer the statues of the gods, many of which
were the work of the best artificers of antiquity, to be de-
stroyed; but ordered them to be removed from the places
where they had been adored, to the public squares, where
they served as ornaments to the city. Theodotius laid
scarcely three months at Rome, but in that short time he not
only seriously applied himself to the suppression of idolatry,
but with indefatigable care laboured to reform many abuses,
which had long prevailed in the city, as appears from the se-
veral laws he published there. He enacted one, dated the
seventeenth of June, ordering all the Manichees to be driven
out of the city, and declaring them incapable of receiving
legacies, or leaving any thing by will even to their children.

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l. xvi. tit 5. leg. 18 p. 158.
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A few days before Theodosius left Rome, a comet is said to have appeared in the east in the shape of a sword; and moving northward, to have vanished in the middle of the Urfa Major, after having lasted forty days, as we read in Philostorgius; or only twenty-six, as Marcellinus will have it. The former writer mentions several other prodigies, among which he reckons two men equally remarkable for their size, the one being seven cubits and three inches, and the other no taller, says the author, than a partridge, though he had an agreeable voice, and an excellent understanding: the former was a native of Syria, and the latter of Egypt, and they both lived to the age of about twenty-five. Theodosius left Rome on the first of September, was at a place called Valenta on the third of the same month, and on the sixth at Forum Flaminii, now Ponte Centefimo on the Topino, not far from Fuligno in the duchy of Spoleto, where he enacted a law forbidding the execution of criminals during Lent. From thence he pursued his journey to Milan, where he enacted a law, dated the twenty-sixth of November, commanding the heretic bishops and clergy to be everywhere driven out of the cities and their suburbs. From this law, and several others of the ensuing year, it appears, that Theodosius passed the winter in that city, while Valentinian marched into Gaul, to make head against the Franks, who were preparing to invade that province; but all we know of this expedition is, that Valentinian had an interview with Marcomir and Sunno, two chiefs of the Franks; that they delivered hostages to him; and that the emperor, on the eighth of November, was at Treves, where he took up his winter quarters. This year is chiefly remarkable for the destruction of the celebrated temple of Serapis at Alexandria, which, according to the description Ammianus Marcellinus gives us of it, surpassed in grandeur and wealth all the temples in the world, that of Jupiter Capitolinus alone excepted; nay, Theodoret calls it the greatest, and without exception the most beautiful temple, in the universe. Theodosius, who had hitherto spared that stately edifice, caused it this year to be levelled with the ground on the following occasion. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, having begged and obtained of

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* Philost. 1. x. c. 9 p. 139—141.  p  Marcell. chron.  
† Philost. ibid. p. 142, 143.  t Cod. Theod. chron p. 120,  
‡ Idem ibid.  † Cod. Theod. chron. p. 120.  ‡ Ammian i. viii. p. 254.  w Theodoret.  
P. 723.
of the emperor an old temple, formerly consecrated to
Bacchus, but at that time ruined and forsaken, with a design
to convert it into a church, the workmen, in clearing it of
the rubbish, found among the ruins several obscene figures,
which the bishop to ridicule the superstition of the heathens,
called to be exposed to public view. This provoked the
pagans to such a degree, that they flew to arms; and falling
upon the christians, cut great numbers of them in pieces,
before they were in a condition to oppose their fury. At
length the christians took arms in their own defence; and,
being supported by the few soldiers who were quartered in
Alexandria, began to repel force by force. Thus a civil war
was kindled within the very walls of the city, and no day
paused without some scuffle and bloodshed. The pagans,
when tired with fighting, or overpowered with numbers,
(for the christians were far more numerous) used to retire to
the temple of Serapis; and thence falling out again unex-
pectedly, seize on such of the christians as they met, and
dragging them into the temple, either force them by the
most exquisite torments to sacrifice to their idol, or, if they
refused, to rack them to death. As they expected to be soon
attacked by the emperor's troops, they chose a philosopher,
by name Olympus, for their leader, with a resolution to de-
defend themselves, their temple, and their religion, to the last
extremity. In the mean time, Evagrius, governor of Egypt,
and Romanus, who commanded the troops there, having at-
ttempted in vain to persuade the pagans to quit the temple,
and retire to their dwellings, sent a distinct account of the whole
to the emperor, who extolling and envying the happiness of
such as had chosen rather to die, than renounce their religion
and offer sacrifice to the idols, would not suffer their death to
be revenged on those at whose hands they had obtained the
crown of martyrdom, but readily forgave them. However,
at the same time, he ordered the temple of Serapis, and all
the other temples in Alexandria, which gave occasion to fre-
quent disturbances, to be utterly demolished, charging Theo-
philus, bishop of the place, who had solicited this order, to
see it put in execution, and enjoining Evagrius and Romanus
to follow therein his directions. The pagans no sooner knew
that the emperor had been informed of the cruelties they
had committed, than they abandoned the temple and dis-
pered, some of them retiring privately to their own houses,
and others withdrawing from the town, and either concealing
themselves in the neighbouring cities, or flying to more
distant
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distant countries. Among the latter was their leader Olympus, who conveyed himself in the night on board a vessel which was ready to sail for Italy. Helladius and Ammonius, two grammarians, under whom Socrates, the ecclesiastic historian, had studied at Constantinople, withdrew from Egypt, and took refuge amongst the neighbouring barbarians. The former used to brag of his having killed, during that tumult, nine Christians with his own hand. The temple, thus abandoned by the pagans, was delivered up to Theophilus, who, with the assistance of the people and soldiers, reduced it in a short time to an heap of ruins, leaving nothing undemolished but the foundations, which could not be removed on account of the extraordinary weight and size of the stones. The celebrated statue of Serapis, the principal god of the Egyptians, was broken in pieces, and the limbs of that pretended divinity carried first in triumph by the Christians through the city, and then thrown into an huge fire kindled for that purpose in the amphitheatre. As the Egyptians ascribe the overflowing of the Nile, to which was owing the fertility of their country, to the benign influence of their god Serapis, they concluded, that, now he was destroyed, the river would no longer overflow, and consequently that a general famine would ensue. But when they observed, that the Nile, on the contrary, swelled to a greater height than had been known in the memory of man, and thereby produced an immense plenty of all manner of provisions, many of the pagans, renouncing the worship of the idols, adored the God of the Christians. Rufinus, Socrates, Eunapius, and Sozomen, write, that crosses were found engraved on several of the stones of the temple, which occasioned the conversion of great numbers of the Egyptian priests, the cross being in the sacred language of that nation the symbol of life; and on the other hand, a tradition having for many ages obtained among them, that their religion, and the temple of Serapis would subsist till the sign of life appeared. Not only the statue of Serapis, which was lodged in the temple, but all the other statues of that pretended deity, were by the zealous Christians carefully sought for, ignominiously dragged through the streets, and consumed in the flames; infomuch, that in the great city of Serapis, as Alexandria.

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 z Ruf. ibid. Socr ibid. Eunap. c. 4. p. 60—64. 

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andria was frequently filled, not the least footstep was left of that idol, or of the worship which for so many ages had been paid him. In the room of the temple of Serapis was built a church, and a martyrium, says Rufinus, meaning perhaps a burying-place for those who had suffered martyrdom, during the late disturbances. Sophronius, one of St. Jerom’s friends, wrote a particular and distinct account of the demolition of the temple of Serapis; but his work has not reached our times. Theophilus, who was a prelate no less active than zealous, not satisfied with demolishing the temple of Serapis, encouraged the people, supported by the governor of the province, and the commander of the Roman troops, to pull down and level with the ground all the other temples, oratories, chapels, and places set apart for the worship of the idols throughout Egypt, causing every-where the statues of the gods to be either burnt or melted down. Of the innumerable statues, with which that superstitious province was filled, he is said to have spared but one, viz. that of an ape, in order to expose the pagan religion to ridicule. Theodosius not only approved of what Theophilus had done, but commended his zeal, and returned him public thanks for the pains he had taken in clearing that province from the abominations to which it had been so long addicted. Soon after he enacted a law, forbidding, on pain of death, the subjects of the empire to offer any kind of sacrifice to idols; and declaring the estates confiscated of such as should burn incense before them.

The following year 390, when Valentinian was consul the fourth time with Neoterius, Theodosius continued at Milan, as appears from the code, till the fifth of July; was at Verona from the twenty-third of August to the eighth of September, and again at Milan on the twenty-sixth of November, and the twenty-third of December. At Verona he published a law, dated the third of September, commanding those who professed a monastic life, to withdraw from the cities, and retire to the deserts, pursuant to their institution. But this law he revoked by another dated the seventeenth of April 392. By a law, which was published at Rome on the fourteenth of May, he commanded those who should be found

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All the temples throughout Egypt demolished.

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Ἀλλὰ γαρ τὰς ἑνώμενας ἔθη τῆς συμπληρωματικῆς νόμων, ὧν ἐπηρεάτω, οὐ πίστις ἐμφανίζεται ἀλλὰ διάφορα ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ τοις πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπαραίτητα ἐκτιμηθέντες, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ τῆς κόσμου ἀνθρώπων καὶ Ἀνακτομή θεία ἐν θρόνῳ οὐκ ἔχει ἡμῖν.
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found guilty of unnatural lust to be burnt alive in the sight of the whole people k. This year, an obelisk, twenty-four cubits in height, was raised in the circus at Constantinople, and a column before the church of St. Sophia, on which was a statue of Theodosius in silver, weighing seven thousand four hundred ounces l. As for Valentinian, he seems to have continued all this year at Treves, or in the neighbourhood of that city. The next consuls were Tatianus and Q. Aurelius Symmachus. Theodosius continued this year at Milan to the twenty-second of March, was at Concordia on the ninth of May, at Vicentia on the twenty-seventh of the same month, and at Aquileia from the sixteenth of June to the fourteenth of July m. By a law dated the ninth of May, he declared those who should renounce the Christian religion, after having been baptized, not only incapable of giving or receiving the least thing by will, but of being, as infamous persons, witnesses to any private or public deed; adding, that he would have confined them to the deserts, had he not believed it a greater punishment for them to live among men, without being looked upon as men n. By another law, dated the ninth of the same month, he commanded the heretics to be every-where driven out of the cities o. Some writers confine this law to the Manichees, while others extend it to heretics of all denominations. Theodosius was, as we have observed above, at Aquileia on the fourteenth of July; but soon after he set out from thence for Constantinople, leaving the entire management of affairs in the west to Valentinian, now in the twentieth year of his age. On his arrival at Thessalonica, he found the province of Macedon in great confusion; for the barbarians, who, at the instigation of Maximus, had revolted, and concealed themselves among the marshes and woods, after the defeat of the usurper, taking advantage of the emperor’s absence, began to fully cut off their felicity in the night, and seizing on whatever came in their way, they retired with their booty before day. As it was a more difficult task to find them out than to conquer them, the emperor took that province upon himself; and without discovering his design to any one, made choice of five persons, in whom he could confide, to attend him, ordering each of them to take three spare horses, that

k Iden, i ix. tit. 2. leg. 4 p. 30.  l Marcell. chron. cod. Theod. chron. p. 123.  m Iden, 1 xvi. tit. 7. leg. 1 & v. p. 207, 208.  n Iden, tit. 5. leg. 20. p. 137.
that they might shift as often as there was occasion. Thus attended and disguised, he ranged about the country, receiving from the peasants such refreshments as their cottages could afford him. At length he came to a small inn, kept by a woman stricken in years, who received him with extraordinary civility, which induced him to stay there that night. In the same inn lodged a perfon, who declining to converse with the rest, and seeming desirous to conceal himself, gave the emperor no small jealousy. Having therefore, after he was retired to his chamber, called for the mistress of the house, and asked her who that person was, she answered, that who he was the knew not; but that ever since the news of the emperor’s return out of the west, he had lodged at her house, going out in the morning, and continuing abroad all day, but returning at night to his lodging, for which he honestly paid her. Upon this information, the emperor ordered him to be seized and examined; but he refusing to declare who he was, the emperor at last discovered himself, ordered the man to be put to the rack, and by that means forced him to own the truth, viz. that he was employed as a spy by the barbarians, who lay concealed among the woods and bogs, to give them intelligence from time to time of the motions of the emperor’s army, and to inform them what places lay most convenient for their incursions. Hereupon the emperor caused his head to be struck off; and returning early the next morning to the army, led his soldiers to the place where he had learnt from the spy the barbarians were lodged; and falling upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces. Timasius, who together with Promotus commanded on this occasion under Theodosius, imagining most of the barbarians to be already cut off, advised the emperor to allow his soldiers some time to refresh themselves after so warm and fatiguing a service, that they might with more vigour pursue the rest, who could not make their escape. The emperor, following his advice, founded a retreat; but while his men were refreshing themselves without the least apprehension of danger, the barbarians, falling upon them when they were quite unprepared, and most of them overcome with wine, or asleep, made a dreadful havoc of them, and would have either killed, or taken the emperor himself, had he not been seasonably rescued by Promotus, at the danger of his own life. However, Theodosius, having rallied his dispersed forces the next day, attacked the barbarians anew with such success, that few of them
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them escaped the general slaughter. Thus Zosimus, on whose single authority the whole truth of this account rests; for no other writer takes the least notice of this expedition. The victory over the barbarians was, according to Zosimus, chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of Promotus; but that brave general, who had served the emperor with great fidelity, was this very year killed in an ambuscade by the barbarians in Thrace. Zosimus writes, that Rufinus, the emperor's chief favourite, having treated Promotus in a very haughty and insolent manner, the general, not able to brook such treatment, strung him; which affront Rufinus revenged, by betraying him into the hands of the barbarians, with whom he maintained for that purpose a private correspondence. But Claudian, who mentions the death of Promotus, and wrote two books filled with invectives against Rufinus, takes no notice of this black piece of treachery. Zosimus adds, that Rufinus having complained of Promotus to the emperor, the prince, who reposed an entire confidence in him, returned him this answer; If the other ministers continue thus to envy you, your good fortune, they shall soon have the mortification to see you emperor. Claudian writes, that Stilicho revenged the death of his friend Promotus on the Baftarne, by whose hands he fell; and that after having defeated them with great slaughter, he flung them up in a narrow valley, with the Goths, Hunns, and other barbarians, who had long infested Thrace, and would have cut them all off to a man, had not the emperor chosen rather to conclude a peace with them, following therein, says that poet, the evil counsels of the traitor Rufinus. Theodosius, upon his return to Constantinople, made it his chief study to suppress idolatry and Arianism, ordering such temples as were still standing to be pulled down, and the Arians to be every-where driven out of the cities, lest they should infect their fellow-citizens with their pestilent doctrine.

The next consuls were Arcadius, the second time, and Rufinus. Theodosius had, as we have observed above, during his three years stay in the west, used all possible means to extirpate idolatry; but upon his return to the east, the pagans began to conceive new hopes, and such of the senators of Rome, as continued still attached to the superstition of

of their ancestors, sent a deputation to Valentinian, at the head of which was the celebrated Symmachus, entreated him to restore to their priests and temples, the privileges which they had enjoyed till the reign of Gratian. Valentinian, who was then in Gaul, received the deputies in a very obliging manner; but could not be prevailed on, either by them, or by the many pagan ministers who were in his court, to grant them their request. Not long after, the barbarians threatening to pass the Alps towards Rhaetia, and invade Italy, the emperor resolved to quit Gaul, and hasten to Milan, in order to make head against them. As he was desirous of being baptized before he engaged in war, he dispatched from Vienne, where he then was, an express to St. Ambrose bishop of Milan, for whom he had an extraordinary esteem and veneration, inviting him into Gaul, to administer to him that sacrament. The prelate, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, set out without delay; but before he reached Vienne, he received the melancholy news of the death of that unfortunate prince, inhumanly murdered, as most authors agree, by Arbogastes. He was a Frank by nation, and owed his preferment to Gratian. After that prince's death, the soldiery, by whom he was highly esteemed, and not undeservedly, for his experience in military affairs, his liberality and disinterestedness, raised him, without the consent either of Valentinian, who was then a child, or of his mother Juffina, to the post of general; in which command he acquitted himself with great fidelity and moderation, while Theodosius continued in the west; but, upon the departure of that prince for Constantinople, he began to act more like a sovereign than a minister or officer, arrogating to himself the power of controlling the young prince, and governing the court with an absolute sway. Such of the officers in the army as seemed attached to Valentinian, he discharged, and put Franks, in whom he could confide, in their room, disposing at the same time of all the civil employments, without the emperor's consent or knowledge, and bestowing them upon persons of his own faction. Valentinian, no longer able to brook such a shameful servitude, resolved to discharge Arbogastes; and accordingly seeing him one day at court, he threw him a paper, containing an abrogation of his command. But Arbogastes, having perused it, tore it in pieces with great contempt, and threw it on the ground, telling the emperor with

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with the utmost arrogance, that as he had not received his authority of him, it was not in his power to devised him of it. After this, Arbogastes, well apprized that Valentinian would not suffer such an outrage to pass unrevened, resolved to be before-hand with him, and accordingly dispatched him a few days after w. Authors disagree as to the manner of his death: Zosimus writes, that while Valentinian, attended by a small guard, was diverting himself in the neighbourhood of Vienne, Arbogastes, assaulted him unexpectedly, stabb'd him with his sword x. According to Philostorgius, he was strangled, while he was taking his diversion on the banks of the Rhone, by assassins, whom Arbogastes had hired for that purpose. The same author adds, that, after they had strangled him, they tied his own handkerchief about his neck, and hung him upon a tree, that the world might be induced to believe, he had laid violent hands on himself; for his guards were at some distance, and out of sight y. St. Jerom z, Orosius a, Rufinus b, Epiphanius c, Socrates d, and Sozomen e, agree, that he was strangled; but the two latter writers suppose this to have happened in the palace, and the eunuchs of the court, gained over by Arbogastes, to have been the authors of his death. Idatus and Tiro Prosper only write, that he was murdered by the treachery of Arbogastes. The report which Arbogastes, and those of his faction, spread abroad, viz. that the prince had laid violent hands on himself, was credited by many, and among the rest by Prosper, who relates it in his chronicle as an event not to be questioned; but we can hardly believe, that St. Ambrose would have exalted, as he does, his piety and religious sentiments, had he ended his life by the enormous crime of self-murder. He died in 392, on the fifteenth of May, that year the eve of Pentecost, after having lived only twenty years and some months, and borne the title of emperor sixteen years and about six months, tho' he cannot be said to have reigned till the death of Gratian, who died eight years and nine months before him f. St. Ambrose tells us, that when he saw himself unexpectedly attacked by the assassins, the only words he uttered were, Alas! my poor sisters! The funeral ceremonies

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Monies were performed the next day, the sixteenth of May, with great solemnity; and his body was sent to Milan, and interred there near that of his brother Gratian, on which occasion St. Ambrose pronounced an oration in praise of the deceased prince, who, according to him, and most other writers, would have equalled, if not eclipsed, the glory of the best emperors, had he been suffered to live longer, being of a lively genius, valiant, sober, liberal, sincere in his friendship, entirely unbiased in the administration of justice, and in the disposing of employments partial to merit alone. Zosimus, tho' highly prejudiced against all Christian princes, owns, that his death was a public loss. He had persecuted the catholics in his mother's lifetime, or rather, she had persecuted them in his name; but, after her death, he proved a most zealous patron of the orthodox faith, discountenancing the Arian and other sectaries, as much as he had favoured them before he was capable of distinguishing truth from falsehood. His two sisters, Jutta and Grata, continued at Milan, and there embraced, after his death, the state of virginity. His sister Galla, who was married to Theodosius, died two years after in child-bed.

After the death of Valentinian, Arbogastes might have easily seized on the sovereignty; but not caring to appear guilty of such a treacherous and inhuman murder, he chose to confer it on Eugenius, and to reign in his name. Eugenius had formerly taught grammar, and afterwards rhetoric, and was generally esteemed on account of his eloquence. Ricomer, at the request of Symmachus, had taken him under his protection, and upon his returning into the east with Theodosius, recommended him to Arbogastes, by whose interest he was raised to the post of secretary. Zosimus tells us, that Arbogastes, reposing an entire confidence in Eugenius, and judging him capable of the most daring resolutions, imparted to him the design he had formed of murdering Valentinian, and raising him to the empire in his room; that Eugenius rejected at first the proposal with horror; but was in the end prevailed upon to fall in with the measures of his patron; whereupon he was, by his interest, after the death of the young prince, proclaimed emperor, as a person well qualified

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\[ h \text{ Idem ibid, p. 113—115.} \]
\[ k \text{ Zos. I iv. p. 776.} \]
\[ i \text{ Ambr. ferm. de divers. p. 107.} \]
qualified for that high station. He soon made himself master of all the western provinces, says Socrates; which must be understood of West Illyricum, Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; but not of Africa, which, after the death of Valentinian, submitted to Theodosius, as appears from two laws of that prince, the one dated from Constantinople the thirtieth of December, 393, and addressed to Gildo count of Africa, and the other dated from the same place the twenty-seventh of March, and addressed to Silvanus duke of the province Tripolitana. It is likewise manifest from Claudian, that Gildo acknowledged Theodosius, and not Eugenius. The new usurer, tho' a christian, was greatly favour'd by the pagans, who were well appris'd, that he only bore the title of emperor, while the whole power was lodged in Arbo-gastes, who pretended a great attachment to their religion. The aruspices, who began to appear anew, assured him, that he was destined to the empire of the whole world; that he would soon gain a complete victory over Theodosius, who was as much hated, as he was beloved, by the gods; and that his power and authority would have no other bounds, but those of the Roman empire. Tho' Eugenius seemed to favour the pagans, yet, in the very beginning of his reign he wrote to St. Ambrose, who did not answer his letter, till he was press'd by some of his friends to recommend them to the new prince, and then he treated him in his letters with all the respect due to an emperor. While these things pass'd in the west, some disturbances happened in the court of Theodosius at Constantinople: Rufinus, not satisfied with the confalar dignity to which he was rais'd this year, notwithstanding the report of his having been the author of the death of Promotus, killed by the barbarians, began to aspire at the prefecture of the east, which was held by Tatianus, whom he caused to be accused of oppression in his government. Zosimus will have him to have been altogether innocent, and only hated by Rufinus, on account of his integrity. Procclus, the son of Tatianus, and prefect of Constantinople, was accused of the same crime, Rufinus hating him, says Zosimus, for the sake of his father. Theodosius appointed several judges to try them; but as Rufinus was at the head of that commission, and the other judges dreaded his resentment, they were both declared guilty: the father was depo-

* Zof. p. 775.  
* Socr. p. 294.  
* Cod. Theod. chron. p. 128  
* Soz. l. vii. c. 22 p. 740.  
ed, and confined to Lycia, his native country; and the son
sentenced to death; which Theodosius no sooner knew, than
he sent him his pardon: but the messenger, gained over by
Rufinus, took care not to acquaint the proper officers with
the emperor's order, till the execution was over. Thus
Zosimus. But Libanius charges both Tatianus, and his son
Proculus, with cruelty and oppression; and the laws enact-
ed on this occasion by Theodosius, give us room to believe,
that the charge brought against Tatianus, was not altogether
groundless, as Zosimus styles it; for by one law he took off a
tax which had been levied by Tatianus, without his knowl-
edge; by another he commanded the estates and effects of
such persons as had been proscribed by him, to be restored
to them or their children; and by a third addressed to Rufinus,
he declared those guilty of death, who, for the future,
should be convicted of having plundered the people committed
to their care; whereas, by former laws, they were only to
pay four times the value of what they had taken. As for
Proculus, he must have been guilty of greater crimes than his
father, since he was punished with more severity. But how-
ever just was the punishment inflicted on Tatianus, his coun-
trymen the Lycians, who had no share in his crimes, ought
not to have had any in his disgrace and misfortunes; never-
theless Theodosius, at the instigation of Rufinus, a declared
enemy to the Lycians, enacted a law, declaring their whole
nation infamous, depriving them of the employments they
held at that time, and rendering them for ever incapable of
any preferment. This unjust law was afterwards revoked
by Arcadius, who restored the Lycians to their former condi-
tion, ascribing the base treatment they had met with, not to
their demerit, but to the hatred of an execrable man, mean-
ing Rufinus. As Tatianus is highly commended by Zosimus,
and persecuted with great cruelty the catholics, while he was
governor of Egypt under Valens in 367, some writers from
thence conclude him to have been a pagan. He had been
comes larginonum to Valens in 374, three times prefect of
the eait, and twice confus. He is supposed to have died soon
after his disgrace. When he was deposed, Rufinus was ap-
pointed prefect of the eait in his room. The affair of
Rufinus

\[ Zos. 1. iv. p. 774. \]
\[ Lib. orat. xvi. p. 427. \]
\[ Theod. 1. ix. tit. 28. leg. 1. p. 219, 220. \]
\[ Cod. Theod. 1. ix. tit. 38. leg. 9. p. 278, 270. \]
\[ Idem, tit. 3. p. 279. \]
\[ Ambr. ep. 50. p. 309. \]
Tatianus and Proculus was not yet ended, when news of the death of Valentinian, and the usurpation of Eugenius, was brought to Constantinople. A few days after, embassadors arrived from the usurper, who, without so much as mentioning the name of Arbogastes, demanded an audience in the name of Eugenius; and being admitted to the emperor's presence, proposed an alliance between him and their master. Theodosius received them in a very obliging manner, amused them, says Zosimus, with fair words, and dismissed them loaded with rich presents. At the head of this embassy was one Rufinus, an Athenian, who was attended by several bishops sent by Eugenius to divert the emperor from engaging in a civil war. As Theodosius charged Arbogastes with the murder of Valentinian, the bishops did all that lay in their power to clear him from that false, as they styled it, and groundless asperfion. Rufinus, Theodoret, and Sozomen, tell us, that, upon the departure of the embassadors, Theodosius dispatched the eunuch Eutropius, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reign of Arcadius, to consult an holy hermit, by name John, by nation an Egyptian, whom the emperor looked upon as an oracle. Eutropius was enjoined to bring him, if possible, to court; but, if he could not prevail upon him to quit his solitude, to ask him, whether he approved of the emperor's attacking Eugenius first? or, if he should wait till the usurper attacked him? The hermit declined going to court, but advised the emperor to begin the war without delay, alluring him, that he would overcome the tyrant, but not without bloodshed; that he would die in Italy, after his victory, and in dying leave his son emperor of the west. Thus the above-mentioned writers. Theodosius, upon the return of the messenger, began his military preparations; but as he confided more in the assistance of Heaven, than the number of his troops, or the bravery of his generals, he visited in the first place all the churches of his capital, attended by several bishops, and a great crowd of people, imploring with them the favour and protection of the Almighty, who disposes of kingdoms as he thinks fit, and bestows victory on whom he pleases. The military preparations, to which Theodosius applied himself with indefatigable pains, did not divert him from publishing several laws this year, among the rest one condemning such heretics.

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Heretics as should confer or receive holy orders, to pay, by way of fine, ten pounds weight of gold, and declaring the places where they should perform any religious ceremony, confiscated. By another law of this year, dated the eighteenth of July, he commands those who should raise disturbances in the church, or impugn the orthodox faith, to be banished, and confined to some desert, if they had been guilty of the same fault before. The law of the eighteenth of October of this year, commands such criminals as should have purloined the public money, and taken sanctuary in churches, to be dragged from thence, and punished, or the bishops who protected them, to pay what they owed. From this law it appears, that the custom of taking sanctuary in churches had already prevailed. Before this time, St. Austin, being solicited either to deliver up a debtor, by name Faccius, who had fled to his church as to an asylum, or to satisfy his creditors, chose the latter. By a law dated the eighth of November, the emperor revived all the antient laws against paganism, forbidding, under the severest penalties, every ceremony of the pagan religion.

The following year Theodosius was consul the third time, with Abundantius, who was, as appears from a law of the preceding year, general both of the horde and foot. In his room Eugenius was acknowledged consul in the west, as we learn from an antient epitaph of this year, in which that usurper is styled the collegue of Theodosius in the consulsip. This year Theodosius published many excellent laws, and among the rest one abrogating an antient law, which punished those with death, who uttered seditious words against the prince. If such words says Theodosius in his law of this year, proceed from levy, they are to be despised; if from folly, to be pitied; if from malice, they are to be forgiven. In the beginning, or, as some will have it, in the end of this year, that is, on the fifteenth of January, or the twentieth of November, the emperor declared his second son Honorius, Augustus. The ceremony was performed with great solemnity in the palace of Hebdon near Constantinople. The poet Claudian introduces on this occasion

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casion Theodosius instructing the young prince in the art of governing. This year was ended at Constantinople a square, which bore the name of Theodosius; and the following year a wreathed column erected in it, on which were engraven the victories of that prince over the Goths and other barbarians. On the top of the column was an equestrian statue of Theodosius, which was thrown down by an earthquake in the reign of the emperor Zeno; but the column was still standing in the thirteenth century, and is frequently mentioned in history. Theodosius passed this whole year at Constantinople, making the necessary preparations for the dangerous war which he was resolved to undertake. As for Eugenius, he had gained the preceding year considerable advantages over the Franks, being induced to make war upon them by Arbogastes, who bore an old grudge to Marcomir and Sunno, two princes of that nation. This war was managed by Arbogastes, who passing the Rhine near Cologne in the depth of winter, laid waste the countries of the Bructerians and Chamavians, without meeting with the least opposition, Marcomir shewing himself only at a distance on the hills, with some parties of the Angirvari and Chatti. Hence it appears, that these antient nations of Germany were at this time comprised under the name of Franks. Eugenius himself approached the Rhine, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army; and having, upon the return of Arbogastes, renewed the antient alliance between the Romans and Franks, he left Gaul, and repaired to Italy; which he had scarce entered, when he was met by a deputation from the Roman senate, entreating him to restore to the temples the revenues, of which they had been deprived by Gratian, and to re-establish the celebrated altar of Victory. Eugenius received them in a very obliging manner; but could not be prevailed upon to comply with their request. The senate soon after sent a second deputation to solicit the same favour; which was denied them a second time. But when by a third embassy they renewed their request, Eugenius yielded at length to their importunity, restoring the pagan religion and temples to their former lustre, and suffering the antient ceremonies and sacrifices to be renewed in the senate of the metropolis of his empire. The following year

year 394, Arcadius being confin the third time, and Honorius the second, Theodosius was still at Constantinople on the fifteenth of May; but he left that metropolis soon after; for he was on the thirtieth of the same month, at Heraclea; and on the fifteenth of June at Adrianople. He bent his march through Dacia, and the other provinces between Thrace and the Julian Alps, which separate Italy, from Noricum, with a design to force the passes of those mountains, and break into Italy, before the army of Eugenius was in a condition to oppose him. Upon his arrival at the Alps, he found the passes guarded by Flavius prefect of Italy, at the head of a considerable body of Roman troops, who, after a short resistance, betook themselves to flight. Flavius was killed at the first onset. Theodosius, having thus opened himself a passage over the Alps, was met, as he came down from those mountains, by Eugenius, at the head of a very numerous army, drawn up in battle-array on the banks of the river Frigidum; which Sanfon and others take to be the river Vipao or Wiback in the county of Gorice, about thirty-six miles from Aquileia. The army of Theodosius was no less numerous than that of the enemy, being reinforced by several bodies of Armenians, Iberians, Arabians, Goths, and other barbarians, who dwelt beyond the Danube. The Roman troops were commanded by Timasius and Stilicho, who had married the emperor’s niece; and the foreign auxiliaries by Gainas, Saul, Bacurius, and Alaric the Goth, whose name is famous in history. Of Gainas, who was of the same nation, and Saul, who was likewise a barbarian, we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius. Bacurius was a native of Armenia, or, as Rufinus will have it, of Iberia; nay, he is styled by that writer king of Iberia. Among the Romans he was comes domesticorum, that is, captain of the guards, and universally esteemed, not only for his courage and experience in war, but for the mildness of his temper, his affability and good-nature to all, even to his enemies. Rufinus, the ecclesiastic historian, who lived in great intimacy with him while he was duke of Palestine, calls him a man of great integrity, a pious and zealous christian, a worthy companion of Theodosius, a man endowed with every good quality of the mind, and by few equalled in the perfections of his body. Under

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\* Cod. Theod. chron. p. 120.  
\* Idem, ibid.  
\* Zos. p. 777.  
\* Ruf. li. i. c. 10. p. 166.  
\* Zos. ibid.  
\* K. L.  
\* II. c. 33. p. 192.
these leaders, the army of Theodorus advanced into the plain; but the emperor, unwilling to expose the Romans, ordered the foreign auxiliaries to begin the action, which they did with great vigour and resolution; but were soon put in disorder by the regular and well disciplined troops of Eugenius, headed by Arbogastes, who signalized himself in a very eminent manner. Bacurus however, having rallied the barbarians, led them back to the charge; and being supported by Timasius and Stilicho, renewed the combat, which lasted till night coming on, both armies retired to their respective camps. Bacurus on this occasion distinguished himself above all the other commanders, killed great numbers of the enemy with his own hand; but being in the end surrounded on all sides, he was cut in pieces, after having defended himself for a long time with incredible bravery. Of the Goths and other auxiliaries above ten thousand were killed; but of the Romans, who supported them, only a small number. Eugenius, concluding that he had gained the day, and that the army of Theodorus was utterly defeated, gave his men leave to retire to their tents, and refresh themselves, that they might be the better able to pursue the enemy next morning. In the mean time Theodorus was advised by his generals not to hazard a second engagement, but to retire in the night, repass the Alps, and put off the decision of the war till another campaign; against which time he might with great ease recruit his army, and renew the war with fresh vigour. But the emperor, without giving ear to their remonstrances, having assembled his troops by break of day, led them in person against the enemy; and entering their camp when least expected, put great numbers of them to the sword, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitous and disorderly flight. Thus Zosimus. But the ecclesiastic historians ascribe the victory gained by Theodorus, not to any surprize, but to the prayers of the emperor, and to the miraculous assistance of St. John the evangelist, and the apostle St. Philip, who appearing to him in the night, encouraged him to renew the fight early next morning, and assured him of victory. The same writers add, that Theodosius no sooner attacked Eugenius's numerous forces, than a violent storm arising, and blowing full in the enemy's faces, turned their arrows and javelins back upon themselves, and raised such clouds of dust, as quite deprived them of their sight; so that having two enemies to encounter at once, they

\[\text{Zos. p. 773.}\]
they were quickly overcome. Of this storm mention is made by Theodoret, Orosius, Sozomen, St. Ambrose, Rufinus, St. Auffin, and the poet Claudian, who describes it with great elegance in some verses which he wrote eighteen months after; but to flatter Honorius, will have it to have been owing to his deity. Arbogastes behaved on this occasion with great intrepidity; but, in spite of his utmost efforts, his men, quite disheartened, and concluding, from the extraordinary violence of the storm, that Heaven fought against them, either betook themselves to flight, or, throwing down their arms, submitted to Theodosius, who readily received them into favour; but at the same time commanded them to apprehend, and deliver up to him, the usurper. They no sooner received this order, than they flew to the rising ground where Eugenius had posted himself to behold the battle, and was still waiting the event of it. When he observed them coming in great haste towards him, he concluded they brought him news of the victory. As they approached, he asked them, whether they had, pursuant to his orders, secured Theodosius. They answered, that they despised the commands of a tyrant and usurper, whom they were come to seize, and deliver up to their lawful sovereign; and loading him that instant with irons, dragged him, stripped of all the ensigns of majesty, to the emperor, who reproached him with the murder of Valentinian, with the calamities he had brought upon the empire by his unjust usurpation, and with putting his confidence in Hercules, in defiance of the only true God; for on his chief standard he had displayed the image of that fabulous deity. Eugenius begged earnestly for his life; but while he lay prostrate at the emperor’s feet, his own soldiers struck off his head, and carrying it about on the point of a spear, showed it to those who, remaining in his camp, had not yet submitted to Theodosius. At that fight they were all thunderstruck; but being at the same time informed, that Theodosius was ready to receive them into favour, they threw down their arms and submitted. Arbogastes, the chief author of

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the death of Valentinian, and the evils attending it, despairing of pardon, fled to the mountains; but being apprised that diligent search was made after him, he laid violent hands on himself. The children of Eugenius and Arbogastes, who had attended their parents in this war, having great reason to expect the same treatment, took sanctuary in different churches; but the pious emperor, not satisfied with pardoning them, laid hold of that opportunity to convert them from paganism, which they professed, to the Christian religion, appointing proper persons to instruct them, and convince them of their errors; which they had no sooner renounced, than he took them under his protection, put them in possession of their paternal estates, and raised them to considerable employments. Great numbers of the partizans of Eugenius having fled for refuge to the great church of Milan, St. Ambrose repaired to Aquileia, where the emperor then was, to solicit their pardon; which was immediately granted, and a general amnesty proclaimed; nay, the emperor is said to have been so concerned for the blood that was shed in the battle, as to abstain for some time from the holy eucharist. He probably followed therein the directions of St. Ambrose, at least his conduct was agreeable to the sentiments of that prelate, who, in speaking of judges, says, That thou does not deny them, as many have done, the holy eucharist, after they have sentenced criminals to death, yet he approves of their abstaining for some time of their own accord from the holy mysteries. The emperor, immediately after his victory over Eugenius, sent for his son Honorius, whom he had left at Constantinople, under the care of Rufinus, who was thereby vested with almost an unlimited power. Before the arrival of the young prince, Theodosius had removed from Aquileia to Milan, where he received him and Serena, who came with him, in the great church, and committed them both to the care of St. Ambrose. Serena was daughter to Honorius, the emperor’s brother. A few days after he declared his son Honorius emperor of the west, assigning him for his share, Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, Africa, and West Illyricum, and appointing Stilicho his first general and prime

prime minister. With this declaration he sent Stilicho to Rome; on which occasion Serena, whom Theodosius had married to that general, and who accompanied her husband to Rome, shewed a great desire, says Zosimus, to see the statue of Cybele; but she was no sooner admitted into the temple, than she snatched from the goddess a necklace of inestimable value, saying it became better the niece of an emperor, than a faneless statue. An old vestal, who was present, transported with a blind zeal, could not forbear uttering dreadful imprecations against Serena, her husband, and her children; but Serena caused her to be driven out of the temple, and punished for her arrogance. At the same time her husband Stilicho commanded the thick plate of gold, with which the gates of Jupiter Capitoline were covered, to be taken off, and conveyed to his lodging. Under the plate were found engraved on the wood these words: This is reserved for an unhappy king. Thus Zosimus, who ridiculously ascribes to these two actions, the misfortunes which afterwards befell Stilicho and Serena. The Roman senate sent deputies to congratulate Theodosius on his late victory, and to beg the confuslship of the ensuing year for the two brothers Olybrius and Probinus. The emperor granted them their request, exhorting them at the same time with great zeal to renounce the errors in which they had been brought up, and yield to the force of that truth, which now generally prevailed. Zosimus, who seldom agrees with other writers, supposes Theodosius to have gone in person to Rome, to have summoned to the imperial palace all the senators, who still continued attached to the antient ceremonies of the Romans, and to have exhorted them to get the better of the prejudice of their education, and renouncing the superstitious worship of the gods, to embrace the christian religion, which alone could deliver them from their sins. But not one, continues that writer, could be prevailed upon to abandon the religion and ceremonies with which Rome had been founded, and had subsisted near twelve hundred years. Hereupon the emperor declared, that as the exchequer had been drained by the late war, he could spare no money for the ceremonies of their religion; which he therefore declared unlawful, and utterly suppressed. He had before enacted several laws for the suppression of idolatry; but Eugenius had revoked them, and restored to the temples their privileges and revenues. This year is remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which were felt almost

almost every day in most provinces of the empire, from the beginning of September to the end of November; for excessive and incessant rains, which laid whole countries under water; and such a darkness as had not happened in the memory of man: all which the writers of those times seem to have looked upon as prognostics of the great loss the Roman empire was to sustain in the approaching death of the great Theodosius.

The next consuls were the two brothers Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius and Anicius Probinus, the sons of Petronius Probus and Anicia Proba, on whose consulate Claudian wrote a poem. Theodosius, having restored the west to its former tranquillity, was preparing to return to Constantinople, when he was seized with a dropsy, occasioned by the great fatigues he had undergone in the late war. As soon as he perceived himself to be in danger, he made his will, by which he divided the empire, bequeathing the east to his eldest son Arcadius, and the west to Honorius. He likewise confirmed the pardon which he had granted to all those who had borne arms against him, and remitted a tribute, which had proved very burdensome to the people, charging his sons and successors to see his will duly executed as to these two points.

Socrates and Sozomen write, that finding himself in great measure eased of his pain, he assisted at a chariot-race; but his distemper returning with great violence, he appointed one of his sons to preside at the sports in his room; and withdrawing to his chamber, died the following night. He was heard a few minutes before he expired to utter the name of St. Ambrose. He died at Milan on the seventeenth of January of this year 395, two days before he had ended the sixteenth year of his reign, being then at most in the fiftieth year of his age. St. Ambrose pronounced his funeral oration, in which he supposes him to enjoy the rewards promised in the gospel to a religious and virtuous life. His body was embalmed, and conveyed from Milan to Constantinople, where it was interred by Arcadius with extraordinary pomp and magnificence on the ninth of November of the present year. A tomb of porphyry was to be seen many ages after.
ter, supposed to be that of Theodosius. It stood in the mausoleum of Constantine the Great, near the church of the apostles 

As for the character of Theodosius, all authors, whether pagan or Christian, Zosimus alone excepted, agree that he was endowed in an eminent degree with every virtue becoming a prince, without the allay of one single vice. Not to mention the ecclesiastical historians, and the two great luminaries of the church, St. Ambrose and St. Austin, who may perhaps be thought prejudiced in his favour, as he was a most zealous patron of the orthodox faith, Themistius, Symmachus, Pacatus, and Victor the younger, though greatly attached to the ancient religion of the Romans, which Theodosius discountenanced above all his predecessors, and made it his chief study utterly to suppress, propose him as the pattern of an excellent prince, the eminent virtues that shone in him overcoming the prejudice, which his zeal for the Christian religion, and aversion to the superstitious ceremonies, of the pagans, raised against him among those, who, in spite of his utmost endeavours, continued obstinate in their errors. The testimony of those writers, who had no less reason to be prejudiced against Theodosius than Zosimus, and who lived in those times, must be of far greater weight with every impartial reader, than the invectives of that historian, who lived an hundred years after. Theodosius was, as we have hinted above out of Aurelius Victor, naturally choleric, and apt in the first transports of his passion, to issue such orders as favoured of cruelty. But as he was soon appeased, we have but one instance of their being put in execution before he had time to revoke them; namely, the famous massacre of the inhabitants of Thessalonica, who had murdered in an insurrection Botericus, the emperor's lieutenant in Illyricum, because he refused to set at liberty a chariot-driver, who had been imprisoned for offering violence to a woman of some distinction. When this came to the emperor's ears, he ordered all those who had been anyways concerned in the murder or riot, to be put to death; but at the intercession of St. Ambrose, and other bishops assembled in a synod at Milan, where the emperor then was, he revoked his orders, and pardoned them. Some time after, his ministers representing to him, that the Thessalonians had been encouraged to this sedition by the too great indulgence he had shewn to the inhabitants of Antioch; and that if he suffered the murder of his lieutenant to go unpunished,

Vide Sym. liii.  
punished, his officers for the future would be in continual danger of their lives, and he himself disturbed and alarmed with daily insurrections; his wrath was kindled anew to such a degree, that forgetful of the promise he had made to St. Ambrose, he immediately ordered a body of troops to march to Thessalonica, and revenge on the inhabitants the death of his lieutenant. The soldiery, entering the city, pursuant to their orders, surrounded the people, while they were assembled to behold the Circenian games; and falling upon them sword in hand, without regard to sex, age, or condition, without distinction of guilty or innocent, cruelly massacred in the space of three hours above seven thousand persons, many of whom were strangers come to Thessalonica on occasion of the sports. When news of this massacre was brought to Milan, St. Ambrose wrote to the emperor, who had left that city some time before, upbraiding him with his cruelty, representing to him the enormity of his crime, and exhorting him to atone for it by a sincere submission and repentance. This the emperor took in good part; and returning a few days after to Milan, repaired, according to his custom, to the great church, to perform his devotions there. But St. Ambrose, meeting him at the door, denied him entrance, telling him, that he was cut off from the communion of the faithful, and unworthy to appear amongst them, till he had expiated so public a crime by as public a repentance. To this the emperor readily submitted; and returning to the palace with tears in his eyes, performed with great humility all the duties of an open penance, as enjoined by the canons of the church, and the custom of those times. He continued in that state for the space of eight months, that is, from the latter end of April to Christmas, when, to make some amends for his crime, and to prevent both himself and his succours from being guilty of the like cruelty for the future, he enacted a law, or rather enforced the observance of an antient law, by which all criminals were to have a respite of thirty days allowed them between the pronouncing of the sentence of death and their execution. It is surprising, that Zosimus, who omits no opportunity of railing at Theodosius, and often censures even the most commendable actions of that prince, should take no notice of the above mentioned massacre. The reader will find in the

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the ecclesiastic writers other instances of the emperor's entire submission to the ordinances of the church, of his piety, self-denial, and other Christian virtues, in which he far excelled all the princes who had reigned before him. Of the writers who flourished in his reign, we shall speak in note (M).

C H A P. 28.

(M) Among the writers, who flourished under Theodosius, the celebrated orator Symmachus deserves, both on account of his birth and eloquence, to be mentioned in the first place. He was the son of L. Aurelius Avianus Symmachus, prefect of Rome in 364 (1). He is styled at the head of his letters, by Macrobius (2), and in an antient inscription, Q. Aurelius Symmachus (3). He had at least three brothers, who were all dead before the year 389 (4). Of these Celsinus Ticianus, whom in all his letters he styles brother (5), seems to have been one. He distinguishes Flavianus, who was prefect of Italy, and joined Eugenius, in whose cause he lost his life, with the same title (6); but most writers are of opinion, that he was no ways allied to him. Symmachus married Rufliciana, the daughter of Orfites, who was for many years prefect of Rome under Constanctius, and had by her one son, named Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus (7). Orfites, his father-in-law was accused in 364, and convicted of having embezzled the public money; for which crime his estate was confiscated, and he banished; but he was recalled in 366, when part of his estate was restored to him, but nevertheless he died very poor about the year 370, leaving two daughters behind him, viz. Rufliciana, and another, who was married to a peron of distinction in Hetruria (8). Though Symmachus had no fortune with his wife, yet he was reckoned among the wealthy senators (9). He was high pontiff of the pagans, questor, praetor, corrector or governor of Lucania and Bruttium in 365, and 368, proconsul of Africa in 370, and 373, prefect of Rome in 384, and consul in 391 (10). He is styled in an antient inscription count of the third order (11). He was a most zealous patron of idolatry, and on that account banished by Theodosius, but soon after recalled, as we have observed already. He brought up his son with

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with extraordinary care, and seems to have taken upon himself to instruct him (12). Being invited by Theodosius, with whom he lived in great intimacy, to come to Milan, and assent at the solemnity of his confuslhip in 399, he excused himself, alledgeing, that he could not leave his son (13). His son was made by his interest, first quaestor and afterwards praetor (14), quaestor about the year 392, and praetor in 397. The latter dignity cost him two thousand pounds weight of gold (15), and he would have spent on that occasion a far greater sum, had he not been restrained by Stilicho, who at that time ruled under Honorius (16). Young Symmachus was proconsul of Africa in 415, and prefect of Rome in 419 (17). In the date of a law of the year 424, he is marked consulf (18); but most writers take that to be a mistake. He married, after the year 394, the grand-daughter of Flavianus, and had by her a son before the death of his father (19). He wrote some epigrams on illustrious men, and several letters, which are to be found among those of his father, who submitted his own compositions to the censure and judgment of his son (20). Symmachus, the father, was esteemed the most eloquent orator of his time; but his speeches not meeting with the applause he expected, he applied himself entirely to the writing of letters (21). His speeches have been long since lost; but his letters have reached our times, and are divided into ten books. They were carefully preserved by his amanuensis, and one of his friends, named Elpidius, and published after his death by his son (22). Prudentius, who wrote against him, while he was still living, on occasion of his endeavouring to persuade the emperor to restore the altar of victory, extols his eloquence, and compares it to a golden spade made use of to dig up ordure (23). Macrobius compares his elegant and florid style, as he terms it, to that of Pliny the younger, and equals him in that respect to the best writers of antiquity (24). Apollinaris Sidonius and Cassiodorus admire his eloquence, and the purity of his style (25). Both these writers quote some passages out of him, which are not to be found in any of his works that have reached our times (26). Socrates (27), Photius (28), and Jornandes (29), mention him.

(13) Idem, l. viii. ep. 68 p. 335.  
(16) Idem ibid.  
(18) Idem, tit. 1. p. 386.  
(23) Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 220. & l. 2. p. 225.  
(24) Macr. l. v. c. l. p. 364.  
(26) Cassiod. l. xi. ep. 1. p. 175.  
(28) Phot. c. 80. p. 197.
him with great encomiums. And truly the turn and brevity of his letters is not without some elegance; but the same thoughts, tho', generally speaking, common and obvious, are often repeated; and his style favours much of the barbarity of the age in which he lived. Jornandes quotes the fifth book of the history of Symmachus; but as it does not appear, that either Symmachus the orator, or his son, ever wrote any history, most authors take the historian quoted by Jornandes to be different from both (30).

The Latin poet Rufus Feslus Avienus is supposed to have flourished under Theodosius, because he inscribed a work to Probus, a confidant man, whom most writers take to be the celebrated Probus, who died not long before the year 395 (31). St Jerom, in his comments on the epistle to Titus, writes, that the phenomena of Aratus had been lately translated by Avienus (32); which work, together with his translation of Dionysius's description of the world, and a third poem by the same author on the sea coats, has reached our times. To the same Avienus or Avianus are generally ascribed the fables of Æsop in Latin verse, and the whole history of Livy in Iambics; but the latter laborious performance which is mentioned by Servius, has been long since lost (33). Some other poetical pieces done by the same author are still extant. He writes with more taste and elegance than could be expected from one of the age he lived in; but his fables are not to compare to those of Phaedrus (34). Rufus Feslus, who was proconsul of Achaia under Valens, is thought to have been his son (35). Victor the historian, who closes his history with a kind of panegyric on Theodosius, is thought to have lived in his time, and to have wrote soon after the death of that prince (36). The name of Sextus Aurelius Victor is common to him with another historian, who flourished in the reign of the emperor Valens; but from him he is distinguished by the surname of junior or the younger: in several manuscripts he is styled Victorious or Victorius, and under both these names he is quoted by Paulus Diaconus (37). He wrote the Roman history; but what has reached our times is but an abridgment of his work, and hence called Victor's epitome (38). Gregory of Tours quotes several things concerning the Franks out of an historian named Sulpicius Alexander (39), whom Gothsredus commends as an excellent writer, and supposes to be the same

fame Alexander to whom Symmachus wrote several letters; from which it appears, that he was governor of a province, and was raised by Valentinian II about the year 387, to the post of tribune and secretary (40). Some writers are of opinion, that the Latin poet Manilus, who wrote on astrology, flourished under Theodosius, or his son Honorius; but from several passages in that poem, especially from the last verses of the first book, Extremas modo per gentes, &c. most critics conclude him to have lived in the time of Augustus, and to have written soon after the defeat of Varus (41). The notitia, or state of the provinces of the empire, published by Surita with the itinerary of Antoninus, is supposed to have been written in the time of Theodosius; for mention is made there of the provinces of Arcania in Egypt, and Honorius in Pontus, so styled from that prince's two sons, and no notice is taken of several other provinces formed by Arcadius after the death of his father (42). The five books of Flavius Vegetius Renatus on the military art, are addressed to the emperor, by whose order the author undertook that work (43). But that prince is sometimes named Valentinian, and sometimes Theodosius (44). All we know for certain is, that he wrote after the death of Gratian, and not long after the ravages committed by the Goths in that prince's reign, which he ascribes to his having suffered the infantry to lay aside their cuirasses and helmets (45). Vegetius is distinguished with the title of comes or count, and even with the epithet of illustrious. He is commonly blamed for confounding the customs and regulations of the antients with those of his time.

The Philosopher Themistius flourished under Theodosius, and was no less esteemed by the Greeks than Symmachus by the Latins. He was sprung from a noble family, and one of his ancestors, a philosopher by profession, had been distinguished with several honours by Diocletian (46); perhaps his father Eugenius, who was no less famous for the profession of philosophy than for his eloquence and learning (47). Amongst the letters of the emperor Julian, there is one to a philosopher by name Eugenius (48); whom some take to have been the father of Themistius; if so, he must have been too young in Diocletian's time to be raised to any public employment. From his elogium, written by his son soon after his death, it appears, that he preferred Aristotle to all other philosophers, and that in his old age he used to unbend his mind from the study of philosophy with cultivating

tivating his garden (49). Themistius was of the same age with
the emperor Constantius (50), born in 317. He was a native
of Paphlagonia, and not of Constantinople, tho' he spent almost
his whole life in that city (51). He studied rhetoric at a place on
the most distant borders of Pontus and Colchis, near Phasis, a
city of Colchis, on a river of the same name, his father having
recommended him to a celebrated professor, who taught in that
country (52), and under whom he made such progress, that he
was surnamed Euphradus or the fine speaker (53). Gregory Na-
zianzen styles him the king of eloquence and adds, that he ex-
celed in every thing, but most of all in the art of speaking (54).
When he was yet very young, he wrote comments on Aristotle
for his own private use; but nevertheless they were published and
met with great applause (55). His comments on Aristotle, and
his notes on Plato, were still extant in the time of Photius, who
styles them an useful work (56). The author of the book on the
categories or predicaments, falsely ascribed to St. Austin, owns,
that, in compiling that work, he had often recourse to Themist-
us, a great and wise philosopher of his time (57). Some frag-
ments of the comments of Themistius on Aristotle are still ex-
tant (58); and Stobaeus quotes a passage out of that work con-
cerning the immortality of the soul. When he had ended his
studies, he went to Constantinople, and resided there for the space
of at least forty years (60). He first taught philosophy, viz.
that of Pythagoras, of Plato, and of Aristotle; but made most
account of the latter (61). He had an incredible number of dis-
ciples, and a philosopher of Sicyon in Peloponnesus, who had
studied under lamblichsus, sent him all his at once (62). He taught
gratis; nay, he assisted his disciples with money so far as his small
estate would allow him; and thence he rejected the name of so-
phist, pretending it ought to be given only to mercenary teachers
(63). After he had taught some time at Constantinople, he went
first to the court of Constantius, before whom he pronounced his
first oration at Ancyræ in 347, having been introduced to that
prince by Saturnius who was confid in 383 (64). Not long after,
that

(49) Themist. or. xx. p. 234. (50) Idem, or. i. p. 375.
(51) Idem, or. ii. p. 28. (52) Idem, or. xxxii. p. 292. & or.
(54) Idem, ep. cxxxix. p. 865. (55) Idem,
xvii. p. 333. or. xxiii. p. 294, 295.
(56) Phot. c. 73. p.
(57) Aug. de catcg. c. 2. p. 23. & c. 22. p. 34.
(60) Idem, or.
xvii. p. 214.
(64) Idem, or. xxxi. p. 165, & or. xxxi. p. 352.

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that is, before the year 350, he saw Constans in the west (65). In the year 355, Constans created him senator of Constanti-
ople, and wrote a letter in his commendation to the senate of that
city (66). Two years after, that prince caused a statue to be es-
rected to his honour (67). Julian wrote frequently to him in the
time of his disgrace; and being created Caesar, answered by a
long letter that which Themistius had wrote to him from Con-
stantinople, encouraging him to answer the mighty expectations
the world entertained of him (68). Upon the accession of Jovi-
an to the empire, Themistius was sent to the new prince by the
senate of Constantinople, to congratulate him in their name; on
which occasion he pronounced, or design'd to pronounce, the or-
eration which has reached our times (69), with several discourses
pronounced by him before Valens, who would hear him at least
once every year (70). He was with that prince in 369, when
he concluded a peace with the Goths, to which the philosopher
pretends to have greatly contributed (71). He attended Valens
into the east, and in the Persian war in 372 (72). Socrates and
Sozomen write, that he reconciled in some degree that prince to
the catholics by a speech, which he pronounced before him, shew-
ing, he ought not to be surpris'd at the different opinions of
men in points of religion, but on the contrary allow them great
liberty (73). In the year 376, he was sent by Valens to Gratia-
, and in Gaul. As on his return he passed through Rome, the
inhabitants of that metropolis earnestly pressed him to continue
there and teach philosophy, but could not by any offers prevail
upon him to accept that office; so that after a short stay in their
city, he returned to Constantinople (74). Theodosius raised him
in 384, to the dignity of prefect of Constantinople, and once
had some thoughts of committing to his care the education of his
son Arcadius (75). He wrote several discourses in praise of that
prince before the year 385, but as none of his orations are thought
to be posterior to that year, he is supposed to have died soon after.
All the emperors who reigned in his time, shewed him great res-
pct, and distinguished him above all the other philosophers. Of
his orations thirty three have reached our times, comprising one
in the Latin tongue, which several critics suppose not to be his.
In Photius's time they were in all thirty six, and among them
one addressed to Valentinian II. which since his time has been
lost (76). Photius commends his style as grave, and at the same
time

(65) Idem, or. xiii. p. 165. or xxxi. p. 354. or Confl. p. 18
(66) Or. Confl. ibid. (67) Themist. or. iv. p. 54. (68)
Julian ad Themist. p. 479. (69) Themist. or. v. p. 69. (70)
Idem, or. xi. p. 129. (71) Idem ibid. p. 133. & or. xiii. p
166. (72) Idem ibid. (73) Socr. l. iv. c. 32. p. 250. Soc.
l. vi. c. 36. p. 696. (74) Themist. or. xxiii. p. 298. & or
time florid and elegant (77). He declares himself in many places an enemy to flattery; but nevertheless commends all the emperors alike, and bestows as great encomiums upon Valens, as upon Theodosius. A poet, by name Palladius, charges him with ambitiously aspiring at the dignity of prefect, notwithstanding his pretended contempt of grandeur and honours (78). When Palladius lived we know not. Themistius’s thirteenth oration is altogether unworthy of a man of his character. Some writers will have him to have been an heretic, confounding him with one Eutychianus, who lived in the sixth century; but it is evident from his writings, that he professed paganism, tho’ he was not perhaps such a fanatic as Libanius or Eunapius. Gregory Nazianzen, who admired his eloquence, wrote two letters to him recommending several persons to his protection (79).

Eunapius, who wrote the lives of the foppists of the fourth century, was a native of Sardes, the metropolis of Lydia; but studied at Athens for the space of five years, under Procratus, of whom we have spoken elsewhere, professor of eloquence in that city. He returned afterwards to Lydia, and there taught rhetoric. He applied himself likewise to the study of physic, and to that of magic, under Chrysanthus, who had married his cousin. He was initiated in the mysteries of Eleusinia, and blindly attached to all the ceremonies of the pagan superstitition (80). By Chrysanthus he was induced to write the lives of the foppists; which work he begins with the life of Plotinus, who flourished in the middle of the third century. From Plotinus he proceeds to the lives of Porphyrius, of Iamblichus, and his disciples, who were all addicted to the study of magic, as evidently appears from the account he gives us of them (81). He mentions the ravages committed in Greece by Alaric in 395 and 396, whence it is plain, that he did not put the last hand to his work till the latter end of the fourth century. He wrote the history of the emperors, which consisted of fourteen books and extended from the beginning of the reign of Claudius, the successor of Gallienus, where the history of Dexippus ended, to the death of Eudoxia, the wife of Arcadius; that is, from the year 258, to 404 (82). His life of the emperor Julian was rather a panegyrick, than a history (83). Some fragments of this history are still to be found in Suidas (84), and in the abridgments of Constantine Porphyrogenitus on embassies. Vossius writes, that the entire history of Eunapius is lodged in the public library of Venice (85). The history of Zosimus is but an

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abridgment

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abridgment of that of Eunapius (86). They were both declared enemies to all christian princes, especially to Confantine the Great, tho' Eunapius retrenched, in the second edition of his work, most of the invectives against the christians, which he had inferred in the first (87). In his lives of the sophists, he betrays the same prejudice against the christian religion, and in several places in-weighs with great bitterness against the monks. Photius commends his style as elegant, concise, and expressive; but finds fault with his endleis metaphors, which better suit an orator than an histori-<br>arian (88). In the lives of the sophists, his style is often obscure, and not easily understood, which has led severable writers into gross mistakes (89). He frequently disagrees with the historians of his own time; nay with those who were eye-witnesses of the events they relate. The two philosophers, Pappus and Theo, flourished at Alexandria, in the reign of Theodosius, the former wrote a general description of the earth, a treatise on the rivers of Lydia, and some other books on different subjects (90). Theo, or Theon, belonged to the musem, says Suidas (91); that is, to the society of learned men who composed the academy of Alex-<br>andria. He wrote a book on the overflowing of the Nile, and others on mathematics, arithmetic, astrology, on Ptolemy's can-<br>non and on other subjects (92). Dodwel publified a fragment of Theo of Alexandria on Ptolemy's canon, with a book of fatti, which he supposes to have been done by the same writer (93).


C H A P. XXIX.

The Roman history from the death of Theodosius the Great, to the taking of Rome the first time by the Goths.

THEODOSIUS divided, as we have observed a-bove, the empire at his death between his two sons Arcadius and Honorius; but as they were too young to govern of themselves, Arcadius being but eighteen years old, and Honorius not yet eleven, he committed the former to the care of Rufinus, and the latter to that of Stilicho,
Stilicho. Rufinus was a native of Eause in Gascony, and not of Eusa in Bosphorus, as some have imagined, misled by the authority of Tiro Prosper. He appeared first at court in the reign of Theodosius, who, being taken with his uncommon address, and extraordinary qualities, raised him, about the year 390, to the post of magister officiorum, to the consular dignity in 392, and the same year to that of prefect of the east, leaving him at Constantinople vested with almost an absolute and unlimited power, when he set out for the west in 394, to make war on Eugenius. Rufinus was well-shaped in his person, tall, of a graceful mien, and sprightly genius. He professed the Christian religion, and was baptized in 394, on occasion of the solemn consecration of a church, which he had built, together with a palace, near Chalcedon. He could never have gained the esteem and confidence of Theodosius, without the appearance, at least, of piety, joined to his uncommon talents. St. Ambrose ranked him among his friends, and was glad to see him preferred. He lived in great intimacy with Symmachus, if the last letters of that writer's third book are, as they are commonly thought, addressed to him. In those letters Symmachus commends his lively genius, his eloquence, and the delicacy of his raillery. He likewise extols his virtue, his sincerity, and disinterestedness, and the penetration of Theodosius in choosing so worthy a minister. But the same writer blames him more after his death, than he had flattered him in his life-time. Claudian charges him with avarice, ambition, cruelty, perfidiousness, and all the crimes and evil qualities, of which human nature is capable. Suidas and Zosimus speak of him as a great dissimulor, and one who trampled under foot all laws, both human and divine, when they stood in the way of his unbounded ambition and insatiable avarice. St Jerom likewise charges him with avarice; Orosius, Philostorgius, and Marcellinus in his chronicle, with having stirred up the barbarians against the empire, in order to raise himself, in that

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confusion of affairs, to the sovereignty. St. Ambrose reproaches him in Theodoret as the author of the massacre of the inhabitants of Thessalonica. Zosimus ascribes to his treachery the death of Promotus, killed by the barbarians in 391, and the downfall and misfortunes of Tatinus and his son Proculus, in 392. But other writers question the innocence both of the father and son, as we have already observed. Stilicho, who ruled with no less absolute sway in the west under Honorius, than Rufinus did in the east under Arcadius, was originally a Vandal, whence he is styled by St. Jerome a demi-barbarian. Claudian, who was no less baffled in his favour, than prejudiced against his rival Rufinus, mentions none of his ancestors, besides his father, who had a considerable command in the army under Valens. Stilicho himself bore arms from his childhood, and rose by degrees to the post of magister utriusque militiae, that is, of general both of the horse and foot. He commanded the Roman troops, according to Zosimus, for the space of twenty-three years; that is, from 385, to 408; and attended Theodosius in all his wars. That prince must have entertained a great opinion of him, since he preferred him to all those who courted his niece Serena, whom he had adopted after the death of her father Honorius. By her Stilicho had a son, named Eucherius, born at Rome in 389, while Theodosius was in that city, and two daughters, Maria and Thermantia, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of our history. Theodosius would not have honoured Stilicho with his alliance, had he not professed the christian religion; but as he is more commended by the pagan than christian writers, and his son Eucherius openly declared himself against christianity, we cannot, upon the bare testimony of Baronius, believe him to have been, not only a zealous, but a pious, christian. Zosimus writes, that, during the twenty-three years he commanded the Roman armies, he never sold any military employments, or deprived the soldiers, as others had done to enrich themselves, of the least share of their pay. The same writer extols his moderation, in not preferring his son Eucherius to any considerable employments, tho' he had a just title to the first in the state.

\[1\] Theod. l. v. c. 17. p. 728  
\[2\] Zof. l. iv. p. 773.  
\[3\] Hier. ep. xi. p. 93.  
\[4\] Val. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 124.  
\[5\] Grat. p. 112.  
\[6\] Prosp.  
\[7\] Zof. l. iv. p. 777.  
\[8\] Leem. l. v. p. 119, 411.
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But other writers charge him even with a design of raising his son to the empire, and deposing his lawful sovereign Honorius, his ward and his son-in-law; for that prince married successively both Stilicho's daughters. Zosimus endea-

vours to clear him from this charge; but at the same time owns him to have been in the highest degree corrupt and partial in the administration of justice; to have countenanced those who plundered the provinces, provided they shared with him the spoils; and to have in a short time acquired, by the most unlawful means, immense riches. We read the same thing in Suidas, who seems to have copied it from Eunapius.

To resume now the thread of our history: Upon the death of Theodosius, Arcadius, to whom the eastern provinces had been allotted, repaired immediately to Constantinople, while Honorius continued at Milan, to awe with his presence the barbarians inhabiting the countries bordering on Rhätia, who were said to be in arms, and ready to break into the empire. As Honorius was but a child, and Arcadius a youth, without either parts or experience, both princes bore the bare name of emperors, the whole power being lodged in Rufinus and Stilicho, of whom the former ruled with an absolute sway in the east, and the other in the west. These two ministers agreed, says Zosimus, in plundering the provinces, and impoverishing whole nations, to enrich themselves; but at the same time, jealous of each other's grandeur, neither of them thought himself safe, while his rival continued in power. Stilicho pretended, that Theodosius in dying had committed to his care both princes, and the management of the affairs of both empires; hence looking upon the power which Rufinus enjoyed in the east as a mere usurpation, he was constantly meditating with himself in what manner he might compass his ruin, and engross the whole authority to himself. On the other hand, Rufinus, not satisfied to rule with an absolute sway under Arcadius, began to aspire at the sovereignty; and thinking the readiest way to attain it, was to marry his daughter to the young prince, who, he imagined, would not look upon it as any disparagement to assume his father-in-law for his colleague, he caused overtures concerning this match to be made to him with the utmost secrecy; which, however, soon became the public talk, and heightened the aversion which the people had already con-

ceived.

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3 Zos. p. 730—739.  
4 Suid. p. 692, 691.  
5 Zos I v. p. 780.  
ceived against him, on account of his arrogance, avarice, and arbitrary proceedings. While this affair was on foot, Eucherius, the emperor's uncle, thinking himself ill-used by Lucianus, count of the east, complained of him to Arcadius, who cast the whole blame upon Rufinus, by whose interest he had been raised to that post. Lucianus was the son of Florentius, prefect of Gaul in the latter end of the reign of Constantius; and having purchased the favour of Rufinus, by presenting him with rich possessions, had been recommended by him to the emperor, who thereupon made him count of the east, in which office he is said to have acquitted himself with the greatest justice, moderation, and integrity; insomuch, that he refused even to comply with a request of the emperor's uncle, which appeared to him inconsistent with equity. This being misrepresented to Arcadius, Rufinus, instead of protecting one who had purchased his favour at so great a price, left Constantinople, without imparting his design to any one; and hastening to Antioch with a small retinue, entered that city in the dead of the night, caused Lucianus to be apprehended, and when he was brought before his tribunal, commanded him, tho' no one appeared against him, to be beaten with leaden balls fastened to cords, till he expired. This barbarous proceeding highly provoked the inhabitants of Antioch, and Rufinus, to appease them, ordered a magnificent portico to be built, which was deemed the most stately edifice in all Syria. From Antioch Rufinus returned in great haste to Constantinople, pleading himself with the thoughts of his future affinity with the emperor; but, upon his arrival, he found Arcadius immovably determined to marry Eudoxia, who had been proposed to him by the eunuch Eutropius; and accordingly the nuptials were celebrated on the twenty-seventh of April of this year 395, to the great disappointment of Rufinus. Eudoxia was a Frank by nation, the daughter of the famous count and general Bautio, who had been consul in 387, and not of the emperor Gratian, or of the famous general Promotus, as some have advanced without sufficient grounds. As she was a woman of great address, of an haughty and imperious temper, she soon gained an absolute sway over the weak prince her husband.

husband; Some writers have questioned her modesty; but from that charge she is cleared by others, tho' all agree in accusing her of an infatiable avarice, which often prompted her to most flagrant acts of injustice. However, she had some outward appearance of piety, favoured the catholics, shewed great respect to prelates and clergy; and having prevailed upon the emperor in 401, to demolish the temple of Marnas, and other temples at Gaza, the built in that city a most stately and magnificent church, which from her was called Eudoxiana. Hence St. Chrysoftom publicly commended her as the mother of the church, the patroness of the saints, the support of the poor, &c. But the cruel persecution she afterwards raised against her paneysrit, has rendered her name infamous in the history of the church. But to return to Rufinus: That minister found himself disappointed as to the marriage of his daughter, and his alliance with the imperial family; and at the same time dreaded the credit of the eunuch Eutropius, but more the arms of Stilicho, who pretended to have been by Theodosius appointed guardian to both his children, and was preparing to march into the east, to dispossess his rival of the authority he had usurped. In order therefore to defeat the designs of Stilicho, and to have an opportunity of getting rid of Eutropius, and even of seizing the sovereign power, he resolved to set all in a flame, and involve the whole empire in the utmost confusion. With this view he privately stirred up by his emissaries the Hunns, who penetrated as far as Antioch, destroying all with fire and sword, and committing every-where unheard of cruelties. At the same time he encouraged the famous Alaric to put himself at the head of his country-men the Goths, and drawing together as many barbarians of other nations as were willing to follow his standard, to break into Greece, assuring him, that he should meet with no opposition. Alaric at that time commanded a body of Goths in the Roman service; but being dissatisfied that he had been rewarded with no better preferment, since he had distinguished himself in the late war with Eugenius, he readily closed with the proposal of Rufinus; and being by him supplied with large sums, he assembled an incredible number of barbarians of different nations; and putting himself at their head, he ravaged

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vaged all Thrace, Pannonia, Macedon, and Thessaly. As he drew near the famous straights of Thermopylae, Geron-tius, who guarded them, and was privy to the wicked designs of his patron Rufinus, immediately withdrew, and opened a free passage for the barbarians into Greece, where they raged with incredible fury, putting those to the sword who offered to oppose them, and sending into their respective countries all the women and children that fell into their hands, together with the whole wealth of that opulent province. As Antiochus, at that time proconsul of Achaia, and another of Rufinus's creatures, did not offer to make head against them, they over-ran the whole country, rifling the temples, pillaging the cities, and committing such ravages and devastations, as were felt by the unhappy inhabitants for many years after. The whole country between Dalmatia, the Adriatic gulf, and the Euxine sea, was laid waste, and turned into a desart, the inhabitants concealing themselves in dens and caves, through fear of being either inhumanly murdered, or carried into captivity. The city of Constantinople itself was in a manner besieged, parties of the barbarians advancing with great boldness to the very gates of that metropolis. Rufinus, attired after the Gothic manner, went out, as he said, to treat with them, and was received by the barbarians with extraordinary marks of esteem; which confirmed the suspicion most people entertained of his treachery.

While these things passed in the east, Stilicho was busied on the bank of the Rhine, in renewing the ancient alliances of the Roman people with the Franks, and other German nations. This he accomplished, says Claudian, in less than fourteen days; which Mr. Valois maintains to be absolutely impossible. That writer speaks much at length of Marcomir and Sunno, two princes or chiefs of the Franks in those days, as does likewise Gregory of Tours. Claudian who distinguishes them with the title of kings, and informs us, that they were brothers, says, that they endeavoured to raise new disturbances after the peace concluded with Stilicho; but that one of them, after having been kept some time in prison, was banished into Tuscany; that the other, attempting to revenge the affront offered to his brother, was killed by his own people; and that Honorius appointed other kings

\[ Zof. p. 583. \quad \text{Clau} \text{d in Ruf. I. ii. p. 21. Philo} \text{st. p. 154.} \quad \text{Clau} \text{d.} \quad \text{Stil. p. 128.} \quad \text{Val. ibid. p. 94.} \quad \text{Idem. p. 86-90.} \quad \text{Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. I. ii. c. 3 p. 59—61.} \]
kings over the Franks in their room. This seems to have happened, according to Claudian, before the revolt of Gil-
do; that is, before the end of the year 397. Valesius writes, that Marcomir outlived Sunno; and consequently that it was he who was banished into Tuscy. He is thought to have been the father of Faramond, supposed to have been the first king of France. Stilicho, having thus renewed the antient treaties with the Franks and Germans, resolved to march to the succour of Greece; in which undertaking he embarqued the more readily, as he hoped to have an opportu-
nity of ruining Rufinus, and getting the whole power of both empires into his own hands. Leaving therefore Gaul about the latter end of the spring, he set forward with all the western troops, and those likewise of the east, that had been left in the west after the defeat of Eugenius. He marched, according to Claudian, over the Alps, no doubt, the Julian-Alps, and consequently through Dalmatia. The barbarians, hearing of his arrival in those parts, resolved to make a stand in Thessaly, and with this view assembled into one body all their troops, that were in several parties dispersed about the country. Stilicho was already within a small distance of the enemy’s army, and his men shewed a great forwardness to engage them, when Rufinus, concluding, that, if the bar-
barians were overcome and repressed, the storm would fall upon his own head, prevailed upon Arcadius to send for the oriental troops. Accordingly an officer was dispatched to Stilicho, with a peremptory order from the emperor to send them forthwith, and return with the rest into the west. Stilicho was greatly surprized at this order, which, he thought, snatched out of his hands a certain victory, and exposed the empire to imminent danger. However, not daring to dif-
obey, he not only sent the troops, but half the treasure which Theodosius had left. In dismissing the forces, he appoint-
ed one Gainas, by nation a Goth, and his intimate friend, to conducct them to Constantinople, after having imparted to him his design of dispatching Rufinus, and, no doubt, encou-
raged him to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered to put it in execution. Under his conduct the army arrived in the neighbourhood of Constantinople on the twenty-seventh of November; and the emperor, according to custom, went out.

out in person to meet them, attended by Rufinus, who, as he had gained over some of the chief officers to proclaim him emperor on this occasion, had already prepared the purple, the diadem, and the donative for the soldiery. The army received the emperor with all the respect due to the son of Theodosius the Great; but at the same time, upon a signal given by Gainas, they fell upon Rufinus, and cut him in pieces, while he was pressing Arcadius to declare him his colleague. This happened, according to Claudian, at the palace of Hebdomon, where the emperors of the east were usually crowned. After his death, they cut off his head, and putting a stone in his mouth to keep it open, they carried it on the point of a spear to Constantinople, where it was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. They likewise cut off his right hand, and carrying it about the streets of Constantinople, asked alms for the infatigable Rufinus, reduced to beggary. By this invention they collected considerable sums, every one being glad to reward with some small acknowledgement those who had contributed to the death of a person so much abhorred. His estate and all his effects were confiscated; and the decree issued on that occasion was sent to Rome, where the people expressed the greatest joy at the death and deferred end of that infatigable robber, to use the expression of Symmachus, who had plundered the world. His wife and daughter, fearing they should fall a sacrifice to the fury of the people, took sanctuary in a church, whence they were suffered to retire to Jerusalem, where they spent the rest of their days. Palladius bestows great encomiums on Salvia or Silvia, the sister of Rufinus, who had embraced the state of virginity. From a law dated the fifth of August of the ensuing year 396, it appears, that his wife’s fortune was restored to her. Neither Stilicho nor the empire gained any thing by the death of Rufinus, he being succeeded, not only in his power and employments, but in his cruelty, avarice, and other detestable qualities, by the eunuch Eutropius, who had concurred with Stilicho in all his measures against their common rival. Eutropius was by birth an Armenian, by condition a slave,

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slave, and had been made an eunuch soon after his birth, eunuchs being then more in request, and consequently more advantageous to the seller, than common slaves. He had frequently changed masters, having been often bought and sold. When he was already stricken in years, a soldier, named Ptolemy, gave him as a present to his general Arintheus, who was famous under Valens: Arintheus presented his daughter with him when she was married, to comb her hair, and perform such-like mean offices about her; which when he could no longer discharge on account of his age, he gave him his liberty. Being now his own master, he found means to get into the court, where he was employed in the lowest offices, till he was raised by the interest of Abundantius, who was consul in 392, to a more creditable post. Theodosius sent him in 392, as we read in Sozomen, to consult the holy hermit John in the wilderness of Thebais. That prince seems to have reposed some confidence in him. After the marriage of Arcadius with Eudoxia, he was made, no doubt at her recommendation great chamberlain, and upon the death of Rufinus, vested with the same power and authority which that minister had enjoyed. Rufinus seemed to survive in this wicked eunuch, who was, according to Eunapius, a declared enemy to virtue, and every virtuous man. That writer, after having drawn his portrait in the blackest colours, concludes, that he has not painted him such as he really was, there being no crime with which he might not deservedly charge him. He surpassed in avarice Rufinus himself, exposing to public sale the chief employments, and entertaining an incredible number of informers to accuse such persons as were possessed of estates; by that means he conveyed the whole wealth of the empire into his own coffers: the prisons, and places of banishment, were all filled with unhappy exiles, and stripped their wealth, the only crime for which they had been condemned. As for Arcadius, who was a prince of very slender parts, he suffered himself to be entirely governed by this wicked minister, not daring in a manner to enquire into his conduct, or give ear to those who had the boldness to complain of his arbitrary proceedings. However, by several laws of this year, he confirmed those that had been enacted by

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Notes:

- Claud. in Eutrop. l. i. p. 49, 95—97.
- Soz. l. vii. c. 22. p. 740.
- Claud. ibid. p. 97, 98.
by his father against heretics \(^m\); and by one addressed to Marcellus, then magister officiorum, he commanded that officer to enquire with great care whether any employments at court were held by heretics, and not only to dismiss, but to banish such as he should discover in the palace, with those who had recommended them \(^n\). Honorius continued all this year at Milan, or in the neighbourhood of that city, as appears from the dates of his laws.

The next consuls were, Arcadius the fourth time, and Honorius the third. This year Stilicho, who was returned to Italy with the western troops, set out anew with a design to succour Greece, reduced to a most deplorable condition by Alaric, and the barbarians under his command. He embarked on the Adriatic sea; and landing without opposition in Peloponnesus, cut off great numbers of the enemy in various successful encounters; and in the end obliged them to retire to a mountain in Arcadia, named Pholoe, at a small distance from Pisa. There he shut them up on all sides, cut off their communication with the neighbouring country, and even turned the course of the river that supplied them with water \(^o\). But when he had them thus in his power, he suffered them to escape, to retire out of Peloponnesus, and to pillage Epirus in their retreat \(^p\). Orosius supposes him to have connived at their escape, and therefore thinks him no less guilty than Rufinus, who first stirred them up against the empire \(^q\). Zosimus writes, that they owed their safety to the negligence and misconduct of Stilicho \(^r\). But Claudian tells us, that Eutropius, looking upon Stilicho as a more dangerous enemy than Alaric, persuaded Arcadius to conclude a peace with the latter, to take him and the barbarians, who had ravaged the best provinces of the empire, under his protection, and to order Stilicho to withdraw his troops forthwith out of Greece, which belonged to Arcadius. Thus was Stilicho robbed the second time by a jealous rival of the glory of delivering the empire, and triumphing over the barbarians \(^s\). Soon after, Alaric was by Arcadius, or rather by his governor Eutropius, appointed commander of the troops in East-Illyricum, which comprised Greece, as we read in Claudian

\(^m\) Cod. Theod. l. ii. tit. 9. leg. 8. p. 133. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 25. p. 142. 144.

\(^n\) Idein, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 29. p. 148.

\(^o\) Zof. l. 5. p. 784. Claud. conf. Hon. 4. p. 51. \(^p\) Zof. ibid.

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Claudian (N). As for Stilicho, though he immediately retired with his troops out of Greece, pursuant to the orders of Arcadius, yet that prince, in obedience to the commands of Eutropius, as Zosimus expresses it, caused him to be declared a public enemy by a solemn decree of the senate of Constantinople, ordering at the same time all the lands and palaces he had in the east to be seized and confiscated. Claudian adds, that Stilicho discovered an assassin, who had been hired to murder him, and several letters dispersed among his troops, in order to debauch them, and stir them up against him. Eutropius, not satisfied with having thus defeated all the measures of Stilicho, aspiring at the same post in the court of Arcadius which he held in that of Honorius, resolved to remove all those out of the way, in whom Arcadius seemed to repose any confidence. He began with Abundantius, by whose means he had been first raised at court, and who on that account deferred, according to Claudian, tho' not at his hands, the treatment he met with. Abundantius had served in the army with great reputation in the time of Gratian, and had been raised by Theodosius to the post of general both of the horse and foot, to the praetorship, and in 393, to the consulship of Gratian. But Eutropius, jealous of the authority and credit which his experience, and known integrity, procured him at court, and panting after the immense wealth with which his eminent services had been rewarded, prevailed on the weak prince with his crafty and malicious insinuations, to banish him to Pityus, a city of Bosporus, to the north of the Euxine sea, and beyond Colchis; where he led a miserable life. Eutropius causes Abundantius to be banished.

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(N) His words are,

At nunc qui fædera rumpit,
Ditatur; qui servet, eget. Vastaor Achivæ
Gentis, & Epirum nuper populatus inultam,
Præfider Illyrico. Jam quos obsevit, amicus
Ingreditur muros, illis responfa daturus,
Quorum conjugibus potitur, natosque peremit.
Sic holles punire solent, hæc præmia solvunt
Excidiis——— (89).

(89) Claud. in Eutrop. p. 115.
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miserable life, stripped of all his effects, till the death of Eutropius, when he was removed from thence, and confined to Sidon in Phoenicia, in which city he died a. The credit which Timafius had at court, and with the army, gave the wicked minister, who could bear no competitor, more jealously than that of Ambaudianus. He had been long one of the chief commanders of the army, had served Valens and Theodosius in all their wars with great honour and integrity, and been rewarded by the latter in 389, with the consular dignity b. Eutropius, resolving to procure by some means or other the ruin of so powerful a rival, had recourse to one Bargus, who lived in great intimacy with Timafius. Bargus was a person of a mean descent, and had been obliged for some notorious crime to fly from Laodicea in Syria, his native city, and retire to Sardes in Lydia. There Timafius accidentally met him; and being pleased with his facetious conversation, without enquiring farther into his character, admitted him to his confidence, gave him the command of a cohort, and took him with him to Constantinople; at which the magistrates were highly displeased, because he had been formerly banished that city c. To this man, as a proper instrument for his villainous purpose, Eutropius applied, and easily prevailed upon him to betray his friend and benefactor, by accusing him of treason, and producing against him a counterfeit writing, upon which he was without delay brought to his trial. Eutropius persuaded the emperor to judge him in person; but perceiving the people were highly provoked to see a person of Timafius’s dignity and character arraigned upon the deposition of such an infamous and mercenary wretch as Bargus, he advised the prince, whom he managed as he pleased, to withdraw, and substitute Saturninus and Procopius in his room. Of these the former had discharged the chief employments in the state, and the confusilship in 383, but is said to have dishonoured his old age by a general and mean compliance with the will of the ruling minister d. Procopius was son-in-law to the emperor Valens, of a rough and savage temper, but not easily prevailed upon to swerve from what he thought just and equitable, as appeared in this case; for he boldly maintained, that such an infamous wretch as Bargus ought not to be admitted as evidence against a perfon of Timafius’s rank, against

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cZos. p. 786, 787.  
d Idem ibid.
against his friend and benefactor. But Saturnius prevailing, the unhappy Timafius was stripped of all his wealth, and banished to Oaasis, a barren and inhospitable place in Libya, from which there was no possible means of escape, it being surrounded by a vast desert, full of sand, which moving to and fro with the wind, suffered no track or footsteps of any former traveller to be seen. Of this place, to which criminals began to be confined about this time, Zosimus gives us, on occasion of the exile of Timafius, a most frightful description. The same historian adds, that a report was spread, that Syagrius, the son of Timafius, accused as privy to the crime of his father, having escaped from those who had been sent to seize him, rescued his father, with the assistance of some robbers, out of the hands of the soldiers, who were conducting him to the place of his exile; and that neither the father nor the son were ever after heard of. Others write, that Timafius was found dead in the sand that surrounded Oaasis, having perhaps attempted to make his escape. St. Jerom, writing in this year 396, says, that Timafius lived then an exile at Asius a city of Aphia. But as Sozomen, Zosimus, and Asterius agree, that he was confined to Oaasis, some, instead of Asius, read, in the text of St. Jerom, Oaasis; while others, to reconcile that writer with the other three, pretend, that he was first banished to Asius, and afterwards, by Eutropius's orders, conveyed to Oaasis. Bargus did not long enjoy the price of his treachery and wickedness; for Eutropius, who was a man of too great discernment to trust a traitor, and well knew, that one who had betrayed his friend and benefactor, would not prove faithful to him, resolved to get rid of him as soon as possible; and accordingly having sent him upon some advantageous commission out of Constantinople, during his absence, he induced his wife, who was then at variance with her husband, to present to the emperor some treasonable papers, which the pretended to have found in his custody. Hereupon Bargus was upon his return arraigned, sentenced to death, and executed. Thus was the crime of that treacherous wretch punished, as it deserved, by the very person who had induced him to commit it. Pentadia, the wife of Timafius, was deaconess.
deaconesses of the church of Constantinople in 404, when St. Chrysostom was banished that city: he wrote, while in his exile, several letters to her, in one of which he enquires after her family and relations, and calls her house an house of blessing. It was according to Sozomen, in order to apprehend Pentadia, and some others who had taken sanctuary in the church, that Eutropius persuaded the emperor to enact a law, forbidding any one to fly to the churches for refuge; and commanding those who should, to be dragged from the altars, and punished the more severely. This law raised a general odium against Eutropius: Socrates pretends, that it drew down from heaven all the misfortunes that afterwards befell him: Sozomen and Chrysostom exclaim loudly against it, and observe, that, in a few years after, Eutropius himself was forced to fly to that asylum from which he had excluded others, owning, says Chrysostom, more by his actions than by his words, the injustice of his law. It was revoked immediately after the disgrace and downfall of Eutropius, and erased out of all the public registers. Churches are still held as asylums in Italy, and the two kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, which, not to mention other crimes, is the true cause of many murders committed in those countries. This year, dreadful earthquakes were felt in most provinces of the caft, and the sky, appearing all in a flame over the city of Constantinople, terrified the inhabitants and the emperor himself to such a degree, that abandoning the city, they retired to the fields. It was revealed, as St. Auffin writes to a pious person, that the city of Constantinople was on a certain day to be consumed by fire sent from heaven: when the day came the above-mentioned phenomenon appeared over the city, but vanished some time after, leaving it unhurt, the inhabitants, who had given credit to the prediction, having by a sincere and timely repentance prevented the execution of the sentence pronounced against them. Thus St. Auffin, in a sermon which he preached a few years after, From the several laws of this year, most of which tend to the utter suppression of idolatry, and the curbing of heresies, it appears, that Arcadius continued the whole time at Constantinople, or in the neighbourhood of that city. The law of the twenty-second of March is dated from Regium, which is supposed to have been an imperial palace about fifteen miles from the metropolis. Nothing happened this year in the west worthy

3. Chryf in Eutrop. tom. iv. p. 484.
4. Soz. p. 204.
7. Sos. ibid.

Great earthquakes, &c. in the east.
worthy of notice, except the conversion of Fritigil, queen of
the Marcomans, to the christian religion. At the request of
St. Ambrose, who wrote several letters to her, instructing
her in the holy mysteries, she is said by Paulinus Diaconus to
have introduced the king her husband to enter into an alli-
ance with the Romans: it is certain, that amongst the bar-
barous nations that in the present reign broke into the empire,
no mention is made of the Marcomans. Some misunder-
standing arose this year between St. Ambrose and Stilicho,
the latter having caused a criminal by name Crefconius,
to be apprehended in a church, to which he had fled for refuge:
but Stilicho in the end acknowledged his fault, and attoned
for it. Honorius continued all this year at Milan, as is
evident from the dates of his laws.

The next consuls were Caesarius and Atticus; the for-
er had succeeded Rufinus in the prefecture of the east,
Eutropius being, as an eunuch, excluded from that office;
and the latter had been governor of West Illyricum under
Valentinian II, in 384; Caesarius seems to have entered upon
his consulship at Constantinople, and Atticus at Rome.
This year 397, Arcadius, leaving Constantinople in the
month of July, went to Ancyea, and said there till the lat-
ter end of September, when he returned to the metropolis,
with as much pomp and show as if he had conquered the
Persians, says Claudian, who supposes him to have constantly
paused the summer at Ancya, Eutropius diverting him by
that progress from applying his mind to affairs of state.
Stilicho still claimed the administration of affairs in the east,
and was preparing to march anew into the dominions of
Arcadius, in order to make good his claim by force of arms,
and revenge on Eutropius the injurious decree issued against
him by the senate of Constantinople. But that wicked and
crafty minister, not scrupling, for the support of his own
power, to kindle a war between the two brothers, privately
persuaded Gildo, who commanded the Roman troops in
Africa, to revolt from Honorius, and submit to Arcadius,
hoping by that means to divert Stilicho from pursuing his in-
tended expedition into the east. Gildo was brother to the
famous Firmus, who made war upon the Romans in 373,
but was overcome by count Theodosius, the father of the
K 2 emperor

p. 470. Icat. in faat. 4 Claud. in Eutrop. I. ii. p. 110. 5 Zos.
p. 781.
emperor of that name. In that war Gildo sired with the Romans, and was afterwards, that is about the year 387, by Valentinian II. or rather by Theodofius, who governed in his name, appointed count of Africa, and commander of all the troops of that province. Theodofius, that he might have, as it were, some pledge of his fidelity, in conferring that dignity upon him, married Salvina, the daughter of Gildo, to Nebridius, nephew by the mother to the empress Flaccilla. St. Jerom, in a letter which he wrote to Salvina about the year 400, styles her a virtuous and truly Christian widow; and at the same time commends the piety of her mother, and her father’s sister, who had embraced the state of virginity. As for Gildo himself, he was, if not by religion, as Marcellinus will have it, at least in his manners, a pagan. Claudian charges him with avarice, cruelty, luxury, and all manner of lewdness, the more shameful and scandalous, as he was already stricken in years. St. Austin speaks of him as one famous for wickedness and debauchery; and in one of his sermons styles him, thou without naming him, a wicked wretch. When Eugenius usurped the empire of the west, Gildo acknowledged Theodofius; but when that prince marched against the usurper in 394, he declined sending him any succours, as other governors of provinces had done in obedience to the emperor’s orders, expecting the issue of the war, as was supposed, in order to join the party that should prevail; insomuch, that Theodofius would have treated him as an open enemy, according to Claudian, had he not been prevented by death. Eutropius having induced him to revolt from Honorius, as we have related above, he obliged most of the cities of Africa and Carthage itself to acknowledge Arcadius, placing such governors in them as he knew were attached to his own interest, with a design of seizing, when an opportunity offered, the provinces for himself, as he had but a very mean opinion of both princes. When news of his revolt was brought to Honorius, he acquainted the senate of Rome with it, who immediately declared Gildo a public enemy, and dispatched a solemn embassy to Arcadius, entreat-
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...turing him to restore Africa to its lawful sovereign. Symmachus at the same time wrote to Arcadius, probably by order and in the name of the senate, exhorting him not to quarrel, but to live in friendship and amity, with his brother. In the mean time, a famine began to rage in Rome, Gildo not suffering any corn to be conveyed thither from Africa. Two fleets were therefore equipped with great expedition, the one to be employed against Gildo, and the other in bringing corn and other provisions to Rome from Gaul and Spain. The former failed this year, and, with a seasonable supply, quieted the populace, ready to rise; but the latter could not be equipped till the following year. During these warlike preparations, died the celebrated bishop of Milan St. Ambrose, by no one more regretted than by Stilicho, who, looking upon the death of that prelate as the greatest misfortune that could befall Italy, had, upon the first news of his illness, caused public prayers to be offered for him in all the churches of Milan. Honorius continued this whole year at Milan. Some of his laws are indeed dated from Rome; but that is generally thought to be a mistake. By one of these set up in the square of Trajan on the ninth of March, he forbids the Romans to follow in their dress foreign fashions, for it is to be observed, that the Romans, by conversing familiarly with the Goths, grew, by degrees, fond of their fashions, and began to adopt them; which was looked upon as a fatal prelude to what happened soon after. A blind submission to the modes and fashions of a foreign nation, has but too often been the forerunner of a more dreadful slavery: may it not prove such in our days! By another law, he confirms all the privileges and exemptions, which his predecessors, moved by a due respect for religion, had granted to the churches, to the ecclesiastics, and particularly to the bishop of Rome. In the east, Arcadius, by a law dated the first of April, commanded all the Appolinarian teachers to be banished Constantinople, and the houses where they had held their private assemblies to be confiscated. That of the seventeenth of June forbids any one to insult the Jews, or...
their patriarch, whom he had honoured the preceding year with the title of illustrious, which was given to the first officers of the empire. The law dated the first of July, exempting the ministers of their religion from the same burdens, from which the bishops, priests, and deacons were exempted. By a law dated the eighth of November, Arcadius commanded all domestics, whether free-born or slaves, to be sentenced to death, who should inform against their masters, except in cases of treason. This year, on the seventeenth of June, the empress Eudoxia was delivered of a daughter, named Flaccilla from the emperor's mother, and distinguished with the title of nobilissima, or most noble.

The following year 398, when Honorius was consul the fourth time, with Eutychianus, who entered upon that dignity at Constantinople, Stilicho pursued with the utmost vigor his warlike preparations against Gildo; but was greatly at a loss how to manage that expedition with success, and whom to trust with the command of the troops. But from this perplexity he was soon delivered by the seasonable arrival in Italy of Maseczel, brother to Gildo, who gave him a true account of the state of affairs in Africa, and suggested to him the most proper means for suppressing the rebellion. Maseczel was not only a Christian, but a person of extraordinary piety; and therefore could not by any means be prevailed upon to join his brother in the rebellion, who thereupon resolved to murder him; but he, by a timely flight, defeated his wicked design. Gildo, however, vented his rage on the two sons Maseczel had left behind him, causing them both to be put to death, and leaving their mangled bodies to be devoured by the wild beasts. Stilicho, not doubting but, to revenge the death of his children, and the attempt upon his own life, he would carry on the war with vigor, and serve the republic with unshaken fidelity, committed to him the whole management of the intended expedition against his brother. Zosimus writes, that Maseczel was attended by a very numerous army; but Orosius and the chronicle of Alexandria assure us, that it was but five thousand strong. Their authority is confirmed by Claudian.
dian, who says, that Stilicho made small preparations for this first expedition, but had in readiness another fleet, and a more renowned general, to be employed, in case any misfortune should befall the first. That poet names the several corps, or, as we may now call them, regiments, of which Mascezel's army was composed. It embarked at Pisa, and putting to sea, tho' a storm, if we may depend upon a poet, was then apprehended, steered along the east coast of Sardinia, and landed safe in Africa. Mascezel, without loss of time, led his troops against Gildo; and falling upon him before he could draw up his army, gained, after a bloody and obstinate fight, a complete victory. Thus Zosimus. But Orufius, Marcellinus, and Paulus Diaconus, ascribe this success to the miraculous assistance of St. Ambrose, who, appearing to Mascezel, assured him, that in three days' time he should gain a complete victory, in the very place where he was then encamped. Hereupon he continued, say they, in the same post; and the third day, after having spent the preceding night in praying, and singing hymns with some holy hermits, whom he had brought with him from the island Capraia, now Capraia, he saw himself surrounded on all sides by the numerous forces of the enemy; but not in the least daunted, he marched against them with his small army in battle-array. His piety prompted him to try first, whether he could by fair means bring them back to their duty; but one of the standard-bearers answering him with great arrogance, he drew his sword, and wounded him in the arm; which obliged him to lower the ensign. The other standard-bearers, imagining he had submitted, strove who should be the first in following his example, and lowering their ensigns threw themselves at the feet of Mascezel. Some of the barbarians, however, encouraged by Gildo, attempted to make a stand; but were soon put to the rout. Thus were seventy thousand men, says Orufius, defeated by five thousand, without any stratagem or treachery, nay, and almost without bloodshed. This miraculous success, continues that writer, would hardly be credited, were there not many persons still living, who were eye-witnesses of it. Paulinus assures us, that he had this account from Mascezel's own mouth, after his return to Milan. However, we will not take

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\* Idem ibid.  
\* Zof ibid.  
\* Orof. p. 221.  
\* Mar. in chron.  
\* Amb. vit. c. 15. p. 13.  
\* Orof. p. 221, 222.  
\* Amb. vit. c. 51.  

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take upon us to prefer it to that of Zosimus. Gildo made his escape, and reaching the sea, went on board the first vessel he found; but being by a contrary wind driven into the harbour of Tabraca near Hippo in Africa, he was there apprehended, exposed to the insults of the populace, and then thrown into prison, where he strangled himself, to avoid a more cruel and ignominious death. Upon the defeat and death of Gildo, all Africa submitted anew to Honorius. Claudian, who omits no opportunity of flattering his great hero Stilicho, ascribes the whole success of this expedition to the prudence and vigilance of that minister. He wrote a poem on the war with Gildo; but that piece is imperfect, since the poet leaves the Roman fleet on the coast of Sardinia in their way to Africa. The leading men of Gildo's faction were sent to Rome, to be tried there; and some of them were publicly executed. Optatus, bishop of the Donatists at Tamugadi in Numidia one of Gildo's most zealous partisans, died in prison. As several innocent persons were, as it frequently happens on such occasions, accused, and dragged to prison, Honorius, by a law addressed to Victor proconsul of Africa, put a stop to such unjust prosecutions, ordering false informers and witnesses to be punished, according to the rigor of the several laws enacted against them.

Gildo's estate fell to the exchequer, and proved so large, that a particular treasurer was appointed to manage it, with the title of comes Gildoniaci patrimonii, or count of Gildo's patrimony. Africa being thus restored to its former tranquillity, Maeccezel returned to Italy, and was received at Milan by Stilicho, in appearance with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and esteem; but the glory he had acquired by putting to speedy an end to a war, which the minister had so much apprehended, giving him no small jealousy, he resolved to dispatch without delay this new rival. Accordingly, as he was one day passing a bridge in the neighbourhood of Milan, Maeccezel, who attended him, with many other persons of distinction, was, by his private orders, pushed into the river, and drowned. Orosius writes, that Maeccezel, elated with his success, had fallen from his former piety, and even dragged from the altars.

altars several criminals, who had fled to them for refuge; which that writer looks upon as an enormous crime, and the true cause of his unfortunate end. About the time of the defeat of Gildo, Honorius married at Milan, Maria the daughter of Stilicho by Serena, cousin-german to that prince. He was then but thirteen, and Maria not yet marriageable; whence some authors pretend that the marriage was never consummated, since Maria died very young long before the year 408. Claudian wrote several poems on this marriage, which, according to him, was first proposed, nay, and commanded by Theodofius. But his predictions concerning the kings who were to proceed from it, shew he was a poet, and not a prophet. By the defeat of Gildo, an entire harmony was re-established between the two brothers, as that poet tells us; but the same misunderstanding continued between the two ministers, who nevertheless agreed in plundering the unhappy people, and conveying into their private coffers the whole wealth of the two empires. Eutropius persuaded Arcadius to name him, Eutropius theo' an eunuch, for the consulship of the ensuing year; but Stilicho would not suffer him to be acknowledged in the west. Claudian writes, that when news of the consulate of Eutropius was brought to the court of Honorius, that prince was buffeted with Stilicho in receiving the submissions of the Alemans, Suevians, and Sicambrians; in giving kings to some; and commanding others to raise levies for recruiting his armies. Whether this may be founded on truth, or ought to be looked upon only as a poetical fiction, we will not take upon us to determine. The same poet, in enumerating the great things Stilicho had performed by himself or others before his consulship, that is, before the year 400, says, that he succoured Britain, attacked by the neighbouring nations, namely by the Scots, who, arming all Ierne or Ireland against it, had covered the sea with their fleets; that he put it in a condition not to fear their arrows, nor the efforts of the Picts; and that he had secured the British coast against the descents of the Saxons, which the inhabitants apprehending before were constantly on their guard; through

m Orov. i. vii. c. 36. p. 221. a Claud. conf. Hon. iv. p. 55.

through fear of a surprize. He adds elsewhere, that the Saxons being overcome, the sea was quiet; that the Picts having lost their strength, Britain was delivered from her fears. The learned Uther ascribes to Stilicho the establishing of a legion in Britain, to defend it against the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons. This legion is mentioned by Claudian. About the same time, a proper officer was appointed to guard the coast against the attempts of the Saxons, with the title of comes limitis Saxonic; or count of the Saxon coast, that is, of the coast over against the country of the Saxons.

In the east, the cities of Constantinople and Chalcidon were shaken with violent earthquakes; several buildings were consumed with lightning; and the sea, breaking in upon the land, laid whole countries under water. Claudian mentions several other prodigies, which were all the forerunners, says the poet, of a prodigy never before heard of, viz. an eunuch confus. For the following year, Eutropius prevailed upon Arcadius to create him a patrician, to honour him with the title of father to the emperor; and to raise him to the confular dignity. He was the first and the last eunuch that ever held, or rather disgraced, the fasces. His image, with the ensigns of his dignity, was carried as it were in triumph, through all the cities of the east; but Stilicho refusing to acknowledge him in the west, Manlius Theodorus alone is named confus in some fasti, and in the laws of Honorius. Some writers, mistaking his two names for the names of two different persons, mark Manlius or Mallius, and Theodorus, as consuls of this year. Manlius Theodorus is famous from the praises bestowed upon him by Claudian, in a poem which he wrote on his consulship; and by St. Austin, who, having known him at Milan in 384, inscribed to him in 384, his book de beata vita, of a happy life, which he published soon after his conversion. Claudian does not commend him on account of his family, but for his learning, his eloquence, and his virtues. After he had pleaded some time at the bar, he governed, first part of Libya, in quality of proconsul of Africa, and afterwards Macedonia; whence he was called to court, and created quaestor, whole province it was to draw

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1 Idem ibid. l ii p. 110.
2 Idem in Eutrop. l i p. 102. 103.
7 Idat. Propr. Candidor. saec. 1 Claud. in Man. Theod. 84. 890. 8 Aug. de beat. vit. p. 212. 9 Claud. ibid. p. 84.
draw up the laws that were enacted by the emperor. To this dignity he was raised by Gratian in 380. Upon the death of that prince, he withdrew from public affairs, and led a retired life, till he was recalled to court by Honorius, or rather by Stilicho, who appointed him prefect of Gaul in 395, and prefect of Italy in 397. Symmachus beffows great encomiums upon him; and St. Austin, who informs us that he was a christian, extols his modesty, his learning, his eloquence, and generosity. Claudian, in the poem he wrote on his consulship, admires his integrity, moderation, affability, and other virtues; but elsewhere, devoing himself of the character of a panegyrist, he owns, that Italy would have reaped greater advantages from the prefecture of Theodorus, had he lasted less.

During the consulship of Theodorus in the west and Eutropius in the east, died Varanes, or Vararanes IV. king of Peršia, who during the eleven years of his reign, had lived in friendship with the Romans. He was killed, we know not upon what provocation, by his own subjects, and succeeded by his brother Iklegerdes, or, as Abulfaragiustyles him, Yafdejird. Eutychius, who calls him Al Aitham, supposes him to have been the son of his predecessor. He reigned twenty-one years, ever maintaining a friendly correspondence with the Romans; but was, according to Eutychius, a prince of great severity, or rather cruelty; whence he was surnamed Al Aitham, or Athim, that is, the bad. Procopius gives him a quite different character, describing him as a generous-spirited prince. He is famous in the history of the church, on account of the persecution which he raised about the end of his reign against the christians in his dominions. The most remarkable event that happened in the east during the consulship of Eutropius, was the downfall of that famous and powerful minister, which Zosimus ascribes chiefly to Gainas. He had commanded the Goths, and other barbarians, under Theodosius; and, after the defeat of Eugenius, reconducted the eastern army to Arcadius, on which occasion he caused Ruffinus to be cut in pieces, in the manner we have related above. For this eminent

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time a private correspondence with the rebels, instead of de-
fining Thrace, advised Tribigild to march his forces with-
out delay to the sea-side, and, crossing the Hellespont, to en-
ter that province. Had his advice been followed, the rebels
would have made themselves masters of Constantinople without
opposition; but Tribigild, bending his march towards
Pisidia, was met there by one Valentine, a citizen of Selga,
at the head of a small body of slaves and peasants. Tri-
bigild disfitted them at first; but as they were well acquainted
with that mountainous country, and had, by their frequent
disputes with the robbers in those parts, learnt to make sud-
dden onsets, and lay ambushes, they cut off great numbers of
his men, and at length shut him up on all sides, in such
manner, that no room being left for him to escape, he must
inevitably have perished, had he not, by a large sum, prevailed
upon one Florentius, who guarded a narrow pass called
Coghilea, to withdraw, and suffer him to retire. However,
his men, by the ambuscades, frequent skirmishes, and sudden
onsets of the Pisidians, were now reduced to three hundred.
With these he marched into the plain, where he was again
shut up between the two rivers Melane and Eurymedon. In
this extremity, he found means to acquaint Gainas with the
desperate posture of his affairs, who thereupon, under colour
of reinforcing Leo's army, detached a strong body of barba-
r ians, with private orders to join Tribigild; which they did
accordingly. With their assistance Tribigild opened himself
a passage out of Pisidia, and falling unexpectedly upon Leo,
cut most of his men in pieces. Leo himself, attempting to
make his escape, perished among the marches. From
Pisidia, Tribigild returned into Phrygia, where Gainas, who
had advanced into that province, as if he designed to attack
him, suffered him to rage with greater fury than ever, mag-
nifying, in all the letters he wrote to the emperor, his con-
duct, his exploits, and the number of his troops, and sug-
gestingly, that the only means to save the empire from immi-
ent ruin, was to comply with his demands, the chief of
which was, that Eutropius, the author of all the present
calamities, should be delivered up into his hands. At the
same time, news was brought to court of the death of Va-
ranes king of Persia, and a report spread, that his successor
was preparing to invade Syria. Upon this fall's alarm, and
the

119, 116, 119.
the accounts that were by Gainas daily transmitted to Constantine of the progress made by Tribigild, some were for recurring to Stilicho, and others for satisfying the rebels, by sacrificing the minister to the welfare of the state. Arcadius, who was under the greatest perplexity, chose the latter; and sending for Eutropius, caused him to be stripp'd of the consular ensigns, and discharged him. Thus Zosimus. But Socrates, Philostorgius, Sozomen, and Chrysoftom, relate the downfal of Eutropius, without mentioning either Gainas or Trigild. Socrates only says, that he had offended Arcadius; Sozomen, that he had affronted the empress; and Chrysoftom, who was then at Constantinople, that he had injured the emperor. Philostorgius writes, that Eutropius having insolently threatened to drive the empress out of the palace, she went, with her two little daughters, Flaccilla and Pulcheria, in her arms, to throw herself at the emperor's feet, and demand satisfaction. Arcadius, moved with the tears of his wife and children, remembered at length, that he was emperor; and sending for Eutropius, discharged him, and commanded him that infant to quit the palace; which he did accordingly, without being attended by a single person, tho' he had been hitherto constantly surrounded with crowds of pretended friends and adorers. Claudian seems to favour the opinion of Zosimus; for in the second book against Eutropius, he describes at length the war of Tribigild, which would have been quite foreign to his purpose, had it not had any connection with the downfal of Eutropius, which he mentions in his preface to that book. However, the poet, after having expatiated on that war, only describes the confection it occasioned at Constantinople, and introduces the east recurring to his hero Stilicho. Perhaps he wrote, or intended to write, a third book. Eutropius, thus disgraced, and apprehending his life to be in danger, took sanctuary in a church. But the people exclaiming against him in the theatre, and Gainas with the soldiery, pressIng the emperor to restore the state to its former tranquillity, by either putting to death or banishing the abhorred minister, a band of soldiers was sent to drag him from his asylum, some of those who

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\[x\] Zos. p. 703. Claud. in Eutrop. i. ii. p. 119, 120. \[y\] Zos. ibid. \[z\] Socr. l. vi. c. 5. p. 304. \[a\] Soz. l. viii. c. 7. p. 767. \[b\] Chrys. in Eutrop. tom. 4. p. 486. \[c\] Philost. i xi. c 6. 529. \[d\] Claud. ibid p. 120 — 122.
who had appeared all that time most zealously attached to him, taking upon them that province. But Chrysostom, then bishop of Constantinople, presenting himself before them, and resolutely declaring, that he would not suffer them to profane the church, they seized him, and carried him to the emperor, who was by him prevailed upon to grant that protection to Eutropius, from which many guilty of smaller crimes had, by his means, been excluded. The next day, incredible multitudes of people flocked to the church, to have the satisfaction of seeing Eutropius, whom they all hated, deposed of his power, and, by a just retaliation, brought to that deplorable condition, to which he had reduced many of their friends and relations. On this occasion Chrysostom made a speech to the assembled multitude, on the vanity of all human grandeur, endeavouring at the same time to awake in the hearts of his auditors sentiments of compassion for the unhappy criminal. When he saw them begin to relent, he ended his speech, by exhorting them to go all in a body to the imperial palace, and, throwing themselves at the prince’s feet, to beg his life. Whether they complied with this exhortation, we are nowhere told. All we know is, that a few days after, Eutropius, having privately left his asylum, in order to make his escape, was taken, and banished to the island of Cyprus. Zosimus writes, that when he was banished, he was assured, that his life should not be taken from him; and Claudian, who wrote at the time they were conducting him to Cyprus, says, that though he had caused an eunuch to be beheaded, yet he should not undergo the same punishment. The law has reached our times, by which Arcadius confiscated his estate, stripped him of the dignity of great chamberlain, degraded him from the rank of patrician, and ordered his name to be erased where-ever he was styled consul, his statues to be pulled down, and his images to be removed. By the same law Aurelian, the praefectus praetorio, is enjoined to cause him to be conducted under a guard to the island of Cyprus, and to be there narrowly watched, lest he should raise new disturbances. This law is dated the seventeenth of January of the present year; which must certainly be a mistake, since all historians agree, that he was banished after the

* Chrys. tom. 3. p. 671, 676.  
 Claud. ibid. p. 107.  
 Cod. Theod. I. ix.  
 fit. 11. leg. 17. p. 312.
the revolt of Tricigild, who took arms in the spring. Chrys -. 
sofom gives us room to believe, that several other per- 
sons were banished with Eutropius; and truly a favourite 
fallen. However, his sister, tho' very rich, was 
suffered to continue at Constantinople. Gainas, not yet 
exhausted, caused several charges to be brought against him; 
upon which he was conducted from the island of Cyprus to a 
place called Pantychium, between Chalcod and Nicome- 
dia, where he was tried by the prefect Aurelian and several 
other persons of distinction, who, upon his being convicted 
of having in his consulship made use of ornaments peculiar to 
the imperial dignity, condemned him, and he was beheaded 
on the last day of the present year. Zosimus, who pre- 
tends he had been promised his life upon oath, says, that, to 
cover that perjury, they gave out, that the oath was only 
with respect to Constantinople, and caused him to be be- 
headed at Chalcod. This year is remarkable in the 
history of the church, for the many temples that were de- 
stroyed both in the east and west, and the severe laws that 
were enacted by the two princes against all manner of idola-
trous worship; which may be said to have given the last 
blow to the pagan superstitition. The temples, says Tiro Pro-
per in his chronicle, were this year demolished throughout 
the Roman world. By a law dated the thirteenth of July, 
Arcadius commanded all the temples throughout his domi-
ions to be pulled down, not only in the cities, but likewise in the 
country; and by another dated the first of November, 
the materials were to be employed in repairing the bridges, 
highways, aqueducts, and the walls of the cities. By other 
laws, all manner of superstitious worship was forbidden, both 
in public and private, under the severest penalties, and the 
priests and ministers of the idols deprived of all the privileges 
granted them by former princes. In the west Honorius 
acted a law, dated the twenty-ninth of January of this year 399, forbidding heathenish sacrifices on pain of death, and commanding the temples to be every-where 
pulled down, and the statues of the idols to be broken 
in pieces, that no footsteps might remain of the antient 
superstitition. Notwithstanding this law, several temples were 
spared.

m Chryf. ibid. & p 671. n Claud. ibid. p. 107. o Zos. 
Att. orat. iii p. 76, 77. p Zos. p. 794. q Prosp. in chron. 
e Cod. Theod. xvi tit. 10. leg. 16. p. 283. r Idem, l. xv. 
14 p 276. t Idem, l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 280.
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spared at the request of the bishops, who begged them, and consecrated them to the worship of the true God. Among these was the famous temple of the goddess Cœlestinis, the chief deity of Carthage, one of the most stately edifices in the whole empire; for it is said, with the buildings belonging to it, to have taken up the space of two miles, the whole being inclosed by a wall of an extraordinary height and beauty. This temple was with great pomp and solemnity consecrated on Easter-day by Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, attended by several other bishops, and an incredible multitude of christians, who had flocked from all parts to assist at that ceremony w. Besides the destruction of several temples recorded by the ecclesiastical writers, nothing happened this year in the west, which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity. Honorius was, as appears from the dates of his laws, on the twenty-ninth of January at Ravenna, from the sixteenth of February to the fourth of June at Milan, at Brixio or Brescia on the sixth of June, at Verona in July, in August at Padua, and at Altini in September; whence he returned to Milan, and there passed the winter x.

The next confuls were Stilicho and Aurelianus; the latter entered upon this new dignity at Constantinople, and the former at Milan, with the greatest pomp that had ever been seen in that city y. In the east no advantage accrued to the public from the death of Eutropius, the empress Eudoxia, a bold, enterprising, and avaricious woman, as Zosimus styles her, having, upon the downfall of that minister, gained an absolute ascendant over her husband. She was constantly befried by women, eunuchs, and informers, who prompted her to such crying acts of violence and injustice, that every good man wished for death, to avoid seeing such enormous disorders z. In the mean time, Gainas, having concluded a pretended peace with the rebels, began to march back to Constantinople, followed by Tribigild, whom he joined at Thyatira, where they both agreed to march to Sardis in Lydia, and plunder that metropolis; but not being able to pass the rivers that were swelled by the heavy rains, they parted once more; and bending their march to the sea, Tribigild took his route towards Lampsis on the Hellespont, and Gainas towards Chalcedon, allowing their soldiers to plunder all the countries.

countries through which they passed. Their approach caused a general conformation at Constantinople; nay, the whole empire seemed to be in imminent danger. As Arcadius had no troops to make head against them, and prevent their entering Thrace, he was advised to send deputies to Gainas, and to save the empire from utter ruin, by granting him whatever he demanded. Gainas, with great insolence, required three of the most eminent men in the state, whom he thought capable of thwarting his ambitious designs, to be delivered up to him, in order to be put to death. These were Saturninus, who had been consul in 383, and employed for the space of thirty years in public affairs; Aurelianus, this year's consul, who had been prefect of Constantinople in 393, and the preceding year the praefectus praetorio; and John, secretary to the emperor, and in whom the prince reposed great trust a. The emperor complied, tho' much against his will, with this arrogant and tyrannical demand, those three illustrious persons requesting him of their own accord to sacrifice them to the public welfare b. With the emperor's content they left Constantinople, and presented themselves before Gainas, encamped in the neighbourhood of Chalcedon, who immediately ordered them to be beheaded, but changed the sentence of death into that of perpetual banishment, when the executioner had already lifted up his arm to discharge the fatal blow c. They were chiefly indebted to Chrysostom for their lives, which were granted them at his intercession d. They were all three sent under a guard towards Epirus; but having, either by corrupting the Goths that guarded them, or by some other means, made their escape, they appeared, when least expected, at the court of Constantinople, to the great joy of the emperor and the whole city e. Zosimus is the only writer who mentions John among those whom Gainas demanded; all other writers speak only of Aurelianus and Saturninus. Gainas, not yet satisfied, demanded a conference with the emperor in person; and with this demand too the emperor was obliged to comply, passing for that purpose over to Chalcedon, in the neighbourhood of which city he had an interview with Gainas, in the church of St. Euphemia, where it was agreed, that both Gainas and Tribigild should lay down their arms, and return, if they pleased, to Constantinople;

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Antinpo; and that the former, besides the command of all the Goths in the Roman service, should have that of the Roman horse and foot, with the consular ornaments, and an authority almost unbounded. We find nothing henceforth in history relating to Tribigild, except that he perished in Thrace soon after. As for Gainas, upon his return to Constantinople, he demanded a church in that city for the Arians, whose doctrine was held by him, and most of the Goths his countrymen. The timorous emperor, not daring to give him an absolute denial, referred him to Chrysostom, bishop of the city, who shewed him the edict of the emperor Theodosius, forbidding all heretics and sectaries to hold any assemblies in the city. Gainas replied, that the services he had rendered the empire deserved at least one church, in which he and those of his persuasion might have the free exercise of their religion. To this the prelate replied boldly, that his rewards had already exceeded his deserts; that from the mean condition of a common soldier, he had been raised to the high station of commander in chief of all the Roman forces; and ought to be satisfied with the honours he enjoyed, without demanding what could not be granted without a notorious breach of the laws. Gainas, finding he had not to deal with an Arcadius, but a Chrysostom, thought it adviseable to drop his demand. Socrates and Sozomen mention a church in Constantinople belonging to the Goths; but they must be understood not of the Arian, but the orthodox Goths, since Marcellinus, a zealous catholic, styles it in his chronicle "our church." However the Arians were, it seems, at this time allowed to assemble without the walls of the city. About this time appeared over Constantinople a comet of unusual magnitude, portending, as was said, the great danger the city was in from the perfidiousness of Gainas. For that barbarian, who commanded in chief the armies of Arcadius, having filled Constantinople with his Goths, and removed from thence all the Roman troops, formed a design of seizing first the wealth of the bankers, and then setting fire to the palace. But this wicked project being frustrated by a miracle, which the reader will find related at length by Socrates, Sozomen, and Philostorgius, he withdrew from the city on

The intrepidity of St. Chrysostom.

Gainas forma a design of seizing Con- staninople.
on the tenth of July, as it were to take the air, says Zosimus, or to perform his devotions, as we read in Socrates, in the church of St. John Baptist, seven miles from the city, pretending to be possessed, say Sozomen and Socrates, with an evil spirit. He left in the city the greater part of the Goths, with private orders to fall upon the inhabitants immediately after his departure, and to give him a signal, that he might return and join them with those who attended him. Gainas defeated his own design, according to Zosimus, by returning to force the gate before the signal agreed on; which alarmed the city. Socrates and Sozomen write, that the soldiers who guarded the gates, observing those, who went out with Gainas, loaded with arms, which they endeavoured to conceal, attempted to stop them. Hereupon the Goths, having killed several of the guards, opened themselves a way sword in hand; but the citizens, in the mean time, taking the alarm, flew to arms; and Arcadius, acquainted with what had happened, declared Gainas a public enemy, and ordered all the Goths in the city to be put to the sword. Upon this Gainas returned in great haste; but not being able to force the gate, which he found barricaded, and defended by a numerous body of citizens, he was obliged to drop the enterprise, and retire. Philostorgius supposes him to have been still in the city, and to have retired in the night. What happened the day following, we are nowhere told; but the day after, the twelfth of July, the citizens fell upon the Goths, who were still remaining in the city to the number of seven thousand, and cut most of them in pieces; the rest, overpowered with numbers, took sanctuary in the church of their nation, which stood close to the palace; but the citizens having obtained leave of the emperor to attack them even in their asylum, they first uncovered the roof; and after having for some time plied them warmly with showers of darts and arrows, they set fire at last to the church, which was reduced to ashes, with all who were in it. This was looked upon, says Zosimus, by every good Christian as an enormous crime. Gainas, highly provoked at the massacre of his friends and countrymen, pulled off the masque; and making open war upon the state, ravaged all Thrace; but not being able to make himself

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self master of a single city there, the inhabitants, who were accustomed to such incursions, having learned how to defend their walls, how to sally out, and distress the enemy, he left that province, and marched into the Chersonesus, with a design to cross the straights of the Hellespont, and enrich himself and his army with the spoil of Asia. But Fravitus, who commanded in those parts, having assembled in great haste a considerable number of vessels, attacked him in his passage; and being favoured by the wind, obliged him to return to the coast whence he had failed, with the loss of many thousands of his men, either killed or drowned. Fravitus was himself a Goth, and a pagan, according to Zosimus, but greatly attached to the Roman interest, having married a Roman of distinction in 380, and ever since that time served the empire with great fidelity. He was one of the chiefs of those Goths, who, being driven out of their own country by the Hunns, were allowed by Theodosius to settle in Thrace. Eunapius writes, that soon after he killed with his own hand Eriulphus, another of their chiefs, because he was for taking arms against Theodosius, purposing to an oath, by which they had all bound themselves, before they left their own country in 376, to do the Romans, however kindly by them received, all the mischief that lay in their power. As he was a man of great courage, a strict observer of military discipline, vigilant, and indefatigable, he had been employed on several occasions, and acquitted himself in every command with great reputation: he had lately cleared the east of the robbers who had long infested it, roving up and down the country in great bodies. However, he was suspected of having suffered Gainas and the rest of his countrymen to escape, when he might have easily cut them all off. But Zosimus, and most historians, clear him from this charge, which seems the more groundless, as he was for his conduct on that occasion rewarded the following year with the consulship. From the Chersonesus, Gainas returned to Thrace, and was there, according to Socrates and Sozomen, cut in pieces, with all his men, by the Romans, who pursued him. Zosimus writes, that after he had massacred all the Romans whom he found in his army, left they should betray him, he passed the Danube, being desirous to end his days in the ancient country of the Goths. But Uldes or Uldin, king

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king of the Hunns, then masters of those countries, thinking it highly impolitic to receive into his dominions so renowned a commander, with an army of his own nation, met him with all his forces on the frontiers, gave him battle, and, after a sharp dispute, put him and all his men to the sword. His body being found, Uldes caused his head to be cut off, and sent it to Arcadius, who received it at Constantinople on the third of January of the ensuing year 401. During these troubles, Eudoxia, who had been hitherto distinguished only with the title of Nobilissima, received that of Augusta on the ninth of January; on which occasion she caused her image to be carried through all the provinces of the empire, to receive the same honours that were paid to the images of the emperors. This no empress before her had presumed to do; whence many complained of it as an innovation, and among the rest Honorius, in a letter which he wrote to his brother. But not many years after, the empresses claimed the same honours; nay, and assumed the same titles of pious, happy, most pious, perpetual, victorious, &c. that were given to the princes their husbands. On the third of April of this year, Eudoxia was delivered of Arcadia, her third daughter. In the beginning of this year, the city of Constantinople was shaken with violent earthquakes, which lasted three days; on which occasion great numbers of pagans demanded and received the sacrament of baptism.

During the above-mentioned disturbances raised by Gaius in the east, the western provinces, especially Italy, were alarmed by a sudden irruption of the barbarians, under the conduct of the celebrated Alaric, and Radagaisus king of the Hunns. Of the former we have already made frequent mention; but as he is to act a chief part in the history of Honorius’s reign, we shall here acquaint our readers with what we have copied from the best writers concerning a man so famous in the records of those times. Alaric was by nation a Goth, born in the island of Paece at the mouth of the Danube, whence Claudian calls that river his paternal god. He was not sprung from the family of the Amali, the most illustrious of the Gothith nation, but from that of the Balthi, which held the second rank; and to him, in particular, his countrymen had given the name of Balt, which in their language

language signified bold and enterprising. Though Claudian introduces him speaking in the language of a pagan, yet it is certain he was a Christian, but an Arian, the doctrine of that heresifh being prevailed among the Goths ever since the year 375. Long before the year 410, in which he took Rome, he used to brag, that he would one day extend his conquests to that great metropolis, pursuant to the prediction of an oracle. This we learn of the poet Claudian, who little imagined then, that the prediction would ever be fulfilled. Prudentius likewise, who wrote some years before Alaric took Rome, tells us, that he was often heard to say, he should one day set fire to that city. He passed the Danube in 376, with his countrymen, driven out of their own country by the Hunns. Claudian says, that he often engaged the imperial troops, and once shut up the emperor Theodosius in the windings of the Hebrus in Thrace. However, in 382, he submitted to him with the other Goths, and received lands in Thrace, where they were allowed to settle, upon condition of their serving, when wanted, in the Roman armies. Pursuant to this agreement, they attended Theodosius in his last expedition against the usurper Eugenius in 364, on which occasion Alaric commanded a body of his countrymen. He had no other rank in the beginning of the reign of Arcadius and Honorius; whence Rufinus, finding him dissatisfied, easily prevailed upon him to revolt, and plunder Greece in 395. Stilicho gained several advantages over him in Peloponnesus; but suffered him to escape in 396, as we have related elsewhere. Arcadius entered into a treaty with him, and appointed him general of the Roman troops in East-Illyricum, which post he held when Tribigild revolted, that is, in 399. The Goths, who were subject to the empire, created him about the same time, if Jornandes is to be credited, their chief and general, with the title of king of the Visigoths. The same writer adds, that the Goths, defying both Arcadius and Honorius, and discontented because they had not sent them the usual presents, began to mutiny, and resolved to make war upon the empire.

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in order to enrich themselves with the spoils of so many wealthy provinces. Whatever was the motive that prompted them to take arms, it is certain, that this year 400, the Goths, under the conduct of Alaric, and Radagaisus king of the Hunns, entered Italy in an hostile manner on the side of Pannonia, leaving Sirmium on their right. Jornandes writes, that they met with no opposition: according to St. Jerom, they besieged Aquileia; and after having opened themselves a way into Italy, they laid the country waste far and near. This happened the present year; but they were still in Italy in the beginning of the following year 401, for Paulinus, in his annual poem on the birth-day of Felix of Nola, the fourteenth of January, writes in 401, that the Goths and other foreign nations were still pursuing their ravages in Italy. As we have no distinct account of this first irruption of Alaric into Italy, we know not how it ended; but as it seems altogether improbable, that he continued in that country till the battle of Pollentia, fought two years after, in which no mention is made of Radagaisus, we are inclined to believe, that Stilicho induced them both, by some means or other, to retire, and that Alaric returned about the end of the year 402.

The next consuls were Vicentius prefect of Gaul, and Fravitus or Fravita, of whom we have spoken above. This year is remarkable for the birth of Theodosius, the son and successor of Arcadius, born, according to Socrates and the chronicle of Alexandria, on the tenth, according to Marcellinus, on the eleventh, of April, and, soon after his birth, declared Cæsar, and baptized with extraordinary pomp and solemnity. This year Arcadius published a law forbidding any one to beg the estates of condemned persons, till two years after they had been confiscated. The Euxine sea was this year frozen over for the space of twenty days. A band of slaves and defectors pillaged part of Thrace, pretending to be Hunns: but Fravitas marching against them, put most of them to the sword, and dispersed the rest. In the west, Honorius, by a law dated the twenty-first of June, forgave all the debts owing to the exchequer before his first consulship.

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confusion; that is, before the month of September 386. By the same law, he ordered all prosecutions and suits for what was owing from that time, to the year 395, that is to his accession to the empire, to be suspended, till he had enquired into the circumstances of the debtors. The following year, when Arcadius and Honorius were both consuls the fifth time, nothing remarkable happened in the east, except the promoting of young Theodosius to the imperial dignity; which ceremony was performed with extraordinary magnificence in the palace of Hebdomon, on the tenth or eleventh of January. In the west, Alaric entered Italy anew. Claudian who wrote a poem on this war, supposes, that he set out from Thessaly; but Socrates tells us in a very confused manner, that not presuming to take upon him the title of emperor, he left Constantinople, and upon his arrival in Illyricum, put all to fire and sword; but as he was pushing out of Thessaly into Epirus, he was attacked in the narrow passes of mount Pindus by the Thessalians, who killed three thousand of his men in the neighbourhood of Nicopolis. Notwithstanding this loss, he pursued his march, carrying all before him. What prompted him to these acts of hostility, we are no-where told. Claudian lays the whole blame on Alaric, charging him with treachery. On the other hand Orosius accuses Stilicho, as if he had been the chief author of this war, and had provoked the Goths, by refusing to grant them certain lands, which they demanded upon terms very advantageous to the empire. He hoped, says that writer, when a war was once kindled in the bowels of the empire, to improve it to his own advantage, and settle the sovereignty on his son Eucherius. Be that as it will, Alaric entered Italy in the latter end of the autumn, the winter being more favourable to his men, enured to a cold climate, than to the Romans, not accustomed to bear the hardships of war in that season. He passed the Alps without opposition, the Roman troops being then employed in driving out a body of barbarians, who had made an irruption into Rhetia. As there was then no army in Italy to oppose him, he ravaged without control the provinces of Venetia and Liguria which threw Rome itself into the utmost consternation.

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*a Cod. Theod. 1. xi. tit. 28. leg. 3. p. 196*
*b Soz. l. viii c.*
*d Claud. bell Get. p. 169.*
*e Socr. l. viii c. 12. p. 345.*
*f Claud. ibid. p. 171.*
*g Oros. l. vii. c. 37. 38. p. 221, 222.*
*h Idem, ibid.*
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Book III

confration: the walls of that metropolis were repaired with great expedition by Flavius Macrobius Longianus, then prefect of the city; and the citizens, not being suffer to retire with their families and effects, were busied night and day in preparing arms, and putting themselves in the best posture of defence they could. The court was no les alarmed than the people, Alaric threatening to besiege the emperor himself, and force him to comply with his demands. Honorius was for retiring into Gaul; but Stilicho would neither suffer him, nor his own wife and son, to abandon Italy. However, the emperor left Milan, and retired to Ravenna, which thenceforth became the usual place of his residence. The news of this irruption soon reached the most distant provinces of the east; for we are told that this year the Christians of Edessa in Mesopotamia, repairing to the church of St. Thomas, begged in their public prayers, that the Arian robber, who plundered Italy, might meet with the just doom which had overtaken his countrymen of the same sect, meaning no doubt Gainas.

The next consuls were Theodosius Augustus and Rumoridus. Who the latter was, we are no-where told; but his name gives us room to think he was a Goth, probably in the service of Honorius; for, generally speaking, one of the consuls belonged to the eastern, and the other to the western empire. This year 403, Eudoxia was, on the tenth or eleventh of February, delivered of Marina, her fourth and last daughter. A statue of silver was erected to the empress on a column of porphyry, near the church of St. Sophia; which occasioned a misunderstanding between Eudoxia and St. Chrysostom, bishop of the city, who could not endure the profane sports that were exhibited before the statue at the very entry of the church. Arcadius caused likewise his own statue to be placed on a column, which, according to some writers, was reared this year in the quarter of the city called Xerelophos, and is described by Glyllius. The same year Arcadius built the city of Arcadiopolis in Thrace, o

rather gave that name to the ancient city of Bergulae. To return to Italy, Stilicho, having in some degree removed the young emperor's fears, says Claudian, crossed the lake of Como, and passing the Alps in the depth of winter, entered Rhétia, where, with his unexpected arrival, he alarmed the barbarians and not only obliged them to sue for peace, but persuaded great numbers of them to join him. At the same time he dispatched messengers to the troops that guarded the coast of Britain, and the banks of the Rhine, ordering them to march immediately, and with all possible expedition, into Rhétia. Upon their arrival, he commanded them to pursue their march into Italy; but set out himself before them, attended by a small number of troops in order to return with all speed to court. When he came to the Adda, he found the enemy encamped on the opposite bank and masters of the bridge; but not in the least daunted, he threw himself into the river as soon as it was dark, and forcing his way sword in hand through the midst of the barbarians, appeared unexpectedly at court to the inexpressible joy of the emperor. The troops arrived soon after out of Rhétia; and Stilicho, putting himself at their head, marched against the enemy; but could not hinder Alaric from passing the Po, and advancing to Pollentia, now Pollenza, on the Tanaro in Piedmont, where the two armies engaged, almost on the same spot, says Claudian, where Marius had formerly defeated the Cimbrians; but he was therein mistaken, for the Cimbrians were overcome in the neighbourhood of Vercelli. There is a great disagreement among authors in the accounts they give us of this battle: Jornandes writes, that Alaric having advanced to Pollentia, in virtue of a treaty, by which Honorius had yielded to him the provinces of Gaul and Spain, then held by the Vandals, Stilicho followed him, and without any regard to the faith of treaties, or law of nations, fell upon him, while he was under no apprehension of an enemy. But it is certain, that the Vandals had not yet entered either of those provinces. Claudian, Cassiodorus and Prudentius suppose Stilicho to have been present, and to have commanded the army in person; but Orosius tells us, that Saul, a pagan and barbarian, was vested

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1 Vide Baudr. p. 60, 114. m Claud. bell. Get p. 165—


vested with the chief command; and that he, imagining the Goths, out of respect to their religion, (for they were for the most part Christians, tho' Arians) would not fight on Easter-day, attacked them on that solemn festival. In the present year 403, Easter fell on the twenty-ninth of March; which is agreeable to what we read in Claudian, viz. that the war of Alaric began and ended with the winter. In the Roman army served a body of Alan horse, commanded by an officer of that nation, who advancing with more courage than prudence, was slain at the head of his men; which put them into no small confusion: but Stilicho coming seasonably with the foot to their assistance, they rallied, and returned to the charge. Claudian and Prudentius suppose the battle to have been gained by the Romans; but Cassiodorus in his chronicle writes, that Stilicho and the Roman army were defeated, and put to flight; and Jornandes, that the Goths, when surprized by Stilicho, betrayed no small fear, but afterwards took courage, and put most of his men to the sword, obliging the rest to save themselves by a precipitous and disorderly flight. According to Orosius the Romans gained the battle; but were overcome after the victory. The Romans, while victorious, forced and plundered the enemy’s camp, in which they found the spoils of several provinces, and the wife of Alaric, with his children and daughters-in-law, whom they took prisoners. Alaric was no sooner informed of their misfortunes, than he sent deputies to Stilicho to sue for peace; which was readily granted him upon condition of his marching forthwith out of Italy. Pursuant to this agreement, Alaric repassed the Po, and retired as far as Verona, where, in defiance of the late treaty, he began to plunder the country, and commit other acts of hostility. Hereupon Stilicho detached against him a strong body of barbarians, by whom he was overcome and obliged to take refuge among the mountains. He endeavoured to pass the Alps, and seize on Gaul or Rhetia; but found all the passes guarded by Stilicho, who kept him blocked up, till most of his men forfaking him, and joining the Romans, he thought it advisable to withdraw in the night-time, and return through by-ways into Pannonia. Thus Claudian. Orosius writes, that

that the barbarians could not agree among themselves; that
the Goths were divided into two factions; and that the
Alans and Hunns, who served under Alaric, often quarrelled,
and destroyed each other. Italy being thus delivered from
the barbarians, Honorius, to satisfy the senate and people of
Rome, who, by frequent embassies, had entreated him to
honour their city with his presence, left Ravenna, and set
out for that metropolis; which he entered in triumph,
having Stilicho with him in the chariot, about the beginning
of December. He was received with loud acclamations by
the senate in a body, by the nobility and people in their best
apparel. He would not suffer the senate to attend, according
to custom, his triumphal chariot on foot; but allowed his
sister Placidia, and Eucherius his brother-in-law, to pay him
that honour. While he was still at Ravenna, he suppressed
and utterly abolished the shews of gladiators, which, tho'
forbidden by Constantine the Great in 325, had been tole-
rated by his successors, even by Theodosius himself, out of
complaisance to the people, fond beyond expression of that
inhuman diversion. Theodoret writes, that an anchoret,
by name Telemachus, attempting to prevent the gladiators
from engaging in the amphitheatre at Rome, whither he was
for that purpose come out of the east, was by the incensed
populace stone to death; and hence Honorius, according
to that writer, took occasion to suppress those sports. Be
that as it will, they were forbidden after the battle of Pollen-
tia, as appears from Prudentius, and before Honorius's tri-
umphal entry into Rome; since Claudian, in describing the
shews that were exhibited on that occasion, makes no men-
tion of gladiators.

The following year 404, Honorius was consul the sixth
time, with Arifianetus, of whom we find no further men-
tion in history. The empress Eudoxia died this year of a
miscarriage, on the sixth of October, a few days after she had
prevailed upon the weak prince her husband to banish St.
Chryssoptom, whom she had for some time persecuted with
great bitterness, on account of his reflecting in his sermons,
as she imagined, and perhaps not without reason, on her
conduct, and his exclaiming against the profane sports that
were exhibited before her statue, which stood near the
church.
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church. On the very day he left Constantinople, a fire broke out in the great church, which entirely consumed it with the palace where the senate used to assemble, and the neighbouring edifices. This calamity was imputed to the exiled bishop’s friends, and several of them were thrown into prison, and racked to death. But of these violent proceedings against Chrysostom and his friends, the reader will find a distinct account in the ecclesiastic writers. The empress was interred on the twelfth of October, in the church of the Apostles, where her tomb was to be seen many ages after. Before her death the Hunns had broken into Thrace, and the Ifaurian robbers committed great disorders in Asia and Syria. The former having pillaged great part of Thrace and eaft Illyricum, retired of their own accord beyond the Danube, loaded with booty. Against the latter was sent Arbazacus, who cut great numbers of them in pieces, and flut them up on all sides; but suffered them in the end to escape, being bribed by the large sums they offered him.

Suidas, who calls him a native of Ifauria, and a few lines after an Armenian, says, that, from his infatiable rapaciously and avarice, he was nicknamed Harpazacus, or the Harpy. The Ifaurians, having now nothing to fear from Arbazacus, over-ran the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Lycaonia, Pisdia, Cappadocia, and Lower Syria, extening their ravages to the frontiers of Persia on one side, and to the Euxine sea on the other, ranfacking every-where, and pillaging the open country, with the villages, and unfortified towns. They even passed over into the island of Cyprus, and caused a general consternation in Phœnicia, Caria, Juda, and Jerusalem itself; insomuch that the people were every-where bufied in building walls, in preparing arms, and putting themselves in a posture of defence: but, upon the approach of winter, they withdrew to their inaccessible mountains, with an immense booty, which they took care to share with Arbazacus. In the west, Honorius began his sixth consulship at Rome, which is the subject of the poem that Claudian pronounced on occasion of that solemnity.

\( ^h \) Socr. l. v. c. 4. p. 34. & l vi. c. 4. p. 16. Pallad. vit. Chrysf. 
\( ^k \) Socr. l viii. c. 25. p. 793. Philostr. l. xi p. 530. 
\( ^l \) Zof l v. p. 802. Chrysf. ep. 120. p. 764. 
\( ^m \) Suid. p. 412. 
\( ^n \) Theod. vit patr. c. 10, 21. p. 828. 862. 
\( ^p \) Claud. conf. Hon. 6. p. 191.
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The emperor continued at Rome at least till the fifteenth of July, as appears from the dates of his laws. From Rome he returned to Ravenna, and there fixed his residence, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the inhabitants of Milan inviting him back to their city. From this time Ravenna became the seat of the western Roman empire; whence the country in which it stood was called Romania, which name it still retains (N).

The next consuls were Stilicho the second time, and Anthemius, who was soon after appointed prefect of the east, and is mightily commended by St. Chrysostom p. We shall have frequent occasion to speak of him in the reign of Theodosius.

p Chrys. ep. 147. p. 780.

(N) The city of Ravenna is said by some to have been founded by the Thessalians; but Pliny calls it a colony of the Sabines. It was once reckoned amongst the cities of Umbria; but afterwards became the capital of a particular province, called Flaminia, and belonging to Cisalpine Gaul, and the vicarship of Italy (1). It was inclosed on all sides, either by the sea, by an arm of the Po, conveyed thither by Augustus, or by marshes, through which there was but one way, and that very narrow, leading to the city; so that it was, in a manner, a peninsula, and accessible only on one side (2). The sea washed the walls of the city, and formed a spacious harbour in which two hundred and fifty ships could ride safe (3). Augustus, and after him several other emperors, kept constantly two fleets for the defence of Italy, one of which was stationed at Ravenna on the Adriatic, and the other at Misenium on the Mediterranean sea. But Jornandes, who was bishop of Ravenna about the middle of the sixth century, tells us, that the harbour was then become a garden, and the city divided into three quarters, or rather cities, of which the highest was called Ravenna, the second, in which was probably the imperial palace, Caesarea, and the third Clasis, because in that place, then distant three miles from Ravenna, was formerly the harbour with the fleet (4). A city, thus situated amidst waters and marshes, could not be healthy; but, on the other side, it could not be easily attacked, and might with great ease be succoured by sea, affording at the same time a safe retreat into the east, when it could be no longer maintained. These reasons, without all doubt, prompted Honorius to fix the seat of the empire there, notwithstanding the pressing and reiterated remonstrances of the inhabitants of Milan and Rome.

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dosius II. This year the Mazichi and Auxoriani, two nations of barbarians inhabiting the country between Cyrenaica and Tripolitana, laid waste great part of Egypt. Arcadius was on the twelfth of June at Nice; on the tenth and twenty-third of July, and twelfth of August, at Ancyra in Galatia, whence he returned in the beginning of autumn to Constantinople. This year Italy was again alarmed with a sudden irruption of barbarians, led by Radagaisus, or Rhodogaisus, as the Greeks style him. He was one of the kings or chiefs of the Goths, a pagan by religion, and a sworn enemy to the Roman name. He is by some writers styled king of the Hunns. He entered Italy, as we have observed above, with Alaric, in the year 400, but returning afterwards beyond the Danube, he assembled an army, consisting, according to Zosimus, of four hundred thousand, according to Orosius and Marcellinus, of two hundred thousand barbarians, of the various nations dwelling beyond the Danube and the Rhine, who were then all blended under the common name of Goths. The commanders, who were distinguished with the title of lords, amounted, according to Photius a contemporary writer, to the number of twelve hundred. With this formidable host he broke suddenly into Italy, vowing to sacrifice to his gods, says Orosius, all the Roman blood he could shed. The news of his approach threw all Italy, and Rome itself, into the utmost consternation. As Radagaisus was a zealous worshipper of the gods, and sacrificed every morning to Jupiter, the pagans in Rome gave out, that he would, without all doubt, prevail, not so much by his numerous forces, as the protection of the gods, whom the ungrateful Romans had banished from a city, which they had so often defended. Unless the antient religion, said they, be restored, and christianity, the only cause of our calamities, utterly abolished, the city must fall into the hands of the barbarians, who have the gods on their side, whom we have forsaken. With these complaints the whole city was filled, and the name of Christ everywhere blasphemed, as the true cause of the present calamities. In the mean time Stilicho, having assembled at Pavia all the Roman forces, amounting to thirty legions, and reinforced them

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them with great numbers of Goths, Hunns and Alans, under the command of Sarus a Goth, and Uldin king of the Hunns, he left that place, bending his march towards Hetruria, where Radagaisus was bufed in the siege of Florence, which city was already reduced to the utmost extremity. As Stilicho came unexpectedly upon the enemy, he immediately ordered the Hunns, and other auxiliaries, to fall upon one of the three bodies into which he found their army divided. His orders were executed, and an hundred thousand of the enemy cut in pieces, without the loss of one man on the side of the Romans. Thus St. Auffin, Zosimus and Prosper. Radagaisus retired with the rest to the neighbouring mountains of Rosule, where he was closely besieged by Stilicho, and reduced, with his numerous army, to such extremity, that he attempted to escape secretly, and leave his men to the mercy of the Romans; but, as all the passes were well guarded, he fell in to Stilicho’s hands, and was by his orders put to death soon after. His men, finding themselves abandoned by their leader, and destitute of all manner of provisions, submitted to the Romans in such numbers, that they were sold like beasts, in droves, at a crown a head; but, as by the famine that had raged among them while shut up in the mountains, they had contracted an ill state of health, they all died in a few days. Orofius e and St. Auffin f ascribe this victory to a miracle.

The following year Arcadius was consul the sixth time, with Anicius Probus, the younger brother of Olybrius and Probinus, consuls in 395 g. A dreadful fire happened this year at Constantinople on the twenty-fifth of October h; and Palestine was infested with such multitudes of grasshoppers, as quite darkened the sky, and turned day into night. St. Jerom, who was then composing his comments on the prophet Joel, writes, that, after they had done great mischief, they were driven by the wind, partly into the Dead sea, partly into the Mediterranean, and thrown soon after on both shores in such heaps, that they infected the air, and occasioned a plague i. This year Arcadius enacted, amongst several others, a law, dated the twenty-eighth of April, threatening with death, not only the authors of libels, but such as should read such defamatory writings, without tearing or burning them k. Honanorius

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Honorius continued all this year at Ravenna, where he enacted a law dated the seventeenth of April, encouraging all persons, whether free-men or slaves, to take arms in defence of their country, and promising to the latter their liberty, to the former three pieces of gold to be paid immediately, and seven more after the war. This law was, without all doubt, occasioned by the motions of the northern nations, who, on the last day of this year 406, entered Gaul, and fixing their abode there, gave beginning to the utter ruin of the Roman empire. Orosius, Marcellinus, Tyro Prosper, and St. Jerom, assure us, that they were stirred up, and invited into Gaul by Sulpichio, who even supplied them with large sums, hoping, by their means, to raise his son Eucherius to the empire. The barbarians who, at his instigation, broke into Gaul this year, were the Alans, the Vandals, and the Suevians. The Vandals, in attempting to cross the Rhine, were attacked by the Franks, who cut twenty thousand of them in pieces, with their king Godigiscles, and would have put them all to the sword, had not the Alans and Suevians, hastening to their assistance, obliged the Franks to retire. Upon their retreat, the barbarians passed the Rhine without opposition, and entered Gaul. Thus Gregory of Tours, upon the authority of an ancient writer named Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, the Vandals appointed Gonderic or Gontharius, the son of Godigiscles, king in his room. The following year, when Honorius was confud the seventh time, and Theodosius the second, the eastern empire enjoyed a profound tranquillity; but in the west the Vandals, Alans, and Suevians, committed dreadful ravages in Gaul, where they were joined by the Burgundians, and many other nations, stirred up, says Orosius, by Sulpichio. The first city that felt their fury was Mentz, which they took by storm, and levelled with the ground, after having inhumanly massacred many thousands of the inhabitants in the churches, to which they had fled for refuge. Worms held out for a considerable time; but was in the end taken, and laid in ashes. Strafsburg and Spires underwent the same fate. Thence they marched to Rheims, to Tournay, to Amiens, to Aras, made themselves masters of all Aquitain, Gascony, the provinces of Lions and Narbonne, and extended their ravages

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1 Iren. lib. viii. tit. 15 leg. 16, 17. p. 387, 388. n Crof. 
3 Tett. lib. Franc. lib. 5. p. 2. 
4 Mem. ibid. & Procop. bell. 
5 Ibid. ibid. 
6 Vand. lib. 3. p. 144.
ravages from the Alps to the ocean, the governors of the provinces having no troops to oppose them; for Stilicho had withdrawn, as we have related above, the forces that guarded the banks of the Rhine, on occasion of the war with Alaric. The whole country, says St. Jerom, writing about this time, between the Alps and the Pyrenees, between the Rhine and the ocean, is over-run and pillaged by the Quadi, the Vandals, the Sarmatians, the Alans, the Greipæ, the Heruli, the Saxons, the Burgundians, and the Alemans.

In the mean time the Roman troops quartered in Britain, apprehending the barbarians would, after the entire reduction of Gaul, cross the sea, and jointly with the Scots and Irish, fall upon them, and expecting no assistance from Honorius, resolved to set up an emperor of their own; and accordingly conferred that dignity on one Mark, whom after a few days they murdered, upon some dislike, and placed Gratian, a native of Britain, in his room. Gratian, after a short reign of four months, underwent the same fate, and was succeeded by Constantine, a common soldier, who was chosen merely for the sake of his name, which was common to him with Constantine the great, who being advanced to the imperial dignity in Britain, had made himself master of the whole empire, and governed it with great prosperity and success. The new prince, immediately after his promotion, passed over into Gaul, taking with him all the Roman forces quartered in the island, and the flower of the Britsh youth; by which means the country, thus left quite naked and defenceless, was not long after obliged to submit to the yoke of new lords. Constantine landed at Bologna, and continued there, till he was joined by the Roman troops, who were dispersed up and down Gaul, and who chose rather to submit to him, than to the barbarians. Hereupon Limenius, prefect of Gaul, and Cariobaudes, commander of the Roman forces, fled into Italy, leaving the barbarians to waste the country on one side, and Constantine to pursue his success on the other. Honorius, who was at Rome when news of this revolt was brought him, immediately dispatched an express to Stilicho then at Ravenna, who hastening to Rome, ordered Sarus, by nation a Goth, but an officer of known valour, bold an enterprising, to march with a sufficient force into

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*Hier. ep. 11. p. 93*  
*Idem ibid.*  
*Soz. i. x. c. 11. p. 813.*  
*Phot. c. 80. p. 185.*  
*Orof. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223.*  
*Fed. hist. gent. Aug. l. i. c. 10. p. 12.*  
*Soz. Zof. ibid.*  
into Gaul, and make head against the usurper. Sarus was
met on the frontiers of Gaul by Juffin, one of Constantine’s
commanders, whom he easily defeated and killed, after hav-
ing put to the sword the greatest part of his forces. He then
led his men, encouraged with this success, to besiege Valence
in Dauphiny, whither the usurper had retired. Upon his ap-
proach, Constantine sent Neobiagastes, another of his generals,
to treat with him of an accommodation; but him Sarus caused
to be murdered, contrary to the law of nations, and the af-
surances he had given him; but Constantine having placed,
in the room of the two generals he had lost, Edobincus and
Gerontius, the former a Gaul, the latter of Britain, Sarus,
says Zosimus with little appearance of truth, dreading their
courage and experience, raised the siege of Valence, and re-
tired in great haste. Constantine’s army pursued him to the
Alps, over which he was obliged to purchase a passage of the
Bagaudae, by quiting to them all his booty. However
that be, it is certain, that Sarus raised the siege, and repassing
the Alps with his army, returned to Italy. Upon his retreat,
Constantine fixed his residence at Arles, overcame the bar-
barians in several battles, and in the end forced them to sue
for peace; which he granted, without obliging them to quit
Gaul, probably because he designed to maintain himself by
their means in his usurped power. These disturbances did
not prevent Honorius from enacting this year severe laws a-
gainst the Donatists, Manichees, Phrygians, Priscillianists,
and all sectaries in general. The following year 408, when Anicius Basilius and Flavius Philippus were consuls, is remark-
able for many memorable events. In the east died at Constantinople, on the first of May, the emperor Arcadius, after having lived thirty-one
years, and reigned twelve years with his father, and fourteen
after his death, or rather thirteen years, three months, and
fourteen days. He was buried near the emperor Eudoxia, in
the church of the Apostles, where their tombs of porphyry
were to be seen several ages after. He left behind him
but one son, viz. Theodotius, then eight years old, but
just weaned, says Sozomen. We shall examine else-
where

\[x\] Zos. p. 824. \[y\] Idem. p 857. \[z\] Oros. i. vii. c. 40. p. 223.
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where what we read in Procopius, viz. that Arcadius by his laft will appointed Isdegerdes, king of Persia, guardian to the young prince. We have observed in the history of his reign, that he had four daughters, Flaccilla, Pulcheria, Arcadia, and Marina: Flaccilla is never mentioned by historians but on occasion of her birth; whence we may conclude, that she died soon after. The other three embraced the state of virginity, and led exemplary lives. They were all styled queens, as appears from the councils; but only by courtesy; for, excepting Pulcheria, who was declared Augusta in 414, they had no other title but that of most noble. Arcadia and Marina built a palace at Constantinople, which for many ages retained their name. The former built likewise a church in honour of St. Andrew, which was many ages after, when become a monastery, re-built by Theodora, the niece of Michael Paleologus. Arcadia died in 444, and Marina on the third of August 449. Arcadius himself was a prince naturally inclined to virtue, and an enemy to vice, but of very slender parts, and therefore entirely governed, and shamefully imposed upon, by his ministers, and the empress, who abused his authority to oppress the people in a most despotic and tyrannical manner. To return to the west: Constantine, having reduced all Gaul to his obedience, sent a body of troops into Spain, in order to oppose Didymius, and Verianus or Verinianus, who having assembled the few troops that were quartered in that province, and reinforced them with such slaves and peasants as were willing to take arms, had seized on the pastures of the Pyrenees. Didymius and Verinianus were brothers, natives of Spain, and nearly allied to Honorius, for whom they openly declared, while most of the cities of that province were ready to revolt from him, and submit to the usurper. The troops that were first sent against them not being able to open themselves a passage through the Pyrenees, which were carefully guarded by the two brothers, Constantine obliged his eldest son, by name Constans, who professed a monastic life, to quit his retirement, created him Cæsar, and dispatched him with the flower of his army, commanded by Gerontius, an experienced officer, into Spain. Didymius and Verinianus defended the pastures for some time with great resolution and intrepidity;

His character.

intrepidity; but being overpowered with numbers, were in the end obliged to retire. Constan
tions pursued them close; and coming up with them in Lusitania, now Portugal, cut most of their men in pieces, and took both them and their wives prisoners. Upon the news of their defeat and captivity, their brothers Theodosius or Theodosiulus, and Lagedus, who had taken arms in another province, abandoned Spain to the usurper, and retired, the former to the court of Honorius, and the latter to that of Theodosius, who had succeeded his father Arcadius in the empire of the east. Constan
tions, having thus reduced all Spain, and appointed Gerontius to command the army and guard the Pyrenees, returned to Gaul, where he presented the two illustrious captives to his father, who immediately ordered them to be privately put to death. To reward his son for his eminent services, he created him Augustus, honouring him, says Zosimus, with a diadem. At the same time he sent a solemn deputation to Honorius, excusing his revolt, as if he had been forced by the soldiery to accept of the sovereignty, and demanding to be acknowledge
d by him as his partner in the empire. Honorius, not finding himself in a condition to make war upon the usurper, thought it advisable to comply with his request; and accordingly sent him the imperial purple, honouring him, at the same time, with the title of Augustus. Italy was at this time threatene
d with a new invasion of the barbarians, under the con
duct of the famous Alaric, who, at the instigation of Stilicho, leaving Pannonia and Dalmatia, where lands had been granted to him and his Goths, passed unexpectedly the Alps, and breaking into Noricum, threatened to invade Italy, and lay all waste before him, unless a certain sum, which he pretended to be due to him and his troops, were immediately sent him. Upon this demand, Honorius, who was then at Rome, assembled the senate, when several senators of great distinc
tion were for rejecting his demand, and marching the army without delay against him, urging, that to comply with an arrogant and unreasonable demand was not buying a peace, but signing a contract of perpetual slavery. However Stilicho, who maintained a private correspondence with Ala
cia and his party, pleading with great warmth in his favour, as if the money he demanded were really due, it was agreed, that four thousand pounds weight of gold should be sent him.

Lampadius, who had with great liberty of speech opposed this motion, and by that means incurred the displeasure of Stilicho, as soon as the Senate broke up, took sanctuary in a neighbouring church. A few days after Honorius, leaving Rome, set out for Bononia; whence, after a short stay, he removed to Ticinum, now Pavia, attended by one Olympius, who, by an outward show of Christian piety, says Zosimus, had gained the confidence of the emperor, and was by him employed about his person. As every one was now well apprised of the wicked designs of Stilicho, Olympius, thought himself obliged to disclose them to the emperor, which he did accordingly on the road from Bologna to Pavia, and so thoroughly convinced him of the treachery of his minister, that the prince, awaked, as it were, out of a deep lethargy, no sooner arrived at Pavia, than he dispatched an express to Ravenna, where Stilicho then was, with two different orders, the one commanding him to be secured, and the other to be put to death. Upon the arrival of the messenger, Stilicho took sanctuary in a church; but the next day, being, in the presence of the bishop, assured by the soldiers upon oath, that they had orders only to arrest him, he left his asylum, and delivered himself into their hands; which he had scarce done, when the messenger produced the warrant for his death; whereupon he was beheaded the same day, the twenty-third of August, of the present year 408. It was no sooner known at Pavia, that the emperor had ordered him to be arrested, than the army encamped there, encouraged by Olympius, says Zosimus, flew to arms, and in a tumultuous manner flew all those who were known to be well-affected to the disgraced general, and amongst the rest Limenius, prefect of Gaul, Charibaudes, commander of the troops in the same province, who had both been lately driven out of that province by Constantine, Longinius, formerly prefect of Italy, Vincentius, general of the horse, Salvius and Petronius, the one comes domesticorum, the other comes largitionum, another Salvius, who was questor, Nemorius, then magister officiorum, and many other persons of great distinction. All authors, except Zosimus and the poet Claudian, agree, that he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, viz. that he maintained a private correspondence with Alaric; that he invited the barbarians.

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into Gaul, hoping the emperor would reward his eminent services, after he had driven them out, with assuming him for his colleague; that he had formed a design of murdering the two princes Honorius and Theodosius, and seizing on both empires for himself; that by a potion given to Honorius he prevented his having any issue, &c. But Zosimus pretends these crimes to have been all feigned by his enemies, in order to prejudice Honorius against him, and procure his ruin, to which the credulous prince in the end contented. The same writer adds, that, after his death, several of his friends were cruelly tortured, and amongst the rest Deuterus, the emperor's great chamberlain, and Peter his chief secretary, who died on the rack without owning any of the several charges that were brought against him or them as privy to his wicked designs. Stilicho professed the christian religion; but his son Eucherius was not only a pagan, but a professed enemy to the christians; may he used to brag amongst the pagans, says Orosius, who wrote about that time, that if he ever attained the empire, he would signalize the beginning of his reign with the restitution of the pagan, and utter extirpation of the christian, ceremonies. If what that author writes be true, the partiality which Zosimus, a zealous patron of paganism, shews for Stilicho and Eucherius, may be easily accounted for.

The emperor had married in the beginning of this year Thermantia, Stilicho's second daughter, Maria, his eldest daughter, whom Honorius had married in 398, being dead some years before; perhaps when the emperor was at Rome, in 404, for her body was discovered in the Vatican church on the fourth of February 1544, with several things of great value: her body, when exposed to the air, mouldered away; but the gold of her garments remaining, when the rest fell to ashes, weighed thirty-six pounds. Honorius married Thermantia at Rome, where the match was concluded by Serena, alluding, says Zosimus, to her husband Stilicho, who was averse to it as incestuous, that the other sister died a virgin. Upon the death of Stilicho, Honorius divorced his daughter, and sent her back untouched to her mother Serena. Zosimus writes, that she died soon after; but, according to the chronicle of Alexandria,

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* Zos. p. 811, 819.  
* Oros. p. 222.  
* Zos. p. 804.  
* Phot. c. 80. p. 177.  
* Zos. p. 824.  
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dria, news of her death was brought to Constantinople on Friday the thirtieth of July 415. Her body too was found in the Vatican in 1543, adorned with the imperial robes, and all the ensigns of majesty. As for Eucherius, when he heard the news of his father’s death, he fled to a church for protection; but being dragged from thence by the emperor’s orders, he was sent under a strong guard to Rome, and there executed. Thus were the empire, says Orosius, and the church, by the death of a few persons, delivered from the wicked attempts of their enemies. However, we could wish for the reputation of Honorius, a pious and well-meaning prince, that the pretended criminals had been tried in due form; for such as suffer without being heard, have a right to be deemed innocent. All the ecclesiastic writers suppose Stilicho to have been guilty; but the crimes laid to his charge were never proved either in his life-time, or after his death; and hence Zosimus looks upon them as false imputations and groundless suspicions. Stilicho’s estate was confiscated, and likewise the estates of all his avowed partizans, and of such as had been preferred by him for money, and Heliocrates was sent to Rome to seize them which; commissio on he discharged with great humanity and good-nature, warning underhand those who were the leaf guilty to remove their effects out of the way: but his moderation cost him dear; for he was not only deprived of his commission, but sent in bonds to Ravenna, and would have been put to death, had he not found means to escape out of prison, and save himself in a church. Such was the end of Stilicho, after he had commanded in chief the Roman armies for the space of twenty-three years. He was no doubt a person of extraordinary qualities, a great statesman, a valiant soldier, and experienced officer. He gained such an ascendant over Honorius, who was blindly guided by his counsels, that, till the time of his disgrace, he governed with a more absolute sway, than the emperor himself. Zosimus, however partial to his memory, accuses him of rapine and oppression, of great partiality in the administration of justice, and of conveying by degrees into his own coffers the whole wealth of the empire. Stilicho was succeeded in the administration by Olympius, the chief author of his ruin. He was a native of the country.

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try bordering on the Euxine sea, and not only professed the chritian religion, but outwardly affected an extraordinary piety, says Zosimus, intimating thereby, that his piety was counterfeit: but St. Auffin entertained a very favourable opinion of him, as appears from the commendations he bestows upon him; as did likewise Symmachus, tho’ a zealous pagan. Olympiodorus writes, that he owed his first preferment to Stilicho, who recommended him to Honorius; which would render the return he made that minister highly criminal, if he had any thing in view but the public welfare. He had in Stilicho’s life-time a considerable employment at court, and was after his death raised to the post of magister officiorum, or steward of the emperor’s household, one of the greatest employments in the state. Soon after his promotion, he wrote to St. Auffin, desiring that zealous prelate to suggest to him from time to time what he thought would conduce to the good of the church. In the very beginning of his administration, he caused several laws to be enacted against the pagans, Jews, and heretics, especially the Donatists in Africa. By a law dated the fourteenth of November, all those who were not of the catholic communion, or did not conform to the religion of the prince, were excluded from all employments at court. When this law was enacted, one of the chiefs of the barbarians in the Roman service, resigned his command; and his example, if Zosimus is to be credited, was followed by many others, who were either pagans or Arians. Amongst the several laws of this year, relating both to civil and ecclesiastical matters, one was enacted forbidding all persons of quality to trade, not that trade was by any means looked upon as degrading, but because others, in dealing with men of power and authority, were liable to be injured by them without redress.

When the Roman solders, quartered in the cities of Italy, heard of Stilicho’s death, they flew to arms, and, out of hatred to him, inhumanly murdered the wives and children of the barbarians, whom he had taken into the service, and whom they on that account looked upon as privy to his wicked designs, and public enemies. The barbarians, highly provoked, 

provoked at this unheard-of cruelty, vowed revenge; and quitting the emperor's service, retired, to the number of thirty thousand and upwards, to Alaric, who, tho' thus reinforced, sent deputies to Honorius, offering to conclude a lasting peace with him, and never more to disturb the tranquillity of the empire, provided he would fend him a sufficient sum to pay his army their arrears. Honorius refusing to comply with his demand, he dispatched an express to Athulphus or Athaulphus, his brother-in-law, who was quartered on the frontiers of Pannonia, ordering him to hasten with his troops, consisting of Goths and Hunns, into Italy. In the mean time, Alaric himself advancing with long marches from Noricum to the Po, crossed that river without opposition; and passing in sight of Ravenna, where the emperor then was, pursued his march almost without halting till he arrived at Rome, which he immediately invested, blocking up all the roads and avenues leading to it, and placing guards at the mouth and on the banks of the Tiber, to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any supplies or provisions by water.

By this means the city, which was crouded with people, was soon reduced to great distress; a famine began to rage, which was attended with a plague, arising from the great number of dead bodies that lay in the streets unburied. Olympiodorus writes, that the unhappy citizens were reduced to the fatal necessity of feeding upon human flesh, and devouring each other; and Zosimus, that they were almost brought to that extremity. During this calamity, the pagans, and among the rest Pompeianus, prefect of the city, began to cry aloud, that recourse ought to be had to the gods of their ancestors, who had so often relieved the city, and delivered it from the greatest dangers. Zosimus adds, that Innocent, at that time bishop of Rome, consented to their offering sacrifices to the gods, provided it were done privately; but that they were, notwithstanding his consent, afraid to perform the ceremony. Sozomen writes, that at the instigation of some Herulcan archons, they actually revived the ancient sacrifices; which were so far from relieving the city, that thenceforth it laboured under greater difficulties than ever. Be that as it will, the unhappy citizens were in the end obliged to send out deputies to treat with Alaric.

These

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These were Basilius, who had been prefect of Rome in 395, and John, the emperor's first secretary. Alaric hearkened to their proposals, and agreed to raise the siege, and ever after continue faithful to the Romans, upon their delivering up hostages, and paying to him five thousand pounds weight of gold, thirty thousand of silver, four thousand silk garments, three thousand skins of purple dye, and as many pounds of pepper. For the raising of the required sum, the senators were taxed according to their estates; but as they had not so much ready money by them, that wicked genius, says Zosimus, which then governed the affairs of mankind, prompted those, who were concerned in levying the said sum, to the height of iniquity; for, to make good the deficiency, they had recourse to the ornaments of the temples and images of the gods: some of the latter, that were of gold or silver, they melted down, and among the rest that of Valour, which being destroyed, the antient Roman valour was utterly extinguished, as had been foretold by persons skilled in divine matters, and well versed in the rites and ceremonies of their country. The treaty was ratified by Honorius, and the sum thus raised sent to Alaric, who thereupon raised the siege, and retired with his army into Hetruria. When he first appeared before Rome, the senate, with the consent and approbation of Placidia, the emperor's sister, then in the city, caused Serena, the widow of Stilicho, to be put to death, upon a false supposition, says Zosimus, of her privately corresponding with the enemy. Læta, the widow of the emperor Gratian, and her mother Piffamene, signalized their good nature during the siege, relieving with great generosity, as Zosimus himself owns, the famished citizens.

While the western empire was thus miserably harassed by the barbarians, and rent into two empires by the usurpation of Constantine, whom Honorius had been obliged to acknowledge for his partner in the sovereignty, a profound peace reigned over all the provinces subject to young Theodotius, though not yet eight years old. They were chiefly indebted for the happiness they enjoyed to Anthemius, who taking upon him the administration, discharged the office of prime minister with an integrity hardly to be matched in history. He was grandson to Philippus, who had been prefect of the east.

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east under Constantius, which office Anthemiuss himself discharged from the year 405, to 414. Ammiianus Marcellinus mentions one Simplicius, the son of Anthemiuss the elder, and probably the father of Anthemiuss the younger, who was disgraced in 359. The latter was magister officiorum before the year 404, embassador to the king of Persia before the year 405, consul in that year, and soon after praefectus praetorio. He had at least one daughter, who was married to Procopius, by whom she had Anthemiuss, advanced to the empire in 465. Anthemiuss, who governed the eastern empire during the minority of Theodosius, is commended by all the writers of those times as an experienced commander, an able statesman, a zealous christian, and one who had nothing so much at heart as the glory of his prince and the happiness of the people. He was, says Synesius, who constantly styles him the great Anthemiuss, in my opinion, and in that of all men the greatest, the best, the most virtuous, disinterested, and well-meaning minister, that ever governed a state. Procopius writes, that Arcadius, either distrusting his brother Honorius, or apprised that the distracted state of his own affairs would divert him from minding those of the east, begged in his will Idefgerdes, king of Persia, with whom he had entered into a strict alliance, to take upon him the care and tuition of the young prince: the same writer adds, that Idefgerdes, who was a prince of great generosity, sent embassadors to acquaint the senate of Constantinople, that he accepted the charge, and was resolved to make war upon such as should presume to raise disturbances in the state. Theophanes, who wrote after Procopius, and has borrowed from him the greatest part of his history, adds, that Idefgerdes, not being at leisure to attend the administration in person, sent Antiochus to Constantinople in his room, a person of extraordinary abilities, and of an unblemished character, who discharged the trust reposed in him with the greatest integrity till the year 414, when Pulcheria taking upon her the administration, he was deprived of his authority, and even of his life. Zonaras follows Procopius and Theophanes, as does likewise Cedrenus. It is surprizing, that such an event, one

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one of the most remarkable in history, should by no historian be taken notice of before Procopius, who wrote an hundred and fifty years after, and is often guilty of no small mistakes, being misled by popular and ill-grounded traditions, among which we may reckon this supposed last will of Arcadius; for Agathias tells us, that it was the common talk, having been handed down by tradition from father to son; but that he found it vouched by no writer, except Procopius, not even by those who had given a particular account of the death of Arcadius.  And truly Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Zosimus, Philostorgius, both Prophers, and Marcellinus, take not the least notice of this memorable transaction.  Isidore of Pelusium and Synesius mention an eunuch, by name Antiochus, who passing from the service of a Persian lord, named Narses, to that of Theodosius II. became preceptor to the young prince; which perhaps gave rise to the above-mentioned tradition.  This year the Hunns and Squiri, or Scyri, a northern nation, broke suddenly into Thrace, under the conduct of Uldin, of whom we have made mention above; but some of their officers abandoning them to join the Romans, they retired with great precipitation: however, the emperor’s troops, coming up with the Squiri before they could reach the Danube, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and took the rest prisoners.  By this overthrow, that nation was almost utterly extirpated.

The next confus were Honorius, the eighth time, and Theodosius, the third.  In Gaul, Constantine, who reigned there, caufed himself to be acknowledged conful in the room of Theodosius.  As Honorius, under various pretences, declined delivering up to Alaric the promised hostages, and executing some other articles of the treaty not mentioned by historians, the senate sent Attalus, Cæcilius, and Maximianus or Maximilianus, to represent to him in their name the evils that might thence accrue to the empire, especially to the capital.  But their remonstrances were utterly disregarded by the emperor, misled, says Zosimus, by Olympus and Alaric’s enemies at court.  However, he raised Attalus to the post of comes lagistinum, and Cæcilius to that of praefectus praetorio.  In the mean time, Alaric, provoked at the emperor’s backwardness in complying with the articles of the late treaty, left Hetruria, and approaching Rome, blocked

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1 Agath. l. iv. p. 135.  2 Isid. Pol. l. i. ep. 39. p. 11.  
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blocked it up a second time, his army being reinforced with forty thousand slaves, who had made their escape out of the city. Honorius sent six thousand chosen troops to the defence of the city; but they were intercepted by Alaric’s parties, and all either cut off, or taken prisoners, except Valens, their commander, Attalus, and about an hundred more, who with much ado got into Rome. Maximilianus, one of the prisoners, was ransomed by his father with thirty thousand pieces of gold. Zosimus writes, that the six thousand men sent by Honorius to defend the city, made up five legions; so that a legion at this time consisted but of twelve hundred men. In the mean time, Ataulphus, whom Alaric had sent for, as we have observed above, was advancing to join him; and had already passed the Julian Alps, and entered the province of Venetia, when Honorius dispatched against him all the forces quartered in the neighbouring towns, who cut in pieces eleven hundred of his men, with the loss only of fifteen; but notwithstanding this check, Ataulphus pur sued his march, and joined Alaric. About this time, Olympius, the prime minister, was disgraced, de vested of all his honours, and discharged, the eunuchs of the court blaming him to the emperor as the author of the present calamities. He was succeeded by Jovius, then prefect of Italy, a person highly commended by Zosimus, which gives us room to believe him to have been a pagan; for he is scarce ever so lavish of his praises on those who professed the Christian religion. With Olympius several other officers were changed. Attalus was made prefect of Rome, andDemetrius comes larginionum, or treasurer, in his place. The soldiers, mutinying at Ravenna, demanded the heads of the two generals Turpilio and Vigilantius, and likewise of Terentius and Arsacius, the emperor’s two first chamberlains.

Hereupon the timorous prince, at the instigation of Jovius, perhaps the author of the tumult, ordered the two generals to be conveyed on board a vessel, in order to be sent into exile; but the soldiers, who were charged to conduct them, put them both to death. Terentius was banished into the east, and Arsacius confined to the city of Milan. Eusebius was made great chamberlain in the room of Terentius; Valens succeeded Turpilio in the post of general of the horse; and the office of comes domelicorum, held by Vigilantius, was

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was given to Ellebichus or Allobichus. These were all creatures of Jovius, whose authority was thus thoroughly established. At the same time, Generides, by birth a barbarian, was appointed general of the troops quartered in Rhetia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia; which countries he procured with great fidelity against the barbarians, who attempted to invade them. Zosimus writes, that he was a pagan, and that for his sake Honorius revoked the law excluding the pagans from all employments. The same law was revoked with respect to heretics, especially the Donatists, to whom some churches were restored, which had been formerly taken from them, the emperor following therein the advice of Jovius, of Heraclianus, count of Africa, and of Macrobius, the author of the Saturnalia, as is commonly believed, at that time proconsul of Africa.

A l a r i c being returned before Rome, as we have observed above, the senate sent a second deputation to the emperor, pressing him to execute the articles of a treaty, which he himself had ratified. Alaric approved of this step, and appointed a body of Goths to escort the deputies, among whom was Innocent, bishop of the city. At the same time, Alaric, by the advice of Jovius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted in Epirus, advanced with part of his army to Ariminum or Rimini, that he might be nearer at hand to treat with the emperor, then at Ravenna. Jovius himself met him at Rimini; and, after some conferences with him, wrote to court, advising the emperor to comply with the articles formerly agreed to; or if he thought them unreasonable, to satisfy Alaric by preferring him to the post of commander in chief of all the Roman forces. To this letter the emperor answered, that he was resolved never to prefer Alaric, nor any of his people. The emperor’s letter being delivered to Jovius, while he was in Alaric’s tent, and he with the utmost imprudence reading it aloud, Alaric was so provoked at the prince’s declaration, that he immediately decamped, bending his march towards Rome; but soon after, changing his mind, he sent some bishops to Honorius, with very moderate proposals; for he offered to enter into a perpetual alliance with Honorius, and to defend the empire against all invaders, provided he would only lend him a small sum to pay his men their arrears, that they might not mutiny when disbanded, and

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and allow them to settle in Rhaetia and Noricum, which provinces paid but an inconsiderable tribute, and nevertheless obliged the emperor, as they were exposed to the incursions of the neighbouring barbarians, to maintain numerous armies to defend them, which he took upon himself to do, without putting the empire to the least charge. These proposals, however reasonable, were rejected; Jovius having, by a second fault, cut off all means of an accommodation; for, apprehending the emperor might, from his late imprudent conduct, suspect him of privately favouring Alaric, he over-acted the contrary part, inducing the emperor to swear that he would never make peace, but wage perpetual war with Alaric: this he swore himself by the emperor’s head, and obliged all the officers both civil and military to take the same oath. Alaric, tho’ informed of these unaccountable proceedings, sent back the bishops to Ravenna, earnestly entreating the emperor, who had not sufficient forces to withstand him, not to suffer that stately metropolis, which for so many ages had been revered by all nations as mistress of the world, to become a prey to her enemies. But the emperor continuing obstinate in his former resolution, Alaric pursu’d his march to Rome; and, approaching the city, acquainted the inhabitants with the emperor’s invincible obstinacy, inviting them at the same time to consult their own safety by joining him against Honorius. This proposal they rejected at first with indignation; but Alaric having, after a few days siege, taken the castle at the mouth of the Tiber, in which all the public provisions were lodged, they immediately opened their gates, and received him into the city, which he entered attended by a small guard, and obliged the citizens to renounce their allegiance to Honorius, and acknowledge, not himself, as he might have easily done, but Attalus, then prefect of the city, for emperor. Attalus was a native of Ionia, and greatly beloved by Alaric and his Goths, because he had been baptized by Segisbertus their bishop, and consequently professed the doctrine of Arius, tho’ he was in his heart a pagan, according to Philostorgius. Attalus, thus created emperor by Alaric, made him in return commander in chief of all his forces, and Ataulphus his comes domesticorum, distributing the other great employments amongst

mongst pagans and Arians. At it was a matter of the ut-
moft importance to secure Africa, whence Rome was
supplied with provisions, Alaric advised the new emperor
to fend thither without delay a considerable body of troops
under the conduct of Drumas, who was by nation a Goth,
but an officer of great experience and address: but Attalus,
contrary to the advice of Alaric, sent one Constantine or
Constans, a person quite unacquainted with military affairs,
and with him but a small number of troops, being affurred by
the aruspices, says Sozomen, that Africa would immediately
submit. But Constantine was upon his first landing cut off with
all his men by Heraclianus, who took care to place guards in
all the ports of Africa, that no corn might be thence con-
voyed to Rome, which by that means was soon reduced to
great straights. In the mean time, Attalus, without waiting
for news from Africa, set out from Rome with the succours
he received from Alaric, with a design to besiege the emperor
in Ravenna, who, alarmed at his motions, dispatched Jovius,
the prime minister, Valens, general of the foot, Potamus,
the quaeftor, and Julian, his first secretary, to wait his arri-
val at Rimina, and acquaint him, that the emperor was will-
ing to acknowledge him as his partner in the empire. But
Attalus would only grant Honorius his life, and the liberty of
retiring to what island he pleased. Jovius, in a private
conference with Attalus, not only advised him to insist upon
these terms, but suggested to him, that he ought to main the
emperor so as to prevent his having issue; which wicked
suggestion was rejected with horror, if Olympiodorus is to be
credited, by Attalus himself. That treacherous minister
returned to court; but being sent back to the ufurper with
new proposals, he continued with him. Honorius, finding
himself thus betrayed by his friends, and no-ways in a condi-
tion to oppose so many enemies at once, resolved to abandon
Ravenna and retire by sea into the caft; but was diverted from
that resolution by the seasonable arrival of four thousand
men, sent him by his nephew Theodosius, which encouraged
him to continue at Ravenna, and there wait the issue of the
war in Africa. And truly his arms were attended there with
uncommon success; for Attalus having, after the death of
Constans, sent thither a body of troops far more numerous
than the first, Heraclianus cut them likewise in pieces; and
not

- Phot. p. 181. i Phot. ibid.
not only continued to keep the ports blocked up, so that no provisions could be conveyed to Rome, but sent a reasonable supply of money to Honorius, which he immediately distributed among the soldiery, and by that means re-established his affairs. In the mean time, Alaric reduced all the cities of Liguria and Æmilia, except Bononia, which he was obliged to abandon, after having lain a considerable time before it. He caused Attalus to be every-where proclaimed emperor, and obliged the people to swear allegiance to him.

While these things passed in Italy, Gerontius, to whom Constantine, the son of Constantine, had committed the government of Spain, as we have related above, revolting, upon some disgust, from Constantine, set up one Maximus for emperor, whom Olympiodorus supposed to have been his son, while other writers style him his client or creature. Orosius speaks of him as a person of a mean extractions, and altogether unknown. It was no sooner known in Gaul, that Gerontius had revolted, than the Vandals, Suevians, Alans, and other barbarians, whom Constantine had suffered to remain in that province, as we have related above, flew to arms, probably at the instigation of the new usurper, and made themselves masters of several cities. The people, finding themselves thus harassed by the barbarians, and expecting no relief either from Honorius or Constantine, resolved to defend themselves. The Britons were the first, who, falling off from the empire, established a new form of government among themselves, after having driven out the barbarians, the Germans, according to Zosimus, but more likely the Scots, or Irifh, who had invaded their country. Thus they continued a free people till the year 421, 422, when, overpowered by their warlike neighbours the Scots, they were forced to implore the protection of the emperor, and submit anew to the laws of the empire, as we shall relate hereafter. All the Armorici, says Zosimus, that is, in the language of the Gauls, the maritime people, followed the example of the Britons, and, shaking off the Roman yoke, gave rise to a new state and government, which, notwithstanding all their efforts, proved but short-lived. The barbarians, meeting with greater opposition than they expected from the inhabitants of Gaul, who had taken arms in their own

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own defence, and acquainted with the distracted state of Spain, which was represented to them as a wealthy and fruitful country, resolved to try whether they could settle there. With this design, the Vandals, the Alans and Suevians bent their march towards the Pyrenees, which they passed without opposition, the guards, who had been placed there by Geroncius to defend the narrow passes, either retiring at the approach of such multitudes, or joining them. Thus the barbarians first entered Spain in 409, on a Tuesday, says Idatius, the twenty-eighth of September; or the thirteenth of October; but in the year 409, the 13th of October fell on a Wednesday. The passes of the Pyrenees being once opened, the barbarians, who had over-run Gaul, powered in swarms into Spain, and there made themselves masters of several cities and strong-holds, defeated the troops which Constantine had sent, under the conduct of his son Constans, to suppress the rebellion of Geroncius, and obliged Constans himself to abandon the country, and retire to his father at Arles. As for Geroncius, they entered into a kind of alliance with him against their common enemy Constantine. The barbarians, having no enemy to oppose them, after the retreat of Constans, over-ran the whole country, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties; which the reader will find described at length by Idatius, who, in this very century, was bishop of a city in Spain. Olympiodorus writes, that the Romans, who had taken refuge in some strong-holds, were reduced to the dreadful necessity of feeding upon one another; and adds, that a mother, who had four children, killed and devoured them all; for which unnatural cruelty she was stoned to death by the populace. The barbarians continued their ravages, putting all to fire and sword, till the year 411, when, being absolute masters of the country, they applied themselves to the tilling of the ground, and other works of agriculture, after having divided among themselves by lot the Spanish provinces. In that division Galicia fell to the Vandals and Suevians, the former having Gonderic for their king, and the latter Ermeric; Lusitania, and the province of Carthagena, to the Alans; Bœtica to the Silingi, who were likewise Vandals, and are supposed to have given to their lot the name of Wandalusia, which

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c Idat. chron.  
d Phot. c. 83. p. 184.  
e Idat. chron p. 10, 11.  
f Phot. c. 83. p. 189.
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which was afterwards changed into that of Andalufia. Such of the natives as had the good luck to escape the general slaughter, submitted to the barbarians, who, touching the holy book of the gospels, swore, that they would treat them for the future as their friends and allies; which oath they observed so religiously, that the Romans chose to live in poverty, says Orosius, under the barbarians, rather than to return into the dominions of the empire. The inhabitants of Galicia, however, maintained their liberty, and formed a new state in a corner of that province, where they were often attacked, but without success, by Emeric or Ermeric, king of the Suevians. Nothing happened this year in the east worthy of notice, except a tumult at Constantinople, where the people, rising on account of the scarcity of bread, burnt the house of Monaxies, prefect of the city; but the senators and other wealthy citizens, having, by voluntary contributions, raised a large sum for the relief of the poor, and the bakers being publicly whipt through the city, as was frequently practised when bread grew dear, the tumult was quelled.

The following year 410, when Varanes alone was consul, is remarkable for the taking of Rome by Alaric. Varanes began his consulship at Constantinople; but the western empire, especially the city of Rome, was involved in such troubles, that Honorius was not at leisure to think of a consul. Attalus, however, raised Tertullus, a pagan, to that dignity; but he was acknowledged only by the partizans of the usurper: whence Varanes alone is named consul in the fasti and in the laws, some of which are dated thus; the year after the eighth consulship of Honorius, and the third of Theodosius. As Heraclian continued to keep the ports of Africa blocked up, and the lands in Italy had not been tilled for several years, by reason of the wars, the Roman people were reduced to feed upon chestnuts; nay, human flesh was publicly sold, and several mothers were said to have devoured their children. This obliged both Alaric and Attalus to hasten to Rome, in order to advise with the senate about the proper means of supplying the city. Most part of the senators were for sending into Africa a body of Goths, Alaric engaging, that

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that Drumas, one of his officers, would reduce it with five hundred only; but Attalus openly declared, that he would not by any means employ Goths in that war; which so piqued Alaric, who had already began to look upon Attalus as none no-ways qualified for the high station to which he had raised him, that he resolved to depose him, left, by his obstinacy and imprudence, he should quite ruin his affairs. He was confirmed in this resolution by Jovius, who persuaded him, that Attalus, scorn enough to depend upon him, and to hold the empire upon precarious terms, was determined to destroy him. This conduct of Jovius has induced some writers to believe, that he maintained a private correspondence with Honorius; nay, that he abandoned him with no other view but to betray Attalus. Be that as it will, Alaric, finding the new emperor unequal to so great a charge, and provoked at his late declaration and misconduct with respect to the affairs of Africa, sent deputies once more to Honorius, with very reasonable terms; which the emperor seeming inclined to comply with, Alaric publicly stripped the mock prince of all the badges of sovereignty, and sent them to Honorius. He would not, however, deliver up either Attalus, or his son Ampelius; but insinuated upon their being pardoned, since their crime was owing more to him than to them. Attalus being thus deposed, Alaric approached Ravenna, and stopped at a place called the Alps, about nine miles from that city, in order to put the last hand to the treaty of accommodation between him and the emperor. But this peaceable face of affairs was soon changed by an unlucky and unforeseen accident: Sarus the Goth, of whom we have made frequent mention, commanded a body of three hundred men in Picenum, without declaring either for Honorius or Alaric. However, Ataulphus, who bore him an irreconcilable hatred, resolved to destroy him, and with this view marched at the head of a strong party against him; which obliged him to declare for Honorius, and retire to Ravenna. Olympiodorus writes, that Alaric was so provoked at the kind reception Sarus met with from the emperor, that he would hearken to no terms. On the other hand, Sozomen tells us, that Sarus, apprehending a peace would be prejudicial to him, fell unexpectedly upon the Goths, and put some of them to the sword. How-

ever that be, it is certain, that Alaric departed in a great rage from the neighbourhood of Ravenna, and returned to his army, encamped near Rome, as soon as Sarus had joined the emperor, restoring the purple, and other badges of majesty to Attalus; but in a few days degrading him anew, as if he designed to traduce and expose to ridicule the imperial dignity. Socrates writes, that having shewed him to the soldiery, with all the ensigns of sovereignty, he exposed him the very next day to public view in the dress of a slave. To this was the majesty of the Roman empire now reduced. Alaric no sooner arrived before Rome, than he blocked it up on all sides, and by that means, as provisions were already very scarce, reduced it in a few days to the utmost extremity. Some authors, and among the rest, St. Jerom write, that it held out a long time; while others say, Alaric reduced it with such expedition, that Honorius, when told by one of his courtiers, that Rome was lost, understood him of a favourite cock bearing that name, not being yet informed, that the city of Rome was besieged. There is likewise a disagreement among authors as to the manner in which it was taken. Procopius writes, that Proba, an illustrious Roman matron, pitting the unhappy condition of the people, reduced by the famine that had long raged in the city to the fatal necessity of devouring one another, opened the gates in the nighttime to the enemy. Sozomen says it was taken by treachery, without explaining himself farther; but Orofius ues the word irruption, which seems to import, that the enemy broke in by force, or took the city by assault. Be that as it will, that proud and haughty city, styled the metropolis of the universe, after having triumphed over so many nations, and extended her dominions from one end of the known world to the other, was, on the twenty-fourth of August of the present year 410, taken by a barbarian, who had not a foot of ground which he could properly call his own. As she had, for the space of one thousand one hundred and sixty-three years, pillaged the rest of the world, and enriched herself with the spoils of the plundered nations, she underwent in the end the same fate, and suffered in her turn the same calamities, which she had brought upon others. Alaric, when upon the point of breaking into the city, addressing his soldiers,

And Rome anew besieged, taken, and plundered.

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† Orof. I. vii. c. 42. p. 224.  
‡ Socr. I. vii. c. 10. p. 346, 547.  
§ Hier cp. 16. p. 121.  
‖ Idem ibid.  
#### Orof. p 222.
soldiers, told them, That all the wealth lodged in it was theirs, and therefore he gave them full liberty to seize it; but at the same time he strictly enjoined them to shed the blood of none but such as they should find in arms, and above all to spare those who should take sanctuary in the holy places, especially in the churches of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, which he named, because they were more spacious, and consequently capable of affording an asylum to great numbers of people. Having given these orders, he abandoned the city to the Goths, who treated it no better, according to St. Jerom, than the Greeks are said to have treated antient Troy \( b \); for, after having plundered it for the space of three, or, as others will have it, of six, days, they set fire to it in several places; so that the stately palace of Sallust, and many other magnificent buildings, were reduced to ashes; nay, Procopius writes, that there was not in the whole city one house left entire \( c \); and both St. Jerom \( d \) and Philostorgius \( e \), that the great metropolis of the empire was reduced to an heap of ashes and ruins. Tho' many of the Goths, pursuant to the orders of their general, refrained from shedding the blood of such as made no resistance, yet others, more cruel and blood-thirsty, massacred all they met; so that the streets in some quarters of the city were seen covered with heaps of dead bodies, and swimming in blood \( f \). However, not the least injury was offered to those who had fled to the churches; nay, the Goths themselves conveyed thither, as to places of safety, such as they were desirous should be spared \( g \). Many of the statues of the gods that had been left entire by the emperors, as excellent pieces of art, were on this occasion destroyed, either by the Goths, who, tho' Moffly Arians, were zealous christians, or by a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, which fell at the same time upon the city, as if it had been sent on purpose to complete, with them, the destruction of idolatry, and abolish the small remains of pagan superstition \( h \). The learned bishop of Meaux wrote a famous treatise, shewing, that the taking of Rome by Alaric may be looked upon as one of the chief mysteries foretold by John in his revelations \( i \). The pagans ascribed the calamities which Rome suffered on this occasion, to its having banished the gods, by whom it had been often protected against far more

\( b \) Hier. ep. 10. p. 131. \( c \) Procop. p. 179. \( d \) Hier. ep. 12. p. 100. \( e \) Philost. p. 334. \( f \) Idem ibid. \( g \) Hier. & Soz. ibid. \( h \) Orat. I. vii. c. 39. p. 222. & l. ii. c. 19. p. 164. \( i \) Explication de l' apocalyphe.
more powerful enemies. These calamities St. Austin fully confuted in his 81st, 105th and 106th sermons, in another intitled of the destruction of the city of Rome, and in his great work de civitate Dei, wherein he shews, that Rome had suffered far greater calamities before it embraced the true faith, and that it was preferred by the Christian religion from utter destruction.


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CHAP. XXX.

The history of Rome, from the taking of the city by the Goths, to the death of Theodosius II.

ALARIC, having fluid, according to some, six, according to others, only three, days in Rome, retired from thence into Campania, carrying with him immense wealth, and a great number of captives, among whom was Placidia, the sister of Honorius, whom he treated with all the respect due to her rank and sex. After he ravaged and laid waste Campania, Lucania, Samnium, Apulia, Calabria, and the country of the Bruttii, he approached the shores of Sicily, with a design to pass over into that island, and thence into Africa, which he intended to reduce; but the fleet he had prepared for that purpose being shipwrecked in the straits, he continued in the neighbourhood of Rhegium, deliberating what further measures he was to take; but before he came to any resolution, he was suddenly seized with a fit of sickness, which carried him off in a few days. The Goths were deeply concerned for the death of their king, (for they had given him that title, as we have observed above) and fearing the Romans should offer some indignity to his bones, they turned the course of the Bufento near Cosenza in the Farther Calabria; and having buried him, with many rich spoils brought from Rome, in the bed of the river,

river, they restored the waters to their natural current, and killed all the slaves they had employed in the work. After this they chose Ataulphus king in his room. He was brother-in-law to the deceased prince, who had married his sister. Jornandes writes, that he returned to Rome, and pillaged that city a second time. But of this second destruction of Rome, as he styles it, no mention is made by any of the writers who flourished at that time. While the barbarians were thus ravaging Italy on one side, Constantine, leaving Gaul, where he reigned, entered it on the other, giving out, that he was marching to the assistance of Honorius, tho' his real design was to strip him of the few provinces that were left him. With this view he was already advanced as far as Verona; but while he was preparing to pass the Po, in order to march to Ravenna, and there confer as he pretended, with the emperor about the most proper measures in the present juncture, he received news of the unhappy, but deserving, end of Alabicus or Allobicus, one of Honorius's generals, whom that prince had caused to be put to death, upon a well grounded suspicion of his privately corresponding with the usurper. This Constantine no sooner understood, than he repassed in great haste the Alps, and retired to Arles, where he found his son Constanus driven out of Spain by the above-mentioned barbarians. Geroncius, who had joined them against him pursued him into Gaul; which obliged Constantine to send Eobicus, one of his generals, to procure supplies among the Franks and Germans, and to commit the guard of Vienne, and the other cities on the Rhone, to his son Constanus. But Geroncius, arriving in the mean time before Vienne, took the place; and having put Constanus, whom he found in it, to death, advanced without opposition to Arles, and there closely besieged Constantine himself. While the western empire was thus involved in endless calamities, the provinces all over the east enjoyed a profound peace under the wise administration of Anthemiuss; so that nothing remarkable happened there, except the disgrace of one Andronicus, governor of the Pentapolis, who, by his tyrannical extortions, deserved to be first excommunicated by Synesius bishop of Ptolemais, the metropolis of that province, and afterwards removed by Anthemiuss from his government.

\[\text{m Jorn. ibid.} \quad \text{n Idem. p. 654.} \quad \text{o Soz. l. ix. c. 12 p. 814.} \quad \text{Phot. c. 83 p. 181.} \quad \text{Zof. l. v. p. 821.} \quad \text{p Soz. ibid. Phot. p. 184. Orof p. 224.} \quad \text{q Synes. c. 74. p. 220.}\]
The following year 411, Theodosius alone was the fourth time consul, Honorius being diverted, by the troubles in the west, from naming any one to that dignity. This year Honorius sent Constantius, an officer of great experience and address, and inviolably attached to the interest of his prince, into Gaul, with what troops he could spare, to make war upon Constantine, whom, after his entering Italy, the emperor no longer looked upon as his partner in the empire, but as a public enemy. Constantius was not by birth a barbarian, but a Roman; that is, he was born a subject of the empire, according to Olympiodorus, in the city of Panaiia in Illyricum. Valesius, supposes, upon what authority we know not, that he was a native of Naissus in Dacia, the birth-place of Constantine the Great. He was a man of extraordinary parts, well-shaped in his person, agreeable in conversation, frank, generous, an enemy to all dissimulation and restraint, disinterested, brave, and equally capable of commanding an army, and governing the state. He was no sooner named for this expedition, than he set out at the head of a considerable army from Gaul, where he was joined upon his first arrival by most of the troops of Gerontius, then busied in reducing the city of Arles, in which was Constantine himself, as we have related above. Gerontius, finding himself abandoned by his men, raised the siege in great haste, and fled into Spain, where the few soldiers who attended him, provoked at his unseasonable severity, attacked him in the house where he was lodged; which he defended, tho' assisted only by one friend, and a few slaves, with great resolution and intrepidity, killing three hundred of the aggressors. In the end the slaves, consulting their own safety, made their escape, which Gerontius too might have easily done, had he been able to prevail upon himself to forswear his wife, whom he tenderly loved. When he found himself overpowered, he resolved to lay violent hands on himself. His wife, by name Nonnichia, apprized of this resolution, earnestly entreated him to put her to death rather than suffer her to fall into the hands of the incensed soldiery. Moved with her tears, he first dispatched her, then his friend, and lastly himself. It is surprising, that Sozomen should commend this in Nonnichia, as an action worthy of the Christian religion.

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religion, which the professed. As for Maximus, whom Geroncius had set up for emperor, as we have related above, he was secured by his own men, and brought to Constantius, who stripped him of his ensigns of majesty, but spared his life, looking upon him as a person of himself inoffensive, and incapable of giving the least umbrage. He retired into Spain amongst the barbarians, and was still alive when Orosius wrote his history, that is, in 417. To return to Constantius: he pursued the siege of Arles, which Geroncius had begun. Constantine, who was in the place with his second son, by name Julian, held out for the space of four months, in expectation of the succours which Edobicius was sent to procure amongst the Franks, and other German nations. Edobicius arrived at length, at the head of an army far more numerous than that of Constantius; which so terrified the emperor's generals, that they were for abandoning the siege, and retreating into Italy. But their retreat being cut off by the enemy, they were forced to put the whole to the issue of a battle. Ulphihas therefore, who commanded under Constantius, passing the Rhone with a strong detachment of foot, concealed himself among the woods, till the enemy passed, and were ready to engage Constantius; when falling unexpectedly upon their rear, while Constantius charged them in front, they were immediately put to the rout. Edobicius fled to the house of a Gaulish lord, by name Ecdices, who, notwithstanding the many favours he had received at his hands, struck off his head, and carried it to Constantius, who ordered the traitor to depart the camp that instant, lest his presence should draw down from heaven some misfortune upon the whole army. Constantius returned without loss of time before Arles, which still held out with great obstinacy, till news being brought to the Roman camp that Jovinus, having usurped the imperial title in Farther Gaul, was advancing full march to Arles, at the head of a formidable army, consisting of Alemans, Franks, Burgundians, and Alans, with a design to fall on the emperor's army. Upon this intelligence, Constantius thought it advisable to comply with the terms which had been proposed before by the besieged, but rejected by him, viz. to grant a general indemnity, and to promise upon oath, that the lives of Constantine and Julian should be spared. Hereupon the gates were opened,

open, and the victorious army received into the town. Constantine had some time before devested himself of the purple, and taking sanctuary in a church, caused himself to be ordained priest, thinking that character would screen him from the emperor's just resentment. Constantius nevertheless caueth both him and his son to be secured, and sent into Italy, where they were, by the emperor's orders, beheaded about thirty miles from Ravenna. Honorius would not grant them their lives, because they had put to death his two cousins Didymius and Veriniarius; but as they had been promised indemnity by his lieutenant, the christian as well as the pagan writers look upon this action as a breach of faith unworthy of a prince. About the same time that Constantine devested himself of the purple, Jovinus, or, as he is styled by Sozomen and Philostorgius, Jovianus, assumed it at Mundiaceum, says Olympiodorus; which some take to be Mentz. He was descended from one of the most illustrious families in Gaul, and is said to have caueth himself to be proclaimed emperor at the instigation of Goar king of the Alans, and Guntarius, or Gondicarius prince of the Burgundi-ans. It appears from his medals, that he made himself master of Treves; but his reign was short-lived, as we shall see anon. In the east, the tranquillity which the people had long enjoyed there, was disturbed this year by the Ausrnians, a Moorish nation, who, breaking into the Pentapolis, laid waste that province; but were soon driven out by Anyfius, who had succeeded Andronicus in that government. The Saracens likewise committed great disorders on the frontiers of Egypt, Palestine, Phoenicia, and Syria; but retired of their own accord.

The following year 412, when Honorius was consul the ninth time, and Theodosius the fifth, the Goths at length left Italy, either in virtue of a treaty between Honorius and Ataulphus their new king, as Jornandes seems to suppose, or because they had already quite drained that country of its wealth, which from the sequel of the history, appears more probable. However that be, quitting Italy, they broke into Gaul, ravaging the countries through which they passed. Upon their arrival in that province, Attalus, whom Ataulphus had brought thither with him, advised the Goth to join Jovinus against Honorius, and divide Gaul between them.

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Ataulphus and Jovinus met upon that proposal; but all we know of their interview is, that Jovinus was not at all pleased to see Ataulphus and his Goths in Gaul. Sarus, whom we have often mentioned, having about this time revolted from Honorius, because he refused to punish the authors of the murder of one of his officers, by name Bellerid, was going into Gaul, to offer his service to Jovinus; which coming to the ears of Ataulphus, his implacable enemy, he went to meet him at the head of a thousand men. Sarus, tho' attended only by twenty persons, defended himself with such resolution, that it was with the utmost difficulty he was taken alive, after having killed with his own hand great numbers of the enemy. Ataulphus caused him soon after to be put to death, which as he was a brave and experienced officer, created a misunderstanding between Jovinus and Ataulphus. Jovinus soon after took his brother Sebastian for his partner in the empire, contrary to the opinion of Ataulphus, who was so provoked at his promotion, that he dispatched privately deputies to Honorius, offering to restore to him his sister Placidia, and to send him the heads of the two usurpers, provided he would supply his men with a certain quantity of corn. The emperor having readily complied with his demand, Ataulphus soon found an opportunity of dispatching Sebastian; but Jovinus, upon the news of his death, fled to Valence, where he was closely besieg'd, and in the end forced to submit to Ataulphus, who delivered him up to Dardanus, prefect of Gaul, by whose orders he was put to death at Narbonne. Idatius ascribes the defeat of the two usurpers to the generals of Honorius, who had perhaps joined Ataulphus. Dardanus, at this time prefect of Gaul, is highly commended by St. Jerom and St. Auffin, who wrote several letters to him; but Apollinaris Sidonius, who is likewise honoured with the title of saint, paints him as a person of a most infamous character, in whom centered all the vices of the three usurpers Constantine, Jovinus and Geroncius (O). This year Theodofius, or rather Anthemius, caused the walls of the frontier towns of Illyricum to be repaired.

(O) From an antient inscriptions discovered near Siferon in Provence, it appears, that Dardanus, or Claudius Postumius Dardanus, as he is styled there, had been governor of Vienne, and

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The next consuls were Lucius and Heraclianus: but the name of the latter was erased out of the safti; for he revolted this very year from Honorius, and causing himself to be proclaimed emperor in Africa, which he had with so much bravery defended against Attalus, he equipped a fleet there of seven hundred sail, according to some, of three thousand seven hundred, according to others, if there is no mistake in the numbers. Orofius writes, that his fleet was more numerous than those of Xerxes, of Alexander, or any other monarch mentioned in history. With this formidable armada he failed from Africa, and landing safe in Italy, marched straight to Rome, which his approach threw into the utmost consternation; but count Marinus marching out to meet him at the head of all the troops he could assemble, the usurper, seized with a sudden panic, betook himself to flight, and hastening on board one of his vessels, returned alone to Carthage. Upon his flight, his men immediately submitted, and were received into favour by Honorius, who soon after published a law, dated the fifth of July, and addressed to the people of Africa, wherein he declared Heraclianus a public enemy, and empowered every one to apprehend him, and put him to death, wherever they found him. He was, soon after his return to Carthage, discovered by some soldiers in an ancient temple, and by them immediately cut in pieces. His estate was confiscated, and bestowed upon Constantius. The same year the Franks made an irruption into Gaul, set fire to the city of Treves, and laid waste the neighbouring country. The Burgundians, who had entered Gaul in 407, with the Vandals and Alans, made themselves this year masters and its territory, prefect of Gaul, quaestor, and in the end raised to the rank of patrician; that his wife's name was Nevia Galla; and that his brother, Claudius Lepidus, who is distinguished in the inscription with the title of count, had been governor of Germania Prima, and treasurer. This inscription was made in honour of Dardanus, and his wife Galla, for having built a castle on a steep rock which stood on their estate, that the country people, in the sudden irruptions of the barbarians, might have a safe place to retire to with their families and effects. This castle was then called Theopolis; but is known at present by the name of Rochetaillée.

matters of the country now known by the name of Alface, or Alatia. Constantius, who had reduced the rest of Gaul after the death of the two usurpers Constantine and Jovinus, marched against them; but they demanding leave to settle in Gaul, as friends and allies of the Roman people, the Roman general, not caring to reduce them to despair, persuaded the emperor to grant them part of the country which they had conquered. Such was the rise of the kingdom of the Burgundians in Gaul, under the conduct of Gondicarius or Guntarius. Socrates commends them as a peaceable people, for the most part artificers, and willing to earn a livelihood with labour. Orosius writes, that in 417, they had all embraced already the Christian religion, and the catholic faith, and treated the Gauls, who lived under them, not as their vassals, but their friends. About the year 449, the heresy of Arius began to prevail among them, which was probably owing to their intercourse with the Goths. Ataulphus had promised, as we have observed above, to restore to Honorius his sister Placidia, taken prisoner in Rome, but treated by him, as she had been by Alaric, with the utmost respect. Constantius, hoping the emperor would give her to him in marriage, was continually pressing Ataulphus to comply with this article; but as Honorius had not yet sent to the Goths the corn he had promised them, Ataulphus, who desired to marry Placidia himself, refused to part with her, till the emperor had executed his promise which he was not at that time in a condition to do: however, the Romans promised to send the corn as soon as Placidia was restored; and Ataulphus to restore Placidia as soon as the corn was spent. After matters had continued for some time in this situation, Ataulphus, at last thinking himself deluded by the Romans, began hostilities anew; and, having reduced the cities of Narbonne and Toulouse, advanced as far as Marselles; but met there with such vigorous resistance from count Bonifacius, that he was forced to abandon the enterprise and retire, after having lost great numbers of his men, and been himself wounded. From Marselles he bent his march to Bourdeaux, where he was received as a friend.

In the east, one Lucius, a pagan who commanded the troops attending the court, provoked at the zeal of young Theodosius in extirpating idolatry, resolved to save it from utter ruin.

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ruin by assassinating his prince. With this design he went to the palace, and was thrice upon the point of drawing his sword; but was deterred from executing his wicked purpose by a woman of an extraordinary stature, and a threatening aspect, who, as often as he put his hand to his sword, appeared to him holding the emperor in her arms. Thus Damascus, a pagan writer, who flourished about the latter end of the present century. Photius, who copied it from him, calls it a most remarkable event, and not to be questioned, since related by a pagan writer \(^w\), but it is not, however remarkable, taken notice of by any other historian. This year the city of Constantinople was surrounded with the walls, which Socrates styles the great walls \(^x\). Those which had been built by Constantine the Great were pulled down, and this new work, twenty miles in circuit, completed in two months \(^y\). But this we can hardly believe upon the authority of Nicephorus, an historian not much to be relied on. It was called the new wall, and the wall of Theodorus \(^z\). The emperor published this year several laws against the Re-baptizers, the Eunomians, the Sabbatians, and the Protopaschites, that is, against those, who, in the celebration of Easter, differed from the church as to the day, and therefore styled themselves Protopaschites, as if they followed the primitive practice and institution.

The next consuls were Constantius and Constans, both generals, the former in the west, and the latter in the east. This year the negotiations between Honorius and Ataulphus, interrupted by the taking of Narbonne and Toulouse, were resumed. But the more the Goth was pressed by Constantius to send back Placidia, the higher he raised his demands, that, the emperor refusing to comply with them, he might have a more plausible excuse for detaining her. In the end, by means of one Candidianus, he prevailed upon her to marry him, and the nuptials were celebrated at Narbonne, in the month of January of this year 414, with the utmost pomp and solemnity. Placidia appeared on that occasion sitting on a bed of state, and Ataulphus in the Roman dress. He yielded to the royal bride the most honourable place, and presented her with fifty basons filled with pieces of gold, and fifty with jewels and precious stones of an ineffimable value, part of the spoils brought from Rome. Attalus assisted at the ceremony, and sung the epithalamium or nuptial song \(^z\); a degrading function.

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He obliges Attalus to resume the purple.

function for one who had been vested with the imperial dignity. This marriage was generally looked upon as an accomplishment of Daniel's prophecy, that the king of the north should marry the daughter of the king of the south (P). Honorius did not, it seems, content to this marriage; for soon after Ataulphus obliged Attalus to resume the purple, and caused him to be acknowledged emperor by his Goths. However, he wished for nothing so much as to conclude a lasting peace with Honorius, and seems to have set up Attalus anew, with no other design but to intimidate the emperor, and oblige him to grant to him and his Goths more favourable terms. Orofius writes, that at first he had nothing else in view than the utter ruin of the Roman empire, and the establishing the empire of the Goths in its room; of giving the name of Gothia to that country, which was then called Romania; and founding such a monarchy among his countrymen as Augustus Caesar had introduced among the Romans: but being by long experience convinced, that the Goths were incapable of being governed by laws, he began to think, that the only means of acquiring a great name was to restore, instead of destroying, the Roman empire; and with this view he courted the friendship of Honorius, especially after he had by Placidia a son to whom he gave the name of Theodosius. But Constantius, and his party at court, defeated all the measures taken by Ataulphus and Placidia to bring about an accommodation: they would not suffer the emperor to hearken to any overtures, however reasonable; so that the war being renewed, Ataulphus was in the end obliged to quit Gaul, and retire to Spain. Valeius is of opinion, that he withdrew in virtue of a treaty between him and Constantius;


(P) At St. Gille in Languedoc was found an inscription made by the neighbouring people in honour of Ataulphus and Placidia, their princes and sovereigns, as they are styled, for having chosen Heraclea, that is, according to some, the present St. Gille, for the place of their residence (1). In this inscription, which both Spon and du Cange look upon as genuine, Ataulphus is styled the most powerful king of kings, and the most just conqueror of conquerors: he is likewise commended for having driven out the Vandals, probably some of that nation, who had remained in Gaul. Placidia is styled Caesarina, as if she had enjoyed the rank and honours peculiar to the Caesars.

(1) Spon. p. 57.
but the expression of Orosius, that he was forced to quit Gaul, seems to import, that he was driven out by force. Honorius published a law this year, dated the twenty-third of March, forbidding any one to molest such as should take sanctuary in churches, on pain of being prosecuted and punished as guilty of high treason. The law dated the twentieth of May allows every one full liberty to kill such lions as they should find on their grounds, but not to hunt them, in order to take them alive, and sell them. These lions were kept for the public shews; but the interest of our people, says the emperor in that law, must be preferred to our diversion.

While these things passed in the west, Pulcheria, sister to the emperor Theodosius, being declared Augusta in the east, on account of her extraordinary wisdom and piety, took upon her the administration, Athemius thinking her better qualified for it than himself, though she had just then entered only the sixteenth year of her age, and was but two years older than the emperor. And truly, as she was endowed with most extraordinary parts and eminent for piety, her administration proved equally advantageous to the state and the church. Theodosius II. excelled perhaps in piety and religion even his grandfather Theodosius the Great, which all authors agree to have been in great part owing to the uncommon care Pulcheria took in insuring him with those religious maxims, by which she ruled her own actions. In the very beginning of her administration, she persuaded the young prince to dismiss the eunuch Antiochus, of whom hereafter, and to remit whatever was due to the exchequer from the year 368, to cy.

The following year, when Honorius was consul the tenth time, and Theodosius the third, Theodosius the son of Ataulphus and Placidia, died in Spain, whither his father had retired with his Goths; and was buried in a silver coffin near Barcelona, in a place of prayer, says Olympiodorus, that is, in a church. Ataulphus himself did not long survive him; for he was killed this very year at Barcelona, in the month of August or September, since the news of his death was brought to Constantinople on a Friday the twenty-fourth of the latter month. He was stabbed in his stable by one of his own countrymen.

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countrymen and domestics, named Dobbius, whose former master, a leading man among the Goths, Ataulphus had caused to be murdered several years before. Jornandes supposes him to have waged a long war with the Vandals in Spain, and to have been killed three years after he had reduced that country by one Vernulphus, whose former master Ataulphus had murdered. But in what relates to Ataulphus, we have all along followed Olympiodorus, a contemporary historian, who, generally speaking, agrees with the other writers of those times. Photius has transmitted to us an abstract of his work. We are surprized, that Giannone, in his history of the kingdom of Naples, should to his authority prefer that of Jornandes, a writer of a much later date, who seldom agrees with other historians, and often disagrees with himself. Ataulphus, in dying, charged his brother, not named by our historian, to send back Placidia to the Romans, and to live in friendship with them. But the Goths, instead of his brother, chose for their king Sigeric, the brother of Sarus, who immediately ordered the six children that Ataulphus had had by a former wife, to be inhumanly murdered, revenging by that piece of cruelty, the death of his brother. He even obliged Placidia to walk with other captives twelve miles before his chariot. But he was assassinated by his own people the seventh day after his election, and Vallaia chosen in his room, after he had caused all those to be murdered who stood in competition with him for the crown. This year a great tumult happened at Alexandria; the christians and Jews, who were very numerous in that city, quarrelling on account of certain sports exhibited on a Saturday, St. Cyril, bishop of the place, threatened to drive the Jews out of the city; which exasperated them to such a degree, that they resolved to vent their rage upon his whole flock, the more because they were favoured by Orestes, prefect of the city, then at variance with the bishop. Accordingly having provided themselves with arms, some of them in the dead of the night began to cry fire, giving out at the same time, that the great church was in flames. Hereupon, the christians, hastening out of their houses to save the church, were massacred in great numbers by the Jews, who lay in ambush for them, and knew one another by a certain mark or badge, which they

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* Idem ibid.  
* Olymp. apud Phot. p. 188.  
* Oros. ibid. Proip chron.
they wore for that purpose. The bishop, highly provoked at this barbarity, drove all the Jews out of the city; which the governor resenting as an encroachment upon his authority, the breach between him and the bishop was widened, and they both wrote to court complaining of each other's conduct. In the mean time, the hermits or monks, who led a retired life on the neighbouring mountains, being told, that Orestes had espoused the cause of the Jews against Cyril and the christians, flew to the city, and meeting the prefect in his chariot, reviled him with the names of pagan and idolater. Orestes, to appease them, told them, that he was a christian, and had been baptized by Atticus, bishop of Constantinople. But while he was yet speaking, one of the monks, by name Ammonius, wounded him on the head with a stone. His attendants, believing him killed, for he was in an instant covered all over with blood, betook themselves to flight, but some of the citizens coming to his rescue, seized the monk, and delivered him up to the prefect, who caused him to be tortured till he died on the rack. The populace resolved to revenge his death, which they did in the following manner, to the great scandal of the christian name and profession. At that time lived in Alexandria, Hypatia, the daughter of the celebrated philosopher Theon, who had been brought up and instructed by her father with extraordinary care, and was thought to excel in learning and quickness of apprehension all the philosophers of that age. She was thoroughly acquainted with the different doctrines of the various sects of philosophers, and publicly explained them to an incredible number of disciples, who flocked from all parts to hear her. She was no less remarkable for her chaffity and modest carriage, tho' her friendship was courted by all the great men of her age, than for her knowledge and erudition. As she was in great favour and esteem with the prefect Orestes, the populace, partly to revenge the death of Ammonius, and partly because they imagined, as she was a pagan, that she incensed the prefect against the bishop and his friends, rose suddenly in a tumultuous manner: and being headed by one Peter, a reader in a church, they stopped her as she was returning to her house, and pulling her out of her chariot, dragged her to a neighbouring church, where they flayed her alive, and tearing her in pieces, carried her mangled members to a place called Cinaron, and there burnt them to ashes. This unheard-of barbarity reflected great scandal on the christian name, especially on the church of Alexandria.
Alexandria. Thus Socrates, whose authority is questioned by most ecclesiastic writers, who suppose him to have been a zealous Novatian, and consequently an enemy to St. Cyril, who, upon his first coming to the see of Alexandria, had caused the penal laws against those and all other sectaries to be strictly executed. This year, Theodosius, by a law dated the seventh of December, excluded the pagans from all employments both civil and military. By another law, dated the nineteenth of October, he deposed Gamaliel, patriarch of the Jews, for having abused his authority. Gamaliel is supposed to have been the last patriarch of that nation, which was thenceforth governed by primates chosen by the councils of the provinces, whereas the patriarchal dignity was hereditary.

The next consuls were Theodosius, the seventh time, and Junius Quartus Palladius, who was prefect of Italy this and the five following years. Vallia, lately created king of the Goths in Spain, resolved to pursue the war against the Romans, and attempt the reduction of Africa; but the fleet he was sending thither being shipwrecked near the straits of Gibraltar, and most of the Goths on board of it drowned, he entered into a treaty with Constantius, and in the end concluded a peace with Honorius, delivered up hostages, and, upon his receiving six hundred thousand measures of corn, sent back Placidia to her brother. Vallia not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with the Romans against the barbarians, who had settled in Spain, advising the emperor to let them fight it out amongst themselves, since whatever side prevailed, he was sure to be a gainer. This advice Honorius followed, to the great advantage and relief of the empire, as we shall see anon. Attalus, whom the Goths had carried with them into Spain, seeing a peace concluded between them and the Romans, endeavoured to make his escape by sea; but the ship was taken, and carried to Constantius, then in Gaul, who sent him to the emperor, by whose orders his right hand, or, as others will have it, only the fingers of his right hand were cut off, to prevent his writing, and he confined to the island of Lipari, where the good-natured emperor caused him to be treated with great

* Socr. l. vii. c. 13.  
* Cod. Theod. l. xvi tit 10. leg. 21. p. 293.  
* Idem. tit. 8. leg. 22. p. 239.  
* Oris. ibid.
great humanity. This year, Theodosius, leaving Constantinople for the first time after the twenty-second of July, retired to Eudoxiopolis, called formerly Selymbria, on the sea-coast between Constantinople and Heraclea, and continued partly there, partly at Heraclea, till the twenty-ninth of September. The following year 417, when Honorius was consul the eleventh time, and Constantius the second, the emperor, to reward the services of that brave general, gave him in marriage his sister Placidia, an honour at which he had been long aspiring. Placidia could not by any means be prevailed upon to give her consent; but the emperor, taking hold of her hand, gave it in spite of her to Constantius. They were thus married on the first of January of the present year, when Constantius entered upon his second consulship. A few months after, Honorius, leaving Ravenna, repaired to Rome, which he entered in triumph, causing Attalus, brought for that purpose from Lipari, to walk before his chariot. When the triumph was over, Attalus was remanded to the place of his exile, and Honorius returned soon after to Ravenna. The Armorici, who had revolted in 409, and introduced a new form of government among themselves, were this year brought again under subjection by Constantius. About this time the Franks, after having dwelt for the space of near two hundred years on the German side of the Rhine, were allowed to pass that river, and settle in Thongria, that is, in the territory of Tongres, where they were governed by as many kings as they had cities or cantons. But whether Faramond, who reigned at this time, had any authority over the other princes, or was only more powerful than the rest, is what we are no where told. He was the son of Marcomir, of whom we have spoken elsewhere, and the grandson of Priamus, whom Tiro Prosper calls the first king of the Franks mentioned in history. In the east nothing remarkable happened this year besides an earthquake, which overthrown several houses at Constanti- nople, and the city of Cybyra in Phrygia.

The following year, Honorius being consul the twelfth time, and Theodosius the eighth, Vallia, making war upon the Franks allowed to settle in Thongria.

The Romans great advantages over the Vandals in Spain.

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the barbarians in Spain, cut off all the Vandals called Silingi, who had settled in Boetica or Andalucia. He likewise made such a dreadful havoc of the Alans, who had hitherto ruled over the Vandals and Suevians, that their king Ata being killed among the rest, they fled for protection to Gonderic, king of the Vandals, who had settled in Galicia, and submitted to him. Hence the successors of Gonderic used to style themselves kings of the Vandals and Alans. Constantius, to reward these eminent services of Vallia and his Goths, gave them Aquitania Secunda, comprizing the present archbishopric of Bourdeaux, and some neighbouring cities, that is, the whole tract from Touloufie to the sea, to which he added soon after Novempopulania or Aquitania Tertia, that is, the province of Auch, and Gascony. Vallia fixed his residence at Touloufie, which by that means became the capital of the kingdom of the Goths. Vallia on the other hand yielded to the Romans the countries he had taken from the Vandals and Alans in Spain. He died soon after, leaving behind him one daughter, married to a Suevian, by whom she had Ricimer, who completed the ruin of the western empire. The deceased prince was succeeded by Theodoric, called by some Theodorus, and by others Theodorides. In the east one Plintha, by nation a Goth, revolted, but was defeated in Palæstine; which is all we know of this war. Plintha, notwithstanding his defeat, must have concluded an advantageous peace with Theodosius; for he was raised the following year to the consulary dignity, and preferred to the post of general of the Roman horse and foot in which he acquitted himself with great reputation and fidelity. In the consulship he had Monaxius for his colleague, another of Theodosius’s officers; so that both consuls were in 419, subjects of the eastern empire, as they had been in 417, of the western. Of the two consuls, one was, generally speaking, chosen in the east, the other in the west; and he named the first, who was first in rank: if they were equal, each named in the first place his own consul. This year Honorius, by a law dated from Ravenna the twenty-second of November, extended the right and privileges of an asylum to all places within fifty paces of the church, declaring those guilty of sacrilege, who...
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who should arrest any one within that space. On the second or third of July of this year, Placidia was delivered at Ravenna of a son, who was named Valentinian, and succeeded Honorius in the empire. The barbarians in Spain being no longer harrassed by the Goths, who had retired to Gaul, as we have related above, and settled there, began to quarrel among themselves. Gonderic, king of the Vandals, having gained great advantages over Eremeric, king of the Suevians, obliged him in the end to fly for refuge to the mountains of Biscay, where he kept him and his people blocked up. But in the mean time, Afterius, count of Spain, and the vicar Maurocelus, falling unexpectedly upon Gonderic, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest to abandon Biscay and Galicia, and retire into Brittany. Nothing happened this year in the east, which historians have thought worthy of notice, except an attempt upon the life of Actius, prefect of Constantinople, who was attacked by an assassin, named Ceryachus, as he was returning from the great church. We are not told what gave occasion to this attempt, nor what became of the assassin. By a law dated the twenty-fourth of September, Theodosius declared those guilty of death, who should teach the barbarians the art of building ships, to which they were yet strangers. The following year, when Theodosius was confid the eighth time, and Constantius the third, the army mutinied in the east, and put to death their general, by name Maximinus, as we read in the chronicle of Marcellinus: but of this mutiny no mention is made by any other writer. In the west nothing remarkable happened this year; but under the following consuls Agricola and Eufatusius, the emperor Honorius, on the eight of February, raised Constantius to the imperial dignity, declared him his colleague, and gave the title of Augusta to his wife Placidia. The images of Constantius and Placidia were sent to Constantinople, with the news of their promotion; but Theodosius refused, for what reason we know not, to acknowledge them; which would have kindled a war between the two empires, had not Constantius died soon after, that is, on the second of September, after having reigned seven months wanting six days. He was buried at Ravenna, where he died of a pleurisy, in a mausoleum.

Footnotes:
- Cod. Theod. p. 56
- Cange Byz. fam. p. 66, 67
- Idat. chron.
- Chron. Al. p. 720
- Cod. Theod. i. ii. tit. 46. leg. 24. p. 322
- Theoph. P 72. Olymp. p. 192
- Mar. chron.
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Theodosius married Eudocia. Her birth, education, &c.

foleum, built by his widow Placidia, near the church of St. Vitalis. The same year the emperor Theodosius married Eudocia on the seventh of June, on which occasion there were great rejoicings at Constantinople. Eudocia was the daughter of an Athenian philosopher, by name Heraclitus, upon whose death her two brothers Gelasius and Aurelianus defrauding her of the share that was due to her of her father's estate, she went to Constantinople to implore the protection of Pulcheria. As she had been instructed by her father with extraordinary care in several languages, and in every branch of literature, and was besides remarkable for her beauty and engaging behaviour, Pulcheria, after several conferences with her, began to think her a proper match for her brother Theodosius, whom accordingly she persuaded to marry her. Thus the modern Greeks; but the antient writers tell us, that she was the daughter, not of the philosopher Heraclitus, but of Leontius, an Athenian sophist, or professor of eloquence at Athens. Before the nuptials were celebrated Theodosius caused her to be baptized by Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, who changed the name of Athenais, which she bore before, into that of Eudocia. As Eudocia had been brought up to letters, she used to divert herself with making verses, and this very year she composed a poem on the victory gained by the Romans over the Persians, of which anon (Q.). The two brothers of Eudocia, informed


(Q.) She likewise put into hexameter verse the five books of Moses, with those of Joshua, of the Judges, and of Ruth. This performance, which consisted of eight books, is highly commended by Photius, as is likewise the paraphrase, which the same prince wrote in verse upon the prophecies of Zachariah and Daniel, and Photius found with a poem on St. Cyprin and St. Justin, done without all doubt, says that writer, by the same hand. The reader will find in Photius a long abstract of that poem.

\[4\] Zonaras mentions another work of the same emperor, which he calls Homer's rhapsody. It contained the history of our Saviour, and entirely consisted of verses borrowed from Homer. It was

\[12\] Phot. c. 787. p. 413—416. (4) Idem, p. 420
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Informed of her good fortune, and conscious to themselves of their behaviour towards her, absconded; but she, instead of resenting the injury they had done her, invited both to court, and raised them to great preferments. What Codinus, a modern Greek author, writes of the seven philosophers, who, he says, attended Eudocia to Constantinople, has the air of a fable. This year the peace, which had long subsisted between the Romans and Persians, was broken, and a war kindled between the two empires on the following occasion. Vararanes V., who in 420, had succeeded his father Iudegerdes in the kingdom of Perisia, having, at the instigation of the Magi, raised a bloody persecution against the christians in his dominions, great numbers of them took refuge in the Roman territories, and repaired to Constantinople, where they were received with great kindness by Atticus, bishop of that city, and by him recommended to the emperor, who was so far from delivering them up when demanded by the Persian embassadors, that, on the contrary, he declared his resolution of defending them, and the religion they profess'd, with the whole strength of the empire. Some misunderstanding had arisen before between the two princes, the Persian king refusing to send back some workmen, whom he had hired out of the Roman territories, to dig in mines of gold, which he had lately discovered. Besides the Persians had plundered and insulted some Roman merchants trading to their country. Upon these provocations, as Vararanes continued to persecute the christians in his dominions, Theodofius proclaimed war with the Persians, and, without loss of time, dispatched Aradarius, an Alan by nation, at the head of a considerable army, into Azazene, a Persian province beyond the Tigris, which he laid waste, after having gained a complete victory over Narres, whom the king of Narres, the Persian general, defeated by Aradarius.


was begun by a patrician, says Zonaras, but ended by Eudocia (5). Some take this patrician to have been one Pelagius, who was killed in the reign of Zeno, about the year 480, and is said to have been the author of a rhapsody (6). But he was a pagan as appears from Cedrenus (7), and consequently can hardly be thought to have been the author of that work or any part of it.

of Persia had sent with a numerous army to oppose him. The battle was fought on the third of September, and the news of the victory brought on the sixth of the same month to Constantinople, tho’ seven hundred miles distant from the borders of Persia, by a famous courier of those times, named Palladius. He travelled with the same surprizing expedition to what part soever he was sent; whence of him it was pleasantly said, that he had found means to reduce the Roman empire to a petty state. Narses, after his defeat, abandoning the province of Azazene to the mercy of the enemy, marched with incredible expedition into Mesopotamia, with a design to invade the empire on that side, which was then defitute of troops, and unprepared for a defence. But Ardaburius, aware of his design, followed him close, and obliged him to shelter himself within the walls of Nisibis, which place he immediately besieged. In the mean time the king of Persia having received intelligence of the defeat of his general, and the danger both he and the city of Nisibis were in, assembled all his forces; and entering Mesopotamia, laid siege to Theodosiopolis, with a design to divert Ardaburius from that of Nisibis. But the besieged, having at their head Eunomius, bishop of the place, defended it with such vigour and resolution, that the Persians, after having battered it with an incredible number of machines for a whole month without intermission, were obliged to drop the enterprise and retire. The enemy were soon after reinforced with a numberless multitude of Saracens, under the conduct of Alamundarus, a renowned warrior, who to raise the drooping spirits of the Persian monarch, bragged, that in a short time he would deliver into his hands, not only the Romans who besieged Nisibis, but Antioch itself, the metropolis of Syria. But not long after, his men, being seized with a panic, and not knowing whither to fly, threw themselves headlong into the Euphrates, where an hundred thousand of them are said to have perished. The Romans, seized at the same time with the like fear, upon a false report, that the king of Persia was advancing to the relief of Nisibis with a great number of elephants, burnt all their machines, raised the siege, and retired in the utmost confusion into the Roman dominions.

The following year, when Honorius was consul the thirteenth time, and Theodosius the tenth, the war was purged.

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a Sec. c. 19. p. 557, 558.  
1 Idem ibid. Theodoret. 15. 
2 Sec. ibid. p. 557.—560.
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fued with uncommon success against the Persians. From Socrates, who only hints at the military preparations, as foreign to his main purpose, it appears, that Ariobindus, one of the Roman generals, killed in a single combat a Peruvian famed for his valour; that Ardaburias put to the sword seven Persian commanders, surprized in an ambuscade; and that Avitanus cut in pieces the few Saracens who had escaped being drowned in the Euphrates. Notwithstanding these advantages, Theodosius, imagining the Persians, thus weakened and disheartened, would hearken to an accommodation, and give over persecuting the christians, in whose defence he had taken arms, sent embassadors to Vararanes, with very reasonable proposals, which the Persian would have accepted with joy, had he not been diverted from it by the immortals, that is, a corps of ten thousand chosen men, so called because they had never been conquered. These persuaded the king to keep the Romans in suspense, with a design to surprize them in the mean time; for they imagined they would not at that juncture be upon their guard. With this view they divided themselves into two bodies, one of which lay concealed among the woods, while the other advanced in order to attack the enemy, and draw them into the ambuscade; butProcopius, who commanded a separate body of Romans, observing their motions from an eminence where he was posted, and apprised of their design, attacked them in the rear, while Ardaburias charged them in front; by which means they were surrounded, and all to a man put to the sword. Vararanes was no sooner informed of this new calamity, than calling to the Roman embassadors, he agreed to the terms they had proposed, and concluded a peace with the empire for an hundred years, which lasted, according to Evagrius, till the twelfth year of the reign of Anastatus; that is to the year 502. The chief article of this treaty was, that the Persian king should recal the banished christians, restore them to their estates, and put a stop to the cruel persecution he had raised against them. While these things passed in the east, Honorius attempted in the west to recover Spain out of the hands of the barbarians, greatly weakened by their intestine wars. With this view he ordered Caflinus, general of the foot, and comes dometicores, or captain of the guards, to march against them, at the head of a very numerous

numerous and powerful army. Caefinus soon reduced them to such straights, that they were preparing to submit, and abandon the country which they had seized; but the Roman general having unfeasibly ventured an engagement, twenty thousand of his men were cut in pieces, and he obliged with the rest to take refuge in Tarraco. Idatius ascribes this defeat to the treachery of the Goths, who served in the Roman army; but all other writers to the rash and imprudent conduct of Caefinus.

The following year, when Marinianus and Asclepiodotus were consuls, a misunderstanding arose between Honorius and his sister Placidia, whom the emperor had entertained at court, ever since the death of her husband Constantius, with such tenderness and affection, as gave occasion to some very scandalous reflections. Some authors write, that the great sway she bore in the administration giving no small jealousy to the other courtiers, they persuaded the emperor, that she corresponded privately with the Goths who still looked upon her as their queen, and betrayed to them all his counsels. However that be, it is certain, that the extraordinary affection he had hitherto shewn her being this year changed into an aversion no less extraordinary, Placidia thought it advisable to quit the court, and retire, with her son Valentinian, and her daughter Honoria, to Constantinople, where she was kindly received by her nephew Theodosius, tho’ he had formerly refused to acknowledge her husband Constantius for emperor, and to give her the title of Augusta. Soon after, Honorius died at Ravenna of a dropsy, having reigned twenty eight years since the death of his father Theodosius, and thirty-one since the time he was first created Augustus. He died, according to Theophanes, on the fifteenth, according to Olympiodorus, on the twenty-seventh of August of the present year 423. His body is said to have been found in 1542, with those of his two wives, Maria and Thermantia, the daughters of Stilicho, in the church of St. Peter at Rome. If so, it must have been conveyed thither from Ravenna, where his mausoleum, supposed to have been built by his sister Placidia, is still to be seen. Of the writers who flourished

flourished in his reign, we shall speak in note (R). Honorius no sooner expired, than an express was dispatch'd to Theodosius with

(R) Under Honorius flourished Olympiodorus, who wrote in Greek the history of that prince, from the year 407, the thirteenth of his reign, to his death. His work consisteth of twenty-two books, and was inscribed to Theodosius II. or the younger (8). The reader will find an abstract of it in Photius (9), who censures the style as low, and altogether unworthy of an historian. However, both Zosimus and Sozomen seem to have copied it in several places, with some alteration in the phrase and expression. The author was a native of Thebes in Egypt, and a pagan by religion. He was sent, with others, in 412, on an embassy to a king of the Hunns, named Donatus. Of this voyage (for he went by sea) he gives us an account, and likewise of his journey to Athens, and of another to Syene in Egypt, and to the country of the Blemmyes (10). This is all we know of him. Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus wrote likewise the history of the reign of Honorius, from the year 406, to the death of that prince; but of his work only a few passages have reached our times, quoted by Gregory of Tours (11). Claudian may be ranked among the historians who have written of Honorius; for of him we have learnt several particulars of that prince's reign. He was a native of Alexandria in Egypt, as he himself tells us in different places (12), and not the son of a merchant at Florence, as some modern writers have endeavoured to prove. He first applied himself to Greek poetry; and a fragment of a poem written in that language on the battle of the giants has reached our times (13). His first Latin poem was on the consulship of the two brothers Olybrius and Probinus, who were consuls in 395. He continued to write on different subjects till the sixth consulship of Honorius in 404, he was sent by the citizens of Rome in 396, to congratulate Honorius on his third consulship (14). He was honoured by the Roman senate with a statue, which, in consideration of his excellency in poetry, was erected in the square of Trajan (15). This honour was conferred upon him before he wrote his poem on the battle of Pollentia, fought in 403 (16). He was then tribune and notary, or secretary of state, and enjoyed the title of clarissimus, which was given to the Roman senators. Having, by means of Serena, Stilicho's wife, married a lady possessed of great wealth in Africa, he thenceforth became

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with the news of his death, which that prince concealed for some days, and in the mean time gave private orders to a body of

became a professed admirer, or rather adorer, of that great general and statesman, inveighing at the same time with much bitterness against his rivals Rufinus and Eutropius (17); neither does he spare his countryman Adrian, who was prefectus praetorio in 425, and 412, having probably been ill-used by him; for in an epistle addressed to him to appease his wrath, he complains, that his family was undone; that his friends some had been put to the rack, and others banished; and that he himself was reduced to beggary (18). To avoid the ill treatment he met with from Adrian, he retired, perhaps to the east; for Evagrius ranks him among the poets who flourished under Theodosius II (19). He was, as appears from his poems, an adorer of Jupiter, and all the other pagan gods. Orofius calls him a most obstinate pagan; but at the same time commends him as an excellent poet (20). St. Aulph like wise speaks of him as a person greatly attached to the pagan superstition (21). Hence such pieces as contain christian sentiments are by the best critics thought not to have been written by him, tho' they pass under his name, but perhaps by Claudian Mamertus, a christian poet of Vienne in Gaul. Baillet prefers Claudian to all the poets who have written ever since the age of Augustus, tho' he is not, in the opinion of that writer, without some faults. His style is sometimes flat, and sometimes sublime, and most of his poems filled with youthful follies (22). In all his poems there are several most beautiful passages. His invectives, especially the two books against Eutropius, are most esteemed by the learned (23). It is uncertain whether or no the poem on mount Aetna was written by him. Rutilius, or, as he is styled at the head of his poem, Rutilius Claudius Numatianus, flourished in the reign of Honorius. He was a native of Gaul, according to some, of Toulouse. His father had been governor of Heturia, quae for, comes largetionum, and prefect (24). The Hetuicans, by whom he was greatly beloved, on account of his good nature, and impartiality in the administration of justice, erected several statues to his honour at Pisa, and in other places. He was dead when his son wrote his poem. Rutilius bore two of the greatest employments in the state, viz. the office of magister officiorum, and that of prefect of Rome (25). In his poem he declares himself a pagan, and a sworn enemy to the monks.

of troops to advance into the neighbourhood of Salonae in Dalmatia, that they may be ready at hand, to prevent the disturbances,

monks, especially to those who lived in the island of Capraria or Capraia, on the coast of Tuscany, a young nobleman of his acquaintance having renounced a plentiful estate, and abandoned his friends, relations, and even his wife, to lead a retired life amongst them (26). Rustilius left Rome, where he had lived many years to return to Gaul, where he had not been ever since the barbarians entered that country in 407. He set out from Rome in 417, or 420 about the month of October, and embarking on the Tiber, repaired to Porto, where he waited a whole fortnight for the new moon, and the setting of the Pleiades (27). Those who are skilled in astronomy may learn from thence the precise year and day of his departure. In 417, and 420, it was new moon in the latter end of October. At Porto, twelve miles distant from Rome, he heard, or imagined to hear, the shouts of the people in the circus. He embarked there on board a small vessel, for the convenience of landing when he pleased to visit his friends, and of lying every night ashore (28). He landed at Circumcellae, now Civita Vecchia, and went to view certain hot waters three miles from thence called the baths of Taurus. Putting to sea again, he discovered the ruins of Gravisca, and Cofa or Coffa, two cities famous in former ages. The inhabitants of the latter are said to have been forced, by prodigious swarms of rats, to quit their habitations, and abandon the place of their nativity (29). He came ashore likewise at Port-Ercol, beyond which he saw the island of Elba, more useful, says he, on account of its iron mines, than the Tagus for its golden sands. From Port-Ercol he pursued his voyage to Piombino, and from thence to Volterra, where he went to see the fine house of Albinus prefect of Rome, and the salt-pits at a small distance from it. At Volterra he found Victorinus his intimate friend, who, having abandoned Toulouse, the place of his nativity, after the settling of the Goths there, had retired to Italy, and led a country-life in the neighbourhood of Volterra. He had been formerly vicar to the prefect of Britain, which office he discharging to the great satisfaction of the people. Honorius, upon his retiring from Toulouse, had invited him to court, giving him the title of count; but he preferred a retired life to all the honours the emperor could confer upon him (30). From Volterra he sailed to the island of Gorgona, and from thence to the port of Pifa, where he landed, and went to the city of Pifa, to see one of his old friends, by name Protadius,

disturbances, which, he apprehended, would be raised in the west by the death of Honorius, who had left no children to succeed us, who, having lost a great estate in Gaul, seized, no doubt, by the barbarians, enjoyed greater happiness on a small farm he had in Umbria, than he had ever done when possessed of immense wealth, and large territories in his own country. He had been prefect of Rome, and had been distinguished with several other great employments (31). Several letters written to him by Symmachus have reached our times (32). From the port of Pisa, where Rutilius was obliged to continue some time, by reason of the bad weather, he pursu ed his voyage to Portus Lunæ, now Lerice, as is commonly believed (33). Thus far his itinerary, that is, the poem in which he describes his voyage. It was divided into two books, of which the latter is almost entirely lost. It has all the elegance and beauty that can be expected in a performance of that unpolished age, and informs us of several things relating to the history of those times (34). Some gross mistakes that are to be found in it are, without all doubt, owing partly to the transcribers, partly to ignorant critics, who have strangely mangled and confounded several passages. The author betrays throughout the whole work an inveterate hatred both to the Jews and christians; whence we may conclude Lacharius, Lucilius, and his other heroes, to have been pagans. Lucilius wrote some satires, in no respect inferior, if we may depend upon the judgment of Rutilius, to those of Turnus and Juvenal (35); but none of them have reached our times. One Flavius, said by St. Jerome to have wrote in verse a treatise on phthisic, is supposed by Vossius to have flourished in the reign of Honorius, and likewise the author of a comedy, styled Querulus Plauti, which is inscribed to one Rutilius (36). About this time flourished Macrobius, or, as he is styled at the head of his works, Aurelius Theodosius Ambrosius Macrobius; for all the perfons he introduces in his saturnalia, lived under Theodosius I. and his son Honorius. He was born in a country where the Latin tongue was not common, that is, in Greece, or in the east (37). To his name is added, in an antient manuscript, the word Sicetius, denoting perhaps his country (38); but to us quite unknown. He is distinguished with the title of illustrious, peculiar to the first officers of the empire (39). Hence most writers conclude him to be the Macrobius who was great chamberlain to Theodosius II in 422, for whose sake that prince equalled the office of great chamberlain to

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Having taken this step, he made public the death of his uncle, and at the same time caused himself to be proclaimed to those of the praefectus prætorii and the magister militum (40). But against this opinion may be objected, that Macrobius, the author of the Saturnalia had a son, by name Eustathius; whereas the great chamberlains were, generally speaking, eunuchs. Besides, we cannot persuade ourselves, that Theodosius II. would have suffered a pagan (for such was the writer we are speaking of) to enjoy that office; which obliged him to be always about the emperor's person. The opinion of those is better founded, who suppose the Macrobius, who was praepostus of Africa in 410, to be the author of the Saturnalia. One Macrobius was vicar of Spain in 399, and 400, but stripped of his employment, and punished for some neglect with respect to the posts (41). The work by which Macrobius is chiefly known is his Saturnalia, that is, a collection of antiquities made by him for the instruction of his son, and supposed to have been uttered in a familiar conversation among friends, during the Saturnalia, or the feasts of Saturn. The persons he introduces were the most famous then at Rome for their learning and erudition. He addresses his work to his son, for whose sake he undertook it. He relates most things in the terms of the authors from whom he borrowed them, by reason he could not express himself with ease in the Latin tongue; and truly, when he speaks himself, he plainly betrays his small knowledge of that language (42). Besides the Saturnalia, he wrote two books on the dream of Scipio, which he wife inscribed to his son, for whose instruction he undertook that, as he had done the other, work. These two books were translated into Greek by Maximus, surnamed Planudes (43). Another book passes under the name of Macrobius, on the conformity and disagreement of the Greek and Latin tongues (44). Macrobius wrote indeed a book on that subject; but the work which has reached our times was done by John Eriogenes, who flourished in the ninth century, and followed the plan of Macrobius, whom he copied, changing some things, and adding many of his own (45). One of the chief persons introduced by Macrobius in his Saturnalia is Servius, who had lately begun to teach polite literature at Rome, and is painted as a person of great learning, and at the same time universally beloved on account of his modesty (46). He is introduced speaking mostly of Virgil, whose inimitable Aeneid

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proclaimed emperor of the west in his room. This did not deter John, the deceased emperor’s chief secretary, from assuming

Æneid he explained daily to the Roman youth. Maurus Servius Honoratus, the author of the learned comment on that poem, is, without all doubt, the Servius of Macrobius; but most authors are of opinion, that what has reached us is but an abridgment of that learned work; nay, some take it to have been compiled from Servius, and several other antient critics. It is generally held in great esteem, tho’ not quite free from faults (47). In the fifth or sixth century flourished a grammarian, named Martianus Capella, who published several philological pieces, partly in prose, and partly in verse, which are still extant, and divided into seven books. He is said in the manuscript copies to have been honoured with the proconsular dignity. He was a native of Carthage; and truly his barbarous and uncouth stile plainly shews, that he was no Roman. In his allegorical marriage of Mercury with the sciences, there is a great deal of erudition; but the invention is low and mean (48). Securis Melior Felix, who professed the christian religion, and taught rhetoric at Clermont in Auvergne, was at the trouble of correcting, in 534, one of the copies of Capella’s works. Felix is styled in that manuscript V. Sp. Com. Consil. that is, Vir spectabilis, comes consiliarius, a man of rank, and one of the confidential or the emperor’s counsellors (49). Capella was greatly esteemed in France about the end of the sixth century, as appears from Gregory of Tours (50). Sozis later Charilus, who published five books of observations on the grammar, still extant, flourished, according to Baillet, in the time of Honorius, and before him a grammarian named Diomedes, whose works have likewise reached our times; but strangely mangled by Johannes Caesarius, who published them, with many observations of his own. Charilus is quoted by Priscian, who wrote about the end of the fifth century (51). About the same time, Fabius Fulgentius Planciades published an explication of some words, addressed to one Calcidius, another grammarian. He is styled, and indeed deservedly, both by Vossius (52) and Baillet (53), one of the most ignorant, impertinent, and trifling authors that ever wrote. He ascribes to Tacitus, and other writers, works never before heard of.

(47) Vide Bail. tom. 2 p. 29—32.  (48) Idem, p. 34, 35.  
Voss. hist. Lat. I. iii. p. 712, 713.  (49) Wilt. p. 4.  (50) 
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assuming the purple in Rome, being, no doubt, encouraged in his usurpation by Caesarius, then commander in chief of all the troops in the west; for he was afterwards disgraced and banished, as one of the usurper's chief friends and abettors. The new tyrant was immediately acknowledged, not only in Rome and Italy, but likewise in Gaul and Dalmatia; which encouraged him to dispatch embassadors to Theodosius, to acquaint him with his promotion; but that prince refusing to acknowledge him, and having even ordered his embassadors to be arrested, and thrown into prison, he began to prepare for war, and sent the famous Aetius, with great sums, to draw the Hunns over to his assistance. That celebrated commander, who governed the western empire with an absolute sway during the reign of Valentinian III. was a native of Dorostorum in Moesia, and the son of Gaudentius, who, tho' by birth a Scythian, was raised to the highest employments in the empire, and married an Italian lady of great distinction, called by some Italia. By her he had Aetius, who served at first among the emperor's domestics, or the troops of his household, and was given as an hostage to Alaric, after the battle of Pollentia in 403, and afterwards to the Hunns.

* Val. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 220.

of. Cave calls him an arrant trifler (54); and all other critics speak of him with the utmost contempt. In the reign of Theodosius I. or his children, was published, as is commonly believed, what we call the map or tables of Peutinger, which are a kind of itinerary made by some quarter master, if we may so call him, for the use of those who conducted the Roman troops from one place to another. The author seems to have been altogether ignorant both of geography and mathematics. These tables belonged to one Conrad Peutinger in Augsburg, and are hence called the tables of Peutinger; but they were published by Velsor, who had them engraved by John Moret of Antwerp. The reader will find them in the theatrum geographicum of Bertius, published at Amsterdam in 1619, and among Velsor's works, published at Nuremberg in 1682. A civilian, by name Eslebus, described the war of Gainas in a poem, which he styled Gainades; and the same subject was handled by another poet, named Ammonius, who read it to Theodosius II. in 438. Both these poems were greatly esteemed (55); but neither of them has reached our times. Volfius supposes them to have been written in the Greek tongue, and ranks the authors among the Greek poets (56).

(54) Cave script. ecleef. p. 274.
(55) Soc. p. 309.
(56) Volf poet. Grac. c 9 p. 77, 78.
Hunns, with whose chiefs he, by that means, became acquainted. Upon his return from the country of the Hunns, he married the daughter of Carpilio, captain of the guards, and had by her two sons, Gaudentius, who, after the death of Valentinian, was taken by Genferic, and Carpilio, whom Valentinian sent with the character of ambassador to Attila. Aetius was a person of a majestic mien, of a tall stature, and a robust constitution, which enabled him to bear with patience the greatest fatigues and toils attending a military life. He is no less commended by the antients on account of his prudence, address, and penetration in state affairs, than for his courage, intrepidity, and experience in war. He was quite free from avarice, had but little ambition, and was such a lover of justice, that no recommendations, however pressing, were capable of making him swerve from what to him appeared equitable. Such is the character given him by Frigeridus, a writer who flourished in his time, as quoted by Gregory of Tours. Procopius writes, that Aetius and Bonifacius, who defended, as we have observed above, Marselles, when attacked by Ataulphus, were the two greatest commanders in the whole empire, and that they deferred to be called the last Romans. John, upon his usurping the empire, committed to Aetius the care of his palace, and then sent him to engage the Hunns in his cause, with orders to fall upon the rear of the troops of Theodosius, if they entered Italy, while he himself charged them in front. On the second of January of the preface year, Eudocia was declared Augusta.

The next consuls were Caffinus and Victor. The former was general of the troops in the west. Of the latter we find no farther mention in history. In an antient inscription, John the usurper is styled consul, he being probably acknowledged in the west, and not Victor, whom we may suppose to have belonged to the eastern empire. This year, Theodosius, having drawn together all the forces of the eastern empire, ordered them to march to the frontiers of Dalmatia, under the conduct of Ardaburius, his son Apsar, and Candidianus. With them he sent Placidia and her son Valentinian, allowing the former to resume the title and ensigns of Augusta, which had been given her by her brother Honorius, but she had quitted upon her entering the dominions.

nions of Theodosius; and the latter to wear the habit pecu-
lar to the nobilissimi; which title had some time since been
given to the sons of emperors before they were created Cae-
fars. This was renouncing all pretensions to the empire of
the west, and tacitly yielding it to Placidia, and Valentinian.
Before they left Constantinople, Theodosius betrothed his
daughter Licinia Eudoxia, born in 422, to young Valenti-
nian, born on the second or third of July in 419. When this ce-
monry was over, Placidia set out from Constantinople, with
her son, who upon his arrival at Thessalonica, received the en-
signs peculiar to the Caesar, at the hands of Helio, magister
officiorum to Theodosius, by whom he had been sent thither
for that purpose 2. The following year, Theodosius being
confid, the eleventh time, with Valentinian, the army of
Theodosius, having crossed Pannonia and Illyricum, appeared
unexpectedly before Salona, which was taken by storm.
There it was agreed among the generals, that Aspar should
lead the cavalry, with Placidia and Valentinian, by land to
Aquileia, while the foot, under the command of his father
Ardaebrius, was conveyed thither by sea. This scheme was
so well executed on the side of Aspar, that arriving at Aqui-
leia, before the enemy had the least notice of his march, he
took the place without opposition; but the fleet being
disperséd by a violent storm, Ardaebrius was driven ashore,
and taken by the usurper's soldiers, who immediately carried
him to their emperor, then at Ravenna, by whom he was
received with great joy, and treated with the utmost civility,
the usurper hoping by his means to prevail upon Theodosius,
with whom Ardaebrius bore a great sway, to acknowledge
him for his colleague. As he was allowed to converse with
whom he pleased, he gained over the chief officers, who had
already begun to be tired of their new prince, and privately
acquainting his son Aspar with the security in which the ty-
rant lived, advised him to advance speedily with his best
troops to Ravenna. Aspar immediately set out from Aqui-
leia with the cavalry; and being conducted through the
marshes which surrounded Ravenna on the land-side by a
shepherd, whom Socrates supposes to have been an angel, he
entered the city, finding the gates open and unguarded, and
with the assistance of the officers gained over by his father,
secured the tyrant before he had time to make his escape,
and sent him in chains to Placidia and Valentinian, then at

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Aquileia, who ordered first his right-hand, and then his head, to be cut off. Procopius writes, that after his hand was cut off in the circus, he was by way of derision, carried about the streets on an ass, exposed to the outrages and insults of the incensed multitude. Thus ended the usurpation of John, after he had borne the title of emperor about a year and six months, according to Philostorgius. Three days after his death, Aetius entered Italy, with an army of sixty thousand Hunns, who being met by Aspar, a bloody battle was fought, without any considerable advantage on either side; but, in the mean time, Aetius informed of the death of the usurper, thought it advisable to make the best terms he could for himself. Accordingly, Placidia promising not only to receive him into favour, but to distinguish him with the title of count, he submitted, and prevailed upon the Hunns to return into their own country. Caffinus, who was supposed to have favoured the usurpation of John, was sent into exile. When news of the captivity and death of the usurper was brought to Constantinople, Theodosius declared his cousin, young Valentinian, emperor, and Placidia regent of the empire during her son's minority. He intended to have taken a progress into Italy, in order to invest him there with the sovereignty, and with that design advanced as far as Theflonalica; but was seized in that city with a malady, which obliged him to return to Constantinople, whence he dispatched Helio to Rome, where Valentinian then was, with the purple and imperial diadem, which the young prince received on the twenty-third of October of the present year 425. The same year, the Vandals, who had settled in Spain, ravaged the Balearic islands; and the Goths, to whom settlements had been allotted in Gaul, seized on some of the neighbouring cities, and even laid siege to Arles, which however they were forced to raise at the approach of Aetius, who was sent against them with a considerable army. In the caft, Thrace was laid waste by the Hunns, probably the same who came to the assistance of the usurper John, and even threatened Constantinople with a siege, but their leader, by name Rougas, or Roillas, being killed with lightning, and a great number of them being daily swept away by a plague, which

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which broke out in the army, the rest withdrew of their own accord, dreading, not the valour of the Romans, say Socrates, but the power of Heaven, which had evidently espoused the cause of Theodosius. The following year 426, when Theodosius was consul the twelfth time, and Valentinian the second, nothing remarkable happened in either empire. But under the next consuls Hierius and Ardashirius the Goths, who had held Pannonia ever since the year 377, when they first entered that province, were by Theodosius transferred from thence into Thrace, where they continued for the space of fifty-eight years, that is, till they made themselves masters of Italy, under the conduct of Theodoric. This gives us room to believe, that Theodosius, in yielding the western empire to Valentinian, retained Pannonia, which comprised that part of the present Austria and Hungary, that lies on the Roman side of the Danube, and had hitherto belonged to the empire of the west. Great disturbances happened this year in Africa, which were attended with the loss of that province. The celebrated count Bonifacius, who is styled by St. Austin the joy of the church, the bulwark of Africa, and the glory of the empire, had been rewarded by Honorius, for his gallant behaviour at Marseille, with the command of the troops in Africa; which province he defended with great bravery against the repeated attempts of John, tho’ acknowledged by all the other commanders and governors of provinces. Placidia, highly pleased with his conduct and loyalty, called him to court, upon the death of that tyrant; and, after bestowing upon him the highest encomiums, preferred him to the post of Comes domest icorum, and sent him back into Africa with an unlimited power. This gave no small jealousy to his rivals at court, especially to Felix, commander in chief of the Roman forces, and to Aetius, who, after his departure, persuaded Placidia, that he had preferred Africa for himself, and only waited an opportunity of establishing there an independent sovereignty. Aetius added, that the empress might, when she pleased, oblige him to pull off the mask, by recalling him from his government; for he was very sure Bonifacius would disobey her orders. Hereupon the credulous princess immediately ordered Bonifacius to repair to Rome; but Aetius having written to him before, that the empress sought his ruin, and in order to compass it, would soon recall him, advising him at the same time, with great protestations of friendship, to consult

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sult his own safety, he, upon the receipt of Placidia's letter, concluded Aetius to be his true friend, and following his advice, he refused to comply with the orders he had received. Hereupon Placidia, no longer questioning the truth of Aetius's information, declared Bonifacius a public enemy, and dispatched a strong body of troops against him, under the command of Mavortius, Galbio, and Sinex, who besieged Bonifacius, in what place we are nowhere told, and kept him shut up, till quarrelling among themselves, Mavortius and Galbio were killed by the treachery of Sinex, and he in a sally by Bonifacius, who gained a complete victory, without the loss of one man. Placidia, being resoloved, notwithstanding the ill success of her three generals, to pursue the war with vigour, committed the whole management of it to to Sigisvult, by nation, a Goth, who, without loss of time, passing over into Africa, with a great number of his countrymen, made himself master of Carthage and Hippo. Bonifacius, finding the empress obstinately bent upon his ruin, and himself not in a condition to contend with the whole strength of the empire, had recourse to the Vandals, who, ever since the defeat of Caflinus in 422, had peaceably enjoyed the province of Boetica or Andalusia, and were at this time governed by Genferic, brother to the late king Gonderic. Genferic was according to Jornandes k and Procopius l, of a low stature, and lame by a fall from his horse: he thought much, and spoke little; was an enemy to pleasure and debauchery; had a wonderful address in gaining the affection of the people, and sowing divisions among his enemies. He was remarkably brave and courageous; but no less ambitious and passionate; well skilful in the art of war, and long enured to the hardships and toils attending it. He renounced the catholic faith, which he first professed, to embrace the doctrine of Arius, which prevailed among his countrymen the Vandals m. His brother Gonderic left several sons behind him; but he caueth them all to be put to death, together with their mother n. With this barbarian Bonifacius, whose piety had been formerly so much extolled by St. Auffin o, was forced, in his own defence, to enter into a treaty whereof the chief, and perhaps the only, article was, that, upon their assisting him, Africa should be divided between, Gonderic, says Procopius falsely, supposing

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supposing him still alive, Genseric and himself. The treaty being agreed to, Genseric, having assembled a great number of vessels, ordered all his Vandals, women and children as well as men, to embark; and abandoning Spain in the month of May of the year 528, while Felix and Taurus were consuls, crossed the frights of Gibraltar, and landed in Africa. The Romans took possession anew of the provinces which the Vandals had abandoned, and held them, till they were driven out by the Suevians, as the Suevians were in their turn by the Goths, who by that means, came to settle in that part of Spain. The same year, Aetius was sent into Gaul, to make war upon the Franks, whom he defeated with great slaughter, and obliged them to abandon the country on the Roman side of the Rhine, in which they had been allowed by Honorius to settle, and to retire, with their families beyond the river. What gave occasion to this war, we are nowhere told. The Franks were governed at this time by Clodius, as Prosper Tyro styles him, or Clodion, as he is called by Gregory of Tours and the modern writers. He is supposed, to have been the son, as well as the successor, of Faramond. Nothing happened this year in the east worthy of notice, except the publishing of a law, by which all brothels were suppressed in Constantinople. Florentius and Dionysius, consuls for the year 429, were succeeded by Theodosius and Valentinian, the former the thirteenth time, and the latter the third time consul. During the consulship of the two princes, Aetius was raised to the chief command of all the troops of the western empire, in the room of Felix, who was at the same time created a patriarch; but soon after killed in Ravenna by the mutinous soldiery, stirred up against him by Aetius, jealous of his great credit at court. The same year Aetius gained considerable advantages over the Juthungi, whose country bordered on Rhœtea; over the inhabitants of Noricum, who had revolted; and over the Goths in Gaul, attempting to raise new disturbances in that province. The following year, when Bassus and Antiochus were consuls, Aetius entirely reduced the Norici, and likewise the Vindelici, who had joined

Who passed over into Africa.

The Franks driven out of Gaul by Aetius.

Who is appointed commander in chief of all the forces of the western empire.

joined the former in the revolt. From Noricum, he passed into Gaul, to awe the Franks, who were said to be in arms. This year Placidia discovered at length the true cause of the revolt of Bonifacius. Some of that general's friends, greatly surprized at his entering all on a sudden into an alliance with the enemies of the empire, after having defended it against the barbarians with so much zeal and integrity, obtained leave of the empress to pass over into Africa, in order to confer with him in person, and hear what he could allege in his own defence. Bonifacius was overjoyed to see them, and produced, upon their charging him with treason and rebellion, the letter which Aetius had written to him, protesting, that nothing but his own safety and preservation could have induced him to turn his arms against his prince and country. With this letter they returned to Placidia, who was thereby fully convinced of the treachery of Aetius; but not thinking it advisable to provoke him, as he was then at the head of a victorious army in Gaul, she concealed her indignation for the present, and contented herself with expressing, in a letter to Bonifacius, her sincere detestation of the injury that had been done him; withholding affurin of her favour and protection for the future; and exhorting him to return to his duty, and consulting, with his usual zeal, the safety of the empire, drive out the barbarians, whom, for his own safety, he had called in. This Bonifacius readily undertook, offering them immense sums provided they quitted Africa, and returned to Spain; but as they had already reduced the whole country, except three cities, viz. Carthage, Hippo, and Cirta, Germanic first returned him a scoffing answer; and then falling upon him, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged Bonifacius himself to fly to Hippo: which place the barbarians immediately invested but were obliged the following year, for want of provisions, to raise the siege, after it had continued for the space of fourteen months, Germanic attacking the town almost daily with incredible fury, and Bonifacius defending it with equal vigour and intrepidity. In the caft was held this year an oecumenic council at Ephesus, in which the doctrine of Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, affecting not only two natures in Christ, but two persons, was condemned, and he deposed on the twenty-second of June, the sentence of his deposition being signed by above two hundred bishops. The next year, Aetius was raised to the consulship.
fulship, Placidia still pretending to be unacquainted with his
treachery's conduct towards Bonifacius. He had for his
colleague Valerius, the preceding year prefect of Constanti-
nople. This year Bonifacius, reinforced with powerful suc-
cours sent both by Placidia and Theodosius, offered battle to
the Vandals; who readily accepted it, cut most of his men
in pieces, took an incredible number of prisoners, and obli-
ged the rest to shelter themselves among the rocks and moun-
tains. Among the prisoners was Marciarus, who afterwards
attained to the empire. Aspar, who commanded on this
occasion the eastern troops, with much-ado escaped into A-
frica, and returned to Constantinople, as did Bonifacius to
Italy, being invited thither by Placidia. Upon their depar-
ture, the barbarians over-ran all Africa, committing every-
where dreadful ravages and unheard-of cruelties; which
struck the inhabitants of Hippo with such terror, that they
abandoned their city, which was first pillaged, and then set
on fire, by the victorious enemy a. St. Auffin, bishop of the
place, died the year before, in the fourth month of the siege.
Carthage and Cirtaha were now the only places in all Africa
held by the Romans. Bonifacius, upon his arrival at Raven-
na, was received with extraordinary demonstrations of kind-
ness and esteem by Placidia, and raised to the chief command
of the army, in the room of Aetius; who, finding his treachery
discovered, and dreading the power of Bonifacius, assem-
bled the forces under his command, in order to destroy his
rival. Bonifacius, at his approach, marched out at the head
of a body of chosen troops to meet him. Hereupon a battle
ensuing, Bonifacius received a wound, of which he died
three months after b. Thus Marcellinus, who did not,
it seems, think it necessary to acquaint us in what place the
battle was fought, nor which side carried the day. The same
writer adds, that Bonifacius on his death-bed exhorted his
wife Pelagia to marry no man but Aetius, if his wife should
die before him. Aetius, dreading the resentment of Placidia,
withdrew to the court of Ragula, or Rouas, king of the
Hunns, whence he returned soon after, at the head of a nu-
merous army of barbarians; but the empress promising not
only to pardon him, but restore him to his former post, he
diurnissed the barbarians, and returned to court, where he
was this very year raised to the rank of a patrician c. The
following year, Theodosius being consul the fourteenth
time,

a Idem ibid. Prosp. chron.  b Marc. chron.  c Prosp.
Idat. chron.
time, with Petronius Maximus, a dreadful fire broke out at Constantinople, which lasted three days, and consumed all the public granaries, with many other stately edifices, and great part of the city. In the following consulship of Apaf and Areobindus, Honoria, sister to the emperor Valentinian, having suffered herself to be debauched by one of her domestics, named Eugenius, was banished from the court, being then sixteen years old, and sent to Constantinople, her mother Placidia having discovered, that, by means of her eunuchs, she maintained a private correspondence with Attila, who had succeeded Rouas king of the Hunns; that she had even sent him a ring, and was daily pressing him to enter Italy at the head of a powerful army, and marry her. The following year 435, Theodosius being consul the fifteenth time, and Valentinian the fourth, a peace was at length concluded with the Vandals in Africa, to whom the Romans yielded great part of Numidia, all the province Proconsularis, and likewise Bizacene. This treaty was signed at Hippo, on the eleventh of February, by Generic, and by Trigetius, who had succeeded Bonifacius in Africa. The king of the Vandals delivered up to the Romans his son Huneric by way of hostage. The same year, Aetius gained a great victory over the Burgundians, who, having been allowed in 413, to settle in that part of Gaul which borders on the Rhine, had revolted from the Romans, and plundered Belgic Gaul. Gondicarius, their king, was obliged to submit to such conditions, as the conqueror thought fit to impose upon him and his people. But Gondicarius did not long enjoy the peace which Aetius had granted him; being soon after, that is, in the beginning of the following year, when Anthemius Ipidorus and Senator were consuls, attacked by the Hunns, and cut off, with twenty thousand of his men. Socrates writes, that of the unhappy Burgundians three thousand only were left alive, who, having embraced the christian religion, and received the sacrament of baptism, went, full of courage and confidence, to attack the enemy, of whom they killed a thousand, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitous flight. Thus Socrates. But Orophi affirms us, that the Burgundians had embraced the

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\[a\] Socr. l. viii. c. 39 p. 385.  
\[e\] Socr. l. vii. c. 30. p. 374;
Chap. 30. The Roman History.

The Christian religion, before the year 417. The Goths, who had been allowed to settle in Aquitain, as we have observed above, and had Theodoric for their king, not satisfied with the countries that had been allotted them, made themselves masters of several neighbouring cities belonging to the Romans, and even laid siege to Narbonne; which, however, they were forced to raise, either this year 436 or the following, as Idatus will have it, count Litorius coming seasonably to the relief of the place with a numerous body of Hunns, who, falling upon the Goths, put them to flight, and entered the city, each horseman carrying with him two bushels of corn; which proved a very welcome supply, the inhabitants being by the long siege reduced to the utmost extremity. While these things passed in the west, Theodosius completed the ruin of idolatry in the east, by a law enacted in 435, ordering all the temples, oratories, and places consecrated to the worship of the idols, to be pulled down, and forbidding his subjects, on pain of death, to practise any of the pagan ceremonies, either in public or private. By this law the very foundations of the temples were to be entirely demolished, and the sign of the Christian religion, no doubt the cross, to be set up in the place where they stood. Theodosius passed part of the year 436, at Cyzicum. The following year 437, when Aetius was confin the second time, with Sigifvultus, or Sigifvult, the Romans, aslifted by the Hunns, pursed the war against the Goths in Gaul; but with what success we are no-where told. The Saxon pirates began this year to infest the coasts of the Armorici. Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius by the empress Eudokia, had been betrothed to Valentinian in 424, as we have related above; and this year the nuptials were celebrated with great solemnity at Constantinople, on the twenty-ninth of October. Valentinian being then eighteen years and five months old. The ceremony was to have been performed at Theffalonica; but Valentinian, out of complaisance to the royal bride, proceeded to Constantinople; which city he entered on the twenty-first of October. Theodosius, in giving, or, as others will have it, in betrothing his daughter, to Valentinian, obliged the young prince to yield to him West Illyricum, comprehending

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comprehending the Upper and Lower Pannonia, Dalmatia, and the two Noricum, viz. Mediterraneum and Ripenfe. The two Pannonias comprised that part of Austria and Hungary, that lies on the Roman side of the Danube; and the two Noricum the archbishopric of Salzburg with Styria and Carinthia. As for East Illyricum, it had belonged to the emperors of Constantinople ever since the time of Gracian, who yielded it to Theodosius the Great. Valentinian left Constantinople in the latter end of this year; and having spent the winter at Theflonica, returned early in the spring to Ravenna. He had by Eudoxia two daughters, viz. Eudocia and Placidia.

The following year, Theodosius being consul the sixteenth time, with Aciulus Glabria Faustus, the Suevians, who had settled in Galicia in 409, under the conduct of their king Ermeric or Hermeric, came after a long and bloody war to an agreement with the antient inhabitants; but the articles of that treaty have not been transmitted to us. The Romans still pursued the war against the Goths in Gaul, of whom eight thousand were this year cut in pieces by Aetius. In the east Justinian published, on the fifteenth of February of the present year 438, his famous code, that is, a collection of all the best and most useful laws that had been enacted by the lawful princes his predecessors. Eight able civilians were employed in this work, at the head of whom was Antiochus, who had been consul in 431. Such laws as were not contained in this code, were declared to be of no force. It was immediately received in the west; nay, it met with better success there than in the east, where it obtained only for the space of about ninety years, that is to the reign of Justinian, who abrogated this, and published a new code: but in the west it was received by Theodoric, and the Ostrogoths, who made themselves masters of Italy about the end of the fifth century, and likewise by Alaric, king of the Visigoths or Westrogoths, in Languedoc and Spain. The laws that were afterwards added to the code by Theodosius, and some other princes, were called Novellæ. Theodosius, in publishing the code, enacted, that the laws made by one prince should be of no force in the dominions of the other, unless confirmed and signed by him. In the following con-

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Chap. 30. The Roman History.

fulship of Theodosius, the seventeenth time consul, and of Feistus, Litorius, after having gained great advantages over the Goths in Gaul, laid siege to Toulouse, their capital. Theodoric, who was in the place, sent several catholic bishops to Litorius, with very reasonable proposals; nay, he offered in the end to submit to what terms the Romans thought fit to impose upon him, begging only, that they would grant to him and his Goths their lives and liberty. But Litorius, confiding in the valour of his Huns, and desirous of taking the Gothifh king alive, and carrying him in triumph, would hearken to no proposals. Hereupon Theodoric, having first performed his devotions, and visited all the churches of his capital in the habit of a penitent, fell out at the head of his Goths, and falling upon the enemy, cut most of them in pieces; put the few who survived the general slaughter to flight; and having surrounded Litorius, while he was attempting to make his escape, took him alive in spite of the vigorous and desperate resistance he made, and carried him with his hands tied behind his back into that city, which he had hoped to enter that very day in triumph. Theodoric caused him to be exposed for some time to the insults and outrages of the populace and children, and then to be thrown into the public prison, where he died soon after. Litorius seems to have been a pagan; for he reposéd great confidence in the answers of the auspices. He was, next to Actius, the most powerful man, and the best general, in the western empire. After this victory, the Goths might have easily extended their conquests to the Rhine; but Theodoric, thinking he ought to use with moderation a victory, for which he acknowledged himself in a particular manner indebted to heaven, hearkened to the proposals of Avitus, prefect of Gaul, and this very year concluded a peace with the Romans upon very reasonable terms. Jornandes supposes this peace to have been made by Litorius, and no battle to have been fought, or victory gained by the Goths; so little was that writer acquainted even with the history of his own nation. The Huns, who served under Litorius, were commanded by a king of their own nation, named Gauerici, who, during this war, laid siege to the city of Bazas, belonging

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ing to the Goths; but is said to have been obliged by a miraculous apparition to drop the enterprize and retire, as the reader will find related at length by Gregory of Tours. The same year Merida, then the metropolis of Lusitania, was taken by Richila, who the year before had succeeded his father Hermeric, king of the Suevians, in Galicia. But the loss of Carthage in Africa, surprized on the twenty-third of October of the present year by Genferic, king of the Vandals, proved a more fatal blow to the western empire. By the taking of that important place, which had belonged to the Romans for the space of five hundred and eighty-five years, the Vandals remained masters of the Proconsularis, of Byzacene, Getulia, and part of Numidia. However, Valentinian maintained so long as he lived, the two Mauritanias, viz. Cæsariensis and Sitifensis, with Tripolitana, Tingitana, and that part of Numidia in which Cyrtha stood. In the east, nothing worthy of notice happened this year, except the journey which the empress Eudocia undertook to Jerusalem, in compliance with a vow she had made to visit the holy places there. She passed through Antioch, where, in the presence of the senate and people, she pronounced a speech in commendation of that city from a throne of gold enriched with precious stones. At her departure, she presented the magistrates with a very considerable sum, for the relief of the indigent citizens. The inhabitants of that metropolis acknowledged the kindness she had shewed them by erecting two statues to her honour, placing the one, which was of bronzes, in the museum; and the other, which was plated over with gold, in the senate. At Jerusalem she presented Julianal, bishop of the place, with great sums, to be distributed among the poor, and with a cross of gold, adorned with precious stones, to be set up on mount Calvary; for which the bishop is said to have presented her in his turn with the right hand of St. Stephen, the protomartyr. The following year, when Valentinian was consul, the fifth time, with Anatolius, Genferic made a descent upon Sicily in the month of June; and meeting with little or no resistance, ravaged the open country, committing unheard-of cruelties, and even laid siege to Palermo: but not being able to reduce the place, he

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he returned to Africa with an immense booty. The same year, count Censorius, who had been sent by Valentinian to negotiate a peace between the Suevians in Galicia and the natives of that country, was besieged by Rechila in Merfola on the Guadiana, where he resided, and upon the reduction of the place, taken prisoner. About the same time, Aetius, removing the Burgundians from the banks of the Rhine, allotted them settlements in the present duchy of Savoy, and rewarded a body of Alans, who had served the Romans with great fidelity under the conduct of their king Eocaric or Eocric, with lands on the Loire. These Alans are supposed to have settled afterwards with the Britons in Armorica. Bucherius takes Sangiban, king of the Alans, mentioned by Jornandes, to have been the successor of Eocaric. As Salvianus wrote at this time his treatise on judgments, we shall transcribe out of that piece a passage, wherein the author acquaints us with the chief virtues and vices of the several barbarous nations then infesting the empire. The Goths, says that writer, are treacherous, but chaste: the Alans are not so chaste, but less treacherous, the Franks are liars, but kind to strangers: the Saxons are exceeding cruel, but wonderfully chaste. But tho' the Saxons are cruel, continues Salvianus, the Gepidæ are void of humanity, the Hunns lewd and deceitful, the Alemans drunkards, the Alans lover of plunder, and the Franks deceitful and perfidious to such a degree as to look upon false oaths as ornaments of speech; yet these vices are not so criminal in the barbarians as in the Romans, who are instructed in the morals of the christian religion. The same writer observes elsewhere, that tho' the Goths would not suffer their own people to frequent brothels, yet in the countries allotted to them they kept up those infamous places for the sake of the Romans, who lived among them, and claimed the scandalous privilege of frequenting them without restraint. In the east, Paulinus, the emperor Eudocia's chief favourite, who by her interest had been raised in 430, to the high post of magister officiorum, was this year put to death by the emperor's orders at Caesarea in Cappadocia. And this is all we find in the ancient writers concerning this remarkable event. The more modern Greeks ascribe his death to the jealousy of Theodosius; and tell us, that the emperor

Paulinus put to death by the emperor's orders.

The cause of his disgrace, as related by the more modern writers.

emperor being presented on the sixth of January with an apple of an uncommon size, and extraordinary beauty, he immediately sent it, as a rarity, to Eudocia, and she to Paulinus, in whose conversation she took great delight, as he was a man of learning, and the empress herself well versed in all the branches of literature. Paulinus, not knowing by whom it had been sent to the empress, thought it a proper present for the emperor, and accordingly carried it to him. This raised some jealousy in Theodosius, who thereupon dismissed Paulinus; and sending for Eudocia, asked her what was become of the apple. The empress, not caring to own she had given it to Paulinus, answered, she had eat it. Upon this, the emperor, perceiving it, commanded Paulinus to be immediately executed, and from that time shewed himself so indifferent towards the empress, that she begged leave soon after to return to Jerusalem, and to continue in that city, which was readily granted her. Thus Constantine Manassis, Zonaras, Nicephorus, Glycas and Codinus.  

That Eudocia retired about this time to Jerusalem is very certain; and likewise, that there was a misunderstanding between her and the emperor, who caused a priest, by name Severus, and a deacon, named John, whom Eudocia had carried with her from Constantinople to Jerusalem, to be murdered, for no other reason, but because the empress lived in great intimacy with them, and made them frequently rich presents. This giving, either jealousy to the prince, or occasion to scandalous reflections, Theodosius dispatched Saturnius, his comes domesticorum, to Jerusalem, with private orders to dispatch the two favourite ecclesiastics. Eudocia was so affected with their death, that not mistress of her temper, she caused, in her turn, Saturnius to be murdered; which provoked the emperor to such a degree, that he ordered all the great officers of her court to quit her service, and return to Constantinople; which was reducing her to the condition of a private person. Thus she lived at Jerusalem to her death, which happened in 460. She is said to have solemnly declared on her death-bed, that she was altogether innocent as to the crime, of which Theodosius had suspected her and Paulinus. As she was possessed of immense wealth, which the emperor left untouched, she built at Jerusalem a great number of churches, monasteries, and hospitals.


hospitals, adorned the city with many stately edifices, and, at a vast expense, repaired the walls, which in most places were entirely ruined. She was buried in a magnificent tomb in the church of St. Stephen, which she had built in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Her piety is greatly extolled by most writers; especially by Cassiodorus, who styles her of all women the most pious, the most religious. The following year, Cyrus alone was consul: he excelled in polite learning, especially in poetry; and having by that means gained the favour and protection of Eudocia, who took great delight in verses, he had been raised by her interest to the first employments in the state. As he entered the circus this year with the confular ornaments, the people, by whom he was greatly beloved, received him with such acclamations, that the emperor, who was present, caused him out of jealousy, a few days after, to be stripped of all his employments, and his estate to be confiscated, giving out, that he was inclined to paganism, and that he aspired at the empire. Hereupon Cyrus fled for refuge to a church, and caused himself to be ordained priest. The emperor respecting his new character, granted him his life, and soon after suffered him to be ordained bishop, and to be raised to the see of Cotyca in Phrygia. As Generici, king of the Vandals, was now become very formidable, Theodosius resolved in the end to assist Valentinian, his cousin and son-in-law, against so powerful an enemy. Accordingly he fitted out a fleet, consisting of eleven hundred large ships, and putting on board of it the flower of his army, under the conduct of Arcovindas, Anius, and Germanus, he ordered them to land in Africa, and joining the western forces there, to drive Generici out of the countries he had usurped. They steer'd their course to Sicily, in order to pass more safely from thence over into Africa. But in the mean time, Generici having sent a solemn embassy to Theodosius, and pretending to be desirous of concluding a peace with the two empires, the Roman generals waited on the coast of Sicily the result of the negotiations, which Generici craftily spun out till the season proper for action was over. While his embassadors were still at Constantinople, the Perrians, in open breach of the treaty made between the two empires

Niceph. i xiv. c. 50. p. 558, 559.

The confural
Cyrus stripped of his
confural
ornaments
by the em-
peror.

Theodosius
sends a pow-
erful fleet and
army against
Generici.

But he is
obliged to
say all them;
and Valen-
tinian, to
conclude a
peace with
Generici.
in 422, entered the Roman territories in an hostile manner; which obliged Theodosius to recall his forces, and Valentinian to conclude a peace with Genesic, which he could not obtain but by yielding to him all the countries in Africa, which he had feized, and we have mentioned above. Anatolius and Aspar were dispatched against the Persians, who finding the Romans, whom the expected to surprize, upon their guard, hearkened to an accommodation; so that a peace was concluded, whereas one of the chief conditions was, that neither the Persians nor the Romans should for the future raise any new fortifications on the frontiers. The same year, Arfaces, king of Armenia, dying, divided his kingdom between his two sons Tigranes and Arfaces; but by his last will bequeathed the far greater part to Tigranes. Hereupon Arfaces had recourse to Theodosius, who threatening to make war upon Tigranes, terrifed the young prince to such a degree, that flying to the protection of the Persian king, he yielded to him his share, preferring the ease and quiet of a retired life to all the charms of a crown. Arfaces, on the other hand, dreading the power of the Persians, put Theodosius in possession of his share, upon certain conditions, one of which was, that his family should enjoy for ever an entire liberty, and an exemption from all tribute and taxes. Thus ended the kingdom of Armenia, after it had continued for many ages, and given occasion to much bloodshed and endless wars, waged by the Romans first with the Parthians, and afterwards with the Persians. It began and ended in Arfaces. The share of Tigranes belonging to the Persians, was called Perfarmenia and Armenia Persica. The part of Arfaces held by the Romans was thenceforth governed by a particular officer, with the title of come Armenia, or count of Armenia. The same year, the Huns, taking advantage of the wars, in which the Romans were engaged with the Vandals and Persians, passed the Danube, and with a formidable army fell unexpectedly upon Thrace. They had invaded that province in 425, under the conduct of Rougas, their king, as we have related above; but he being killed with lightning, and at the same time a plague breaking out, and raging with great violence, in his army, the barbarians repassed the Danube of their own accord, not caring, says Socrates, to engage in a war with the Romans, whose cause heaven had evidently espoused. Rougas was succeeded.

* Procop. de aedif. l. iii. c. 1. p. 52, 53.  
succeeded by Roas or Rouas in 434, who concluded a peace with the Romans, whereof one of the conditions was, that they should pay him yearly a pension of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold. A few years after, the Hunns resolving to drive out the Boschi, and other barbarous nations dwelling on the banks of the Danube under the protection of the Romans, Rouas dispatched one Eilas to the court of Constantinople, threatening to make war upon Theodosius, if he lent them the least assistance. Hereupon the two generals, Plintha and Dionysius, were appointed by the emperor to treat with the king of the Hunns, and divert him, if possible, from the resolution he had taken. But in the mean time, Rouas dying, and his nephew, the famous Attila, of whom we shall speak at length in the history of the Hunns, succeeding him, the embassadors were ordered to treat with him and his brother Bleda, his partner in the sovereignty. But in the room of Dionysius, who could not agree with Plintha, was sent the questor Epigenes, a man of great experience in negotiations. The embassadors had an interview with the two princes in the neighbourhood of Margum, a city on the Danube in Upper Moesia, at a place where the Margus or Margis falls into that river. The Romans were obliged to confer with them on horseback, the Hunns refusing to dismount. The peace was confirmed, but upon such conditions as plainly betrayed the weakness and deplorable condition of the empire. These were, 1. That the Romans should deliver up to Attila and Bleda such Hunns as had taken, or should for the future take, refuge in the Roman dominions. 2. That the Roman prisoners, who should make their escape from the Hunns without paying their ransom, should in like manner be delivered up or eight pieces of gold paid for each of them. 3. That, instead of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold, the Romans should for the future pay annually seven hundred. 4. That the Romans should not affright any nation whatsoever, when attacked by, or at war with, the Hunns. In compliance with this shameful treaty, the Romans immediately delivered up to Attila some princes of the royal blood of the Hunns, who were by his orders crucified like the meanest of slaves, in the sight of the Romans, for no other crime but because they had abandoned their own country to serve in their armies. Attila, being, in virtue of this treaty, at full liberty to make what conquest he pleased, reduced all the northern countries, his authority being acknowledged.

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1 See p. 38.
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ledged even by the several barbarous nations lying north of the Euxine sea. Having thus extended his dominions, he resolved to take advantage of the wars in which Theodosius was engaged this year with the Persians and Vandals; and accordingly, without any regard to the above-mentioned treaty, he passed the Danube at the head of a very numerous and formidable army, and entering Thrace, made himself master of several cities and strong holds, and, among the rest, of Viminacium, a place of great importance on the Danube, and of Margum, which was betrayed to him by the bishop of the place. Elated with this success, he dispatched a messenger to Theodosius, requiring, or rather commanding, him to deliver up forthwith all the Huns who had taken refuge in the Roman dominions, to pay part of the tribute that had been owing for some time, and to settle what should be paid him for the future. Theodosius could not prevail upon himself to abandon those, who, after the declaration of war, had forsaken Attila, and come over to him. Whereupon Attila began to ravage the country, putting all to fire and sword, without diffusion of sex, age, or condition. He took by storm Retiarium on the Danube in upper Moesia, Singidunum, Naissus and Sirmium, formerly the capital of all Illyricum, with several other cities and strong-holds, informuch, that Theodosius, not thinking himself safe at Constantinople, retired the following year 442, when Eudoxius and Diocletian were consuls, into Asia. As to the issue of this war, we are left quite in the dark. All we know is, that this very year a peace was concluded between Attila and Theodosius, who thereupon returned to Constantinople, and entered that city on the twenty-seventh of August. From this time Attila continued quiet till the year 447, contenting himself with only threatening to make war upon the Romans, in order to draw from them corn, money, provisions, and whatsoever else he stood in need of; for the Romans, trembling at the very name of Attilas, complied with all his demands, however unreasonable, and obeyed him, says Priscus, like so many slaves, that he might have no pretence to take arms against them. The embassadors he sent to Constantinople returned always loaded with presents; informuch that, when he thought fit to reward any of

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of his own people, he used to send them, under some pretence or other, with the character of ambassadors to Theodosius, who, to court the friendship of their master, never failed to load them with presents to a great value. Thus were the subjects of the empire impoverished to enrich the barbarians, their sworn enemies. Attila, finding himself thus become the terror of the Romans, is said to have sent, out of mere wantonnss, two Goths, with the character of ambassadors, the one to Theodosius, and the other to Valentinian, whom, by his orders, they addressed thus; Attila, my master and yours, commands you to get ready a palace for his reception. During these transactions in the east, the Suevians made great progress in Spain, where they took the city of Seville, and reduced all Baetica with the province of Carthagena.

The following year, Maximus being consul, the second time, with Paternus, Theodosius, leaving Constantinople, visited the province of Pontus, where he caused the public edifices and walls of Heraclea to be repaired. As he was one day, during this progress, marching on foot, greatly tormented with heat, dust, and thirst, an officer of his guards presented him with a beautiful cup full of fresh and excellent liquor; but the emperor, returning the officer thanks in a most obliging manner, declared, that he would not by any means refresh himself, when it was not in his power to refresh those who attended him. In 444, when Theodosius was consul, the eighteenth time, with Albinus, died Arcadia, the sister of Theodosius. The same year the eunuch Antiochus, the emperor’s great chamberlain, being convicted of extortion, and abusing his authority to the oppression of the people, was by Theodosius degraded from the rank of a patrician, and confined to the monastery of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon, stripped of the great wealth he had amassed, and deprived of all the honours which he had enjoyed. Theophanes writes, that Theodosius made him pope, meaning perhaps, that he obliged him to take holy orders. Upon his disgrace, the emperor enacted a law excluding all eunuchs from the dignity of patrician. The following year, when Valentinian was consul, the sixth year, with Nomus, nothing remarkable happened in the

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k Cod. p. 48.
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The Romans defeated by the Suevians in Spain.

The east; but in the west, Vitus being sent with a considerable army into Spain, to support the Romans, that is, the natives, against the Suevians, most of his men were cut off by Rechila, and he obliged to save himself by flight, and abandon the inhabitants to the mercy of those barbarians. The next year, Aetius being consul the third time with Q. Aurelius Symmachus, the Britons, no longer able to withstand the Scots and Picts, had recourse to Aetius, who governed the western empire almost with an absolute sway. To move him to compassion, they wrote him a letter with the following direction, The groans of the Britons to the consul Aetius; but could not, with all their groans and tears, prevail upon him to lend them the least assistance. The learned Usher thinks, that Valentinian was then under apprehension of a war with Attila. The venerable Bede supposes the Hunns to have already broken into the western empire; but he was therein certainly mistaken. In the east a dreadful plague raged this and the following year, when Ardaburius and Alypius were consuls, and violent earthquakes were felt in most provinces, which overturned several cities, and great part of the new walls of Constantinople, with fifty-seven towers, and many stately edifices, not only in that city, but likewise at Antioch and Alexandria. The same year, 447, Attila, upon what provocation we know not, (for both emperors readily complied with all his demands, however unjust and arrogant) broke into Thrace with a formidable army, consisting of Hunns, Goths, Gepidæ, Alans, and many other barbarous nations, commanded by their respective kings. Attila, whom they all obeyed, at the head of this numerous host, over-ran without opposition Illyricum, Thrace, both Dacia's, Moesia, and Scythia. He took and plundered above seventy cities, and, among the rest, Philippopolis in Thrace, properly so called, Arcadiopolis in the province of Europe, and Marcianopolis, the metropolis of Lower Moesia. They extended their ravages on one side to the Euxine sea, and on the other to the shores of Thermopylae, which part of Thessaly from Achaia or Greece. In the mean time, Arnegiselus, governor of Moesia and Thrace, having drawn together all the troops quartered in those two provinces, marched against Attila; And engaging him

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him in Lower Moesia, on the banks of the river Utis, which falls into the Danube near a city of the same name, cut off great numbers of his men; but falling unluckily from his horse, he was himself killed, after having fled his life dear, and his army put to the rout: another battle was fought in the Chermonesus near Gallipoli, probably by the generals Aspar and Arcobindus, who were both sent against Attila. But no better success attended the Romans in this than in the other engagement; so that Theodosius was obliged the following year 448, when Zeno and Pothuminus were consuls, to send Anatolius, with one Vigilius, who understood the language of the Huns, to Attila to sue for peace, which he was strictly enjoined to conclude upon any terms. A peace was accordingly agreed to, and ratified by the emperor, on the following terms, highly opprobrious to the Roman name, viz. 1. That the Romans should pay immediately to Attila six thousand pounds weight of gold, and every year two hundred. 2. That they should send back to him all his defectors, and receive none for the future. 3. That they should deliver up the Roman captives, who had escaped without paying their ransom, or pay for each of them twelve pounds weight of gold. 4. That the Romans should send no embassadors to Attila, till they had delivered up to him all his defectors and fugitives. Pursuant to this ignominious treaty, six thousand pounds weight of gold were sent immediately to Attila, with all the Huns who had taken refuge in the Roman dominions, among whom were several princes, who chose rather to be killed by the Romans, than fall into the hands of Attila. While these things passed in the east, Rechila king of the Suevians settled in Spain, died at Merida in 447, and was succeeded by his son Requarius, who the year following married the daughter of Theodoric, king of the Goths in Languedoc, and soon after went to pay a visit to his father-in-law at Toulouse; but on his return to Spain, surprized the city of Lerida; and carrying with him from thence a great number of captives, pillaged the territory of Saragosa, which, according to Isidorus, belonged to the Romans. This year a misunderstanding arose between Attila and Valentian on account of some sacred vessels, which Attila falsely pretended to have been stolen from him by one Silvanus, a banker in Rome. Silvanus,

The Romans conclude a peace with him upon unequal terms.

And defeats the Roman general's sent against him.

Rechila, king of the Suevians in Spain, died, and is succeeded by his son Requarius.

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vanus, who was the lawful owner of these vessels, had sold them to the church. But as they were pieces of exquisite workmanship, Attila, coveting them, or rather seeking a pretence to quarrel with Valentinian, claimed them as stolen from him by Silvanus, and with great arrogance pressed the emperor either to restore the vessels, or deliver up to him Silvanus. Hereupon count Romulus was sent with Promotus, governor of Noricum, and Romulus, an officer of distinction, to the court of Attila, to convince him, if possible, that the vessels in dispute had never belonged to him; or if he continued to claim them, to pay him their value in gold. Attila received the embassadors in a very obliging manner, entertaining them at his own table with the embassadors of Theodosius, who arrived at his court much about the same time. But the only answer that he returned to their reasoning and arguments was, that the vessels belonged to him, and that he was determined to do himself justice, and declare war, if Valentinian did not either restore them, or deliver up to him Silvanus, who had stolen them. But notwithstanding these menaces, he did not make war upon Valentinian till three years after, tho' that prince could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with either of his demands. The following year, when Protogenes and Asturius or Asterius were confus, one Edecon being sent by Attila with the character of embassador to Theodosius, the eunuch Chryfaphus, the emperor's great chamberlain, discovering him to be greatly taken with the splendor of the court, and desirous to continue among the Romans, promised him great wealth and preferments, provided he dispatched Attila; which he promising to do, Theodosius consented to the wicked attempt, and charged Vigilius, interpreter to the Roman embassadors at the court of Attila, to be assisting in him in that undertaking. But Edecon, either apprehensive of the dangers attending such a desperate attempt, or deceiving the whole time the emperor and his minister, upon his return discovered the plot to Attila, who thereupon caused Vigilius to be seized, and dispatched his secretary Orestes to reproach Theodosius with his treachery, and demand Chryfaphus, the chief author and contriver of the conspiracy, to be delivered up to him. But Nomon, who was sent embassador to the king of the Hunns on this occasion, with several other persons of great distinction, gained his esteem and affection to such a degree, that he promised to live in peace and amity with Theodosius, pardoned Chryfaphus, set Vigilius at liberty
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berty, and dismissed the embassadors, loaded with rich presents. Thus Priscus, who was an eye-witness of what he wrote, having attended the embassadors to the court of Atti-

The following year, 450, when Valentinian was con-

ful the seventh time, with Avienus, Theodosius was fo-

bruised with a fall from his horse in hunting, that being with

much ado carried in a sedan to Constantinople, he died there

the next day, the twentieth of June, according to Theo-

phanes *, or the twenty-eighth of July, as we read in Theo-

dorus *, who is followed by most chronologers. According

to this opinion, he died in the fiftieth year of his age, after

having reigned forty-two years, and near three months after

the death of his father, and forty-eight since he had received

the title of Augustus. He was buried on the thirtieth of Ju-

ly, in the same tomb with his father Arcadius z. He is ge-

nerally commendéd as a prince of exemplary nícty; but all

own him to have had but slender parts, and to have been en-

tirely guided by those about him, especially by the eunuchs

of the court, who, abusing his authority, oppressed the peo-

ple to such a degree, that many in his reign chose rather to

abandon their native country, and live among the Hunns,

and other barbarians, than bear the tyrannical government,

of those who, by the eunuchs, were set over them. Au-

thors give us the following instance of his disaffection to

public affairs: As he had been used, when yet a child, to sign

all the acts that were brought to him by his ministers, with-

out reading them, he continued the same custom even after

he was married, till his sister Pulcheria, to apprize him of

the evil consequences that might attend it, caused an act to

be drawn up, whereby he yielded to her for ever the em-

press Eudocia as her slave. This act the emperor signed

without perufing it, or enquiring what it contained; which

he had no sooner done, than Pulcheria desired him to read

it, when, ashamed of his past indolence and neglet, he

resolved to be upon his guard for the future, and to sign no

papers till he was well informed what they contained *. He

was a great friend to the church, but yet, misled by ill-

meaning men, countenanced the declared enemies of the

orthodox faith, as the reader will find in the account

which the ecclesiastic writers give us of the two councils

held

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held by his orders at Ephesus, and of the progress which the
hero of Eutyches made in his reign. Of the writers who
furnished under Theodosius, we shall speak in note (S).

(S: We are chiefly indebted to the ecclesiastic writers Socrates,
Sozomen, and Philostratus, for the history of the reign of Theo-
dosius the younger. Socrates was born in Constantinople about
the year 380, and spent most part of his life in that city (1). He
speaks of what happened after the year 395, as of things that had
happened in his time (2). He tells us, that when he was yet very
young, he knew a Novatian priest, by name Auxano, who re-
membered the council of Nice, and lived to the reign of Theo-
dosius the younger, that is, to the year 403 (3). Socrates studied
grammar under Helladius and Ammonius, two pagan priests of
Alexandria, who had retired to Constantinople, when the temple
of the idols were pulled down in their own country, which hap-
pened in the year 389. He probably studied eloquence under
Troilus, who in his time taught it with great applause at Con-
stantinople: for he beholds mighty encomiums upon that sophist
(4). He begins where Eusebius ended his history, but repeats
the transactions of the first year of Constance's reign, that is,
of the year 306, and carries his work down to the seventeenth con-
fulship of Theodosius II. that is, to the year 439, so that it com-
prompts the space of an hundred and thirty-four years. He addresses
it to one Theodorus, by whose orders he undertook it. The-
dorus was probably a bishop or priest; for he calls him a person
consecrated to the worship of God (5). He writes in a familiar,
but plain and easy, style. At first he followed Rufinus, especially
in his first two books, copying even his mistakes; but the he cor-
rected, after having perused the works of Athanaeus. He in-
formed himself with great care of the truth of what he relates,
copying what had happened before his time from the authors that
were most esteemed, and relating only such events of his own time
as he himself had either seen, or learnt from persons of unques-
tionable veracity (6). As he speaks of the Novatians with great
refinement, and even pretends some of their bishops to have wrought
miracles, several writers conclude from thence, that he himself
held the tenets of Novatus. But on the other hand, he blames
the Novatians for separating from the church (7), and in express
terms disapproves the suppressing of the office of penitentiary in
the church of Constantinople, against which office the Novatians
had always exclaimed (8). Socrates wrote in Greek, but seems
to have been acquainted with the Latin tongue. His history is
quoted by Liberatus, and the seventh eumenical council. So-

(1) Socr l. v. c. 24. p. 293. (2) Idem, l. vi. c. i. p. 293.
(3) Idem, l. i. c. 11. p. 41. (4) Idem, l. ii. c. 1. p. 79. & prol.
p. 6. (5) Idem, prol p. 7. (6) Idem, l. ii. c. 1 p. 79. (7)
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zomen, or Salaminus Hermias Sozomenes, as he is styled by Photius, was not, as some have conjectured from the first of these names, a native of Salamis in the island of Cyprus, but of a village in the territory of Gaza, named Bethelia, as appears from the account he gives of the conversion of his grandfather to the christian religion (9). The title of scholasticus, bestowed upon him by Photius (10) and others, gives us room to believe, that he was well versed in polite literature. He pleaded at the bar in Constantinople (11), and was at the same time aseffor or counsel-elor to Isidorus, prefect of the caet in 435, and 436 (12). He was well acquainted with the civil law, as is plain from his works. He wrote first in two books the ecclesiastic history, from the ascension of our Saviour to the deposition of Licinius in 323 (13), which work has been long since entirely lost. He afterwards undertook his great history, which was to comprise whatever had happened worthy of notice from the third confullship of Cripus and Constantine Caesar, that is, from the year 324, to the seventeenth confullship of Theodosius the younger, in 439 (14). Whence it is manifest, that the work, which has reached our times, is imperfect, since it ends in the year 415. Some think he was prevented by death from pursuing his design. St. Gregory writes, that the history of Sozomen was not received by the church of Rome on account of the many falsehoods it contained, and of the great commendations the author bestowed on Theodorus of Mopuestia. He is not indeed without faults; but notwithstanding some mistakes that are to be found in his work, he is commonly preferred to the other historians of those times. Whoever compares his history with that of Socrates, will find, that the one has evidently copied from the other, most likely Sozomen from Socrates; for the latter seems to have written before the former. When Socrates wrote, the house in which Arius died was still standing; whereas Sozomen observes, that an Arian, having bought it, had pulled it down, and built another in its room (15). Besides, the candor and simplicity with which Socrates writes, would not, in our opinion, have allowed him to copy his history from another without owning it. Though Sozomen bestows great commendations on some Novatian bishops, as Socrates had done; yet he condemns in several places their tenets (16). About the beginning of the sixth century, Caßdorius, cauèd the histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret to be translated into the Latin tongue by one Epiphanes, that Greece alone, says Caßdorius, might not possess so valuable and necessary a work. He divided them, thus translated, into twelve books, commonly known by the

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The name of Historia Tripartita. Before him Theodorus, the reader, had begun to compile a history in Greek from the three above-mentioned historians. But of that work, only the two first books, comprising the reigns of Constantine and Constans, have reached our times. It does not appear, that the author wrote any more; and those, which he wrote, have never yet been printed. Philostratus, born about the year 368, in the province of Cappadocia Secunda, wrote an ecclesiastic history, or rather, under that name, an apology for the Arians, especially the Eunomians whose tenets he himself held. He began his work, which was divided into twelve books, with the death of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great, and carried it down to the accession of Valentinian III. to the empire, that is, to the year 425. This work has been long since lost; but an abstract of it, which may be called a large history, has been conveyed to us by Photius (17), who commends the style, but thinks the author often too diffuse and tedious. The whole is a continued fatire on the catholics, and a panegyric on the Arians. Philostratus seldom agrees with other writers, and relates several remarkable events, quite unknown to those who lived at the same time with him, such as the miracles wrought by Eusebius of Nicomedia, by Theophilus the Indian, by Leontius of Tripoli, &c. whence Photius styles him a fabulous and lying writer (18). However, he is often quoted by John of Antioch, who wrote about the beginning of the seventh century, by Nicetas Coniates, who flourished in the thirteenth century, by Nicephorus and others. Suidas likewise has copied several passages from him. Philostratus, besides his history, wrote a long panegyric on Eunomius, and an apology for the christian religion against Porphyrius; but neither of these works has reached our times. About the same time flourished Philip of Sida in Pamphylia, who wrote a very diffuse history from the creation to his time, consisting of eight hundred and sixty-four books, which he intitled the Christian history. Of this voluminous work, which has been long since lost, Photius speaks with great contempt (19). The same author wrote another extensive work, wherein he confuted, or attempted to confute, the writings of the emperor Julian (20); but that performance has undergone the same fate as the other. The author was a deacon of the church of Constantinople, and thought himself highly injured, because he was not preferred to that see (21). Priscus, who attended Maximus, when sent ambassador to Attila in 449, wrote the history of the war between that prince and Theodosius; the history of Marcian’s reign; an account of the journey of Anacharsis to Rome; of the war carried on in the reign of Leo against Geneseric; and of the unhappy end of Alpa and his children, put to death by the emperor Leo in 471 (22).

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Suidas ascribes to him eight books of the Byzantine history, and of the war with Attilus, meaning, no doubt Atula (23). Priscus was a native of Panes or Panium, reckoned among the cities of the province of Europe in Thrace (24). He was a sophist, or professor of eloquence (25). He visited Rome, where he saw the king of the Franks (26), no doubt Meroue, and travelled likewise to Thebaïs and Alexandria in Egypt. In the latter city he was an eyewitness of the disorders which attended the election of the holy bishop Proterus to that see, and greatly contributed to the appealing of them by the good advice he gave to Florus, prefect of Egypt. Euphemius, magister officiorum to the emperor Marcian, advised with him in all matters of importance (27). His history is said to be still extant and lodged in some libraries (28). Hitherto only some fragments of it, relating to embassies, have been published, which are to be found among the works of the other Byzantine historians. Some passages of his history are quoted by Jornandes (29). He wrote with great exactness and elegance (30). Suidas mentions his declamations and letters (31). The history of Theodorus the younger was likewise written by one John, who is often quoted by Evagrius, and by him styled orator, or professor of eloquence (32). He is thought to have been a native of Antioch, because he is frequently quoted by Evagrius in what relates to the history of that city (33). His history ended with the seventh year of Justin I. of the Christian era 525, whence we must distinguish him from another historian of the same name, whose history began with the death of Justinian, and was carried down to the reign of Mauricius (34). Another historian, named likewise John, a follower of Eutyches, wrote in five books the ecclesiastic history, from the time of Ne- florius to the defeat of Basilius; that is, from the year 428, to 477. To his ecclesiastic history he added five books (35), the contents of which are to us quite unknown.

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C H A P. XXXI.

The Roman history, from the death of Theodosius II. to the total failure of the western empire in Augustulus.

If the laws at this time in force concerning private estates and inheritances, had obtained with respect to kingdoms and empires, the right of Eudoxia to the imperial crown had been indisputable, that princess being the only child of the deceased emperor; but not the least regard was had, either to her, or to the emperor Valentinian her husband: and truly neither of them seems to have laid any claim to the eastern empire, tho' Theodosius left no issue male behind him. As Pulcheria had shared the sovereignty with her brother, and bore the title of Augusta, she remained by his death sole mistress of the empire; and no person was more capable of governing it well. However, as no woman had yet reigned alone in either empire, she resolved to marry, notwithstanding the resolution she had taken, or the vow she had made, to continue a virgin to her death. Pursuant to this resolution, as soon as the death of Theodosius was publicly known, she sent for Marcianus, a person famous for his exemplary piety, and extraordinary qualifications; and told him, that she designed to raise him to the sovereignty, by marrying him, on condition that he would suffer her, agreeable to the resolution she had taken, to live and die a virgin. Marcianus readily complying with this condition, she sent for the patriarch Anatolius, and the senate, and in their presence declared Marcianus emperor. Her choice being approved by them, and applauded by all the officers at court, both civil and military, the new emperor was crowned at the palace of Hebdomon, on the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of August of the present year 451. His election was immediately notified to Valentinian; and he approving it, his images were, according to custom, sent into the west, and received at Rome on the thirtieth of March of the following year. After this, the marriage was celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence.

Pulcheria.

Who is the second emperor.

Pulcheria resolves to marry Marcian.

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Pulcheria, being then in the fifty-first, and Marcian in the fiftieth year of his age. He was a native of Thrace or Illyricum, and descended from a family of no great distinction, but remarkable for their attachment to the orthodox faith. As his father served in the army, he resolved to follow the same profession; and, pursuant to this resolution, set out for Philippopolis in Thrace, in order to enlist himself there. On his journey, he found the body of a man lately killed lying on the public road, and, prompted by his good nature, could not proceed, till he had decently interred it. This same persons, accidently coming by, observed, and immediately acquainted the magistrates of Philippopolis with what they had seen; who thereupon caused Marcian to be seized and examined, and would have condemned him, had not the true author of the murder been seasonably discovered and convicted. Marcian, thus set at liberty, lifted himself among the troops quartered at Philippopolis, and served still as a private man in 421, when, upon the breaking out of the war between the Romans and Perrians, the corps in which he served was ordered into Syria; but Marcian falling sick as they marched through Asia, continued a long time indisposed at a place called Sydema, and thence repaired to Constantinople, where he lifted himself among the troops that were commanded by Ardashir, and his son Aspar, who discovering him to be a man of uncommon parts, raised him to the post of their secretary. With that character he attended Aspar in 431, into Africa, where he was taken prisoner by Geneseric, with many persons of distinction, Aspar himself having narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. All the captives of note were, by Geneseric's orders, brought into the palace, where while they were waiting in an open court till the king was at leisure to view them, Marcian lying down on the ground, fell asleep, and an eagle at the same time appearing over him, says Evagrius, and intercepting with his extended wings the scorching rays of the sun, afforded him a friendly shade. This Geneseric observed from his apartment, and concluding from thence, that he was destined by Heaven to the empire, he granted him his liberty, after having obliged him to swear, that he would never make war upon the Vandals. From Africa he returned to Constantinople, where he was, according to Theophanes, honoured with the senatorial dignity. Theodorus styles him only tribune; but adds, that he distinguished him-
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He had by his first wife, who died before his accession to the empire, but one daughter, named Euphemia, whom, when he was raised to the sovereignty, he married to Anthemiüs, afterwards emperor of the west. All writers agree, that Marcianus was a prince of most exemplary piety, a zealous patron of the orthodox faith, a father to his people, a sincere friend to virtue, an enemy to all vice and irreligion; in short, a person endowed with every great and good quality becoming a prince. Some writers prefer him even to Constantine and Theodosius the Great. He preferred none but persons of known abilities, and unblemished characters; whence the reader will find, in the writers of those times, great encomiums bestowed, not only upon him, but on all those who were employed by him in the administration. In the west died in the same year 450, Pulcheria, mother to the emperor Valentinian, and was interred at Ravenna, where her tomb is still to be seen. She is blamed by some writers for yielding, or inducing her son to yield, West Illyricum to Theodosius. She had governed the western empire with an absolute sway for the space of twenty-six years, Valentinian suffering her to rule, to the hour of her death, with the same authority which she had enjoyed in his minority.

The following year 451, Attila assembled one of the most numerous and formidable armies we find mentioned in history. It consisted of Hunns, Gepidae, Ostrogoths, Rugians, Geronians, Burgundians, Belonatians, Squiri, Neurians, Baffarm, Thuringians, Bructerians, Franks dwelling on the Neckar, Marcomans, Suevians, Quadians, Heruli, Turcilingians, and in short, of all the northern barbarians, to the number of five, or, as others will have it, of seven, hundred thousand men. Attila, in raising so formidable an army, had nothing less in view, than to make himself master of both empires. But Marcian returning no other answer to his ambassadors, sent to demand the annual pension or tribute paid him by Theodosius, than that he had gold for his friends, and steel for his enemies, he thought it advisable to turn his arms first against Valentinian, whom he held in the utmost contempt, being well apprized, that it would be no difficult undertaking to reduce, in spite of all opposition, the eastern, after he had made himself master of the western empire. Being therefore determined to make war upon Valentinian,
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Lentinius, he sent a solemn embassy to that prince, demanding his sister Honoria, whom he pretended to be his wife, and with her half of the western empire, as belonging of right to her. We have observed above, that Honoria had maintained, by means of her eunuchs, a private correspondence with Attila, and even sent him a ring, which the ambassador produced to prove their marriage. Valentinian answered, That, among the Romans, women had no right to the imperial crown, nor to any part of the empire; and at the same time dispatched Carpio, the son of Aetius, and several other persons of great distinction, to the court of Attila, to convince him of the injustice of his claim. Attila, to the great surprise, both of Valentinian and the embassadors themselves, seemed to be fully satisfied with their reasoning, and the arguments they alleged; but it was only the better to deceive the unwarry prince, and put in execution a new scheme. Hemeric, the son of Generic, king of the Vandals, having married the daughter of Theodoric king of the Goths in Languedoc, caused her nose to be cut off soon after, and sent her back, thus disfigured, to her father, upon a bare suspicion, that she designed to poison him. As he was well apprised, that Theodoric would not fail to resent such an affront, he resolved to be beforehand with him; and therefore sent embassadors with rich presents to Attila, to engage him to fall upon Theodoric. Attila, who wanted only some pretence to enter Gaul, readily closed with the proposal, pretending at the same time, that he might meet with no opposition from the Romans, to be fully satisfied with the reasons alleged by their embassadors, and to relinquish all claim to any part of the empire; nay, he sent to Valentinian embassadors, with a very friendly, in appearance, and obliging letter, affirming him, that his warlike preparations were designed against Theodoric alone; that, as to the Romans, he should ever look upon them as his friends, provided they did not espouse the cause of his enemy. At the same time he wrote to Theodoric, affirming him of his friendship, and exhorting that prince to join him against the Romans, as their common enemy. The better to surprise Valentinian, he did not wait the return of the embassadors he had sent to him; but setting out immediately from Scythia, tho' in the midst of winter, and directing his march through Germany, he never halted till he reached, early in the spring, the banks of the Rhine. There such of the Franks as still dwelt on the German side of that river, endeavoured to stop him; but they were easily defeated, Childeric, the son of Meroue, and grand-son of...
of Clodion, being taken prisoner, with his mother and other persons of distinction. The Franks being thus overcome and defeated, Attila caused an incredible number of boats to be built, cutting down for that purpose whole forests, and passing the Rhine without opposition, entered Gaul. As he gave out, that he designed to live in friendship with the Romans, and only begged leave to march through their country, in order to make war upon the Visigoths in Languedoc, several cities opened their gates to him; but the ravines and violences which he suffered his men to commit in the cities that had received him, betraying his real design, the other cities shut their gates against him. Hereupon pulling off the mask, he besieged, took by storm, and pillaged Tongres, Treves, Strafbourg, Spires, Worms, Mentz, and all the cities in that neighbourhood. Advancing thence into the country, and dividing his numerous army into several bodies, he put all to fire and sword, and not only reduced and pillaged, but laid in ashes the cities of Arras, Laon, Befancon, Toul, and Langres. Attila, thus laying waste the country far and near, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties, arrived at length before Orleans, and laid siege to that city. In the mean time, Aetius, arriving from Italy at Arles, assembled what forces he could, having brought with him but a small number of troops, which, however, were reinforced by a great number of Visigoths, under the command of their king Theodoric, whom Aetius had persuaded to join the imperial troops, and, with their united forces, oppose the furious torrent, which threatened both alike. The example of Theodoric was followed by several other nations, namely, by the Franks, under the conduct of Meroue, who by means of one of his own nation, named Wimaud, had made his escape; by the Sarmatians, Burgundians, Saxons, the Armorici, the Lians, the Riverins, the Ibrions, and several other nations of Celtic Gaul and Germany, who, apprehending themselves to be in no less danger than the Romans, readily joined Aetius against the common enemy. The Lians dwelt, according to Valesius, on the banks of the Lis in Flanders; the Riverins on the Rhine towards Cologne; and the Ibrions in Vindelicia now Suabia and Bavaria. While Aetius was busied in assembling the Roman

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\[m\] Val. rer. Franc. i. iv. p. 158. Du Cheyne tom. i. p. 725.
\[n\] Sic car. vi. p. 541.
\[q\] Val. p. 161.
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Roman forces and those of their allies, Attila pursuèd the siege of Orleans with great fury, battering the place night and day with an incredible number of warlike engines. At length he carried it by assault, according to Apollinaris Sidonius; but while his men were busied in plundering without the least apprehension of danger, Actius and Theodoric, arriving with all their forces, entered the city, cut great numbers of the Hunns in pieces, before they could put themselves in a posture of defence, and obliged Attila to repass the Loire, in which many of his men were drowned, and to retire towards the Rhine. Having passed Troyes, he halted in the Catalaunic or Mauriac fields, that is, in the plains of Chalon, which city was then known by the name of Catalauni. The same plains were called, according to Jornandes, Mauriac or Mauritii, no doubt, from some neighbouring city or village. Valesius indeed distinguishes the Catalaunic from the Mauriac plains, and supposes two battles to have been fought, the one, which was not decisive, in the Mauriac, and the other, which put an end to the war, in the Catalaunic plains. But all the antients mention only one battle fought in the plains, called by some Mauriac and Mauritian, and by others Catalaunic. Attila chose that place, as the most advantageous for his Hunns, who were all horse, to engage in. Actius, who followed him close, resolved, notwithstanding the enemy's advantageous situation, to put the whole to the issue of a battle. As he arrived late at night in the plains where Attila was encamped, the Gepidae, who followed Attila, and the Franks, who served under Actius, meeting in the dark, engaged with such fury, that, on both sides, above fifteen thousand were left dead upon the spot. The next day Attila drew up his men in battle-array, placing the flower of his army in the centre, which he commanded in person, the Ostrogoths in the left wing, and the Gepidae, with other barbarous nations, in the right. On the other hand, Actius placed the Romans, whom he commanded himself, in the left wing; the Visigoths, under the command of Theodoric and his eldest son Thorismund, in the right; and the Alans, with their king Sangoian, the Franks, and the other auxiliaries, with their respective leaders, in the centre. That the Romans might not have time to pursue their victory, in case they gained it, Attila did not quit his camp till four in the afternoon, when the battle began, which, by all accounts, was the most bloody encounter between the Franks and Gepidae.

1 Jorn. re& Goth. c. 46. p. 664. 2 Val. nat. Gall. p. 324. 3 Jorn. c. 41. p. 671.
all writers, is reckoned one of the most obstinate and bloody engagements mentioned in history. Aetius, Theodoric, and his son Thorismond, distinguished themselves in a most eminent manner, Theodoric, notwithstanding his great age, fought at the head of his Goths with a courage and resolution hardly to be expressed. But while he was thus animating his men, more by his example than his words, he unluckily fell from his horse, as some authors write, and was tried to death by his own people, who did not know him. Others write, that he was killed by a Goth, named Andagus, who served under Attila, and was descended from the royal family of the Amali. The Goths, not in the least disheartened by the death of their king, charged the Huns so vigorously, that they began, after a most obstinate resistance, to give ground; which Attila no sooner perceived, than he caused the retreat to be founded, and retired to his camp. As it was already dark, Aetius, thinking it advisable not to pursue the enemy, withdrew likewise; but kept his men all night under arms, for fear of a surprise. The next morning, the extensive plains, in which the battle had been fought, appeared covered with heaps of dead bodies, and a neighbouring brook tinged with the blood of the slain. As Attila kept close in his camp, the Romans concluded from thence, that his army had suffered greatly, and that he owned himself conquered; but as his camp was well fortified, and surrounded with an incredible number of wagons, the Romans and Goths contented themselves with blocking it up, being well apprised, that the enemy would be soon obliged, for want of provisions, either to submit, or to quit their intrenchments, and venture a second battle in the open fields. In the mean time, the body of Theodoric, found among the slain, was interred with extraordinary pomp; and his son Thorismond, who had been dangerously wounded, proclaimed king of the Visigoths in his room. Such is the account the ancients give us of this famous action. Idatus writes, that on both sides near three hundred thousand men were killed; and Jornandes, according to the Amsterdam edition in 1655, makes the number of the slain amount to two hundred and fifty-two thousand. Both armies were greatly weakened, and the loss on each side perhaps equal; but as Attila shut himself up in his camp, and declined a second engagement, the Romans, who

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\[ v \] Vide Buch. hist. Belg. c. 37—42.  
\[ w \] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 40, 41. p. 669—672.  
\[ x \] Idat. p. 28.  
\[ y \] Jorn. c. 41. p. 673—.
who remained masters of the field of battle, challenged the victory. Cassiodorus, and Theodoric king of Italy, ascribe this victory to the courage and bravery of the Goths; but Gregory of Tours will have it to have been chiefly owing to the prayers of St. Agnan bishop of Orleans. Thorsimond who had not been informed of his father’s death till the day after the battle, was for revenging it on the Hunns, and attacking Attila in his camp. With this view he had already drawn up his Goths in battle-array; but Aetius fearing, if the Hunns were entirely cut off, that the young prince, who was of an aspiring genius, would turn his arms against the empire, advised him to return home with his forces, and take possession of his paternal dominions, left his brothers, during his absence, should raise disturbances, and, feizing on the royal treasures, give rise to a civil war. Thorsimond followed his advice, which Attila no sooner knew, than he quitted his camp, and began to retire towards the Rhine. As he did not attack Aetius even after the departure of Thorsimond, Valerius concludes, that either the number of his troops was greatly increased by the writers of those times, or the loss he sustained in the battle lessened; but the first is most likely. Aetius pursued Attila as far as the Rhine; but never offered to attack him, being willing, some authors say, that he should make his escape, and, by awing the Franks and Goths, divert them from raising disturbances in the empire. Attila, being thus driven out of Gaul, retired to Pannonia; and having thence reinforced his army with supplies sent him out of Scythia, he resolved to make an irruption into Italy, where he hoped to meet with more booty and less opposition, there being no Goths, Alans, Franks, or Burgundians, there to oppose him. Pursuant to this resolution he left Pannonia, and finding the passes of the Alps unguarded, as no hostilities were expected on that side, he entered Italy in the latter end of the present year 451, as Iatius and Jornandes seem to insinuate, or in the beginning of the following year 452, when Herculanus and Sporacus were confused. It is impossible to express the terror and confusion, which so sudden and unexpected an irruption occasioned, even in the most distant provinces. Aetius was

at first for saving himself by flight, and retiring with the emperor into Gaul; but shame getting the better of his fear, he continued in Italy, and began to assemble the forces that were dispersed up and down the provinces. In the mean time, Attila, advancing as far as Aquileia, the metropolis of the province called Venetia, invested that important place, battering it night and day with an incredible number of warlike engines; but as it was well fortified, and defended by the flower of the Roman troops, it held out, in spite of his utmost efforts, for the space of three whole months, at the end of which it was taken by assault, pillaged for several days together, and laid in ashes, not one house being left standing, nor one person alive that fell into the enemy’s hands, Attila designing, by this barbarous and inhuman treatment, to strike terror into the other cities, and frighten them into submission. The cities of Arevigo, Verona, Mantua, Cremona, Brescia, and Bergamo, underwent the same fate, the barbarians raging every where with such fury, as can hardly be expressed or conceived, and putting all to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. It is commonly believed, that on this occasion the inhabitants of the province of Venetia, to avoid falling into the hands of the Huns, retired to the islands on their coast, and there laid the foundations of a city, which, borrowing its name from the province, was called Venetiz, and is now known by the name of Venice. Cassiodorus, speaking of the Venetians, as he flyles them, about fifty years after, says, that they inhabited the islands of the Adriatic; that they had no other fence against the waves but hurdles; no other food but fish; no wealth besides their boats; and no merchandise but salt, which they exchanged for other provisions. To return to Attila: From the province of Venetia he advanced to Milan, then the metropolis of Liguria, which he took and pillaged; the city of Pavia, and several other places in that neighborhood, he laid in ashes, after having plundered them, and put such of the inhabitants to the sword, as had not saved themselves by a timely flight. Seeing at Milan some pictures, representing the Roman emperors sitting on thrones of gold, and the Scythians, that is, the Goths or Huns, prostrate at their feet, he caused himself to be painted sitting on a throne, and the Roman emperors carrying on their shoulders sacks

4 Por de imp. c. 28. p. 69, 72. Val. rer Franc. l. iv. p. 169
5 Cassiod. l. xii. ep. 24. p. 169.
facks filled with gold, which they emptied at his feet. From Liguria, Attila was for advancing to Rome, which city was not in a condition to withstand him; but his men, remembering the untimely end of Alaric, who died soon after he had plundered the metropolis, did all that lay in their power to divert him, notwithstanding their thirst after plunder, from that resolution. Attila despised that omen; but his troops being greatly diminished for want of provisions, and by the maladies that raged among them, and Actius having at the same time, with a reinforcement sent him by Marcian out of the east, defeated a party of Hunns, he thought it advisable to put off his march to Rome, and pursue his ravages in the neighbouring provinces. In the mean time, Valentinian, having no other resource, sent a solemn embassy to Attila, with proposals for an accommodation. At the head of this embassy was Leo bishop of Rome, a person famed for his eminent piety, eloquence, and learning. His colleagues were Albinienus or Avienus, who had been confus in 450, and Trigecius, formerly prefect. They found Attila on the banks of the Menzo, not far from Mantua, and were by him received with uncommon demonstrations of kindness and esteem. He concluded with Leo, who surprized and softened him with his eloquence, a kind of treaty, which, it seems, was but a truce; for he threatened to return to Italy, and pursue his ravages with more cruelty than ever, unless the princess Honor was sent him, with the share of the imperial treasures that was due to her. One of the articles of this treaty was, that the emperor should pay an annual pension to Attila. It was no sooner signed, than he ordered his Hunns to forbear hostilities, and leaving Italy, retired beyond the Danube. Damascius, who flourished about this time, writes, that a bloody battle was fought under the walls of Rome between the Romans and the Scythians under the conduct of Attila; and that the slaughter was great on both sides, none but the chiefs, and a small number of their guards, being left alive; but as he adds, that the souls of the slain pursued the engagement with great noise for three days and three nights, his whole account may be looked upon as fabulous. The following year, 453, when Opilio and Vincomalus were confuls, Attila, incapable of living himself, or suffering others to live in peace, crossing Rhéaetia, and following the course of the Rhone, entered unexpectedly...

f Jorn ibid. p. 673.  
Idem, p. 674-685.  
Phot.  
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the country now known by the name of Dauphiny, and fell upon the Alans, whom Aetius had allowed to settle in the Valentinois, under the conduct of Sangiban. But Thorismond, king of the Visigoths, whose dominions were divided from those of the Alans only by the Rhone, being well apprised, that Attila, after having reduced the Alans, would not fail to invade his territories, joined his neighbours with the whole strength of his kingdom, and having gained a complete victory over Attila, obliged him to return with shame and disgrace into his own country. Jornandes, and Sigebert are the only writers who mention this second irruption of the Hunns into Gaul; and their authority is suspected, especially that of Jornandes, who seems not to have been well acquainted with the history of the Visigoths. Attila died soon after, that is, either in the present, or the following year, 454, and with him ended the kingdom, or rather the empire, of the Hunns, in the north, a civil war being kindled, upon his death, among his numerous issue; which gave the several nations he had subdued an opportunity of shaking off the yoke, and recovering their antient liberty, as we shall relate more at length in the history of the Hunns, and other northern nations. The same year, Thorismond, king of the Visigoths, was murdered in Toulouse, the capital of his kingdom, by two of his brothers, viz. Theodoric and Frederic, and succeeded by the former, on whom Apollinaris Sidonius, who was intimately acquainted with him, bestows great encomiums, extolling him even above his father, and styling him the protector and bulwark of the empire.

While these things passed in the west, the council of Chalcedon was held in the east by Marcian's orders, who nevertheless seems to have aslifted in person only at the session of the twenty-fifth of October. The council began on the eighth of October, of the year 451, and ended on the first of November. The same year the emperor enacted a law, forbidding, on pain of death, any one to sacrifice to the gods, or even to adorn their temples with flowers, and condemning the governors and officers, who should wink at such wicked practices, to pay fifty pounds weight of gold. The following year, the Saracens, the Nubians, and the Blemmyes, broke into the empire; but were defeated by the troops

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1 Jorn. p. 674—675.  
3 Concil. tom. iv. p. 574, 575.  
4 Cod. Jul. i. i. ut. 11. leg. 7. p. 103, 106.
troops of Marcian, and forced to sue for peace, which the emperor granted them upon terms highly advantageous to the empire, as Priscus assures us, who attended the Roman embassadors to Damascus, where the treaty was concluded. The following year, 453, Attila dying, several nations, formerly subdued by that conqueror, revolting from his children, begged and obtained leave of Marcian to settle in Thrace and Illyricum, almost entirely depopulated by the frequent incursions of the Huns and other barbarians. Among these mention is made of the Squiri, Satagaira, and Alans, who, under the conduct of Candax, their king or leader, settled in Lesser Scythia, and Lower Moesia: to the Rugians, Sarmatians, and Cemandrians, lands were granted in Illyricum near a place called the cattle of Mars: to the Goths, commonly called Ostrogoths or Eastern Goths, to distinguish them from the Visigoths or Western Goths, who afterwards became masters of Spain, Marcian granted all Pannonia, from Sirmium, now Sirmian, in Scelavonia, to Vindobona, at present Vienna, in Austria, a large tract, comprising many cities. These Goths were then governed by three brothers, viz. Valenmir, Theodemir, the father of Theodoric the Great, afterwards king of Italy, and Vidi-mir, who divided that extensive country among them, Valenmir settling in the eastern part of it, Theodemir in the western, and Vidiimir between the other two. The Goths, as well as the other barbarians, acknowledged the authority of the Constantinopolitan emperors, and were subjects of the empire; but at the same time their princes claimed an uncontrolled authority over their own people, and frequently waged war with each other. Even one of the sons of Attila, named Ernac, and several other Huns, submitted to the Romans, who granted them lands on the most distant borders of Lesser Scythia, in Dacia, and amongst the Sarmatians in Illyricum. The same year died, in the month of July, the The empress Pulcheria, daughter to Arcadius, sister to Theodo-fius II. and wife to Marcian. She left by her will, which was confirmed and executed with great fidelity by Marcian, the immense wealth of which she was possess'd, and her rich moveables, to the poor. She was a woman of most extraordinary parts, and is, on account of her exemplary piety,
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piety, honoured both by the Greeks and Latins with the title of saint.

The following year, 454, when Aetius was consul the fourth time with Studius, is remarkable for the downfall and death of that great commander, owing chiefly to the malice and insinuations of an eunuch, by name Heraclius, who having gained an absolute ascendant over the emperor, easily persuaded the weak prince, that Aetius aspired at the empire, and maintained a private correspondence with the barbarians, in order to raise himself by their means to the imperial dignity. Aetius, on his side, gave some occasion to the accusations of the eunuch, by pressing the emperor with too much eagerness to perform the promise he had made of marrying his eldest daughter Eudocia to Gaudentius, the general’s son. His importunity gave weight to the calumnies of Heraclius, and confirmed the weak and jealous emperor in his suspicions, which, according to Gregory of Tours and all the writers of those times, were altogether groundless. But after all, his treachery towards count Bonifacius and several others, plainly prove, that he did not on all occasions scruple sacrificing his conscience and honour to his preferment and grandeur. Some pretend, but without any positive proof, and probably without foundation, that he was at the bottom of all the disturbances that happened during his administration. Petronius Maximus is said to have greatly contributed to the death of Aetius, by prompting the eunuchs of the court to persuade the emperor, that he aimed at nothing less than the sovereignty. The view of Maximus therein was to remove out of the way the only person, who screened the prince from the vengeance he was resolved to take upon him for a late affront, of which anon. However that be, the death of Aetius being resolved on, Valentinian ordered him one day to attend him in the palace, pretending to have some affair of the utmost importance to impart to him. Aetius obeyed the summons, repairing without delay to the emperor’s apartment, attended by Boëtius, the praefectus praetorio, his intimate friend, and several others. But Aetius alone was admitted into the prince’s chamber, which he had no sooner entered, than Valentinian ran him through with his sword; and with the assistance of the officers about him, particularly, of Heraclius, dispatched him in a most barbarous and

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and inhuman manner (*). Thus fell the best general of his age, the terror of Attila, the bulwark of the western provinces, says Sidonius, by the hand of the greatest coward in the whole empire (*). We are told, that Valentinian having one day asked a Roman whether he had done well in dispatching Aetius? the Roman answered, that he could not tell whether he had done well or no, but thought he had cut off his right hand with his left (x). The prefect Boëtius, and all those who had attended Aetius to the palace, were likewise dispatched, being called one after the other into the emperor's chamber (v). This bloody tragedy was acted, according to Theophanes, at Rome (z). Valentinian immediately dispatched embassadors to the Suevians, and other foreign nations, to acquaint them with the death of Aetius, and confirm the treaties that general had concluded with them (z). But the news of that great man's death encouraged, it seems, some of them to make irruptions into the empire. For in the beginning of the following year, the Armorici, that is, the inhabitants of the present Bretagne and Normandy, were under daily apprehensions of seeing the Saxons on their coasts; the Alemans passed the Rhine near Baffe, and the Franks laid waste the territories of Mentz and Rheims (b).

The following year, 445, when Valentinian was consul the eighth time with Anthemius, son-in-law to the emperor Marcian, the western empire was involved in endless calamities. The emperor Valentinian was murdered on the seventeenth of March, and the empire seized by Petronius Magnus, grandson to Magnus Clemens Maximus, who having usurped the sovereignty in 383, was taken and put to death by Theodosius the Great in 388. Authors give us the following account of the unhappy end of Valentinian, and usurpation of Maximus. The latter having married a lady, equally famous for her beauty and chafftiness, Valentinian, taken with her charms, fell passionately in love with her; but her virtue being proof against all his presents, menaces, and promises, he had recourse to the following artifice: He sent one day for Maximus to play with him at dice; and having won of him a considerable sum, obliged him to leave his ring as a pledge for the payment of it. This ring he sent privately to the wife of Maximus, desiring her in her husband's

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* Sid. car. vii. p. 342.  
* Persec. Vand. hist. l. i. c. 4. p. 187.  
* Theoph. p. 92.  
* Idat. Cassiod. &c.  
b Sid. car. vii p. 542.
band's name to repair to the palace, and wait upon the empress. The lady, knowing the ring, hastened to the palace, in compliance with the supposed orders of her husband; but was conducted by some persons employed for that purpose to a remote apartment, where Valentinian, without any regard to her tears and entreaties, robbed her by force of that which was infinitely more dear to her than her life. Upon her return home, she burst into a flood of tears, reproaching, in most bitter terms, her husband, whom she believed privy to her dishonour, and his own infamy. Maximus, on the other hand, then first apprized of the emperor's wicked artifice, acquainted his wife with it, and resolved at all events to be revenged on Valentinian. Pursuant to this resolution, he applied to the friends of Actius, whom the emperor had caused to be lately murdered, especially to Trausflila and Optila or Occylla, two barbarians, who had served under that general, and had been distinguished by him with particular marks of kindness and esteem. These readily undertook to revenge the death of their old commander, and at the same time the dishonour offered to Maximus; and accordingly falling upon Valentinian, while he was diverting himself in the campus Martius at Rome, they first killed his favourite eunuch Heraclius, who courageously interposed, and endeavoured to save his master, and then dispatched, with many wounds, the emperor himself in the sight of the whole court. Procopius and John of Antioch, who evidently copies from him, are the only authors who mention the indignity offered to Maximus. Sidonius and Idatius, without taking the least notice of that outrage, ascribe the death of Valentinian to the unbounded ambition of Maximus, not to be satisfied with anything less than the empire itself. Valentinian was murdered on the seventeenth of March of the present year 455, after having lived thirty-four years, and reigned twenty-nine and about five months, reckoning from the twenty-third of October 425, when he was first declared Augustus. His tomb is thought to be still extant at Ravenna. As he had but very slender parts, he was entirely governed by the eunuchs of the court, who disposed, at their pleasure, of all the great offices, sacrificing the good of the public, and the honour of the prince, to their private interest.

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f Idat. p. 30.

g Mab. It. Ital. p. 40.
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terest and ambition. He had not courage enough to head
his armies in person; and besides, was, by his effeminate ed-
ducation, become altogether incapable of bearing the toils of
a military life. The only journeys he undertook were from
Ravenna to Rome, and from Rome back again to Ravenna,
keeping himself in both places locked up in his palace with a
herd of eunuchs, and indulging, without restraint, his most
brutal inclinations, tho' married to one of the most beautiful
women of that age: The day after his death, Maximus,
the author of it, assumed the purple; and being saluted by
the Roman people with the title of Augustus, he immedi-
ately raised his son, by name Palladius, to the dignity of Ce-
sar. Maximus was sprung from an illustrious family in Rome,
and had discharged with great applause and reputation the
first offices in the state. He was possessed of immense
wealth, which he shared and enjoyed with his friends, lead-
ing an easy and quiet life, and indulging himself in all the
diversions and recreations, which his plentiful estate could
afford him. Hence he no sooner began to feel the anxieties
inseparable from a crown, especially when acquired by un-
lawful means, than he repented the step he had taken, paint-
ing after his former condition. Sidonius writes, that the
very first night he lodged in the palace, he was heard crying
out, "Happy Damocles, whose reign began and ended
with a dinner;" nay, he had some thoughts of abandon-
ing Rome, of quitting the enigms of majesty, and resuming
in some corner of Italy his former method of life. But be-
ing diverted from that resolution by his friends, he appointed
Avidius, then in Gaul, commander in chief of the Roman
armies, who immediately dispatched Messianus to acquaint
Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, with the accension of Maxi-
mus to the empire. That general went soon after to confer
in person with the Gothish king, and entered Toulouse, at-
tended by Theodoric himself on his right hand, and one of
the prince's brothers on his left. He was upon the point of
concluding a treaty with Theodoric, when he unexpectedly
received the disagreeable tidings of the death of Maximus,
which put him upon other measures. The wife of Maxi-
mus dying soon after the outrage supposed to have been offer-
ed her, the usurper, that he might have some title to the
crown,

k Idem, car vii. p 343, 344.

Voe. XVI.
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Crown, obliged Eudoxia, the deceased emperor's widow, to marry him, contrary to her inclination, a few days after the murder of her husband; and at the same time married her daughter Eudocia to his son Palladius. Eudoxia, who had loved Valentinian with great tenderness, highly provoked in seeing herself married against her will to the very person who had deprived him both of his life and empire, resolved, whatever it cost her, to revenge the death of her former husband, and the affront offered in her person to his bed. Blinded therefore with passion and thirst of revenge, she took such measures as proved fatal to herself, to Rome, and all Italy. For expecting no assistance from Marcian, unwilling perhaps to engage in a civil war, she dispatched a trusty messenger to Geneseric in Africa, conjuring him to come and revenge the death of his friend and ally Valentinian, and to rescue her out of the arms of a tyrant, the murderer of her husband. Some authors affirm, that she wrote to the king of the Vandals with her own hand, assuring him, that he would meet with no great resistance in Italy, and promising to assist him to the utmost of her power. This message was very acceptable to Geneseric, who had long wished for such an opportunity, which he embraced with great joy; and putting to sea without loss of time, steered his course straight to Rome. When his numerous fleet first appeared, the chief citizens, and all persons of distinction, struck with terror and dismay, instead of putting themselves in a posture of defence, thought only of consulting their safety by flight. Among these was Maximus himself; but as he was flying with those of his court, the populace, highly incensed against him for thus shamefully abandoning those whom it was his duty to protect, rising all on a sudden, pursued him with showers of stones; which some of Valentinian's officers observing, they threw themselves upon him; and a Roman soldier, by name Ursus, gave him the fatal blow. His body was ignominiously dragged through the chief streets of the city; and, after it had lain some time exposed to the insults of the incensed multitude, thrown into the Tiber. Such was the end of the usurper Maximus, after he had lived about sixty years, and borne the title of emperor three months wanting five days. His son Palladius is supposed to have undergone the same fate. Three days after the death of Maximus, that is, on the fifteenth of June, Geneseric entered Rome without opposition, and

1 Evagr. i. ii. c. 7. p. 298. 2 Sid. p. 174. 3 Procop. p. 186. 4 Jordan. rer. Goth. c. 45. 577.
and abandoned it to the mercy of his Vandals, strictly en-
joining them, however, not to set fire to the city, nor shed
the blood of the inhabitants, pursuant to the promise he had
made to Leo the Great, then bishop of Rome, who had gone
out to meet him. They continued in the city fourteen days,
pillaging not only the private houses, but stripping the public
buildings of all their rich ornaments, and even the churches
of their sacred vessels. They took an incredible number of
captives, every one seized such women as they liked best;
and amongst the men, those who they thought would be of
most use to them. Genferic himself forced the imperial pal-
lace; and having seized on the treasure, and all the rich
moveables he found there, he caused them to be put on board
a vessel, with the empress Eudoxia, her two daughters Pla-
cidia and Eudocia, and Gaudentius, the son of Aetius, and
carried them all into captivity. Amongst the spoils, men-
ton is made of a great many statues with which a vessel was
loaded; of half the covering of the capitol, which was of
brass plated over with gold; of sacred vessels of gold, en-
riched with precious stones; and of those which had been
formerly taken by Titus out of the temple of Jerusalem, and
brought to Rome. Genferic, having thus stripped the city
of all its wealth and valuable ornaments, returned with his
fleet to Africa, but lost in his passage the ship that carried the
statues. Marcian, sensibly affected with the misfortune of
Eudoxia and the two princesses her daughters, dispatched em-
bassadors to Genferic, earnestly entreating him to set them at
liberty; but he, despising both his entreaties and menaces,
kept them till the year 462, when he sent back Eudoxia,
with her second daughter Placidia, to Leo, the successor of
Marcian. As for Eudocia, he married her to Hunneric, his
elder son, who had by her Aideric, afterwards king of the
Vandals in Africa. In the east Marcian enacted this year a
famous law, dated, according to some, the first of May,
according to others, the twenty-second of April, wherein
he allowed every one to bequeath to the ecclesiastics and
monks what they pleased, and revoked the laws of the other
emperors his predecessors, forbidding widows and deaconesses
to leave any thing by will to the church. This law is ad-
dressed to Palladius, the prefectus pretorio, to whom is like-
wise addressed another against the Eutychians, dated from

Eudoxia and
her daughters
carried into
captivity.

Cod. Theod. nov. i. iii. tit. 5. 2

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Constantinople the first of August *. Of the few writers who flourished under Valentinian III. we shall speak in note (T).

Avitus,

* Concil tom. iv. p. 886, 888.

(T) The chronicle of Idatius has been of great use to us in writing the history of Valentinian's reign. He was a native of Lamego, in the province of Beira, belonging then to Galicia, but at present to the kingdom of Portugal. His parents dying when he was very young, he left Spain, and retired to the east, where he saw St. Jeronim, Eulogius of Cæsarea, John of Jerusalem, and Theophilus of Alexandria. He owns himself to have been but indifferently versed in polite literature, and still less in the study of the holy scripture (1). But as to the latter, Leo the Great, bishop of Rome, seems to have been of a different opinion, since he employed him against the Priscillianists 2. He was ordained bishop in the third or fourth year of the reign of Valentinian III. that is, about the year 427, for he reckons from the time that prince was created Cæsar (3). Sigibert, and some other writers, suppose him to have been bishop of Lamego. And truly the words of his preface leave it doubtful, whether he was bishop, or only a native, of that city; but in his chronicle he tells us, that the bishop Idatius was taken in the church of Aquæ Flavie, and returned after three months captivity to Flavie (4). As he evidently speaks in that place of himself, father Labbé concludes him to have been a native of Lamego, and bishop of Aquæ Flavie (5); which last city Sanfon places in the territory of Braga, on the confines of Portugal, calling it Aquæ Læc Turodorum. Leo, bishop of Rome, only writes, that Idatius was bishop in Galicia (6). Dupin will have him to have been archbishop of Lugo (7), not reflecting, that Idatius was ordained bishop in 427, and that six years after the see of Lugo was held by Atelerius (8). In the year 431, Idatius was sent by the natives of Galicia to implore the assistance of Aetius, then in Gaul, against the Suevians, who, contrary to the articles of a late treaty, pillaged the country. He returned from Gaul the following year with count Cenforius, sent by Aetius to treat with the Suevians. He was taken by the Suevians in the church of Aquæ Flavie, on the twenty sixth of July 462, but after three months captivity was set at liberty. Notwithstanding the wars and disturbances that reigned in his time all over the Empire, especially in Spain, he wrote a chronicle, which is, properly speaking,

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Avitus, or Flavius Mœcilius Avitus, as he is styled on an antient medal, had been appointed by Maximus com-
mander Goltz. p. 135.

ing, a continuation of that of St. Jerom. What he wrote from the death of Valens, where his chronicle begins, to the third year of Valentinian's reign, and his own episcopacy, he either copied, as he assures us, from the best writers, or learnt of persons of unquestionable veracity: of all the rest, he was himself an eye-witness. He writes, that he had the misfortune to see the Roman empire reduced within narrow bounds, and in great danger of losing the little it retained; that the discipline of the church was utterly neglected in Galicia, and the liberties of the people entirely lost, the barbarians, who prevailed there, acknowledging no other law but their arbitrary will and caprice. He carries his chronicle down to the third of Anthemiuss reign, that is, to the year 469, the forty-first of his episcopacy. The chronicle of Idatius gives great light to the history of those times, especially to that of Spain; whence Isidore and some others have copied almost word for word. However, it is not quite free from faults, especially at point of chronology, either the author himself, or his transcribers reckoning sometimes the end of one emperor's reign, and the beginning of another's, as two distinct years, which is a very gross mistake. The years of the emperors are marked all along with the olympiads, and, in imitation of St. Jerom, the years of the suppuration of Eutubius from the birth of Abraham. The area of Spain, which is thirty years anterior to ours, is marked in the beginning on the margin Father Sirmond, to whom we are indebted for this chronicle, has annexed to it a book of consular tables, which he believes to have been done by the same author. Father Sirmond published only part of these tables. But father Labbé inserted the whole in his Bibliotheca nova, and Du Cange in his Chronicon Paschale (9), which extends from the consulsip of Brutus, the first consul, to the second consulship of Anthemiuss in 468, so that the consular tables end about a year after the chronicle. In the tables no other area is marked but that of Spain, which gives us room to believe that they were done by a native of that country (10). They are reckoned very exact; but yet some faults have crept into them, which, in all likelihood, is owing to the ignorance of the transcribers. In the time of Charlemagne, a French chronologer published an epitome of the chronicle of Idatius, which is to be found in Caninus (11). The work

mander in chief of all the Roman forces, and was at the
court of Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, when news was
brought him of the death of the usurer. He immediately
acquainted Theodoric, with what had happened, who
thereupon preflied him to affume the purple, and even cauf-
ed him to be proclaimed emperor by the Goths in Toulouse,
on the tenth of July of the present year, promifing to support
him in his new dignity with the whole strength of his king-
dom". However, he did not, it seems, take upon him the
title of emperor till he was proclaimed some time after, that
is, on the eighth of August, by the Roman army at Arles,
and by all the chief men in Gaul. Theodoric went immedi-
ately, attended by his brothers, to Arles, to congratulate the
new prince on his accession to the empire, and was received
by him as one to whom he was chiefly indebted for the dignity
he enjoyed w. From Arles the new emperor set out soon
after for Rome, where he was received by the populace
with great demonstrations of joy. Marcial, who had
nothing so much at heart as the public welfare and
tranquillity, readily approved of his promotion, and ac-
knowledged him for his colleague x. The following year,
when Varanes and Johannes were consuls, a bloody war
broke

x Idat. p. 31. Isidor.
chron.  

work intituled Notitia imperii is supposed to have been written in
the reign of Valentinian III. and Theodosius II. but by some
in the very beginning, by others in the latter end, of the reign
of Theodosius. This notitia contains a succinct account of the
state of the empire in those times, viz. of the provinces and their
governors; of the other magistrates, both civil and military,
their titles and offices; of their land and sea forces; of their
foot and horse; of their troops, both Roman and foreign, and
the places where they were quartered, &c. This notitia was
published by Guidus Pancirollus in 1593, with copious comments,
of which father Labbé speaks with great contempt, ridiculing the
cuts with which they are adorned, representing, as Pancirollus
imagines, the habits and ornaments peculiar to each office and
dignity. To the notitia is added the description of Rome by an
anonymous author, who is supposed to have wrote under Valen-
tinian III. To this description of Rome, father Labbé adds one
of Constantinople, done like-wise by an anonymous writer, ei-
ther in the reign of Arcadius, or of Theodosius the younger.
The treatise de rebus bellicis, which Labbé adds to it, is supposed
to have been written about the same time; but the author, who
seems to have been a private person, and to have professed the
study of philosophy, is not known.
broke out between the Suevians in Spain and the Visigoths in Aquitaine. Requiarus, king of the former, taking advantage of the distracted state of the empire, over-ran the province of Cartagena, which still belonged to the Romans, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Hereupon Avitus, dispatching count Fronto to him with the character of ambassador, put him in mind of the treaties concluded between him and the Romans. Theodoric likewise, whose sister Requiarus had married, interposed his good offices, conjuring his brother-in-law not to disturb the public tranquillity, and acquainted him with the engagements which he had entered into with Avitus. But Requiarus, without any regard either to treaties or remonstrances, pursued his ravages, laying waste, not only the province of Cartagena, but that of Tarraco too, which likewise belonged to the empire. Upon this, Theodoric sent him a second embassy, to which he answered with great haughtiness, that if Theodoric found fault with his conduct, he would soon give him an account of it at Toulouf. This answer piqued Theodoric to such a degree, that he immediately entered Spain at the head of a powerful army; and being met by Requiarus about twelve miles from Aftorga, a battle ensued, in which the Suevians were entirely defeated, and their king, who was dangerously wounded, obliged to fly for shelter to a distant corner of Galicia. Theodoric pursued him close; and entering Braga on a Sunday, the twenty-eighth of October, gave that city up to be plundered by his soldiers. From Braga he advanced with all possible expedition to a place called Portugal, whither the fugitive king had retired. Some writers take Portugal for the present city of Porto, on the Douro, in the kingdom of Portugal, to which it is thought to have given name. Jornandes writes, that Requiarus put to sea, in order to save himself by flight, but was driven back by a storm. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken, and delivered up to Theodoric, who, after having kept him some time in prison, put him to death in the month of December. The Suevians, disheartened by the death of their king, and destitute of a leader, submitted to Theodoric, who retained for himself the country he had conquered, appointing one Aquilulphus to govern it. Aquilulphus, revolting soon after from Theodoric, caused himself to be proclaimed king of the Suevians in Galicia, but died the following year in the month of June at Porto. Jornandes writes, that a

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powerful army being sent against him by Theodoric, he was overcome in battle, taken, and beheaded. Some Suevians, refusing to submit to the Goths, retired to a distant corner of Galicia, and there chose for their king one of their own nation, named Mildra. The same year, Geniseric, putting to sea with a numerous fleet, and a considerable army on board, with a design to ravage the coasts of Italy or Gaul, was overtaken near Corsica by the Roman fleet, under the command of Ricimer, and utterly defeated. Ricimer, styled by some Richimer or Richemer, was sprung from the royal family of the Suevians; but as his mother was the daughter of Valla, king of the Goths in 418, he is commonly looked upon rather as a Goth than a Suevian. He had served from his youth in the Roman armies, and acquired so much reputation by his warlike exploits, that Sidonius gives him the title of invincible, and Jornandes styles him the best commander of his age; nay, Sidonius prefers him for courage to Sulla, for prudence to Fabius, for good-nature to Metellus, for eloquence to Appius, for vigour and resolution to Fulvius, and for address to Camillus. But these good qualities were not without the allay of as many bad ones; for he was a man without faith, honour, or honesty; ambitious to such a degree, that not satisfied with being commander in chief of all the forces in the west, patrician, and fon-in-law to the emperor, he took upon him to raise and depose emperors at his pleasure, and, since he was excluded by his birth from wearing the imperial crown himself, to command and controul those who wore it. This unbounded ambition, this unbridled lust of ruling, prompted him to murder four emperors, three of whom had been raised by himself, and to stir up and affright under-hand the avowed enemies of that empire, which he was by the strongest ties bound to protect and defend. Elated with his success over Geniseric, instead of pursuing it, he returned to Rome, and, revolting with Majorianus, obliged the senate to declare Avitus unworthy of the empire; which no sooner came to the prince’s ears, who was then in Gaul, than he hastened back to Italy; but upon his arrival at Placentia, he was stopped by Ricimer, and stripped of all the badges of majesty. Theophanes writes, that Avitus was overcome in battle by Ricimer,
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Ricimer, on the sixteenth of October \(^k\); so that he had scarce reigned fourteen months. Being thus deposed of the purple, he caused himself to be ordained bishop of Placentia, but the senate insisting upon his being put to death, he withdrew from Placentia, with a design to take sanctuary in the church of St. Julian at Brioude in Auvergne, the place of his nativity. Gregory of Tours adds, that he died on the road, and his body was brought to Brioude, and buried near that of the holy martyr of St. Julian \(^1\). During his short reign, the Burgundians, who had been removed from the banks of the Rhine in 438, or, as others will have it, in 443, and had ever since that time dwelt amongst the mountains of Savoy, seized on part of Gaul, and made themselves masters of the city of Lions \(^m\). In 463, the city of Die in Dauphiny was subject to them, as appears from a letter of Gondiace their king to Hilarius bishop of Rome \(^n\). The next consuls were Constantine and Rufinus, belonging both to the eastern empire, no emperor being yet chosen in the west. In the beginning of this year 457, died the emperor Marcian, after having reigned six years, five months, and two days. His death, which Theodorus, surnamed the Reader, ascribes to his having assisted at a procession on the twenty-sixth of January \(^o\), must have happened about the end of that month; for Leo, who succeeded him, was proclaimed at Constantinople on the seventh of February. Marcian is commended by all the writers of those times, for the innocence and simplicity of his manners, for his extraordinary piety, and zeal for the purity of religion \(^p\). Leo bishop of Rome, calls him a prince of a blest and venerable memory; and the Greeks honour him with the title of saint, celebrating his festival, with that of the empress Pulcheria, on the seventeenth of February. He was buried in the church of St. Zea at Constantinople, which he had built \(^q\). Priscus, of whom we have spoken above, wrote the history of his reign; but of that work only some fragments have reached our times \(^r\). A few days after the death of Marcian, Leo was proclaimed emperor, with the unanimous

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The famous consent of the senate, people, and soldiery, and crowned by Anatolius, patriarch of Constantinople. This is the first instance we find in history of a prince's receiving the crown at the hand of a bishop. Leo, distinguished by the Greeks with the surname of the Great, was, according to the most probable opinion, a native of Thrace, and thence commonly called Leo the Thracian. He had served from his youth in the Roman armies, and commanded a body of troops encamped at Selymbria in Thrace, when he was raised to the empire. His prudence, moderation, impartiality in the administration of justice, exemplary piety, and zeal for the catholic religion, are greatly extolled by the writers who flourished in those times. Leo is said to have owed his promotion to the patrician Aspar, of whom we have made frequent mention, and his son Ardaburius, who not daring, tho' very powerful, to assume the purple themselves, as they were Arians by religion, and not Romans by birth, but Goths, or rather Alans, conferred it upon Leo, in whose name they hoped to reign; nay, we are told, that Leo promised to raise one of Aspar's sons to the dignity of Caesar. In the very beginning of his reign, great disturbances were raised by the Eutychians in Alexandria, who hearing of the death of Marcian, rose in a tumultuous manner, murdered the catholic bishop Proterus, and chose in his room one of their own sect, named Timotheus Elurus. The tumult was soon quelled; but the authors of it putting themselves under the protection of Aspar, a zealous patron of Arianism, were by him screened from the punishment due to their wickedness. In the west, after an inter-reign of about three months, during which time Ricimer governed with an absolute sway, Majorianus was proclaimed emperor by the senate, the people, and soldiery, Ricimer proposing him as a person in every respect well qualified for that high station. All we know of his family is, that his father had served with great reputation under Actius, and was afterwards raised to the office of treasurer of the empire. His mother was daughter of Majorianus, appointed by Theodosius I. or rather by Gratian, in 379, general of the Roman horse and foot in Pannonia. From him the emperor took the name of Majorianus. He was raised to the

The empire in the flower of his age, having already given several instances, not only of his courage and military abilities, but of his good-nature, generosity, moderation, and other amiable qualities. Procopius, speaking of him, says, that he surpassed in every virtue all the princes who had reigned before him. He lived from his childhood in great intimacy with Ricimer, and therefore was easily prevailed upon by him to revolt from Avitus. Soon after the deposiing of that prince, he was raised to the poft of general in the room of Ricimer, who was created patrician, probably by Marcian, or Leo his successor; for the emperor of the east is supposed to have governed the western empire during the inter-regnum. He had not been long general, when he was proclaimed emperor at a place about six miles from Ravena, called The little pillars. In the beginning of his reign, Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, having almost entirely reduced the Suevians in Galicia, entered Lusitania, and made himself master of several cities there, and among the rest of Merida, the metropolis of that country; but receiving disagreeable tidings from Gaul, not mentioned in history, he set out from Lusitania the day after Easter, which fell this year 457, on the thirty-first, and not on the twenty-eighth, of March, as we read in Idatus, and returned in great haste to Toulouse. He left a body of troops in Spain, with orders to reduce the Suevians in Galicia, who had not yet submitted to him. These forces being, on their march to Galicia, admitted as friends into the city of Astorga, which was held by the Romans, fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants, put most of them to the sword, plundered their houses, and setting fire to the place, carried all those, whose lives they had spared, into captivity, and among the rest the whole clergy, and two bishops, who happened to be there at that time. The city of Palentia met with the same treatment; but the castle of Coviac, about thirty miles from Astorga, making a vigorous resistance, the Goths, after having lost great numbers of their men, thought it advisable to raise the siege, and return to Gaul. The Suevians had, upon the death of Requiarus their king, chosen Maldra in his room, as we have observed above; but some of them, revolting from him, set up one Frantan. A civil
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civil war being thus kindled among them, they concluded a peace with the Romans, that is, with the natives, who still held several strong-holds in Galicia, and acknowledged the authority of the emperor; but notwithstanding this peace, the partizans of Maldræ, entering Lusitania, made themselves masters of Lisbon, after having been admitted into the place as friends.

The following year, when the two emperors, Leo and Majorianus, were consuls, the Vandals made a descent on the coast of Campania; but Majorianus, marching against them, defeated them in the neighbourhood of Sinuessa, between the Garigliano and the Volturno; put great numbers of them to the sword, among whom was the brother-in-law of Genferic their commander; and obliged the rest to have themselves on board their fleet, which sailed immediately for Africa. Majorianus, resolved to pursue them thither, and to attempt the recovery of that wealthy country, applied himself to the fitting out of a powerful fleet, and had, before the end of this year, assembled a great number of troops, and above three hundred ships. But of this enterprise hereafter. Majorianus, leaving Ravenna in the depth of winter, passed the Alps, and entering Gaul, obliged the Burgundians, who had made themselves masters of the city of Lyons, to deliver it up, and retire. From that city, where Sidonius pronounced his panegyric, Majorianus pursued his march to Arles, where he passed the remainder of the winter and part of the spring; for he was still in that city on the seventeenth of April of the following year. 459. In Spain, Frantan, one of the kings of the Suevians, dying, those who had followed him submitted to Maldræ; so that the whole nation was again united under one head. An army of Visigoths, sent into Spain by Theodoric, ravaged the province of Bœtica, while the Suevians, notwithstanding the peace concluded the preceding year with the natives, over-ran that part of Galicia, which borders on the Douro, putting all to fire and sword. In the following consulship of Ricimer and Patricius, Theodoric, taking unexpectedly the field, surprised some cities in Gaul belonging to the Romans; but Majorianus, marching from Arles against him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to sue for peace; which was granted him, upon his promising...
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mising to assist the Romans against the Suevians in Spain, and the Vandals in Africa. In the east, the city of Antioch was almost utterly ruined by an earthquake, which happened on the fourteenth of September. Scarce a single house was left standing in the new city, the most beautiful quarter of that metropolis. The following year 460, when Magnus and Apollonius were consuls, Majorianus, leaving Arles, bent his march towards Spain, which he entered in the month of May, with a design to pass over from thence into Africa. Procopius writes, that the better to inform himself of the strength of the enemy, the state of the country, and the disposition of the inhabitants, he went in disguise to the court of Genericius, pretending to be an embassador sent by the Roman emperor, with proposals for an accommodation. This Procopius relates with such circumstances, as render the whole account altogether incredible. Genericius, alarmed at the vast preparations that were carrying on in all the ports of the empire, sent deputies to sue for peace; but his proposals being rejected, he dispatched a squadron of his best ships, with orders to attack the Roman fleet riding in the bay of Alicant; which they did with such success, that they took most of the Roman ships, and returned with them in triumph to Africa. This misfortune, which was chiefly owing to the treachery of some on board the Roman fleet, put a stop to the enterprise, and obliged Majorianus to return to Arles, whence he issued out orders for the equipping of a new fleet. But, in the mean time, Genericius, dreading the arms and valour of Majorianus, dispatched embassadors to him, with new proposals; which in the end he accepted, as they were very advantageous to the empire. Thus a peace was concluded between Majorianus and Genericius; but the articles of the treaty have not been transmitted to posterity. In Spain, Maldra, king of the Suevians, being killed, Remismond his son, and Frumaricus, probably another of his children, dividing his troops between them, the latter surprised Aquae Flaviae, and took Idatus, bishop of the place, prisoner, on the twenty-sixth of July, while Remismond laid waste the territories of Orense on the Minho, and of Lugo. Suniericus and Nepotianus, two of Theodoric’s generals, marched

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ched against them; and, after having ravaged part of Galicia, entered Lusitania, and made themselves masters of Scalabis, now Santarein on the Tagus. In the east, nothing happened this year that deserves notice, except an earthquake, which overturned great part of the city of Cyzicus. The following year 461, Severinus and Dagalaiphus being consuls, Ricimir, who had ravaged Majorianus to the empire, thinking himself neglected by him, and jealous of the great reputation the prince had gained by his wise and vigorous administration, resolved to depose him; and accordingly, having got him by treachery into his power, as he was returning from Gaul to Rome, he stripped him of the imperial ornaments at Tortona in the Milanese on the second of August, and caused him, on the seventh of the same month, to be put to death at Iria, now Voghera, after he had reigned three years and some months. The account whichProcopius gives us of his death shews, that we must not lay stress upon the authority of that writer. Majorianus, in whose reign the empire seemed in a manner to revive, being thus removed, Ricimir caused Severus to be proclaimed at Ravenna, on the nineteenth of November, hoping to reign in his name, the new prince being no ways qualified for that high station. All we know of him is, that he was a native of Lucania. In the east, Leo refusing to pay the usual pension to Valamir, Theodomir, and Widemir, kings of the Ostrogoths, whom Marcian had allowed to settle in Pannonia, as we have related above, they flew to arms, laid waste great part of Illyricum, and made themselves masters of several cities; but Anthemius son-in-law to the late emperor Marcian, having obliged them to retire into Pannonia, they hearkened to the embassadors that were sent by Leo to renew the antient alliance between them and the empire. A peace was accordingly concluded, and the famous Theodoric, afterwards king of Italy, then in the eighth year of his age, delivered up to Leo as a hostage. But of him we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the history of the Ostrogoths in Italy.

The following year, when the emperor Leo was consul for the second time, with Severus emperor of the west, who nevertheless seems to have been acknowledged by

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by the Greeks, Genferic, pretending not to be bound by
the late treaty with Majorianus, after that prince’s death,
sent a powerful fleet to pillage the coasts of Sicily and Italy,
and made himself master of Sardinia. In Gaul Ægidius, a
native of that country, and commander in chief of the Ro-
man forces there, provoked at the death of Majorianus, who
had raised him to that post, resolved to march into Italy,
and revenge it upon Ricimer and Severus. But in the mean-
time, the Visigoths, in all likelihood stirred up by Ricimer,
having made themselves masters of Norbonne, which was
betrayed to them by one Agrippina, and besieged Arles, Ægi-
dius turned his arms against them, and obliged them to raise
the siege and retire, tho’ they were powerfully assisted by the
Burgundians, under the conduct of Gonziac their king,
whom Severus had raised to the command of the Roman
forces in Gaul, with the title of general. The same year,
Marcellinus, or, as Procopius calls him, Marcellianus, who
had served with great reputation in the Roman armies, no
longer able to bear the haughty behaviour of Ricimer, re-
volted from Severus, and retiring into Dalmatia, establisht
there a new sovereignty, independent of the empire. Here-
upon the inhabitants of Italy, seeing themselves at the same
time threatened by Marcellinus, by Ægidius, and by Gen-
feric, had recourse to Leo, emperor of the east, who imme-
diately dispatched embassadors to Genferic and Marcellinus.
The latter, satisfied to see himself acknowledged by Leo
prince of the country which he had seized, promised not to
molest the Romans. But Genferic openly declared, that he
would hearken to no terms, till the effects of Valentinian
were delivered up to him; which he claimed, because his
son Huneric had married Eudocia, that prince’s eldest daugh-
ter. He likewise demanded the effects of Aetius, perhaps
because Gaudentius, that general’s eldest son, whom he had
taken at Rome in 455, was then at his court. However, he
sent back to Leo, Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, and
Placidia her second daughter; who being soon after married
to Olybrius, of whom anon, Genferic declared he would
wage an eternal war with the western empire, unless Oly-
brius, brother-in-law to his son, was raised to the imperial
dignity. To this low ebb was the Roman grandeur reduced

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ear. ii. p. 349.
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by the death of Majorianus and the administration of Ricimer. The following year 463, Flavius Cæcina Basilius and Vivianus being consuls, Ægidius gained a signal victory over the Visigoths in Gaul. The battle was fought between the Loire and the Loiret. The latter river, after a short course of about six miles, falls into the former a little below Orleans. Great numbers of the enemy were cut in pieces, and among the rest Frederic, the king's brother, who in this action commanded in chief. After this battle, Ægidius, laid siege to the city of Chinon in Tauraine; but the vigorous resistance he met with obliged him to drop the enterprise. The Visigoths were attended with better success in Spain, than in Gaul; for Idatius speaks of them now as masters of the whole country, except part of Galicia, which was still held by the Suevians, and the provinces of Tarraco and Cartagena, which belonged to the Romans. Such of the natives of Galicia, as had not yet submitted to the Suevians, sent this very year one Palegorius, to implore the protection, not of Severus, but of Theodoric; which plainly shews, that they acknowledged him, and not the Roman emperor, for their sovereign. The next year Rusticus, or Rufficus, and Olybrius being consuls, Remismond, king of the Suevians, surprized and plundered the city of Coimbra; but soon after concluded a peace with Theodoric. In the beginning of the year, Beorger, king of the Alans, having entered Italy with a considerable army, was met by Ricimer in the neighbourhood of Bergamo, and, on the 6th of February, cut off with all his men. Whence these Alans came, is uncertain. This Jornandes supposes to have happened in the reign of Anthemius; but we have followed Idatius, who lived at that time. The same year, died Ægidius in Gaul, being, according to some, says Idatius, poisoned, according to others, murdered. That writer adds, that, upon his death, the Visigoths made themselves masters of the far greater part of Gaul. However, Berri, Sens, and Avergne still belonged to the Romans in 472, and were governed by one Paulus, distinguished with the title of count. Sygarius, the son of Ægidius, held Soiffons and its territory, for several years, having erected there a petty sovereignty, according to the French historians, who give him the title of king. At the same time, Childeric, king of

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of the Burgundians, laid siege to Paris, and reduced it; the Franks made themselves masters of the provinces bordering on the Rhine; the Saxons settled at Nantes and Bayeux; the Alamans in the country of the Helvetii; and the Britons, driven out by the Angles and Scots, in the territories of Vannos and Treguier, which, with the adjacent country, took from them, according to the most probable opinion, the name of Bretagne\(^1\). In 465, when Basilius and Hermenericus were consul, died at Rome Severus, after having borne the name of emperor almost four years. He is supposed to have been poisoned by Ricimer\(^k\). His death was followed by an inter-regnum of almost two years, Ricimer ruling, during that time, with an absolute sway; but not daring, as he was by birth a barbarian, to take upon him the title of emperor. The same year, a violent fire breaking out in Constantineople, on the second of September, reduced to ashes eight of the fourteen quarters into which that city was divided. However, it was at last overcome, after it had raged with incredible fury for the space of six whole days, and as many nights\(^l\). The following year, when the emperor Leo alone was consul the third time, Ricimer assembled a powerful fleet, with a design to attempt the recovery of Africa; but was, by contrary and violent winds, which continued blowing the whole summer, obliged to drop that enterprise\(^m\). The same year, Theodoric, king of the Vigoths, after having reigned near thirteen years, was murdered by his brother Euric, who immediately took possession of his dominions, and was proclaimed at Toulouse\(^n\). Jordanes, always favourable to the Goths, only writes, that Euric was suspected of having contributed to the death of his brother\(^o\). The new king sent embassadors to the emperor Leo, to Remismond king of the Suevians, and to Germanic king of the Vandals, acquainting them with his accession to the crown\(^p\). In the east, the Hunns broke into Dacia; but were defeated, first by Anthemius, and afterwards by Anastasius, styled general of Thrace. They were commanded by Dengizic, one of Attila’s sons, who was slain in the engagement. His head was sent to Constantineople, and there exposed

expoused for some days to public view. In the following consulship of Pusæus and Johannes, the inter-regnum ended in the west. Anthemius was, with the consent and approbation of Ricimer, declared emperor, notwithstanding the great interest made by Genferic in favour of Olybrius, brother-in-law to his son. Anthemius was a native of Constantinople, descended of an antient, illustrious, and wealthy family, and was, at the time of his promotion, count of the east. He had some claim to the empire, having married Marciana, the only daughter of the late emperor Marcian, by whom he had three sons and one daughter. He had been confin in 455, and was soon after, tho' yet very young, raised to the dignity of patrician, and the post of general. Sidonius, his panegyrist, writes, that, upon the death of Marcian, no one thought of confreign the empire on Leo, till Anthemius had refused it. Theophanes styles him a most christian prince. Soon after his nomination, he left Constantinople, where he then was, and set out for Italy, attended by a great number of chosen troops, and several counts, with other persons of distinction, among whom was Marcellinus, prince of Dalmatia, whom Leo had persuaded to join the new emperor, and, jointly with him, make war upon the Vandals. Anthemius was received at Rome by the senate and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, and proclaimed, according to some, on the twelfth of April, according to others, in the month of August, at a place about three miles from Rome, called Bontrata. A few days after, he gave his daughter in marriage to Ricimer, pursuant to a private agreement between that general and the two princes. In the mean time, Genferic, highly provoked against Leo, for having preferred Anthemius, and not Olybrius, to the empire, sent a powerful fleet with orders to ravage Peloponnesus and the Greek islands; which they did with great cruelty, destroying all with fire and sword. Leo resolved at all events to revenge the affront offered to the eastern empire; and accordingly the following year 468, when Anthemius alone was confin, he fitted out the greatest fleet, says Procopius, the Romans had ever had. Cedrenus writes, it consisted of one thousand one

  i. c. 6 p. 191. Jorn. c 46. p. 654.  Idat. p. 44. Man
  Cassiod. Cæsper chron.  w Sid. l. i. cp. 21, 22.  x Procop
  l. i. e. 6 p 172.
one hundred and thirteen ships, each ship having one hundred men on board. Theophanes and Nicophorus will have no fewer than one hundred thousand ships to have been employed in this expedition, a number altogether incredible. To the forces of Leo were joined all the best troops of the west, under the command of Marcellinus, who reinforced them with a chosen body of men raised in his own dominions. Leo gave the chief command of this formidable fleet to Basiliscus, brother to his wife Verina, who had frequently overcome the barbarians in Thrace. Under him commanded one John, a person of extraordinary courage, and great experience in war. The island of Sicily was appointed the place of the general rendezvous. From thence Marcellinus was to sail for Sardinia, which the Vandals had lately seized; Heraclius of Edeff, a brave and experienced officer, for Libya; and Basiliscus, with the greatest part of the fleet, and the flower of the troops, to steer his course straight to Carthage. Marcellinus, purfuant to this plan, landed in Sardinia, and made himself master of that island, while Heraclius, landing unexpectedly in Libya, defeated the Vandals, who attempted to oppose him, and reduced with incredible expedition Tripolis and all the other cities of that province. Genferic, receiving at the same time news of the loss of Sardinia and Libya, and of the arrival of the Roman fleet at Cape Mercury, about thirty miles from Carthage, began to look upon himself as irretrievably lost, and is even said to have had some thoughts of yielding up Africa to the Romans, and retiring elsewhere; and indeed if Basiliscus had, during the panic which had seized the barbarians, marched directly to Carthage, he might have easily made himself master of that city, and put an end to the war at once; but his dilatory proceedings giving Genferic time to recover from his consterna
tion, he began to despise the Roman admiral, and had even the confidence to send deputies to him, begging a truce of five days, to settle with him the conditions on which he was to submit to Leo. Some authors write, that, with the embassadors, Genferic sent privately an immense sum to Basiliscus, with whose avaricious temper he was well acquainted. Others tell us, that Afsar, who had lately quarrelled with Leo, fearing that prince would become too powerful, if he overcame

overcame the Vandals, had promised to raise Basiliscus, who was no less ambitious than covetous, to the empire, provided he spared Genferic. Be that as it will, Basiliscus readily consented to the truce, during which Genferic taking one night advantage of a favourable wind, failed unexpectedly out of the harbour with a great number of fire-ships, which being by the wind driven full sail upon the Roman navy, set fire to many of their ships, and threw the whole fleet into the utmost confusion. The next morning Genferic’s fleet appeared drawn up in line of battle, and falling upon the Romans before they could recover themselves from their terror and consternation, took several of their ships, sunk others, and obliged the rest to save themselves in the best manner they could. John, who commanded under Basiliscus, and was no ways privy to his treachery, after having killed with his own hand an incredible number of barbarians, threw himself, when overpowered, on a plank into the sea. Genfion, the son of Genferic, greatly taken with his courage and gallant behaviour, offered him his life and liberty; but the brave commander answering, It shall never be said, that John owed his life to dogs, quitted his plank, and was drowned. As for Basiliscus, Zonaras writes, that, in the heat of the engagement, he all on a sudden tacked about, and, crowding all sails, betook himself to flight; which raised the courage of the enemy, and quite disheartened his own people. Marcellinus, after the reduction of Sardinia, returned to Sicily, with a design to pass from thence over into Africa; but, before he set sail, he was affrighted by an officer, who commanded under him, not without the privy, as was supposed, of Anthemius, to whom his power gave no small umbrage. Heraclius, who was on full march from Libya to Carthage, upon the news of the bad success of Basiliscus, thought it advisable to turn back, and hasten into the territories of the empire. Basiliscus returned to Sicily, with the few ships that had escaped, having lost above fifty thousand men. From Sicily, he returned to Constantinople, and there, as his treachery was publicly known, took sanctuary in the church of St. Sophia. Tho’ both the emperor and people were incensed against him, yet, by the mediation of the empress Verina, his sister, his life was spared, and leave granted him to

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to retire to Heraclea in Thrace. Such was the issue of this unhappy expedition, which is said to have cost both empires above an hundred and thirty thousand pounds weight of gold, not only the two princes, but all governors, and other persons in employments, cheerfully contributing large sums to defray the charges of an enterprize so advantageous to the empire. Priscus the historian, who flourished at that time, wrote a very minute and exact account of it; but his work has not reached our time. The same year, Leo married his daughter Ariadne to Zeno, descended from an illustrious family in Iphauria. His father's name was Rufumbladastes, and his, before his marriage, Trafalissaeus, or Tarafiodus. He took the name of Zeno from another Iphaurian, who had been raised to great employments in the reign of Theodosius the younger. Evagrius refers us to one Eustathius, a Syrian writer, who, he says, will inform us as to the motives that prompted Leo to prefer Zeno to many other persons of great merit in the choice of a son-in-law; but the works of Eustathius have been long since lost. Theophanes and Candidus Iphaurius write, that Leo, jealous of the too great power of Aspar, and apprised of his wicked practices, gave his daughter to Zeno, hoping by his means to gain over the Iphaurians his countrymen, who were deemed the best soldiers of the empire. However that be, Leo immediately raised his son-in-law to the rank of patrician, appointing him at the same time captain of his guards, and commander in chief of all the armies in the east. In the west, Remismond made himself master of Lisbon, betrayed to him by one Lufides, a native of Lusitania, who commanded in that place. About the same time, the Goths surprised Merida, and committed dreadful ravages in the neighbouring country, sparing neither Romans nor Suevians. Here Idatius ends his chronicle, with telling us, that many prodigies appeared this year in Galicia, and among the rest, that several fishes were taken in the Minho, marked with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin characters. The next confus were Marcianus and Zeno, the two sons-in-law of the emperor Leo, the latter having married Ariadne, and the former, who was the son of the emperor.

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Book III.

The Visigoths extend their dominions in Gaul.

And likewise the Franks and Burgundians.

After created Caesar.

Aspar and his son Ardararius murdered.

emperor Anthemius, Leocadia. Nothing worthy of notice happened this year in either empire; but in the following consulship of Severus and Jordanes, Euric, king of the Visigoths, an ambitious and warlike prince, made himself master of Auvergne, Berri, and Gevaudan, after having defeated a body of twelve thousand Britons dwelling on the Loire, who, under the conduct of Rictioth or Riotham, came to the assistance of the Romans. At the same time one Odoacer, who had commanded a body of Saxons under Aegidius in 464, made himself master of Angers; but was overcome by Childeric king of the Franks, who reduced not only the city of Angers, but all the neighbouring country. The Burgundians too, taking advantage of the weak and distracted state of the empire, reduced the city of Lions, and the whole province called Lugdunensis Prima.

The following year, when Leo was consul the fourth time with Probianus, some misunderstanding arose between that prince and Aspar, who had raised him to the empire; but as Aspar was greatly beloved by the army, and commanded a separate and independent body, having one Quercal, by nation a Hunn, for his lieutenant, the emperor thought it advisable to dissemble for the present; and pretending to be reconciled with Aspar, gave one of his daughters in marriage to Patricius Secundus, that general’s eldest son, and soon after created Aspar Caesar. The inhabitants of Constantinople, knowing Aspar and his whole family to be greatly attached to the doctrine of Arius, were highly displeased at this promotion; but the emperor soon delivered them from the apprehension they were under of seeing an Arian raised to the empire; for being informed by some persons, privy to all the counsels of Aspar, that a plot was carrying on against him by that general and his children, he resolved to be before-hand with them; and accordingly caused Aspar, and his son Ardabarius, to be murdered this very year. The antients only tell us, that they fell by the hands of the eunuchs of the palace, Leo having ordered them to be put to death, because they aspired at the empire. But the modern writers add several circumstances, which seem inconsistent with what we read in the authors who flourished in those times. Patricius was dangerously wounded, but found means...
means to make his escape, as did likewise Aspar’s third son, named Hermeneirc. The friends of Aspar, especially the Goths in the emperor’s service, attempted to revenge his death, and committed great disorders in Constantinople, being headed by one of their countrymen, named Ostroui. But Zeno, who was then at Chalcis, hastened with a choice body of troops to the metropolis, the Goths were driven out of the city with a great slaughter. However, they ravaged Thrace, and, being joined by the Goths, settled in Pannonia, made themselves masters of Philippi and Arcadiopolis; which places they restored soon after, laying down their arms, upon the emperor’s promising to pay them a certain sum, and to appoint Theodoric, son to Triarius, the brother of Aspar’s wife, commander of the Goths in the Roman service. Upon the death of Aspar, who had been a zealous patron of the Arians, Leo published several rigorous laws against those heretics, depriving them of all their churches, and forbidding them to hold any public or private assemblies. The following year, when Festus and Marcianus were consuls, Ricimir, who was no less powerful in the west, than Aspar had been in the east, dreading the same fate, resolved to be before-hand with the emperor Anthemiust, who, he saw, began to mistrust him. Accordingly he openly revolted, and, at the head of the barbarians in the Roman service, but under his command, laid siege to Rome, where the emperor then was. The citizens, who were, generally speaking, well affected to Anthemiust, made a vigorous resistance, notwithstanding the famine and plague that raged in the city, depending upon the succours they daily expected out of Gaul, under the conduct of Bilimer, who commanded the Roman troops there, and was greatly attached to the interest of Anthemiust. Bilimer arrived at length with a considerable army, consisting partly of Romans, partly of barbarians; but having ventured an engagement, he was utterly defeated by Ricimer, who, encouraged with this success, pursued the siege with fresh vigour, and breaking in the end into the city, raged with no less fury than Alaric or Genferich had done, allowing his men not only to plunder the houses of the unhappy citizens, but to commit all manner of cruelties. As for the emperor Anthemiust, Ricimir caused him to be put to death, and Olybriust to be proclaimed in his room. Zeno, who succeeded

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succeeded Leo, reproached the Roman Senate with the death of Anthemiuss. He is supposed to have died on the eleventh of July; but authors are quite silent as to the circumstances of his death, contenting themselves only with telling us, that, by the treachery of Ricimer, he lost both his life and the empire. Ricimer did not long outlive Anthemiuss; for being seized with violent pains in his bowels, he died on the eighteenth, or rather nineteenth, of September; and was followed soon after by Olybrius, who died a natural death at Rome, on the twenty-third of October. This year, Mount Vesuvius in Campania threw out such an immense quantity of ashes, as turned night into day, even at Constantinople, where the people were assembled in the circus, when the cloud first appeared. All the streets and houses were covered with ashes three inches deep. This happened according to Marcellinus, on the sixth, according to the chronicle of Alexandria, on the eleventh, of November. The following year 473, when Leo alone was consul the fifth time, Glycerius took upon him the title of emperor at Ravenna, on the fifth of March; being supported by Gondibal, nephew to Ricimer, whom Olybrius had raised, during his short reign, to the rank of patrician. All we know of this new prince is, that he had been comes doneficorum, and was, according to Theophanes, a man of some merit. In the very beginning of his reign, the Goths, who had been allowed to settle in Pannonia, resolved, without the least provocation, to make war upon both empires. Purtuant to this resolution, Vitudem broke into Italy, while his brother Theodomir invaded the eastern empire; but the former dying, his son, bearing the same name, was, by the rich pretenses of Glycerius, prevailed upon to quit Italy, whence he retired into Gaul, and there joined the Visigoths, who, being thus reinforced, conquered soon after both that country and Spain. Theodmir likewise died as soon as he entered the territories of the eastern empire, and was succeeded by his son Theodoric, surnamed the Great. The same year 473, Leo, apprehending, either from his age or infirmities, that his end approached, was for naming Zeno to succeed him, but both the Senate and people of Constantinople, who hated

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hated Zeno, strongly remonstrating against his promotion, the emperor raised Leo the younger, the son of Zeno by his daughter Ariadne, to the dignity of Caesar, and even declared him his partner in the empire, tho’ he was then only five, or at most six, years old. The following year, when Leo the younger was consul alone, the emperor, his grandfather, was seized with a bloody flux, which, being attended with a violent fever, carried him off in a short time. He died at Constantinople, in the month of January, after having reigned seventeen years, wanting some days. Soon after his death, the empress Verina prevailed upon the senate and people of Constantinople to suffer her son-in-law Zeno to be declared colleague to young Leo in the empire. The ceremony was performed in the month of February, not in the palace of Hebdomon, as usual, but in the circus at Constantinople. The young prince did not survive his grandfather above ten months; for he died in the month of November of the same year. Victor Tununensis and Ado suppose, that he was dispatched by his own father; but neither the antient nor modern Greek writers, tho’ highly prejudiced against Zeno, charge him with that unnatural murder. Leo the elder, or, as he is commonly surnamed, the Great, not approving of the promotion of Glycerius, had, before his death, named to the empire of the west Julius Nepos, or, as some call him, Nepotianus, a native of Dalmatia, and nephew, by the mother, to Marcellinus, prince of that country, who was murdered in Sicily, as we have related above. Nepos, who, it seems, was then at Constantinople, failed from thence without loss of time, for Italy, and landing at Porto, surprized Glycerius there, took him prisoner, and, stripping him of the imperial ornaments, caused him to be ordained bishop of Salonae in Dalmatia, after he had borne the title of emperor a year, and some months. In the mean time, the Visigoths, under the conduct of Euric their king, broke into the territories which the Romans had still left in Gaul; but he was prevailed upon by Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, whom Nepos sent to him with the character of embassador to conclude a peace with the empire, whereof

whereof one of the articles was, that the city of Clermont, which Euric had not been able to reduce by force, should be delivered up to him. Thus the whole country lying between the ocean, the Rhone, and the Loire, fell under the power of the Goths, who, it seems, had made themselves masters of all the open places, before Clermont was yielded to them. The following year, when Zeno alone was consul the second time, Nepos, having raised Orestes to the post of general, appointed him commander of the Roman forces in Gaul; but he, instead of hastening into that country, pursuant to his orders, bent his march towards Ravenna, with a design to depose Nepos, who, he knew, was not in a condition to oppose him. The emperor, suspecting his design, and disturbing the few troops he had with him, abandoned the city at his approach, and fled by sea to Salonæ in Dalmatia, where he was entertained by the bishop Glycerius, whom he had lately deprived of the empire. The flight of Nepos happened on the twenty-eighth of August of the present year 475. Orestes was by birth a Roman, that is, he was born a subject of the empire. As he lived in Pannonia, perhaps his native country, when that province was yielded to the Hunns in 430, he lifted himself among the troops of Attila, who, finding him to be a man of parts, made him his secretary, and sent him at least twice to Constantinople with the character of ambassador, viz. in 448, and 449. His father, by name Tatula, bore likewise some considerable employment at the court of Attila. Orestes married the daughter of count Romulus, sent by Valentinian on an embassy to Attila in 449, and had by her a son, called by Males, or Mulus, Romulus Augustus, but, by all other historians, Romulus Augustulus, either by way of derision, or because he was very young when raised to the empire. Orestes, leaving the Hunns, served with great reputation in the Roman armies, and was raised to the rank of patrician, and appointed by Nepos general of the troops in Gaul; when turning his arms against the prince who had entrusted him with them, he drove him from the throne, as we have related above, and caused not himself, but his son Augustus, or Augustulus, to be proclaimed emperor in his room, on the twenty-ninth of October of the present year. The new prince

\[ b \text{ Jorn. c. 45. p. 679 Sid. i. iii. ep. 7. p. 72. } \]
\[ c \text{ Sid. i. iii. ep. 1. p. 62, 63. } \]
\[ d \text{ Jorn. c. 45. p. 679 Cruquh. p. 67. } \]
\[ e \text{ Cruquh. Marc chron. } \]
\[ f \text{ Jorn. ibid. } \]
\[ g \text{ Fride p. 37. } \]
\[ h \text{ Iden, p. 57, 60. } \]
\[ i \text{ Mal. leg. p. 93. } \]
\[ j \text{ Jorn. c. 45, 49. p. 679; 690. } \]
styled himself Augustus Romulus Augustus, Augustus being both his proper name, and the title of his dignity. As Augustus was very young, his father took upon him the administration, contenting himself with the title of patrician, and governing only as tutor and guardian to his son, during his minority. While these things passed in the west, the Saracens committed dreadful ravages in Mesopotamia; and the Huns and Thrace put all to fire and sword, and afterwards retired unmolested, the emperor Zeno, a most lewd and debauched prince, being wholly intent upon his scandalous pleasures and diversions. However, he concluded a peace with Geneseric, which was religiously observed by the Vandals, till the reign of Justinian. The same year the empress Verina, who had by her interest raised her son-in-law Zeno to the empire, highly provoked by his enormous vices and scandalous indolence, formed a conspiracy against him, at the head of which was her brother Basiliscus, of whom we have spoken elsewhere. Zeno was privately informed of the whole; but, instead of putting himself in a posture of defence, and defeating their measures, as he might have easily done, he betook himself to flight, retiring first to Chalcedon, and from thence into Æsaria, his native country. Upon his retreat, Basiliscus was proclaimed emperor by the senate and people of Constantinople, to the great disappointment of Verina, who designed to confer the empire on Patricius, magister officiorum to Zeno, with whom she is said to have maintained a criminal correspondence. Basiliscus immediately declared his wife Zenonides Augusta, and raised his son Marcus to the dignity of Caesar. The following year 476, when Basiliscus and Armatus were confusis, the barbarians who served in the Roman armies, and were distinguished with the title of allies, demanded, as a reward for their services, the third part of the lands in Italy, pretending that the whole country, which they had so often defended, belonged of right to them. As Orestes refused to comply with this insolent demand, they resolved to do themselves justice, as they called it; and, openly revolting, chose one Odoacer for their leader. Thus Procopius. He is called by Theophanes a Goth; by Marcellinus, king

king of the Goths; and by Isidore, prince of the Ostrogoths. We cannot conceive what could induce Baronius, and several others, to call him king of the Heruli. Jornandes styles him in one place king of the Rugians, and in another king of the Turcilingians. The Rugians inhabited both the banks of the Danube, near the city of Faviana, a little above Vienna. As for the Turcilingians, we find no account in the antients of them, or their country. Odoacer, whether by birth a Goth, Rugian or Turcilingian, was, according to Ennodius, meanly born, and only a private man in the guards of the emperor Augustulus, when the barbarians revolving chose him for their leader. However, he is said to have been a man of uncommon parts, equally capable of commanding an army, and governing a state.

Having left his own country, when he was yet very young, to serve in Italy, as he was of a stature remarkably tall, he was admitted among the emperor's guards, and continued in that station till the present year; when putting himself at the head of the barbarians in the Roman pay, who, tho' of different nations, had, with one consent, chosen him for their leader, he marched against Orestes and his son Augustulus, who still refused to give them any share of the lands in Italy. As the Roman troops were inferior, both in number and valour, to the barbarians, Orestes took refuge in Pavia, at that time one of the best fortified cities in Italy; but Odoacer, investing the place without loss of time, took it soon after by assault, gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, and then set fire to it, which reduced most of the houses, and two churches, to ashes. Orestes was taken prisoner, and brought to Odoacer, who carried him to Placentia, and there caused him to be put to death on the twenty-eighth of August, the day on which he had driven Nepos out of Ravenna, and obliged him to abandon the empire. From Placentia Odoacer marched straight to Ravenna, where he found Paul, the brother of Orestes, and the young emperor Augustulus. The former he immediately put to death; but sparing Augustulus, in consideration of his youth, he

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he stripped him of the ensigns of the imperial dignity, and confined him to Lucullanum, a castle in Campania, where he was, by Odoacer’s orders, treated with great humanity, and allowed an handsome maintenance to support himself and his relations. Rome readily submitted to the conqueror, who thereupon caused himself to be proclaimed king of Italy, but would not assume the purple, or any other mark of the imperial dignity. Thus failed the very name of an empire in the west. Britain had been long since abandoned by the Romans; Spain was held by the Goths and Sueviens; Africa by the Vandals; the Burgundians, Goths, Franks, and Alans, had erected several tetrarchies in Gaul; at length Italy itself, with its proud metropolis, which for so many ages had given law to the rest of the world, was enslaved by a contemptible barbarian, whose family, country, and nation are not well known to this day. The downfall and ruin of the greatest state the world ever beheld were, no doubt, owing to the depravity of the people in general, and to the sloth, luxury, and ambition of their princes; but more immediately to their allowing such swarms of barbarians to settle within the empire, and to serve in the Roman armies, under their own officers, in separate and independent bodies. Thus they became more numerous and powerful than the natives, controlled the emperors, disposed of the imperial crown as they pleased, and at length became absolute masters of those whom they were employed to defend and assist. This great revolution happened in the west in the year 476, of the Christian æra, five hundred and seven years after the battle of Actium, when the Roman monarchy was first established, and one thousand two hundred and twenty-nine since the foundation of Rome. Most writers observe, that the empire began with Augustus, and ended in a prince of the same name. Of the state of Italy under Odoacer, till he was overcome and slain by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, and under the Ostrogoths, from Theodoric to their expulsion by Narces, we shall speak hereafter; and in the mean time pursue the Roman history, that is, the history of the Constantinopolitan Roman empire, in which were preserved the same marks of sovereignty, the same ceremonies, titles,

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titles, and employments, that had been first established at Rome.

C H A P. XXXII.

The Roman history, from the dissolution of the western empire, to the death of Justinian the Great.

At the same time that the Roman empire failed in the west, it was usurped in the east by Basiliscus, who, upon the flight of Zeno, the lawful prince, had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and his son Marcus to be acknowledged Cæsar. Zeno fled into Ispuria, whither he was pursued by Illus and Trocondes, two of the usurper's generals, who having easily defeated the few troops he had with him, forced the unhappy prince to shut himself up in the castle, which they immediately invested. But in the mean time, Basiliscus having by his cruelty, avarice, enormous extortions, and, above all, by his unseasonable zeal for the doctrine of Eutyches, highly disoblige the senate and people of Constantinople, as well as the soldiery, the two generals, informed of what passed in the metropolis, and privately encouraged, as some write, by the senate, instead of pursuing the siege, openly declared for Zeno; and joining him with all their forces, bent their march to Constantinople. Basiliscus no sooner heard of their revolt, than he dispatched Harmatius or Armatus, his kinsman, with a very numerous army against them, after having obliged him to swear, by his baptism, that he would not betray him. But, notwithstanding this oath, he had no sooner passed the Bosphorus, than he joined Zeno, encamped with Illus and Trocondes, in the neighbourhood of Nice, upon that prince's promising to appoint him general of the troops of his household, and to continue him in that office during his life; to which his son, by name Basiliscus, who was yet very young to the dignity of Cæsar, and to leave him the empire after his death: Zeno,

Zeno, thus reinforced, marched directly to Constantinople, which he entered without opposition, the usurper flying for refuge, with his wife Zenonides and his children, to the great church, where he is said to have laid down his crown upon the altar. Zeno ordered them to be immediately stripped of all the marks of the imperial dignity; and having soon after got them into his power, being either betrayed a second time by Harmatius, as Candidus Itaaurus writes, or delivered up, as we read in Procopius, by Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, he confined them to a castle in Cappadocia, where he perished.

Basilichus, taken, and confined to a castle in Cappadocia, where he perishes.

Thus ended the usurpation of Basilicus, after it had lasted, according to most writers, twenty months, that is, from October 475, to June of the present year 477. Zeno, pursuant to his promise, raised Harmatius to the post of general of the troops of his household, and his son Basilicus to the dignity of Cæsar; but soon after, dishonoring the father, on account of his treachery and ingratitude to Basilicus, who had preferred him to the first employments in the state, he caused him to be murdered in the palace, employing for that purpose one Onoulus or Onoulphus, by birth a barbarian, but brought up in the family of Harmatius, and by his interest raised from a mean condition to the dignity of count, and the post of general of Illyricum. As for Basilicus, the son of Harmatius, he was deposed from the dignity of Cæsar, and made reader in a church near Constantinople. He was afterwards ordained bishop of Cyzicus, the metropolis of Hellepont, which church he governed with great prudence and piety, and assisted in 518, at the council of Constantinople. During the usurpation of Basilicus, a dreadful fire happened at Constantinople, which consumed great part of the city, with the library, containing an hundred and twenty thousand volumes, and the works of Homer, written, as it is said, in gold characters on the great gut of a dragon, an hundred and twenty foot long. In the following year, 478, when Illus alone was consul, Theodoric, the son of Triarius, who had espoused the cause of Basilicus, broke into Thrace with a numerous army of Goths, and advanced within four miles of Constantinople; which so terrified the emperor, that he concluded a peace with

A great fire.

Zeno's orders.

* Candid p. 19.  
† Procop bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7 p. 194.  
§ Evagr. l. iii. c. 8 p. 341. Procop ibid.  
® Candid p. 19.  
† Evagr. l. iii.  
E 24 p. 354.  
± Cedr. p. 35.  
Zonar. p. 43, 44.
with him upon his own terms; whereof one of the articles was, that Theodoric should be appointed commander in chief of the Roman horde. The next year, Zeno being consul the third time, Marcian, the son of Anthemius, who had reigned in the west, claiming the empire in right of his wife Leontia, the eldest daughter of the late emperor Leo, attacked unexpectedly the imperial palace in Constantinople, at the head of some malecontents prepared for any desperate attempt. The emperor’s guards, endeavouring to make head against them, were either dispersed or cut in pieces, and Zeno himself shut up with a small number of officers in the palace. Had Marcian pursued his design, and without loss of time forced the gates of the palace, which in that consternation he might have easily done, the emperor must have fallen into his hands. But the attack being with the utmost imprudence put off till the next morning, Zeno in the mean time gained over, what with pretexts, what with promises, most of Marcian’s men, who, thereupon dismounting the rest, withdrew all on a sudden, and took sanctuary in the church of the apostles, whence he was dragged by the emperor’s orders, ordained priest, and confined to a monastery in the neighbourhood of Caesarea in Cappadocia. As Zeno had not for some years paid the Ostrogoths in Pannonia their annual pension, Theodoric, their king, no sooner heard of the revolt of Marcian, than he broke into Macedonia; and from thence advancing into Epirus, made himself master of Duras on the Adriatic sea, that important place being betrayed to him by a Goth named Sidimont. But Sabinianus, an officer of great experience and address, having surprized and cut in pieces a strong reinforcement that was marching to the assistance of Theodoric, under the conduct of his brother Theudimont, and taken all their baggage and two thousand waggons loaded with provisions, the Goths, abandoning Duras, retired in great haste into Pannonia. The following year 480, when Basilus, surnamed the younger, was consul, Zeno, not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance with Huneric, the son and successor of Genseric, dead three years before. In 481, when Placidius or Placitus was consul, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, renewed his ravages, laying waste the provinces of Macedonia and Thessaly, which obliged Zeno in the end to comply with

481. Makel. p. 95.
with his demands, that is, to yield to him part of Lower Dacia and Moesia; to give him the command of the troops of the household, and to name him consul for the ensuing year 483. Upon these terms he withdrew in 482, when Severinus and Troadundus were consuls, out of Macedon and Thessaly, restored Larissa, the metropolis of the latter province, which he had taken, and promised to employ, when required, all his forces in defence of the empire. The following year, when Theodoric was consul at Constantinople, and Venantius at Rome, (for Odoacer made no change in the government or magistrates of the city) Leontius, a native of Chalcis in Syria; and commander of the troops in that province, revolted, some say at the instigation of the empress Verina; caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Against him Zeno immediately dispatched Illus, captain of his guards: But he, instead of opposing Leontius, joined him; and having ravaged the provinces of Syria and Isauria, advanced to Antioch, with a design to seize on that metropolis. Longinus, the emperor's brother, met them in that neighbourhood, at the head of a considerable army; but his troops were all to a man cut in pieces by the rebels, and he himself taken prisoner. After this victory, Leontius and Illus entered Antioch in triumph; Zeno, upon the defeat and captivity of his brother, dispatched John, an officer of great valor, and experience in war, into Syria, with what troops he could assemble, and prevailed upon Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, to join him with a numerous army of Goths. These two commanders were attended with better success; for meeting Leontius and Illus in the neighbourhood of Seleucia, they gained a complete victory, and the following year, when Symmachus was consul, obliged the two ringleaders of the revolt to fly for refuge to the strong castle of Papyra in Cilicia, which John immediately invested, while Theodoric returned, as the war seemed now ended, with his troops to Constantinople. Troadundus, the brother of Illus, taken prisoner by John, as he was attempting to make his escape out of Syria, in order to stir up the barbarians, was, by his orders, beheaded. The same year, Theodoric, up to some disgrace, withdrew from Constantinople, and returned to Pannonia. Evagrius writes, that Zeno, jealous of the glory.

\[ Theoph. p. 112. Liberat. c. 18. p. 125. \]

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Theodoric the Ostrogoth breaks into Thrace.

glory he had acquired by his late victory, and of the great esteem persons of all ranks shewed him, attempted privately to dispatch him. However that be, it is certain, that Theodoric, after having spent the following year, when Longinus and Decius were consuls, in raising troops and making other military preparations, as if he designed to make war upon the barbarians, broke suddenly into Thrace at the head of a numerous army; and putting all to fire and sword, advanced within fifteen miles of Constantinople; but, instead of laying siege to that metropolis, as was apprehended, he marched back to Pannonia, in virtue of a private treaty between him and Zeno, by which the emperor yielded to him, as some authors write, all the provinces of Italy, held then by Odoacer, encouraging him to rescue them out of the hands of that barbarian, and promising to acknowledge him king of Italy. The Romans afterwards pretended, that Zeno had sent Theodoric to conquer Italy, not for himself, but for the emperor of the east, to whom of right it belonged. On the other hand, the Goths maintained, that Zeno had yielded it to be held for ever by the Goths. Some authors write, that, in virtue of this treaty, Theodoric was to hold Italy during his life-time, but that upon his death it was to be reunited to the empire. However that be, Theodoric, in the beginning of the autumn of this year 487, when Boetius was consul, returned to Novae in Moesia, which city he had chosen for a place of residence; and having spent the winter in military preparations, he set out the following year, when Sisidius and Dinanius were consuls, at the head of a powerful army for Italy, and entering that country, overcame Odoacer in several battles, and established a new monarchy there, as we shall relate at length hereafter. About the end of this year, Leontius and Illus, after having defended with incredible bravery the castle of Papyra for the space of four years, were in the end taken by treachery, and put to death. Their heads were sent to Constantinople, and there exposed for several days to the view of the public. In the following consulship of Anicius Probinus and Chronion Eusebius, Zeno caused several persons of great distinction to be put to death, and banished others, confiscating their estates, under pretence that they had favoured

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* Evagr. l. iii. c. 27. p. 356.  
† Jorn. rer. Goth. l. ii. c. 57. p. 696.  
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...yourd Leontius and Illus... The following year, when Longinus was consul the second time with Faustus, Zeno, raging with more cruelty than ever, caused Pelagius, a par-


ticrian of great distinction, to be strangled, for no other rea-

fon but because he had been told by an astrologer, that he was to succeed Zeno... The emperor did not long survive him; for in the month of April of the following year 491, when Olybrius was consul, he was seized with violent pains in his bowels, which carried him off in a few days after he had lived sixty-five years and nine days, and reigned seventeen years and three months... The more modern Greek writers, and amongst the rest Cedrenus, tell us, that being seized with an epileptic fit, he was buried alive, his wife Ariadne, who hated him, and was in love with Anastatus, whom she immediately married, not suffering him to be relieved, tho' he made a dreadful noise in his tomb; which being afterwards opened, he was found to have devoured the flesh of his own arms, and even his buffkins... But of this tragical end no mention is made by the more antient writers. He is painted by the antients as one of the most wicked and debauched princes recorded in history, as a person desitute of every good quality requisite in a prince, and equally incapable of governing a state and commanding an army... Of the writers, who flourished about this time, we shall speak in note (U).

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(U) Theodulus, a native of Syria, published in the reign of Zeno, several pieces against the Manichees and other heretics, a commentary on the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, and a poem on the miracles related in the old testament, and on the fables of the poets (1) His comment has reached our times (2) John the grammarian published a book against the Eutychians, which has been long since lost (3). He was still alive, according to Gennadius, in 424 (4). Malus or males, by profession a sophist, wrote the history of Zeno and Basiliscus: but of that work only some fragments have reached us (5). Candidus by birth an Iaurian, comprised in three books a very particular and distinct account of what

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Upon the death of Zeno, his brother Longinus laid claim to the empire; but, he being universally abhorred on account of his lewdness and cruelty, Ariadne, widow to the deceased emperor, easily prevailed upon the senate to acknowledge Anastasius for emperor, who was accordingly crowned on the eleventh of April in the circus, according to some by Ariadne a, according to others b, by Euphemius, patriarch of Constantinople, who absolutely refused to place the imperial crown upon his head, till he had bound himself by a solemn oath to protect the catholic church, and to hold the doctrine of the two councils of Nice and Chalcedon. He was no sooner proclaimed emperor, than he married Ariadne, being then in the sixtieth year of his age c. He was a native of Duras, the metropolis of New Epirus in Illyricum d. All we know of his family is, that his father was born in the same city; that his mother was a Manichee, and Clearchus, her brother, an Arian e. As for Anastasius himself, he is by some styled a Manichee, by others an Eutychian f. Magna, whom some will have to have been the emperor's sister, others to have been wife to his brother, named Paul, was a zealous catholic g. Anastasius had not yet attained to the rank of senator, when he was raised to the empire, being at that time one of the great chamberlain's officers, named Silentiarii, whose


what happened from the election of Leo to that of Anastasius. A short abstract of his work has been conveyed to us by Photius (6). Evagrius, in speaking of Zeno, often quotes and highly commends one Eunapthius, a native of Philadelphia, who wrote an abridgment of the Roman history, from Æneas to the twelfth year of Zeno's reign (7). The same historian is mentioned by Nicephorus (8). Photius speaks of one Victorinus, who wrote some orations in commendation of the consuls, and of the emperor Zeno (9). He was a native of Antioch, and the son of Lampadius. Photius commends the elegance, clearness, and propriety of his style (10).

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whose province it was to cause due silence to be observed in the palace. He is said to have led, while a private man, a very abstemious life, and to have given signal instances of his integrity, whence, upon his receiving the purple and diadem in the circus, the people, applauding his promotion, cried out with one voice, Reign, Anastasius, as you have lived. And truly the beginning of his reign was not undeservedly applauded by persons of all ranks; for he immediately remitted what ever to that time was due to the exchequer, and utterly abolished the infamous tax called chryfargyrum, which was levied every fifth year upon those, even common beggars not excepted, who sold any thing, of how little foever, whence it was called the gold of tribulation. To pay it, parents were often obliged to sell their children, after they had been stripped of every thing else. It was not only raised on all traders, in what kind so ever of merchandize they dealt, but on the public prostitutes, who, by paying to the prince a considerable share of what they earned by their infamous profession, seemed to have purchased a right to pursuie with impunity their scandalous practices. Alexander Severus being abashed, the pagan, to suffer the money thus raised to be lodged in the exchequer, ordered it to be kept apart, and to be employed in repairing the public edifices. Theodotius the younger utterly suppressed this infamous tribute in 439, but it was soon after revived through the avarice of his successors. Zosimus will have the tax to have been first established by Constantine the Great; which is denied by Evagrius as a calumny, without any other foundation but the implacable hatred which that pagan writer bore to the deliverer of the christian religion. And indeed it is evident from the antient writers, that long before Constantine's time a tax was laid on all traders, as well as infamous women; but that Constantine, to save charges, caused it to be levied, not annually, as it had been till his reign, but every fourth or rather fifth year. However that be, Anastasius, looking upon it as no less burdensome to the people than shameful in the prince, not only utterly abolished it, with the consent and approbation of the senate, but, to prevent its ever being revived, caused all the papers relating to it to be publicly burnt in the circus. This abolition

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h Evagr. i. iii. c. 29. p 357. Procop. bell. Perf. i. ii. c. 25. p. 338.  
1 Lamprid. in Al. p. 212.  
" Zof. i. ii. p. 691.  
Evagr. i. iii. c. 40. p. 370.  
of the chryfargyrum is recorded by all the historians, who speak of Anastasius, as an action truly great, heroic, and almost divine, worthy of being transmitted to the latest posterity, and capable of covering the many faults, which are but too deservedly laid to that prince’s charge. Timotheus of Gaza wrote a tragedy on the chryfargyrum, which he ascribed to Anastasius. Cedrenus, who styles that writer a man of universal knowledge, tells us, that the emperor was in great measure induced by the reading of that piece to propose to the senate the suppressing of such an infamous tax. The same writer adds, that Anastasius abolished two kinds of chryfargyrums, one of which was raised on the poor, on the beggars, slaves, freemen, harlots, and divorced women, who, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, paid every fourth year a certain sum for themselves, and another for their horses, mules, dogs, asses, oxen, &c. At the same time, the new prince drove all informers out of Constantinople, and put a stop to the enormous abuse introduced by Zeno of exposing to sale all public offices, and bestowing, to the great oppression of the unhappy people, the best governments on the highest bidders. Anastasius having, by these and several other acts of generosity and good-nature, gained the affections of the people, they all to a man joined him against Longinus, the deceased emperor’s brother, who in the beginning of the following year 492, when the emperor Anastasius and Rufus were consuls, raised some disturbances in Constantinople, but was immediately seized, deprived of all his employments, and sent back into Ifauria, his native country, with orders to continue there. With him were driven out of Constantinople all the Ifaurians, who had borne great sway in the late reign. The Ifaurians, thus banished the city, espoused the cause of Longinus, and, openly revolting, kindled a civil war in the bowels of the empire. They were headed by Longinus, the late emperor's brother, by another Longinus, surnamed Selinontius, no doubt from the city of Selinus in Ifauria, the place of his nativity, by Indus, Theodorus, Ninilinghus, and several other Ifaurians of great distinction, who had been raised by Zeno to the first employments in the state. Conon, bishop of Apamea in Syria, abandoning his flock, joined his countrymen, for he was by birth an Ifaurian, and became one of the ringleaders of the

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\[ \text{Evagrius, p. } 370. \text{ Contra Manass. p. 63. Suid. p. 913.} \]

\[ \text{Cedrenus, p. 357.} \text{ Idem ibid.} \text{ Idem, p. 358.} \]
the revolt. Under these heads the rebels seized on an immense quantity of arms, and vast sums lodged by Zeno in a strong hold of Isauria, which enabled them to raise and arm above an hundred and fifty thousand men. The emperor, alarmed at the progress they made, dispatched the flower of his troops against them, under the conduct of two of the most renowned generals of that age, viz. John the Scythian, and John, surnamed Gibbus, or the hunch-backed, who coming up with the rebels in the neighbourhood of Cotyce in Phrygia, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to take refuge amongst the inaccessible mountains of Isauria, where they maintained themselves for the space of six years, in spite of the utmost efforts of the best generals of the empire. Ninilungus, one of the chief leaders, was killed in the above-mentioned battle. The following year, when Eusebius was confid the second time with Albinus, surnamed the younger, the emperor, who, notwithstanding the genrosity he affected on his accession to the empire, was naturally of a most avaricious temper, laid an heavy tax on the inhabitants of Constantinople, called by Evagrius chryaotelia, which, as it was no-ways expected, incensed them to such a degree, that, rising all on a sudden, they pulled down the emperor's statues, and dragged them through the chief streets of the city with those of the empress Ariadne, uttering most injurious invectives both against her and Anatafius. How this tumult ended, we are no-where told. The same year Theodoric the Goth, having completed the conquest of Italy, by the reduction of Ravenna after a three years siege, as we shall relate more at length hereafter, caused himself to be proclaimed king of that country, without waiting the return of the embassadors, whom he had sent to Constantinople for the ensign of royalty. However, he dispatched Festus, or Faustus, and Ireneus, two persons of rank, to solicit the emperor's approbation, and excuse the liberty he had taken. Anatafius received his excuses, promised not to moleft him in the possession of the country he had conquered, and sent him the ensigns of the royal dignity. Hence it appears, that he acknowledged in some degree, as Odoacer had done, the authority of the emperor. Besides, he suffered the Romans to receive the confullhip from the emperor of the east. "This

They are defeated, but continue in arms.

A tumult in Constantinople.

Theodoric acknowledged king of Italy.

Footnotes:

true he named in 511, one Felix to that dignity; but at the same time he wrote to Anastasius, begging him to confirm what he had done. In 494, when Afterius and Presidius were consuls, Diogenes, one of the emperor’s generals, having surprized the city of Claudopolis in Isauria held by the rebels, he was closely besieged in it by the bishop Conon, and reduced to such frights, that he must have soon either perished with hunger, or been cut in pieces with all his men, had not John, surnamed Gibbus, opening himself away over mount Taurus, and falling unexpectedly upon the rebels, obliged them to retire with great slaughter. The bishop, fighting with great resolution and intrepidity at the head of his men, received a wound of which he died soon after.

The two following years, in the first of which Viator, or, as some style him, Victor, was consul, and in the other Paul, the emperor’s brother, some inconsiderable advantages were gained over the Isaurian rebels, who were utterly defeated the following year, when the emperor Anastasius was consul the second time, by John the Scythian. Longinus, brother to the late emperor Zeno, and Theodorus, or Athenodorus, being taken prisoners, they were both put to death by that general’s orders, and their heads sent to Constantinople, where they were exposed to public view in the suburbs called Syce. The head of Athenodorus was afterwards sent to Tarfus, and set up on a pole before the gate of that city.

The other ringleaders of the rebellion, namely Longinus Selinontius and Indus, were taken the following year, when John the Scythian was consul with Paulinus, and sent loaded with chains to Constantinople. Longinus was afterwards racked to death at Nice. As several cities in Isauria were utterly ruined during this war, which had lasted six years, the inhabitants of Isauria were removed into Thrace, and the annual pension of five thousand pieces of gold, paid to them by Zeno, taken away for ever. This year the emperor narrowly escaped being murdered in the circus by the populace, upon his refusing to cause some prisoners to be set at liberty, who had been concerned in a late riot. It was with the utmost difficulty that the guards screened him from the fury of the enraged multitude, and the flowers of stones discharged against him. When the multitude found themselves

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selves repulsed by the soldiery, they set fire to the hippodrome, which consumed that and several other stately edifices, with a square of Constantinople, in which not a single building was left standing. The same year, the Arabs and Saracens, named Scenitae, broke into Palestina and Syria Euphratesiana; but in Syria they were defeated by Eugenius, who commanded the Roman troops there, and in Palestina by Romanus, governor of that province, who on that occasion recovered to the empire the Island of Jotape in the Red Sea, which the Arabs Scenitae had seized, and re-established there the Roman merchants trading to India.

In 499, when Joannes Gibbus and Asclepius were consuls, the Bulgarians breaking into Thrace, Arius, commander of the troops in Illyricum, marched against them at the head of fifteen thousand men, engaged them on the banks of the Zura or Zorta; but was defeated with the loss of four thousand men, among whom were the counts Nicostatus, Innocentius, and Aquilinus, and several other officers of distinction. The barbarians, after having plundered all the open places in Thrace, returned of their own accord beyond the Danube. The same year, Neocæarea and several other cities in Pontus were almost utterly ruined by an earthquake. The year 500, when Patritius and Hypatius were consuls, is quite barren of events. In the following consuls-ship of Pompeius and Avienus, the blue and green factions quarrelling in the circus of Constantinople, above three thousand of the former were killed. The following year, Probus and Avienus being consuls, the Bulgarians breaking anew into Thrace, and the Saracens into Palestina, committed dreadful ravages in those two provinces. The same year Cabades, king of Persia, being highly provoked at the emperor’s refusing to lend him a certain sum, which he owed to the king of the Nephthalite or Ephthalite Hunns, entered unexpectedly Armenia at the head of a numerous army; and having easily reduced the cities of Theodosiopolis and Martyropolis, laid close siege to Amida, which the inhabitants (for there was no garrison in the place) defended with such vigour and resolution, that the king, despairing of being ever able to reduce it, had already ordered his troops to retire; but the inhabitants, especially some women, probably

bly common prostitutes, reviling and rallying him from the walls in a manner not to be expressed by a modest writer, he resolved at all events to pursue the siege, which he did accordingly, and in the end made himself master of the place, after having lain before it eighty days, or as others write, four months. Most of the inhabitants were put to the sword, and the town pillaged. In the mean time, Anastasius dispatched a powerful army against the enemy, commanded by Patricius, Hypatius, and Areobindus, who had married Juliana, the daughter of the emperor Olybrius. Under them commanded Celer, Justin, afterwards emperor, his son Vitalianus, Patriiolus, Romanus, and several other officers of distinction. But the Persians having reduced Amida before they reached that place, they divided the army into two bodies, the one, under the command of Patricius and Hypatius, attempting to make an irruption into the enemy’s country on the side of Amida, and the other marching, under the command of Areobindus, to Nisibis, with a design to surprise that important place. In the mean time, Cabades, having drawn his troops together, went to meet Areobindus, who, upon his approach, abandoning his camp and baggage, fled in the utmost confusion to Constantinople, after having prefled in vain Hypatius and Patricius to join him, and with their mutual forces to oppose the enemy, who was far superior in number to either of the parties they commanded. Areobindus being thus put to flight, Cabades, without loss of time, marched against Hypatius and Patricius; and coming upon them unexpectedly, cut their whole army in pieces, the two generals having with much ado escaped by a timely flight the common slaughter. Cabades, having now no enemy to oppose him, over-ran Mesopotamia, extending his ravages to the very borders of Syria, till he was obliged, by the approach of winter, to return into Persia. The following year, when Ctesheus was confin, Celer, entering the province of Arzanene, belonging to the Persians, at the head of a considerable army, laid it waste far and near, while the other generals undertook the siege of Amida, the Persians being diverted by a sudden irruption of the Hunns. The place held out till both the Romans and Persians being quite tired out with the fatigue of a siege in the depth of winter, it was agreed, that the Persians should deliver up the city to the Romans.

Romans, upon their paying to the king of Persia fifty talents, which was immediately done. Thus the Romans recovered the important city of Amida, in the consulship of Sabinianus and Theodorus, after it had been held two years by the Persians. Upon their entering the place, they found that the enemy had not sufficient provisions to support them seven days longer, though they had lived very sparingly during the siege. Not long after, a truce for seven years, which lasted about twenty, was concluded between the two empires, Cabades being engaged in a war with the Caduceans, Hunns, and other barbarians. The same year one Mondon or Mondo, by, nation a Goth, having settled with some of his countrymen, in such places beyond the Danube as he found uninhabited, seized on a strong hold called Herta; and thence, by frequent incursions into the Roman territories, continued for some time harassing the subjects of the empire, giving himself the title of king. Anastasius dispatched against him Sabinianus, the son of the famous general of that name, at the head of ten thousand chosen men, which obliged Mondo to have recourse to Theodoric, the Goth king, of Italy, who the year before had reconquered Pannonia, and recovered Sirmium out of the hands of the Gepidæ. As Mondo had entered into an alliance with Theodoric, Pitzia, one of that prince's generals, marched to his assistance, defeated Sabinianus in a pitched battle near Margus in Lower Dacia, and obliged him to shut himself up in the castle of Nato. This occasioned a misunderstanding between Theodoric, and Anastasius, as we shall relate in the history of the Ostrogoths in Italy. The next consuls were Arcobindus and Mellala, who were succeeded in 507, by the emperor Anastasius, the third time consul, and Venantius. This year Anastasius, to defend not only the city of Constantinople, but the adjacent country, against the sudden irruptions of the barbarians, built the famous wall, called the Long-wall, and the wall of Anastasius, of which frequent mention is made by the Byzantine historians. It was distant from Constantinople two hundred and eighty furlongs, extended from sea to sea, being four hundred and twenty furlongs round, and inclosed not only the metropolis, but the city of Selymbria, and the neighbouring country, which was a continued garden, with

an incredible number of stately villas and houses of pleasure, richly furnished and adorned. The wall was twenty foot in breadth, and defended by towers at small distances from each other; by which means the inhabitants, upon the shortest warning, had an opportunity of putting themselves in a posture of defence, and repulsing with great ease the barbarians. In the following confusilhip of Celer and Venantius, styled the younger, Anastasius caused the city of Daras, a frontierto town towards Persia, to be repaired and fortified, in order to prevent the Persians from breaking into the empire on that side. Daras stood on the Cardus, about fifteen miles from Nisibis, and three from Carrae. The same year Clovis, king of the Franks in Gaul, having gained a complete victory over Alaric, king of the Vilgoths in Languedoc and Aquitain, Anastasius, who was at variance with Theodoric, whose daughter Alaric had married, sent embassadors to the king of the Franks, to congratulate him upon his victory, and to present him with the consulular ornaments, and a diadem, which he received in the church of St. Martin at Tours, taking upon him thenceforth the title of consul, and likewise that of Augustus. He removed soon after from Tours to Paris, where he fixed his residence, declaring that city the metropolis of his kingdom. Nothing remarkable happened the two following years 509, 510, in the first of which Importunus was consul, and in the second the famous Boetius, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the history of the kingdom of Italy. In 511, when Secundinus and Felix were consuls, the Heruli, after having long roved about from one country to another, passed the Danube, and were received the following year, when Paulus and Muschianus were consuls, into Thrace, where lands were allotted to them, upon their promising to serve with fidelity in the Roman armies, when required. In the next consulship of Probus and Clementinus, the emperor, at the instigation of the Eutychians, whom he favoured, drove Macedonius, the orthodox patriarch of Constantinople from his see, and preferred one Timotheus, an avowed follower of Eutyches, in his room, who, by attempting to introduce novelties in the public worship, raised great disturbances in

in Constantinople. Many of the inhabitants, some say ten thousand, were killed in a tumult between the catholics and Eutychians; and several houses burnt, amongst the rest that of the prefect Martinus, with its rich furniture, he himself having narrowly escaped being consumed in the flames. The following year 514, when Cassiodorus Senator was consul, Vitalianus, one of the emperor's generals, espousing the cause of Macedonius, and the other orthodox bishops, persecuted by Anastasius, approached Constantinople, at the head of a numerous army, raised in three days time, threatening to depose the emperor, if he did not restore the banished bishops to their sees, and drive out the Eutychians. Anastasius, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of Eutyches, refusing to comply with his request, he made himself master of Moesia and Thrace, took Cyril, governor of the latter province, prisoner, defeated Hypatius, the emperor's nephew, who likewise fell into his hands, and returning before Constantinople with his victorious army, Anastasius, who was no-ways in a condition to oppose him solemnly promised to comply with his demands, viz. to put an end to the persecution, which he had raised against the catholics, to restore Macedonius, and the other orthodox bishops, to their sees, and to call an ecumenical council, and stand to the decisions of the prelates of the church. Anastasius had no sooner signed these articles, than Vitalianus withdrew from the neighbourhood of Constantinople; and dispersing his troops, sent Hypatius, whom he had taken prisoner, back to his uncle, and retired to his government in Thrace. Anastasius thus delivered from his fears, pursued the persecution against the catholics with more cruelty than ever, as the reader will find related at length by the ecclesiastical writers. In 515, when Anthemius and Florentius were consuls, and 516, when Petrus alone bore that dignity, nothing happened which historians have thought worthy of notice. In 517, when Anastasius was consul the fourth time with Agapetus, the northern barbarians, called by Marcellinus Getæ, breaking into Illyricum, laid waste Macedon and Epirus, defeated Pompeius, the emperor's nephew, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople; and penetrating as far as Thessaly, returned from thence beyond the Danube unmolested, with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. The follow-
following year, when Magnus alone was consul, the emperor Anastasius was found dead in his chamber on the ninth of July. Authors vary as to the circumstances of his death: some write, that a violent storm arising, the dread and terror with which he was seized, as being conscious to himself of many cruel and unjust murders, put an end to his life; others suppose him to have been killed by a flash of lightning. He died in the eighty-eighth year of his age, after having reigned twenty-seven years, and three months, wanting two or three days. No prince perhaps was ever more beloved in the beginning, nor more hated in the end of his reign. He gave at first several instances of generosity, good-nature, moderation, and application to public affairs, seeming to have nothing so much at heart as the welfare of his subjects. But he soon abandoned himself to all manner of wickedness, selling the publick offices, and sharing with the governors of provinces the spoils of the unhappy people, whom he suffered them to oppress with most enormous exactions. The ecclesiastic writers paint him in the blackest colours imaginable; but as he persecuted the catholics, and countenanced, to the utmost of his power, the Eutychians, they were perhaps so far prejudiced against him as to overlook the few good qualities, which other authors allow him, and take notice only of his vices.

Anastasius being dead, Justin, then praefectus praetorio, was by the soldiers of the household proclaimed emperor in his room. He was descended of an obscure and mean family in Thrace, having been in his youth employed in keeping cattle. He afterwards lifted himself among the troops that guarded Thrace; and having on several occasions given signal proofs of an extraordinary valor, and address, he was raised from the low station of a common soldier to the post of a tribune, and from that soon after to the office of praefectus praetorio, which he held when he was preferred to the empire. Evagrius writes, that Aman- tius, the deceased emperor's great chamberlain, having intrusted Justin with large sums to purchase the votes of the soldiery in favour of Theocritus, his intimate friend, Justin distributed the money in his own name; and having by that means secured the army to his interest, he was by them saluted

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Saluted with the title of Augustus, as soon as the death of Anastasius was known. Thus Evagrius, whose account does not at all agree with what we read in the letters said to have been written by Justin himself to Hormida bishop of Rome soon after his promotion; whereas he tells him, that he had been preferred, contrary to his expectation, and against his will, to the imperial dignity. But by what means ever he attained the purple, he governed with great equity and moderation; and by his steady adherence to the orthodox faith, and prudent administration healed in great measure the divisions which had long rent the church, as well as the state, into factions and parties. He was scarce warm in his throne, when Amantius, Theocritus, and several of the deceased emperor’s relations, persons of great interest and authority in the empire, conspired against him; but the conspiracy being discovered by some who were privy to it, the chief authors of it, and among the rest Amantius and Theocritus, were publicly executed, to the great satisfaction of the people, who hated them as the avowed patrons of the Eutychians, and the chief promoters of the late persecution against the catholics. The following year 519, Justin being consul with Eutharic, the son-in-law of Theodoric, king of Italy, all the orthodox bishops, who had been banished by Anastasius, were by the emperor’s orders restored to their sees, and several synods assembled, in which the doctrine of the church was establishe, and that of Eutyches condemned. The following year, Vitalianus, of whom we have made mention above, was raised to the consulship with Rusticus, but was soon after dispatched in the palace by the emperor’s orders, upon his attempting to gain over some of the chief officers, with a design to depose Justin, and cause himself to be proclaimed emperor in his room. He had espoused the catholic cause in the reign of Anastasius; but his caballing against Justin, a zealous patron of the true faith, and his courting the Eutychians, convinced the world, that it was not merely on account of religion he had taken arms against his sovereign. The following year, Justinian, the emperor’s nephew, being consul with Valerius, Cabades, king of Persia, sent a solemn embassy to Justin, offering to conclude a lasting peace with him, provided he would adopt Cosroes, the Persian king’s youngest

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\[2\] Evagri. l. iv. c. 1, 2.  * Vide Baron. ad ann. 518.  \[a\] Jorn. reg. fase. c. 43. p. 132.  \[b\] Evagri. l. iv. c. 3.  \[c\] Idem, ibid.
youngest son, whom, to the prejudice of his eldest son Caesus, he had declared his successor. This he looked upon as the only means of engaging the Roman emperor to espouse his cause, and of firmly establishing him in the kingdom. The proposal was received at first with great joy both by Justin and his nephew Justinian; but Proclus, the quaestor, a man of great integrity, and well skilled in the laws, demonstrating, that, in virtue of that adoption, Cosroes might claim the Roman empire as his inheritance, it was rejected; which so piqued Cavades, that he immediately entered Iberia, with a design to invade from thence the Roman territories. Gurgenes, king of the Iberians, had recourse to Justin, who dispatched a body of troops to his assistance, under the conduct of Sittas and the famous Belisarius, who was then but a youth, and served in the guards of Justinian, lately declared commander in chief of all the forces of the empire. Sittas and Belisarius broke into that part of Armenia which belonged to the Persians, and laid it waste; but being met by Narces and Aratius, they were by them put to flight, and obliged to retire into the Roman dominions. Narces and Aratius revolted soon after from the Persians, and served under Belisarius in Italy. The emperor, well pleased with the conduct of Belisarius gave him the command of the forces in Daras, on the frontiers of Persia. These things happened in the third consulship of Severinus Boëtius, and the first of Symmachus, who were succeeded in 523, by Maximus alone in the west, and he by Justin, the second time consul, and Opilio, during whose consulship we find nothing tranacted in the empire that deserves notice. In 525, when Probinus or Probus, and Philoxenus, were consuls, Justin, by an edict, deprived the Arians of all their churches in his dominions; which occasioned a misunderstanding between him and Theodoric, king of Italy, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of Arius. But what relates to that prince, we reserve for the history of the Ostrogoths in Italy. The same year the city of Antioch was almost utterly overturned by an earthquake, and great numbers of the inhabitants buried, with their bishop Euphrasius, under the ruins. The cities of Epidamnus, Corinth, and Anazarbus in Cilicia, underwent the same fate, but were at a vast expense restored, as well as Antioch;

Antioch, to their former condition by the good-natured emperor, who was so affected with their misfortune, that putting off the purple, and laying aside the diadem, he appeared for several days in sack-cloth. In § 26, Olybrius alone was confus, and succeeded in that dignity by Mavortius, during whose confuship, Justinian, on the first of April, declared his nephew Justinian his partner in the empire. He was the son of Sabatius, by Bigleniza, the sister of Justin, called by the Romans Vigilantia. He was a native of Tauresium, but brought up at Bederina, the birth-place of his uncle Justin, both cities on the confines of Thrace and Illyricum; whence he is by some styled a Thracian, by others an Illyrian. He was sent, when a youth, by Justin, then commander in chief of the Roman army, as an hostage to Theodoric, king of Italy, who, upon the news of his uncle's preferment, suffered him to return to Constantinople, where he was immediately honoured with the title of nobilissimus, and upon the death of Vitalianus, raised to the chief command of the army in his room. Some authors write that Justinian, at the request of the senate, took him for his partner in the empire; whereas others pretend, that the senate were awed by threats and menaces. Be that as it will, it is certain that Justinian was this year declared emperor; and upon his entering the circus with the purple, and other ensigns of the imperial dignity, the populace received him with loud acclamations: he was then as Zonaras observes, in the forty-fifth year of his age. The emperor Justin died about four months after, that is, in the latter end of September, or the beginning of August, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, after having reigned nine years, one month, and some days. His death is generally ascribed to a wound received in battle many years before. He could neither read nor write, having been employed by his parents in keeping cattle, till he lifted himself in the army; but was nevertheless a man of extraordinary penetration, and uncommon address, in the management of the most difficult affairs, well skilled in the art of war, and in every respect equal to the high station to which he was raised.

Justinian, now sole master of the empire, made it his first and chief business to secure the frontiers towards Persia. With this view he ordered Belisarius, commander of the troops
troops in Daras, to build a fort in the neighbourhood of Mindon, which might be as a curb upon the Persians, and prevent them from breaking into the empire on that side. Belisarius had no sooner begun the work, than Cabades, who still reigned in Persia, after having attempted in vain, by threats and menaces, to divert him from it, dispatched a body of troops against him. On the other hand, Justinian ordered the two brothers Curtzes and Buzes, who commanded the troops quartered in the neighbourhood of mount Libanus, to join Belisarius. But notwithstanding this reinforcement the Romans, in the battle which ensued, were utterly defeated, and great numbers of them taken prisoners, and among the rest Curtzes, to whose rash and imprudent conduct the defeat was chiefly owing. After this victory, the Persians, finding the fort abandoned by the Romans, levelled it with the ground. War being thus declared, Justinian appointed Belisarius, general of the east, ordering him to make an inroad into Persia. Perozes, the Persian general, met him at the head of a very numerous and powerful army in the neighbourhood of Daras; whereupon a battle ensuing, the Persians were defeated, with the loss of five thousand men. As the Persians fled in great confusion, the Romans would, in all likelihood, have cut most of them in pieces, had not Belisarius, apprehending they might rally, and return to the charge, founded a retreat. The like successes attended the Roman armies in Armenia, where Mermereos, who commanded another army, consisting of Perfarmanians, Sunites and Hunns, was surprized and defeated by Dorotheus, the Roman governor of Armenia, and Sittas, general of the forces quartered in that province. Mermereos, being put to flight, the Romans made themselves masters of several strong holds in Perfarmania, and among the rest of Pharamgium, which commanded the royal mines, and was betrayed to them by one Simeon. About this time, Narces and Aratius, two brothers, who, in the latter end of Justin's reign, had commanded the Persian army in Armenia and gained some advantages over Belisarius and Sittas, as we have related above, revolted from the Persians, came over to the Romans, who were now masters of the greatest part of Perfarmania, their native country. Narces, the emperor's questor in those parts, who was likewise a Perfarmanian, received them with extraordinary marks of kindness and esteem, making them rich presents.

a Procop. bell. Perf. c. 13.  i Idem, c. 15.
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presents in the emperor's name, which encouraged their younger brother, by name Ibaac, to follow their example, after having held a private correspondence with the Romans, till he found an opportunity of delivering up to them a strong-hold in the territory of Theodosiopeolis, named Bolus. Justinian, notwithstanding the advantages gained by his troops in Mesopotamia and Armenia, dispatched embassadors to Cabades, with proposals for an accommodation; but the treaty being soon broken off, the Persians, early in the spring of 530, invaded the Roman territories under the command of Azarethes, who was joined by an incredible number of Saracens, commanded by Alamundarus their king, who, as he was a person of great experience in war, and well acquainted with the country, advised the Persians to break into the Roman territories, not by the way of Mesopotamia and Ostrhoene, as they usually did, but to march directly into Syria, which country they might lay waste, and plunder Antioch itself, before the army in Mesopotamia could receive the least intelligence of their motions. The Persian generals approving the scheme, the army began to march; but Belisarius, apprised of their design, flew with a strong detachment to the frontiers of Syria, where the Persians finding him, to their great surprize, ready to dispute their passage, they resolved to proceed no farther; but rather to retire, thinking it dangerous to hazard a battle. On the other hand, Belisarius, judging it imprudent to provoke a flying enemy, far superior to him in numbers, was for suffering them to retire unmolested. But his men upbraiding him with cowardice, he led them on against the enemy, by whom, after a most obstinate dispute, they were put to the rout, Belisarius, with a small body of horse, who were ashamed to forfear him, keeping the field, and by that means preventing the enemy from pursuing the fugitives. The next day the Persians, who had lost in the engagement the flower of their army, not thinking it advisable to venture a second battle, retired in good order, the Romans, who were greatly disheartened by their defeat, not daring to attack them. The following year 531, Justinian being desirous of concluding a peace with the Persians, that he might be at leisure to make war upon the Vandals, and reunite to the empire the many rich provinces they had seized, dispatched Hermogenes to the king of Persia, with very reasonable proposals. But Cabades, instead of hearkening to them, sent early in the spring a fresh army into Mesopotamia.
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potamia under the command of Chanaranges, Aspendes, and Mermeroes, who, after having ravaged the country, putting all to fire and sword, sat down before Martyropolis, a city about thirty miles north of Amida on the river Nimphius, which parted the Persian and Roman dominions. The place was no ways in a condition to maintain a siege, being destitute both of soldiers and provisions. The emperor had recalled Belisarius to advise with him about a war with the Vandals, on which he was chiefly bent; and Sittas, who had succeed in the command of the troops in the east, had not sufficient strength to attempt the relief of the place. While affairs stood thus, the emperor was informed, that a numerous army of Maflagetes was marching into Persia, with a design to invade from thence the Roman dominions. This intelligence Justinian turned to his great advantage, by persuading the Persian defeter, who brought it, to spread a report in the army before Martyropolis, that the Maflagetes were in the Roman pay, and their true design was to fall upon the Persians, and raise the siege. This report, with the news that was soon after brought of the death of Cabades, inclined the Persian generals to hearken to the overtures that were made by Sittas and Hermogones, with whom they first concluded a truce, retiring from before Martyropolis, and soon after a peace upon the following terms: 1. That the Roman emperor should pay to Cosphoes, who had succeeded his father Cabades, a thousand pounds weight of gold. 2. That both princes should restore the places they had taken during the war. 3. That the commander of the Roman forces in Mesopotamia should no longer reside at Daras, but at Constantinople, as he had formerly done. 4. That the Iberians, who had sided with the Romans, should be at liberty to return to their own country, or stay at Constantinople. Upon these terms the Romans and Persians concluded an eternal peace, as it was styled, in 532, the sixth year of Justinian's reign, which, as it was without confuds, as the preceding year had been, is thus marked in the sactilis; The second year after the confullsion of Lampadius and Orestes. About this time happened at Constantinople the greatest tumult we find mentioned in history. It began amongst the different factions in the circus, but ended in an open rebellion, the multitude, highly dissatisfied with the conduct of

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John the praefectus praetorio, and of Trebonianus, then quaestor, forcing Hypatius, nephew to the emperor Anastasius, to accept the empire, and proclaiming him with great solemnity in the forum. As the two above-mentioned ministers were greatly abhorred by the people, on account of their avarice, the emperor immediately discharged them, hoping by that means to appease the tumult; but the populace growing more outrageous, and most of the senators joining the rebellious multitude, the emperor, alarmed and disheartened, would have abandoned the city, and made his escape by sea, had not the empress Theodora, with a manly courage, persuaded him to part with his life, rather than with the empire, by seasonably putting him in mind of the old saying, How glorious a sepulchre is a kingdom! Justinian, thus encouraged, resolved to continue in the palace, and, with the affiance of the few senators who had not yet abandoned him, defend it to the last. In the mean time the rebels, having attempted in vain to force the gates, carried Hypatius in triumph to the circus; where while he was beholding the sports from the imperial throne, among the shouts and acclamations of the people, Belisarius, who had been recalled from Persia, entering the city with a considerable body of troops under his command, and apprized of the usurpation of Hypatius, marched straight to the circus, fell sword in hand upon the disarmed multitude; and being seasonably joined by Mundus, governor of Illyricum, at the head of a band of Heruli, cut above thirty thousand of them in pieces, took Hypatius the usurper, and Pompeius, another of the nephews of Anastasius, prisoners, and carried them to the emperor, by whose orders they were both beheaded, and their bodies cast into the sea. Their estates were confiscated, and likewise the estates of such senators as had joined them; but the emperor caused great part of their lands and effects to be afterwards restored, together with their honours and dignities, to their children. Marcellinus supposes that this tumult was raised by Hypatius, Pompeius, and Probus, all three nephews to the emperor Anastasius, each of them setting up for himself; by which means the city was rent into factions, an incredible number of citizens was murdered, and many stately buildings laid in ashes. The tumult being thus appeased, and a peace concluded with the king of Persia, the emperor applied his thoughts wholly to the war in Africa, which he had been long bent upon. But of the wars that were by the renowned Belisarius

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\[ m \text{ Procop. bell Perf. I i. p. 265.} \]

\[ n \text{ Marc. chron.} \]
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Ifarius carried on with amazing success in the reign of Justinian, first with the Vandals in Africa, and afterwards with the Goths in Italy, we shall speak at length hereafter. These two wars lasted from 533, to 541, a year remarkable for the triumphant return of Belisarius to Constantinople, and no less on account of its being the last that is marked by consuls, time being thenceforth computed, not by consuls, the consuls were still created for some time, but by the years of the emperor's reign. During the war with the Goths in Italy, the Huns, probably stirred up by them, passed the Danube, and entered Illyricum, laid waste the whole country, took above thirty-two castles, destroyed Cassandria, and returned home un molested, carrying with them an immense booty, and an hundred and twenty thousand captives. At the same time the Armenians, shaking off the Roman yoke, gained some advantages over the emperor's forces in that province; which, with a groundless report spread abroad, that the emperor, grown jealous of Belisarius, would no longer trust him with the command of his armies, encouraged Cosroes to invade the Roman dominions with a very powerful army, in defiance of the treaty solemnly concluded a few years before. Buzes, who commanded in the east, instead of assembling his forces, and providing for the defence of the provinces, disappeared all on a sudden, and retired, no one knew whither, leaving the enemy at full liberty to plunder the country at their pleasure. As Cosroes met with no opposition, he bent his march to Syria; and having taken and plundered Berzea, Hierapolis, and several other cities, he laid siege to Antioch itself, which he soon mastered, and gave up to be plundered by his soldiers, who, without distinction of sex or age, put all they met to the sword. The king himself seized on all the gold and silver vessels belonging to the great church; caused all the valuable statues, pictures, and other pieces of art, to be taken down, and conveyed into Persia: and having thus stripped the proud metropolis of the east of all its wealth and ornaments, he ordered his men to set fire to it, and lay it in ashes; which was done accordingly, none of the buildings, even without the walls, being spared by the outrageous and insulting enemy. Thus perished the most wealthy, beautiful and populous city of the east. Such of the inhabitants as escaped the common slaughter, and afterwards fell into the enemy's hands, were carried into captivity, and held in Persia to the highest bidder. Justinian, upon the first

first news of the Persians entering the Roman territories, had dispatched embassadors to Cosroes, to put him in mind of the articles of the treaty concluded a few years before. The king alledged several frivolous pretences for the hostilities he had committed, in order to lay the whole blame on Justinian; but after he had wasted Syria, and enriched himself and his army with the spoils of that province, and its wealthy metropolis, he began to hearken to an accommodation; and accordingly a peace was concluded on the following terms: 1. That the Romans should, within two months, pay to the Persian king five thousand pounds weight of gold, and an annual pension of five hundred. 2. That the Persians should relinquish all claim to Daras, and maintain a body of troops to guard the Caspian gates, and prevent the barbarians from breaking into the empire. 3. That, upon the payment of the above-mentioned sum Cosroes should immediately withdraw his troops out of the Roman territories. The treaty being signed, and the stipulated sum paid, Cosroes began to march back; but in his retreat plundered, as if the war was still continued, the cities of Apamea and Chalcis; and crossing the Euphrates, laid waste Mesopotamia, carrying with him from thence an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. Hereupon Justinian, now well apprised, that with Cosroes no treaties were binding, resolved to pursue the war with the utmost vigour, and with that design sent for Belisarius, then employed against the Goths in Italy, and, upon his arrival at Constantinople, appointed him general against the Persians. While that brave commander was making the necessary preparations to take the field early in the spring of the ensuing year 542, the Lazians, no longer able to brook the arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of the commander of the Roman troops in that country, revolted to the Persians, and delivered up to them all their castles and strong-holds. Lazica, formerly part of Colchis, lay between the Euxine and Caspian seas, and was governed by its own kings, who were under the protection of the Roman emperor, and received at his hands the ensigns of royalty. Their present king’s name was Gobazes, who had served the Romans with great fidelity, and continued attached to their interest, till Joannes Tzibus, commander of the Roman troops quartered in his dominions to awe the neighbouring Iberians, by erecting a fort, as a curb upon the Lazians, and exacting exorbitant contributions for the pay-ment.
ment of his soldiers, forced, in a manner, both the prince and his subjects, tho' otherwise well affected to the empire, to have recourse to the king of Persia, who, upon the first invitation, entered their country, and being assisted by the natives, drove out the Romans, and placed every-where Persian garrisons in their room. In the mean time Belisarius, not apprised of the revolt of the Lazians, entered Persia at the head of a powerful army; and having made himself master of a strong-hold called Silifranum, laid waste Assyria; but was obliged, by the violent heats, and the distemper that began to rage in his army, to return, before the end of the summer, into the Roman dominions. Cothenes was no sooner informed of the invasion of Belisarius, than quitting Lazica, he hastened into Assyria; but being informed on his march, that the Romans were retired, he put his army into winter quarters, and withdrew to Ctesiphon. The spring following, he invaded anew the Roman territories, bending his march through Comagena, with a design to enter Palestine, and enrich himself with the spoils of that fertile and wealthy province. Belisarius, who was returned to Constantinople, upon the first news of this invasion, flew to Europus on the Euphrates, and there drew together what forces he could some time after Cothenes had passed that river; which so alarmed the Persian king, dreading an enemy at his back, that he thought it advisable to drop his intended expedition into Palestine, and return to his own dominions, before Belisarius was in a condition to cut off his retreat. The emperor being soon after obliged to recall Belisarius, and send him into Italy, where the Goths had gained great advantages over the Romans as we shall relate hereafter, Cothenes resolved once more to invade the Roman territories, notwithstanding the dreadful plague that raged in Persia, being encouraged thereunto by the magi, and by a shameful overthrow of thirty thousand Romans, who, attempting to break into Perfarmania, had been defeated by four thousand Persians. Upon this success he invaded Mesopotamia, and sat down before Edessa; but not being able to master the place, after several unsuccessful attempts, he agreed to raise the siege, and soon after concluded a truce for five years, upon the emperor's paying him two thousand pounds weight of gold, and sending him a celebrated physician, by name Tribunus, who had formerly cured him of a dangerous distemper. Not long after the conclusion of the truce, Cothenes,
hoses, observing the Lazians no-ways pleased with their late change, and apprehending they would soon revolt from him to the Romans, resolved to prevent a second revolution, by causing Gabazes their king to be murdered, and transplanting the natives into Persia, and populating the country, which opened him a passage into the Euxine sea, with Persians, and other nations well affected to his interest. But his design being discovered to Gabazes, by those who were to put it in execution, that prince had recourse, in the most submissive manner imaginable, to Justinian, who, forgetting his past conduct, received him anew under his protection, and, without loss of time, dispatched eight thousand men, under the command of Dagistäus, to his assistance, who being joined by a numerous body of Lazians, laid siege to Petra, one of the strongest places of Lazica, defended by a Persian garrison, and stored with all manner of provisions. Cosroes, alarmed at this sudden revolution, sent a powerful army, under the conduct of Mermeroes, to the relief of the place. At their approach, Dagistäus, who was a young unexperienced officer, abandoning his camp and baggage, fled in the utmost consternation towards the Phasis. Upon his retreat, Mermeroes advanced to Petra, the garrison of which place, consisting at first of fifteen hundred men, was now reduced to three hundred and fifty, of whom an hundred and fifty were quite disarmed, and unfit for service. Mermeroes repaired with great expedition the breaches in the walls, garrisoned the place with three thousand men, and returned with the rest of his army into Persarmenia, not thinking it safe to continue in Lazica; whither, he was informed, fresh forces were marching, under the conduct of Recithangus, by birth a Thracian, who had served in the army from his childhood, and was deemed one of the best commanders of his age. At his departure he left a body of five thousand men encamped on the banks of the Phasis, to watch the motions of the Romans and Lazians. Of these Gabazes and Dagistäus surprized one thousand, as they were straggling about in quest of booty; and having cut them all off to a man, fell unexpectedly in the dead of the night upon the main body, put most of them to the sword, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitious flight. The Romans made themselves masters of their camp, in which, besides their ensigns and baggage, they found a great quantity of arms, and a considerable number of mules and horses. They pursued the fugitives to the confines of Iberia, intercepted several other parties that were conveying provisions into Petra; and having
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having blocked up all the avenues leading to the place, returned with their booty and captives. Cosroes was no sooner informed of this overthrow, than he dispatched Corianes, with an army of Alans as well as Persians, into Lazica. But Corianes was attended with no better success than the other Persian generals; for being met on the banks of the Hippus in Colchis by Gubazes and Dagistæus, his army was, after a most obstinate dispute, utterly defeated, and he himself slain 1. These advantages were chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of Gubazes, at whose request Dagistæus, who had shamefully abandoned the siege of Petra, as we have related above, was recalled, and Bessas, an officer of great experience appointed to command in his room. He immediately invested Petra, and in the end reduced that important place, tho' defended by the Persian garrison with such obstinacy, as favoured of madness and despair. Bessas ordered Petra to be disimanted; and leaving only twelve thousand men in Lazica, viz. three thousand in Archæopolis the metropolis, and nine thousand encamped on the banks of the Phasis, under the command of Odonachus, he retired with the rest into Armenia, his own government. Upon his retreat, Mermereos entered Lazica; and having first obliged Odonachus to withdraw into the Roman territories, he laid siege to Archæopolis, which however he was forced to raise, having, in several assaults, being repulsed with great loss by the garrison. Notwithstanding these hostilities, the Persian embassadors, who had been sent to Constantinople the preceding year, continued still there, and soon after the reduction of Petra, concluded a five years truce with the emperor upon his paying to the Persian king an immense sum, which raised great complaints among the people, who were rather for pursuing the war, than submitting to pay a tribute, as they styled it, to the king of Persia 1. But Justinian was glad to come to an agreement with the Persians upon any terms, that he might not be diverted from pursuing the advantages he had gained over the Goths in Italy, of which we shall speak in a more proper place. The truce was no sooner expired, than the Persians, invading anew Lazica, took by stratagem the strong castle of Telephus; and then falling upon the Roman army, which lay encamped at a small distance, put them to flight at the first onset. Guba-

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2 Idem, I. ii. c. 17, 28, 29.
zes, king of Lazica, provoked at the cowardice of the Roman generals, acquainted the emperor with their shameful behaviour, which incensed them to such a degree, that they agreed to dispatch him: and accordingly, having accused him at court of treachery, as if he privately corresponded with the Persians, by wrestling the instructions sent them by the emperor, they murdered him, giving out, that he designed to betray them, and deliver all the Romans into the hands of the Persians. The Lazicans, highly incensed against the authors of his death, would have revolted from the Romans, and joined the Persians, had not Juffinian appeased them, by causing all those, who were any-ways accessary to the murder, to be publicly executed, and the deceased king's brother to be immediately proclaimed in his room. In the mean time the Persians, to the number of sixty thousand men advanced, under the command of Nachoragan, into Lazica, and laid siege to Phasis, but Juffin, who commanded the Roman troops, falling upon him unexpectedly, cut twelve thousand of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest, with their general, to save themselves within the Persian dominions. This defeat so disheartened Cofhros, that he immediately dispatched embassadors to Constantinople to sue for a peace, which was accordingly concluded upon terms equally honourable to both princes. The public rejoicings for the peace with Persia, after such a long and destructive war were disturbed by a dreadful earthquake, which continued for several days, and overturned a great many flately edifices, and several churches, in which perished an incredible number of people, who had crowded to them during the public confusion. About the same time the plague, which had raged a few years before with great fury all over the empire, broke out anew at Constantinople, and swept off many thousands of people. The same year 558, the Hunns, passing the Danube in the depth of winter, marched in two bodies directly for Constantinople, and laying waste the countries through which they passed, came, without meeting with the least opposition, within an hundred and fifty furlongs of the city. But Beliarus, tho' now weakened by old age to such a degree, that he was scarce able to hold a shield, or brandish a sword, marching out against them with a handful of men, put them to flight, and delivered both the emperor and the city from the dangers that threatened them. How-


\[\text{Agath. I. v. p. 155.} \]
ever the emperor, to prevent them from breaking anew into the Roman dominions, agreed to pay them an annual pension, upon their promising to defend the empire against all other barbarians, and to serve, when required in the Roman armies. This was the last exploit performed by Belisarius, who upon his return to Constantinople, was disgraced, stripped of all his employments, and confined to his house. Agathias ascribes his disgrace to the malice of his enemies at court, who, envying him the great reputation he had deservedly acquired, and the favour he was in with the people, persuaded the emperor, whose jealousy encreased with his years, that Belisarius aspired at the sovereignty; that the people, who preferred him to the most renowned heroes of antiquity, were all to a man ready to second him in his ambitious views; that the soldiery were still more attached to him than the people, &c. Upon these malicious and groundless insinuations, the emperor, forgetting the past services of the most deserving of all his subjects, of one who had been the bulwark of the empire, and the restorer of the antient military discipline, recalled him, according to Agathias, without so much as suffering him to pursue his late victory over the Huns; and upon his arrival at Constantinople, which he desired to enter in triumph, confined him to his house, after having, with the utmost ingratitude, devested him of all his authority, honours and employments. The more modern writers pretend, that Justinian caused his eyes to be put out, and reduced him to such poverty, that he was forced to beg from door to door in the streets of Constantinople. But the antient authors assure us, that the year following, the emperor, fully convinced of his innocence, restored him to all his employments, which he enjoyed, without any farther disgrace, to his death. About this time, three of the emperor’s chief officers, viz. Ablavius, Marcellus, and Sergius, conspired against him, upon what provocation we know not; but the plot being discovered by some persons, whom Ablavius had attempted to draw into it, the conspirators were feizted, before they could put their design in execution. Marcellus, after having defended himself with great resolution against the officers who were sent to arrest him, stabbed himself with his own sword. Ablavius and Sergius were publicly executed, and the rest of the conspirators

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conspirators banished. The emperor escaped the conspiracy; but did not long outlive it, being soon after carried off by a natural, but sudden, death, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, that is, according to the most probable opinion, after he had reigned thirty-eight years, and seven months. His public works, the wars which were, in his reign, carried on with surprising success by his two renowned generals Belisarius and Narres, and the new form which he gave the Roman jurisprudence, have deservedly procured him the surname of Great. Of his public buildings the reader will find a distinct account in Procopius, who assures us, that there was scarce a city in his dominions, in which he did not erect some stately edifice, nor a province, wherein he did not build or repair some city, fort, or cattle. In war he recovered, and reunited to the empire, Africa and Italy, after they had been long held, the former by the Vandals, and the latter by the Goths, as we shall relate in the history of these two nations. In peace he signalized his reign by many excellent laws, but chiefly by the famous code, called from him the Justinian code. In the very beginning of his reign he published an edict, directed to the senate of Constantinople, for the compiling of a new code. For this work he chose the most famous and learned men of his age, at the head of whom was the celebrated civilian Tribonianus, who were to collect into one volume all the constitutions contained in the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodosian codes, and join to them such as had been published by Theodosius the younger, and the other lawful emperors his successors, down to Justinian himself. Whatever in those laws seemed superfluous was to be retrenched, with the prefaces; their sense and meaning was to be rendered more clear, and the names of the princes who published them, the place, the time and the persons to whom they were directed, to be prefixed to each constitution. In this form and method was the new code compiled in a little more than a year; so that it was published in the beginning of the third year of Justinian’s reign, with an edict, commanding that code alone to be quoted by pleaders at the bar, and declaring all laws that were not contained in it to be of no force or authority. It was divided into twelve books, and contained the constitutions of fifty-four emperors, from Adrian to Justinian; whereas the

Procop. hist. lib. 3. 13.

Idem, de xedif.
Theodosian code began with Constantine the Great. Justinian, not satisfied with the code alone, undertook soon after a more noble, and far more difficult work, which was to collect, and digest into order, the opinions and answers of all the celebrated civilians, their remarks and comments on the Roman laws, especially on the edictum perpetuum, their different treaties, &c. in all above two thousand volumes. This hard and crabbed task was completed in the space of three years by Tribonianus and sixteen other able civilians, and called by the Latins digesta, because the opinions of the ancient civilians were there digested into order, and by the Greeks pandectae, as containing all the antient jurisprudence.

When this great work was near completed, Justinian ordered Tribonianus, Theophilus and Dorodeus to compile, for the benefit of the youth, the institutes, or first principles of the law, which were published about a month before the pandectae. As many things were found to be wanting in the code, and Justinian himself had, after the publication of it, enacted several laws, in the eighth year of his reign, that is in 534, he ordered a second code to be made, in which were inserted all the constitutions, about two hundred in number, which he had enacted since the publication of the first, and several others contained in the former code, either corrected or annulled. This second code, styled de repetita praecognitione, was published five years after the first, and at the same time a decree, declaring the first to be of no force, and forbidding any constitutions or laws to be quoted in the courts of justice, that were not contained in the new code de repetita praecognitione. Thus was the first code, in a manner, abolished, and all authority given to the second, viz. to that which has reached our times, divided into twelve books, and seven hundred and seventy-six articles, containing the constitutions of fifty-four emperors, from Adrian to Justinian. After the publication of the institutes, pandects and code, Justinian enacted several laws, which were joined together in a distinct volume, called the novelle constitutions. These were published from time to time by Justinian; not in the Latin, excepting some few, but in the Greek tongue,


① Baldwin. Ritters, ibid.
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tongue, and collected into one volume after his death. Justinian is not only commended for his indefatigable care in reforming the Roman jurisprudence, but for his piety, prudence, justice, clemency, and every virtue becoming a person in his high station. As for the secret history, filled with most bitter invectives against Justinian, and the empress Theodora, it is, by the ablest critics, looked upon as not the work of Procopius, but as a scandalous libel fathered upon that writer. It is true, he loaded the people with heavy taxes; but the money thus raised was neither hoarded up by him, nor applied to the gratification of any unlawful passion, but employed in paying his numerous forces; in carrying on the many wars in which he was engaged; in repairing the public buildings, and embellishing with stately edifices the cities of the empire. In the latter end of his reign, he seemed to countenance the Eutychians, no doubt, at the instigation of the empress Theodora, who held their doctrine; which has given occasion to many bitter invectives against her memory. Justinian may deservedly be called the last Roman emperor; for in his reign the majesty of the empire seemed to revive, but soon vanished again, as we shall see in the sequel of the present history.


C H A P. XXXIII.

The Roman history, from the death of Justinian the Great, to the deposing of Irene, and the promotion of Nicephorus.

Justinian dying without issue, Justin, the son of his sister Vigilantia, whom, in his life-time, he had designed for his successor, was by the senate proclaimed emperor, and crowned, with great solemnity, by John patriarch of Constantinople. As the people were highly displeased with the decafed emperor, for abolishing the office of consul, the only mark they had left of their antient liberty, Justin pro-

Justinian proclaimed emperor.
mished to restore it; and accordingly took upon him that
title on the first of January of the year 566, distributing on
that occasion large sums amongst the people, according to the
ancient custom. During his consulship, the Avari, or Abari,
a Scythian nation, sent embassadors to demand the pension
formerly paid them by Justinian; but the Mausagetes, who
at this time began to be called Turks, and inhabited the
country bordering on the Tanais to the east, pressing the em-
peror not to comply with the demands of the Avari, their
declared enemies, nor take them under his protection, Justin
not only refused to pay them the usual pension, but threaten-
ed to make war upon them, if they offered to disturb the
peace of the empire. The courage and resolution which
the emperor exerted on this occasion, gave so great satisfa-
tion to the people, that they began to prefer him even to
Justinian, who, they said, had, with the spoils of his own
subjects, enriched the barbarians, the avowed enemies of the
empire. But Justin soon forfeited, by his cruelty, and infa-
tiable avarice, the good opinion which the people entertained
of him; for the following year, he caused Justin his kinsman
to be seized in his house, and conveyed to Alexandria, where
he was, by his orders, inhumanly murdered, for no other
crime but because he was beloved by the people. The em-
pref Sophia, niece to the late empress Theodora, a woman
of a cruel, haughty and suspicious temper, is thought to have
put him upon this, and several other bloody executions.6

The following year 569, is remarkable for the irruption of
the Lombards into Italy, where they founded a new king-
dom, which continued for the space of two hundred years,
and upwards. But of their wars with Justin and his succes-
fors, till the total reduction of Italy, and of the kings of the
Lombards who reigned there from Alboin to Desiderius,
taken prisoner by Charlemagne, we shall speak at length
hereafter. Italy was anew dismembered from the empire,
and great part of it lost in the reign of Justin; but some
amends was made for so great a loss by the acquisition of
Persarmenia, the inhabitants, who were cruelly persected
by the Persians, on account of the chrisitian religion, which
they professed, flaking off the yoke, and recurring to the
protection of the Roman emperor, to whom they submitted,
upon certain articles sworn to by both parties. Cofrohoes, in-
formed of their revolt, dispatched embassadors to Constanti-

a Evage i. ii. c. 14 Phot. c. 113.
noble, to divert the emperor from espousing their cause, which, he said, was contrary to the treaties subsisting between the two empires. Justin, despising their menaces, resolutely answered, that the truce was expired, and that he could not deny his protection and assistance to a brave nation, who, professing the same religion with himself, were on that score cruelly persecuted and oppressed. Hereupon Cochos, having with incredible expedition raised a powerful army, divided it into two bodies, ordering the one to march directly into Syria, under the conduct of Artabanus, while he himself with the other invaded Mesopotamia. Justin in the mean time, utterly neglecting the necessary preparations to oppose so formidable an enemy, wallowed in his usual pleasures, till news was brought him, that the Persians had already broken into his dominions. He then dispatched Martianus, captain of his guards, into the east, but without men, money or arms; so that he was forced to inroll such vagabonds, thieves and robbers, as offered themselves to him in his way. With these, however, he surprised and put to flight a small body of Persians, and elated with that advantage, however inconsiderable, he had the confidence to sit down before Nisibis, the inhabitants, who scorned to shut their gates, rallying him from the walls, and asking him, Whether he had been placed there with his men to watch sheep, or besiege the town? The emperor nevertheless, highly incensed against him for protracting, as he said, the siege, deprived him of his command, and sent one Aecius to succeed him; which so displeased the officers, who were well acquainted with the haughty and imperious temper of Aecius, that they abandoned the siege, and retired into Syria. In the mean time Artabanus, having passed the Euphrates, advanced to Antioch; but not being able to reduce that metropolis, he sat down before Heraclea, which he took by assault, and laid in ashes. From Heraclea, he marched to Apamea, which submitted upon terms; but was nevertheless by his orders pillaged and burnt. After the reduction of Apamea, he joined the king, who had undertaken the siege of Daras; which being now carried on with fresh vigour, the garrison was in the end obliged to submit, after having held out with great resolution and intrepidity for the space of five months. The loss of Daras, a place of the utmost importance, and the wonderful progress of the Lombards in Italy, affected the emperor, now convinced of his imprudent conduct, to such a degree, that he was seized with a kind
a kind of madness, which rendering him altogether incapable of managing the public affairs, Tiberius, by birth a Thracian, who had discharged, with great reputation, the first employments in the state, was, by the advice and interest of the empress Sophia, with the unanimous consent of the senate, appointed to govern in his room. Tiberius immediately dispatched Trajan, a person highly esteemed for his wisdom and address, to Cosshoes, with a letter from the empress Sophia, wherein she acquainted him with the misfortune that had befallen her husband, laid before him the deplorable state of the empire, and conjured him by all that was sacred, to forbear insulting an helpless woman, or invading a weak and defenceless state. She ended her letter by putting him in mind of the humanity formerly shewn him by the emperor Justinian, who, upon his being feized with a dangerous malady, sent the best physicians of the empire to attend him. Cosshoes was so sensibly affected with this letter, that looking upon it as highly ungenerous to pursue the war, he immediately contented to a truce for three years. The following year 573, the emperor, who continued still indigotated, by the advice of the empress Sophia, raised Tiberius to the dignity of Caesar, resigning to him the whole management of affairs, and receiving for himself the bare name of emperor. Tiberius’s first care was to put himself in a condition of making head against the Persians, who, he apprehended, would not fail to invade the empire, as soon as the truce was expired. With this view he raised a very numerous and formidable army; but at the same time endeavoured, by means of his embassadors, to change the truce into a lasting peace, and to establish a good understanding between the two empires. Cosshoes, deaf to all proposals, would not so much as admit the embassadors to his presence, being bent upon recovering Perarmenia; which accordingly he over-ran upon the expiration of the truce, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties, and was already marching to Cappadocia, with a design to besiege Cæsarœa, the metropolis of that province; but Justinian, the brother of Justin, who had been basely murdered at Alexandria, as we have related above, meeting him at the head of a numerous army, obliged him to venture an engagement, in which great numbers of his troops were cut in pieces, and the rest forced to save themselves by a precipitous

† Evag. l. v. c. 7 — 13. Cedren l. iii. c. 12. Menand c. 16
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precipitous and disorderly flight. Cosroes was so grieved for this overthrow, that he fell sick, and died, after a long and glorious reign of forty-eight years. Justinian in the mean time, entering Persia with his victorious army, continued there, putting all to fire and sword, till the latter end of June, when he returned in triumph to the Roman territories. The following year, the emperor Justin died after having reigned sixteen years, nine months, and some days. He is painted by all the writers of that age as a voluptuous prince, so addicted to his pleasures, as utterly to neglect public affairs; whence the state is said to have suffered no less from his inacitivity and indolence, than from the tyranny and cruelty of any of his predecessors. Upon his death, Tiberius, who had for some years governed the empire with an absolute sway, was by the senate and people declared emperor. The new prince immediately conferred the title of Augusta upon Anastatia, whom he owned for his wife, to the extreme disappointment of Sophia, who, having greatly contributed to his preferment, upon a presumption that he would marry her, grew his implacable enemy, when she found him married to another, and attempted to raise Justinian to the empire. But the plot being seasonably discovered, the emperor caused all her treasures to be seized, which was the only punishment inflicted upon her; and depriving Justinian of the command of the army in the east, sent Mauritius to succeed him. Mauritius was descended from an ancient Roman family; but born in Arephius, a city of Cappadocia, had served in the army from his infancy, and was no less esteemed for his exemplary piety, and attachment to the orthodox faith, than for his courage and experience in war. Upon his arrival in the east, he found Hormidla, who had succeeded Cosroes in the kingdom of Persia, obstinately bent upon war, and deaf to the advantageous proposals offered him by the emperor. Hereupon, having drawn together his forces, he marched with incredible expedition to the confines of Persia, and falling unexpectedly upon the Persian army, commanded by the king in person, gave them a total overthrow, took their camp, with all the royal plate and treasure, which he immediately sent to Constantinople, and made an incredible number of prisoners, who were likewise sent to the emperor, by whose orders they were richly cloathed.

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\[ \text{Evag. l. v. c. 17. Agath. l. iv. c. 13. Paul. Diacon. de} \]

\[ \text{gest. Langob. l. iii. c. 11.} \]
the and suffered to return to Persia, Tiberius hoping, by that generous behaviour, to incline the young prince to an accommodation. But Hormifida, determined to pursue the war at all events, dispatched his two generals, Tamochosfores and Aduasmanes, to the borders, at the head of the most numerous army that had been seen for many years in Persia. Mauritius, however, according to the succinct and confused account which Evagrius gives us of this war, gained a complete victory over them, dispersed their numerous forces, took several castles, strong-holds, and towns, enriched his army with an immense booty, and made such numbers of captives, as were sufficient to people the islands and countries that had been long uninhabited, and to form armies against other nations at enmity with the empire. Upon his return to court, he was received with the greatest demonstrations imaginable of esteem and affection by Tiberius, who soon after gave him in marriage his daughter Constantina, and raised him to the dignity of Caesar; which was declaring him his successor. In the mean time, Hormifida, quite disheartened after the great losses he had sustained, sent embassadors to sue for peace, which was in the end concluded; but not long observed by that faithless prince, as we shall see anon. The year following the Avari or Abari, dwelling on the banks of the Danube, made a sudden invagination into Pannonia, under the conduct of their chagan, or king, and made themselves masters of Sirmium. The chagan, elated with this success, dispatched embassadors to Constantinople to demand the annual pension, which the emperor had neglected to pay the year before, and besides an immense sum by way of interest. But Tiberius, highly provoked at the arrogance of the embassadors, instead of complying with their exorbitant demands, ordered his troops to take the field. The Avari, not caring to venture an engagement, retired beyond the Danube, watching an opportunity of invading anew the Roman territories. The year following, that is, according to the most probable opinion, in 536, died the emperor Tiberius, after having reigned four years alone, and three years and eleven months with Justin. All the antients speak of him as a prince of extraordinary abilities, and one who proved a true father to his people. Some time before his death, he had caused Mauritius to be declared emperor, in the presence

1 Evag. l v. c. o. 2 Nicerph. l. xviii. c. 6. Evag. ibid. 3 Menand. c. 23 Theophyl Simocat. c. 3.
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fence of John the patriarch of Constantinople, of all the nobility and the chief citizens, as a person the best qualified in the whole empire for that high station. Hormida, king of Persia, no sooner heard of the death of Tiberius, than he broke into the empire at the head of a numerous and powerful army, pretending that the peace he had lately concluded with Tiberius was no longer binding. Against him the emperor dispatched one John a Thracian, who at first gained some small advantages over the enemy; but being soon after defeated, he was recalled, and Philippicus, who had married the emperor’s sister, sent in his room. The new general was attended with better success; for having engaged the Persians, who, encouraged by the predictions of their magi, and confiding in their numbers, advanced to the battle as to a certain triumph, he obliged them to retire with great loss to their camp. The next morning the Persians renewed the fight, but were again defeated with a far greater loss than they had sustained the day before. After this victory, Philippicus detached Heraclius, his lieutenant, with part of his army, ordering them to enter and lay waste the enemy’s country. The Persian general, named from his office Car-dariga, being informed by some defectors that the Roman army was divided, rallied his forces; and falling in the dead of the night upon Philippicus, put him to flight, and took a great number of prisoners. Heraclius, in the mean time, having passed the Tigris, laid waste the country far and wide, made himself master of several strong-holds, and then returned, loaded with booty, to Philippicus, who was drawing all his forces together with a design to retrieve the reputation of the Roman arms with some remarkable exploit. But in the mean time the emperor, being informed of his late misconduct, ordered him to resign the command of the army to Priscus, and return to Constantinople. Priscus was an officer of great courage and experience; but as he was universally abhorred by the soldiery, on account of his severity and imperious temper, a few days after his arrival, they rose up in a general mutiny against him, plundered his tent, and would have cut him in pieces, had he not saved himself by a timely flight, and taken refuge in the neighbouring city of Edessa. Upon his retreat the mutineers obliged Germanus, governor of Phoenicia, to take upon him the command of the army, which he had not held long, before the emperor, informed of the mutiny, sent Philippicus again into the east to bring them back to their
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their duty. Germanus was for resigning the command to him; but the mutinous soldiery openly declaring they would obey no other leader, he was forced, both against his own will and the emperor’s, whom he was unwilling to disoblige, to continue in the post to which they had raised him. In the mean time, the Persians, taking advantage of these disturbances, broke into the empire, destroying everything with fire and sword. But Germanus, marching against them, engaged them, according to Evagrius, with such success, that scarce one was left alive to carry the news of their defeat into Persia. Not long after this victory, the mutiny was at length appeased, after it had lasted a year and upwards, by Gregory, bishop of Antioch, a person greatly beloved and revered by the soldiery for the sanctity of his life, and the kindness he had on several occasions shewed them. Moved by his tears and eloquence, they submitted in the end to Philippicus, who, after having published a general act of oblivion, marched without loss of time against the Persians, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, in which the general himself, by name Marazas, and almost the whole army, were cut in pieces, only two thousand two hundred of so great a multitude having escaped the general slaughter. The same year, the city of Antioch was once more almost utterly destroyed by a dreadful earthquake, in which above thirty thousand persons were either buried under the ruins, or swallowed up by the earth. The following year 588, Sittas, one of the citizens of Martyropolis, having betrayed that important place to the Persians, Philippicus early in the spring laid siege to it; but not being able to reduce it, he was recalled, and Commentiolus appointed to command in his room, who falling upon the Persians soon after his arrival, gained a complete victory over them, made himself master of a castle called Ochas, built on an high rock over-against Martyropolis, and from thence so annoyed the garrisson with his warlike engines, that they were in the end obliged to submit, and deliver up the place. Hormisdas, ascribing the bad success of his arms to the cowardice of his general, by name Barames, deprived him of his command, sending him at the same time the habit of a woman, as more becoming him than the military attire. Barames, to revenge this affront, conspired

m Evgr. ibid. Theophylact c. 8, 9.  n Evgr. ibid. Theophylact. c. 10, 15.  o Evgr. l. iii. c. 10.
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conspired against Hormida, who was universally hated on account of his cruelty; and having easily gained over the greatest part of the army, and amongst the rest Ferroachines, who had been sent to command in his room, he fell upon the king with the other conspirators, and pulling him down from his throne, tore the diadem from off his head, and conveyed him under a strong guard to the public prison. The next day the nobility, whom he had provoked with his cruelties, ordered his wife, and one of his sons, to be sawed asunder in his presence; and then putting out his eyes, they threw him into a dungeon, where he was treated with great humanity by his eldest son Cohshoes, whom the rebels had raised to the throne. But the deposed king, not able to bear so great a change, instead of acknowledging the kindness shewn him by his son, who dared not release him, trampled under foot whatever was sent him; which provoked Cohshoes to such a degree, that in the transport of his passion he caused him to be beaten to death. Though the Persians abhorred Hormida, yet the aversion they conceived against Cohshoes, on account of this unnatural murder, was so great, that the nobility, people, and soldiery, conspiring against him, drove him from the throne, and obliged him to take refuge in the Roman dominions. Mauritius, touched with compassion, and reflecting on the uncertainty of all human grandeur, received him at Constantinople with all possible demonstrations of kindness, entertained him in a manner suitable to his condition, and having presented him with immense sums, sent him back at the head of a powerful army, which, entering Persia, defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, obliged Barames, their ringleader, to take refuge among the neighbouring barbarians, and, restoring the banished prince to the throne of his ancestors, returned in triumph to the Roman territories. Upon the restoration of Cohshoes, a profound peace ensued in the east, so that the emperor was at leisure to pursue the war against the Avari, who, passing the Danube, had entered Thrace, and made themselves masters of several strong-holds in that province. Mauritius marched against them in person at the head of the army lately returned from the east; but after several battles fought with dubious success, he was in the end obliged to purchase a peace, which, however, the king of the Avari did not long observe: for entering into an alliance with the Gepidæ, the

p Niceph. i. ii. c. 4. Evagri. ibid.
the Scævi, and other neighbouring barbarians, he returned the following year, bragging that he would utterly abolish the Roman name, and establish a new empire over all people and nations. After he had laid waste Thrace, he approached Constantiople with his numerous army; which struck such terror into the inhabitants, that they were for quitting Europe, and retiring with their families and effects to Chalcedon, and other places in Asia. But the emperor, unmoved at the impending storm, prevailed upon them not to abandon their native country to the fury of the barbarians, assuring them, that heaven would not suffer the peace, which the chagan had confirmed with the most solemn oaths, to be thus violated with impunity. The citizens, encouraged by the words and example of the pious prince, began to prepare for a vigorous defence: but at this juncture their preparations proved unnecessary; for a violent plague breaking out in the enemy's camp, swept off daily great numbers of them, and among the rest seven of the chagan's sons; which terrified the barbarians, that they resolved to abandon the Roman territories, and return beyond the Danube. The chagan, when upon the point of departing, offered to set at liberty the Roman captives, of whom he had twelve thousand, for a very considerable sum an head. But the emperor refusing to ransom them, because they had been for the most part concerned in the mutiny, which happened in the beginning of his reign, the chagan, transported with rage, put them all to the sword. This occasioned a mutiny in the army, and a great tumult at Constantiople, where the populace insulted the emperor in a most outrageous manner 9. The following year, the Avari, under the conduct of their warlike king, renewed their ravages, but were in five successive battles overthrown by Priscus, with the loss of above thirty thousand men, and obliged to quit the Roman dominions. Priscus returned to Constantiople; but Peter, the emperor's brother, who commanded an army on the Danube, was ordered to cross that river, and winter in the enemy's country. This order the soldiers, who had conceived an irreconcilable aversion to Mauritius ever since he refused to ransom the captives, would by no means comply with, looking upon it as given on purpose to expose them to new hard-

9 Theophylact. 1. vii. c. 1. — 17. & 1. viii. c. 2. Cedren. ann. 
hardships. Hereupon a general mutiny ensuing, they declared a centurion, by name Phocas, emperor, bestowing upon him, with repeated acclamations, the title of Augustus. News of the revolt of the army, and the promotion of Phocas, being brought to Constantinople, the populace, ever fond of change, rose against Mauritius, who finding himself abandoned by his guards, embarked on a small vessel with his wife and children, proposing to retire in disguise to some place of safety; but being driven back by contrary winds, he took refuge in the church of the martyr Autonomus, about an hundred and fifty furlongs from Constantinople. In the mean time, Phocas, arriving with his army, entered the city amidst the loud acclamations of the populace, and was solemnly crowned in the church of St. John Baptist, with his wife Leontia, by the patriarch, after he had promised to maintain the rights of the church, and to defend the faith of the councils of Nice and Chalcedon. The following days he exhibited public sports, during which warm disputes arising between the two factions, viz. the blue and the green, Phocas sent his guards to appease the tumult, who having used roughly a tribune of the blue faction, those of the same party, threatening the emperor, cried out, that Mauritius, who would do them justice, was not yet dead. This awakened the jealousy of the tyrant, who thereupon immediately ordered Mauritius to be dragged from his asylum to Chalcedon, where, by the tyrant's orders, five of his children were first inhumanly murdered in his presence, and then he himself beheaded. He beheld the death of his children with such firmness and Christian resignation, as can hardly be matched in history, frequently repeating the words of the royal prophet, 'Just art thou, O Lord, and righteous in all thy judgments'; nay, he was so far from uttering any complaints, that the woman, who was charged with the care of his little children, having concealed one of them, and placed her own in his room, the emperor would not suffer this kind fraud to take place, but discovered it to the executioners. The heads of the emperor and the young princes were for some days left exposed to public view, and then buried with the bodies near the tomb of St. Mamas. Such was

was the end of Mauritius, after he had lived sixty years, and
reigned sixteen years, three months and some days. The
tyrant, not satisfied with the death of Mauritius, caused
Petrus his brother, Commagienus, who had the chief com-
mand of the army, George the son of Philippicus, and
Præfentinius, an officer of great distinction, and much attach-
ected to the family of the deceased emperor, to be inhumanly
mangled. Theodotius, the eldest son of Mauritius, had
been sent by his father in the beginning of the troubles to
solicit succours from Cosroes, whom he had restored to the
throne of his ancestors; but before the young prince reached
the confines of the empire, he was seized, and executed
at a place called Leucacæta, at a small distance from Niceæa
in Bithynia.

Phocas, thus proclaimed and acknowledged at Constan-
tinople, sent, according to custom, his own image, and that
of his wife Leontia, to Rome, where they were received,
in the month of April of the preënt year 603, with loud and
joyful acclamations, the people there being highly incensed
against Mauritius, on account of the cruel executions of the
exarchs, and his other ministers in Italy. Gregory, sur-
named the great, then bishop of Rome, caused the images
to be lodged in the oratory of the martyr Cæsius,
and wrote letters to the new emperor, congratulating him
upon his advancement to the throne, which he said was
effectuated by a particular providence, to deliver the peo-
ple from the innumerablc calamities and heavy oppressions,
under which they had long groaned. Had we no other cha-
acter of Phocas and Leontia, but that which has been con-
veyed to us in Gregory’s letters, we should rank him amongst
the best princes mentioned in history. But all other writers
paint him in quite different colours; and his actions, tran-
mitted to us by several historians, evidently speak him a most
cruel and blood-thirsty tyrant. He was of middling stature,
says Cedrenus, deformed, and of a terrible aspect: his hair
was red, his eye-brows met, and one of his cheeks was
marked with a scar, which, when he was in a passion, grew
black and frightful: he was greatly addicted to wine and wo-
men, blood-thirsty, inexorable, bold in speech, a stranger to
compassion, in his principles an heretic. His wife Leontia
was no better than he; in their reign therefore, continues
the

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the same writer, the unhappy people were overwhelmed with all manner of calamities, both public and private; great numbers of people were swept off either by famine or pestilence; the earth refused her fruits in season; the winters were severe, that the seas were frozen, and the fish destroyed. He endeavoured in the beginning of his reign to gain the affection of the people by celebrating the circenfian games with extraordinary pomp, and distributing on that occasion large sums amongst the people; but finding that, instead of applauding, they reviled him as a drunkard, he ordered his guards to fall upon them, who wounded some, killed others, and seizing great numbers of them, dragged them to prison: but the populace rising, set them at liberty, and thenceforth conceived an irreconcilable aversion to the tyrant *. The death of Mauritian was no sooner known in the east, than the celebrated Narès, who at that time commanded the troops quartered on the frontiers of Persia, revolted; and seizing on the city of Edessa, easily persuaded Cosroes to join him, in order to depose the tyrant, and revenge the death of a prince, to whom he was indebted for his crown. Cosroes, upon the first invitation, entered the Roman territories at the head of a mighty army, and over-ran without opposition all Mesopotamia. Hereupon Germanus was sent into the east; but Narès meeting him not far from Edessa, engaged him, and put him to flight. Germanus dying a few days after of a wound he received in the engagement, Leontius, who was sent to succeed him, having upon his arrival, suffered himself to be surprised by Narès, was in like manner defeated, and his army dispersed; which provoked the tyrant to such a degree, that he not only recalled him, but ordered him to be led about in chains, exposing him thus to the outrages and insults of the populace. Phocas, despairing of success so long as Narès continued in the Persian interest, left no stone unturned to gain him over; but after he had in the end, with the most solemn oaths, and repeated assurances of indemnity and favour, persuaded him to return home, he no sooner had him in his power, than, unmindful of his promises and engagements, he caused him to be burnt alive, to the great grief and dissatisfaction of the Romans, by whom he was in a manner adored on account of the eminent services he had rendered the empire, and to the no less satisfaction of the Persians, who dreaded the very name of Narès, and besides were highly provoked against him for his having lately forsaken them.

* Idem ibid.
them r. Though defitute of so renowned a leader, they pursued the war with great vigour, over-ran this year all Mesopotamia and Syria; and having committed every-where enormous cruelties, returned home with an immense booty, without meeting with the least opposition. Phocas finding himself universally hated by the people on account of his cruelties at home, and the advantages gained by the enemies of the empire abroad, to strengthen and secure his authority by alliances with the nobility, in the fifth year of his reign, that is, in 607, married his daughter Domitia to Priscus, a patrician, and captain of the guards. But in the magnificent shews that were exhibited on occasion of the nuptials, the people having saluted the bride and bridegroom with the title of Augusti, the jealous emperor ordered Theophanes and Pamphilus, who superintended the sports, and had exposed the images of Priscus and Domitia, without any evil design, to be beheaded in the circus; and would have likewise put Priscus to death, had not the people interposed in his behalf z. The jealousy of the tyrant being thus awakened, one Peronia, who was privy to all the secrets of Constantina, the widow of Mauritian, informed the emperor, that the maintained a private correspondence with Germanus, a man of great authority in the former reign, with a design to raise her son Theodosius, whom she believed still living, to the empire. Hereupon Constantina was immediately seized, and being put to the rack, confessed, that Romanus, by rank a patrician, was privy to the conspiracy. Romanus discovered upon the rack several others, and among the rest Theodorus, prefect of the east, Heliacidas, John, Ziza, and many other persons of great distinction, who were all, by the emperor's orders, put to death, together with Romanus and Germanus, the tyrant not sparing even the daughter of the latter. As for Constantina, she was carried to the place where her husband had been put to death five years before, and there publicly executed with her three daughters a. The jealousy of the suspicions tyrant being heightened by these discoveries, incredible multitudes of persons of all ranks were daily dragged to prison, which by that means was so crowded, that great numbers died daily suffocated with the stench and noisomeness of the place, till a pious matron, touched with compassion for the unhappy persons detained there, yielded her house adjoining to it to enlarge it b. While Phocas thus raged at homes

v Cedren. & mist. hist. ad an. Phoc. 3.  z Theoph. hist. mistell. l. xviii. c. 49.  a Idem ibid. Niceph. l. xviii. c. 41.  b Glic. annal. in Const. mag.
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Cosroes in the east laid waste without opposition Syria, Palestine and Phenicia, putting all to fire and sword; and the following year having put to flight the troops that were sent against him, he entered Galatia, and committing dreadful ravages both in that province, and in Paphlagonia, advanced as far as Chalcedon. In the mean time Phocas, instead of protecting his people against any implacable and insulting enemy, waged with greater fury than Cosroes himself; for this year, the sixth of his reign, he not only put to death all those who were any-ways related to Mauritius, but caused Commentiolus, governor of Thrace, and one of the best officers of the empire, with several other persons of great distinction, to be inhumanly murdered. These cruelties alarmed Priscus, son-in-law to the tyrant, who, apprehending sooner or later the same fate, resolved by some means or other to provide for his own safety, and to rid the world of so great a plague. Accordingly, being informed that Heraclius, governor of Africa, was privately carrying on a conspiracy in that province, instead of discovering it to his father-in-law, he drew over the chief men in the senate to the party of the conspirators, and at the same time dispatching perions, in whom he could confide, to Heraclius, advised him to send, without loss of time, his son Heraclius, and Nicetas, the son of Gregoras his lieutenant, with what forces he could spare, to support the people and nobility, who were ready to revolt. Phocas, in the mean while, not apprized of the danger that threatened him, dispatched Bonofus, whom he had lately appointed count of the east, with a considerable army to make head against the Persians; but while he was on his march, he received fresh letters from the emperor, enjoining him to hasten to Antioch, where the Jews, rising against the christians, had massacred great numbers of them, and among the rest Anastasius, the celebrated patriarch of that city, whose dead body they had ignominiously dragged thro' the streets, and insulted in a most outrageous manner. Bonofus having attempted in vain to appease the tumult by fair means, fell upon the mutineers sword in hand, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and drove the rest out of the city. Thus was the tumult suppressed at Antioch; but at the same time far greater disorders happened at Constantinople, where the people, reviling the emperor at the public shews for his cruelty, drunkenness

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Priscus conspires against the emperor.

An insurrection of the Jews at Antioch.

A tumult at Constantinople.

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drunkenness and debaucheries, provoked him to such a degree, that, transported with rage, he caused several of them to be seized, who were either beheaded on the spot, or by his orders thrown headlong into the sea; which so enraged the rest, that they set fire to the palace, and the public prison; by which means those who were detained there made their escape. The tyrant's own court growing at length tired of him, a conspiracy was formed against him by those in whom he most confided. The chief authors of it were Theodorus, a Cappadocian, the praefectus praetorio, Helpidius, who had the care of the warlike engines, and Ana斯塔ius, the comes larginionum. These, with several others of great authority near his person, agreed to fall upon him in the hippodrome; but the conspiracy being discovered by Ana斯塔ius, the emperor ordered all those who had been privy to it, Ana斯塔ius himself not excepted, to be put to death.

Phocas escaped this danger; but the following year 610, the eighth of his reign, he was overtaken by the bloody doom he had long deferred. For Heraclius, the son of the governor of Africa, who bore the same name, taking upon him the title of emperor, and being acknowledged as such by the people of Africa, sailed from thence with a mighty fleet, and a powerful army on board, for Constantinople, while Nicetas marched thither by the way of Alexandria and the Pentapolis. Heraclius feathered his course to Abydus, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy by several persons of rank, who had been banished by Phocas. From Abydus he failed to Constantinople, where he engaged and utterly defeated the tyrant's fleet. Phocas took refuge in the palace; but one Photinus, whose wife he had formerly debauched, pursuing him with a party of soldiers, forced the gates, dragged the cowardly emperor from the throne, and having stripped him of the imperial robes, and cloathed him with a black vest, carried him in chains to Heraclius, who commanded first his hands and feet, then his arms and privy parts, and at last his head, to be cut off. The remaining part of his body was delivered up to the soldiers, who burnt it in the forum. We are told, that Heraclius having reproached him with his evil administration, he answered with great calmsness.

It is incumbent upon you to govern better. Such was the deferred end of this cruel and bloody tyrant, after he had reigned seven years and some months. Upon his

† Hist. miscel. an. 7. Phoc. § Niceph. l. xvii. c. 25. Miscel. a.m. 7. Phoc.
his death, Heraclius was with loud acclamations proclaimed emperor; and being crowned by Sergius, the patriarch of Constantinople, he placed the imperial crown on the head of Fabia, thenceforth called Eudocia, the daughter of Rogatus, an African, who had been formerly betrothed to him. Heraclius was descended of a noble and opulent family in Cappadocia, of a majestic aspect, well skilled in the art of war, courageous, and able to bear the fatigues attending a military life. The people, who had long groaned under the tyrannical yoke of his predecessor, were highly pleased with the change: but their joy was somewhat allayed by dismal tidings from the east, where the Persians made themselves masters of Edessa and Apamea, and penetrating as far as Antioch, cut off almost to a man a body of Romans, who attempted to stop them, committing everywhere, without control, most dreadful ravages, and unheard-of cruelties. Heraclius, to answer the expectation the world had conceived of him, caused new levies to be made throughout the empire, the old corps being so entirely exhausted, that, of the many thousands who had seven years before revolted from Mauritius, and declared for Phocas, only two soldiers were now living, the rest being cut off, says Cedrenus, by the avenging hand of providence, for their treachery to their lawful prince. The new raised troops were sent into Cappadocia under the command of Crispus, who nevertheless could not prevent the Persians from over-running that province the following year, and making themselves masters of Cæsarea, which they sacked, and laying waste both that province and Armenia, returned home loaded with booty, and carrying with them an incredible number of captives. On the third of May of the same year 611, the empress Eudocia was delivered of a son; but she died soon after, and was interred with extraordinary pomp. The son was called Heraclius, and afterwards Constantine the younger. Heraclius, not finding himself in a condition to restrain the Persians by force of arms, dispatched embassadors to Cosroes, offering to pay him a yearly pension, and to conclude a peace upon his own terms. But Cosroes, deaf to all proposals, sent the next year a formidable army into Syria, under the conduct of Roshmizus, who, after having ravaged without opposition that country, broke into Palestine, and took the city.

\(^{a}\) Cedren. Herac. ann. 1. \(^{i}\) Theoph. hist. miscel. ann. 2. 
\(^{k}\) Zonar. p. 140.
city of Jerusalem, where they committed unheard of cruelties. They are said to have sold ninety thousand christians to the Jews, who purchased them, not with a design to use them as slaves, but to vent their inveterate hatred, and implacable rage against the christians, by racking them with all the torments cruelty itself could invent. Zacharias, the patriarch, was carried into Persia, with an immense booty, and part of the crosses, as was believed, on which our Saviour suffered. The same year Heraclius married Martina, his brother’s daughter, and caused her to be crowned with the usual pomp by Sergius, the patriarch of Constantinople. To this incestuous marriage Zonaras and Cedrenus ascribe all the calamities that afterwards befell him. The following year the Persians over-ran all Egypt, took and pillaged the city of Alexandria, and advancing from thence, as they met with no opposition, into Africa, laid siege to Carthage; but not being able to reduce it, they returned unmolested into Persia, carrying with them infinite numbers of captives, and the spoils of the several provinces through which they passed. Heraclius, who continued all this time at Constantinople, where he created his son Constantine Cæsar, and gave the title of Augusta to his daughter, being well apprised, that he had not sufficient strength to make head against so formidable an enemy, sent once more embassadors to Cosroes, putting him in mind of the kindnes formerly shewn him by Mauritius, and offering to conclude a lasting peace with him upon what terms he himself should judge reasonable. But Cosroes, elated with his success, and aiming at nothing less than the utter destruction of the Roman name, returned the embassadors the following blasphemous answer: Let your master know, that I will hearken to no terms, till he has, with all his subjects, renounced his crucified God, and adored the sun, the great god of the Persians. Heraclius, by this impious and insulting answer, awaked as it were from a lethargy, concluded a peace with the chagan or king of the Avari; and having, with the consent of the clergy, coined into money the gold and silver vessels belonging to the churches, as the treasury was quite drained, he raised a powerful army, consisting not only of Romans, but of Hunns, Avari, and other barbarous nations. With these forces he resolved to march in person against Cosroes; and accordingly having appointed

1 Theoph ad. ann. Heracl. 2.  
2 Idem ibid.  
4 Hist. mifcell. l. xviii.
appointed his son to govern in his absence, and under him Sergius the patriarch, and the patrician Bonus, a person of great wisdom and experience, he set out from Constantinople the day after Easter, training on his march such of his men as were raw and unexperienced. In the mean time Saes, the Persian general, who had ravaged all Cappadocia, taken by storm the city of Ancyra, and penetrated as far as Chalcedon, hearing that Heraclius was advancing with a mighty army, sent deputies to him to invite him to an interview, which he hoped, said the treacherous Persian, would end in a lasting peace between the two empires. The emperor complied with his request; and believing him in earnest, sent seventy persons of distinction on an embassy to the king of Persia. But these the Persian general, with the utmost treachery, loaded with chains, and carried them thus bound into Persia, where they were thrown into prison, and treated with great inhumanity by Cosroes. Saes met with the punishment his treachery deferred; for the king, highly provoked against him for having seen the Roman emperor, and not brought him away prisoner with the rest, caused him to be slain alive. One Sarbaras was appointed to command in his room, who entering Asia at the head of a numerous army, made a dreadful havoc in that province. Heraclius, in the mean time, bent his march to the confines of Armenia; and having put to flight a party of Persians, who guarded the strongholds leading into that province, he pursued his rout towards Pontus. As the year was far spent, the Persians, imagining he designed to take up his winter quarters in Pontus, withdrew to theirs; which they had no sooner done, than Heraclius broke into their territories, destroying all before him with fire and sword. This sudden irruption obliged the Persians to quit Cilicia, which they had entered, and hasten to the defence of their own country. Heraclius, apprised of their approach, drew together his men dispersed about the country, and offered them battle, which they readily accepted, but were entirely defeated, the Romans remaining masters both of their camp and baggage. The emperor being, by the season, that was already far advanced, prevented from pursuing the advantages of this victory, put his forces into winter-quarters, and returned himself to Constantinople. The following year Cosroes sent...

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Theoph. ibid. Cedren. annal. ann. 4. p Nicoph in Heracl. c. 5; Theoph & Cedren ad. ann. 15.
sent early in the spring Sarbarazas or Sarmanazaris to lay waste the Roman provinces, which obliged Heraclius to quit Constantinople, and hasten into the east. Upon his arrival in Armenia, he dispatched embassadors to Cosrhoe with new proposals for an accomodation; which being by the Persian monarch rejected with great pride and arrogance, he invaded Persia anew, took several towns, which he levell-ed with the ground, and ravaged the country without con-troul. Being informed, that the king lay encamped with forty thousand chosen men near the city of Gazacum or Gazacotics, he directed his march thither with a design to surprize him. But Cosrhoe, receiving timely notice of his approach, instead of making the necessary preparations to receive him, betook himself to a precipitous flight. Upon his retreat, the emperor entered Gazacum without opposition, where he is paid by Theophanes and Cedrenus to have found the im-menfe treaures of Cælus, king of Lydia, which he seised; and having secured them, with the many rich ornaments of a celebrated temple of the sun, he set fire to the city, and marching with all possible expedition in pursuit of the king, he arrived at Thebatman, where Theophanes places the above-mentioned temple; and laying waste the coun-tries through which he passed, continued his march to the frontiers of Media. But the summer being far spent, he thought it advisable to give over the pursuit. Accordingly having set apart three days to return public thanks for the success of this glorious campaign, and implore the further protection of heaven, he opened the book of the gospels, pursuant to a custom which began to obtain about this time; and imagining he was enjoined there to winter in Albania, he directed his march to that province. In his retreat the Persians, desirous of recovering the immense booty which he carried with him, fell often upon his rear, but were con-stantly repulsed with great loss. As the weather proved very severe, and the captives, fifty thousand in number, were more affected with it than the rest, as being accustomed to a warmer climate, the good-natured emperor ordered them all to be released without ransom, giving them leave to re-turn unmolested to their respective countries 9. The fol-lowing campaign proved no less successful to the Romans, Heraclius, having defeated the enemy in two pitched bat-tles, and cut off great numbers of them, with their general Sarablaes, tho’ the Lazians and other auxiliaries had shame-fully

fully abandoned him, and marched home. Encouraged with this success, he took the field next year early in the spring; and crossing the Euphrates, made himself master of Samosate, and several other places. Sarbarazas, at the head of a numerous army, attempted to check the progress of his arms, but was utterly defeated on the banks of the Sanis. In this last battle the emperor gave signal proofs of his conduct, and personal courage. After this victory, Heraclius took up his winter-quarters at Sebastia, placing his troops in the neighbouring towns. Cosrhoes, transported with rage on seeing his armies thus shamefully defeated, seized on the wealth of all the churches within his dominions, and, out of hatred to Heraclius, raised a cruel persecution against the catholics, sparing none but such as embraced the doctrine of Nestorius. At the same time by his embassadors, he engaged in his cause the Avari, the Hunns, the Scclavonians, and other barbarous nations, who, by invading Thrace, and laying siege to Constantinople, were to divert the emperor from pursuing the war in Persia. Heraclius, apprised of these negotiations, tho' carried on with secrecy, divided his forces into three armies, of which one was appointed to defend the city of Constantinople; the second under the conduct of Theodorus, the emperor's brother, was to watch the motions of Sais, who threatened to invade Asia, while the emperor himself led the third into Lazica, in order to invade from thence the Persian dominions. Pursuant to this plan, Heraclius advanced into Lazica, and being there joined by forty thousand Chazari, or, as Cedrenus calls them, eastern Turks, he entered Persia in the depth of winter; and meeting with no opposition, laid waste several provinces. On the other hand the chagan, or king of the Avari, and the other barbarous nations in alliance with the king of Persia, breaking into Thrace, committed dreadful ravages there, and in the end laid siege to Constantinople; but being in several attacks repulsed by the garrison, and having lost the flower of their army, they thought it advisable to drop the enterprise and retire. About the same time Sais, who had under his command the flower of the Persian army received a dreadful overthrow from Theodorus, who left but a very small number of men. The following year 626, Heraclius, invading Persia in the depth of winter, advanced as far as Nineveh, where he was met by Razaftes, to whom Cosrhoes, distrusting his other generals, had committed the whole management of the war. Hereupon a battle ensuing, the Persians, after

Who set

Cotfrohes

firs up the barbarians.
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an obstinate dispute, were put to flight, and their general himself slain, the Romans having left on that occasion but fifty men; which the ecclesiastic writers ascribe to the miraculous assistance of heaven. In this battle the emperor behaved with his usual bravery, having killed three Persian commanders with his own hand. Cofrhes, upon the news of this defeat, fled to Seleucia on the Tigris, and there shut himself up with his wives, children and treasures, while Heraclius, having now no army to oppose him, made a dreadful havoc of the most fertile provinces of the Persian dominions, destroying all with fire and sword. At Diftagera he found the ensigns and standards, which at different times had been taken from the Romans, and in other places rescued incredible numbers of Roman captives. In the meantime Sarbarazes, to divert Heraclius from ravaging Persia, laid siege to Chalcedon; but, after he had continued some time before the place, without being able to reduce it, Cofrhes sent private orders to Chardash, another officer, to murder the general, and lead the army back into Persia. But the king's letter was intercepted, and brought to the emperor's son at Constantinople, by whom it was immediately sent to Sarbarazes, who thereupon revolted with his whole army. About the same time the king, being taken ill, declared his younger son Mardafa his successor; which Siroes, his eldest son no sooner understood, than he joined Chardash; and being assisted by the Roman captives, whom he set at liberty pursuant to the advice given him by Heraclius, he seized on his father, and loading him with chains, threw him into a dungeon, where he was inhumanly murdered with Mardafa, and his other children, after he had been, by the orders of his unnatural son, most outrageously insulted by all the nobility. Siroes, thus raised to the throne, concluded a perpetual peace with Heraclius, upon terms no less honourable than advantageous to the empire; for he restored all the provinces that had been seized by his predecessor, with three hundred ensigns, and the wood which was supposed to have been part of the cros which our Saviour died, and had been carried by Cofrhes in triumph from Jerusalem into Persia. He likewise set at liberty all the Roman captives, and among the rest Zacharias patriarch of Jerusalem. A peace

\begin{itemize}
  \item Idem ad ann. Heracl. 17.
  \item Theoph. hoc ann. & Children.
  \item Idem, ibid.
\end{itemize}
peace being thus concluded, Heraclius returned to Constantinople, which he entered in a kind of triumph, being met at some distance by his son Constantius, the patriarch, and almost all the nobility and people, who attended him to the palace with songs of triumph, and repeated acclamations. And truly no prince ever deserved better of the empire; for in the space of six years he recovered the several provinces which had been dismembered from it by the Persians, fully revenged all the indignities offered to the Roman name by that haughty nation, obliged their king, and his numerous armies, to fly before him, and brought the most potent and formidable of all the enemies of the empire to such a low ebb, that they were never afterwards capable of attempting any memorable exploit. These things Heraclius performed, though, upon his accession to the empire, he found it over-run by several barbarous nations, the exchequer quite drained, the military discipline decayed, and the army consisting of raw and unexperienced levies, scarce deserving the name of soldiers. Heraclius, having passed the winter at Constantinople, in the spring of the following year 628, took a progress to Jerusalem, carrying with him that part of the cross which had been taken by the Persians fourteen years before. He entered the city in great pomp; and having returned in the chief church solemn thanks to the Almighty for the many signal victories he had been pleased to grant him, and for choosing him to rescue that sacred pledge out of the hands of the enemies of the Christian name, he restored it with great solemnity to its former place. Upon this occasion was instituted the festival of the exaltation of the holy cross, which is celebrated to this day by the church of Rome on the fourteenth of September. Of the miracles that are said to have happened on this occasion, the reader will find a particular account in Cedrenus, and other ecclesiastical writers. When the ceremony was over, the emperor published an edict banishing all the Jews from Jerusalem, and forbidding them under severe penalties, to come within three miles of the holy city. From Jerusalem, Heraclius took a farther progress into the eastern provinces. Upon his arrival at Hierapolis in Phrygia, he received news of the death of Siroes, the new king of Persia, murdered, according to some, by Sarbaras, one of his generals, according to others, by his own son Ardefer, who succeeded him, but was assassinated.

nated in the seventh month of his reign by Barrazas, whom the Persians, a few months after, deposed and put to death, raising Barahanes, the son of Coshaes, to the throne in his room. Barahanes, after a short reign of seven months, was succeeded by Hormidas, the last Persian king of the race of Artopernes; for in his reign the Saracens put an end to the Persian monarchy, and established the kingdom of the Arabs in its room, as we shall relate at length in a more proper place. From Hierapolis the emperor removed to Edessa, where he received embassadors from the king of India in the east, and from Dagobert, king of the Franks, in the west, sent to congratulate him on his late success against the Persians, and to court his friendship and alliance. While the emperor continued at Edessa, Athanasius, the patriarch of the Jacobites, a man of great address, having insinuated himself into his favour, brought him by degrees to acknowledge but one will in Christ, which created a dangerous schism in the church, and gave rise to warm disputes. Heraclius ever after maintaining it to the utmost of his power, and countenancing the Monothelites, that is, those who acknowledged but one will in Christ. This herey, however, did not prove so prejudicial to the church as the pestilent and impious doctrine of the impostor Mohammed, which was first broached in the reign of Heraclius, and by him suffered to take so deep a root, that his successors were never able to suppress it. The impostor died this year, the twenty-first of the reign of Heraclius, and 630th of the Christian era, after having reduced, with the assistance of the rabble, whom he had seduced, and of the Saracens, who had joined him, the cities of Mecca and Medina, and part of Arabia, Heraclius, in the mean time neglecting the affairs of the state, to promote and establish the herey of the Monothelites, which he had lately embraced. Mohammed, who, by a double usurpation, had declared himself both the king and prophet of the Saracens, was succeeded by Eububezer his kinsman who reduced great part of Persia, and breaking into Palestine in 632, laid waste the territory of Gaza, after having defeated and cut in pieces the governor of that province, with all his troops. The following year Eububezer died, and was succeeded by Haumar, who made himself master of Bosra, and several other cities of Arabia, and gained a complete victory over Theodorus, the emperor’s brother, sent to

to oppose him. Hereupon Heraclius appointed Boanes to
command in the room of his brother, and at the same time
dispatched Theodorus Sacellarius into Arabia. The latter
was met near Emefa, by the Saracens, under the command
of Haumar; but he prudently declined an engagement, be-
ing informed, that the emperor had enjoined Boanes, who
lay encamped at Damascus, to join him. In the mean time
Heraclius, dreading the issue of the war, leaving Edessa,
hastened to Jerusalem, and repaired from thence to Constan-
tinople, carrying with him the cross, and what ever else was
of value in the city, which, he feared, would soon fall into
the enemy's hands. The following year Boanes having
engaged the Saracens, was by them entirely defeated, Heaven
itself seeming to espouse their cause; for a violent wind arose
in the beginning of the engagement, which blowing the
dust in the faces of the Romans, rendered them quite inca-
cpable of managing their arms; so that they were driven
headlong into the Jerinochta, in which river most of them
perished. After this victory they made themselves masters
of Damascus; and advancing from thence into Phoenicia,
reduced that province without meeting with the least opposi-
tion. Haumar, encouraged with this success, took the field
early next spring; and dividing his numerous army into two
bodies, he sent one to invade Egypt, and led the other in
person against Jerusalem. They were met upon the borders
of Egypt by Cyrus, bishop of Alexandria, who, by promising
in the name of the people to pay them an annual pension of
two hundred thousand denarii, prevailed upon them to spare
the country, and retire. This agreement was observed for
three years, during which the Saracens never offered to
molest the Egyptians. But in the mean time the emperor
being advised to break the agreement, one Manuel, by birth
an Armenian, was appointed governor of Egypt, and sent
thither with a strong body of troops; so that the commissioners
from the Saracens, when they came at the year's end to
demand the usual pension, were received with contempt and
disdain by the governor, who told them, that he was not a
priest, but a Roman general, at the head of an army, and
therefore would not submit to such ignominious conditions.
The Saracens, provoked at this answer, flew to arms; and
invading Egypt, put Manuel to flight, and made themselves
masters of the whole country. The emperor not having
sufficient strength to drive them out, sent Cyrus to them,
promising to stand to the former agreement, provided they
withdrew
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withdrew out of Egypt. But the Saracens, refused to quit upon any terms their new conquest*. The loss of Egypt, which had continued subject to the empire ever since the time of Augustus, happened in the twenty-fifth year of Heraclius's reign, and 634th of the Christian era. Egypt being thus reduced, the troops which had been employed in that expedition were by Haumar sent into Syria; which province they conquered in the space of two years, making themselves masters of all the strong holds there, and of Antioch itself, the metropolis of the east. Haumar in the mean time entering Palestine, marched without opposition to Jerusalem, which city he took in 636, after a two years siege. Thus were the most wealthy and beautiful provinces of the empire torn from it by the Saracens, an upstart nation, hitherto looked upon with a contempt suitable to their original. But of them we shall speak at length in a more proper place. Heraclius in the mean time, who wanted neither courage nor abilities to check the progress of this new enemy, was so taken up with unfeasonable disputes about religion, with public festivals and entertainments, that he had not time, or perhaps was unwilling, to reflect on the dangers that threatened him. The ecclesiastic writers look upon his supine and unaccountable security, as a punishment inflicted upon him by heaven for countenancing the Monothelites, and persecuting the Catholics: for, not satisfied with holding the doctrine of those heretics himself, he endeavoured to establish it in all the provinces of the empire, by the famous edict called ectheses, or exposition. But, before he could put this wicked design in execution, he died of a dropsey, which was attended with strange and unaccountable symptoms. His death happened in the month of May, after he had reigned thirty years, and some months. 

Heraclius was succeeded by his son Constantine, who died after a short reign of seven months, poisoned, as was supposed, by his step-mother Martina, to make room for her own son Heracleonas; who was accordingly proclaimed, and crowned with the usual solemnity. But he had not held the empire quite six months, when the senate revolted, depo-

* Theoph. ad ann. Heracl. 24, 25. 
† Theoph. ad ann. Heracl. 31.
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fled into Africa. The senate having thus delivered the empire from the usurper Heracleonas, advanced Constans, the son of Constantine, and grandson of Heraclius, to the throne. The first years of this prince's reign are almost quite barren of events; for Theophanes, and the other Greek writers, only tell us, that, in his second year, Haumar began to build a temple at Jerusalem; that in his third happened an eclipse of the sun, and violent storms in his sixth; which were looked upon as the forerunners of more violent concussions: for the same year the Saracens, not satisfied with Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Phoenicia, Arabia, and Palestine, broke, like a torrent into Africa; and having defeated the imperial prefect, by name Gregory, made themselves masters of that spacious and fruitful country. The following year 648, Mahias or Mahuvias, one of their captains, with a great fleet, fell upon the island of Cyprus; which he easily reduced, and laid in ashes the city of Constantia. From Cyprus he sailed to the island of Aradus, which he took, together with the city; and from thence steering his course to Rhodes, made himself master of that island, destroying the famous colossus of the Sun, one thousand three hundred and sixty-six years after it had been set up by Laches or Cares. It had been overthrown sixty-six years after it was erected, by a violent earthquake, which shook the whole island; and the Rhodians, pretending the prohibition of an oracle, had never attempted to erect it anew; yet looking upon the brash as in a manner sacred, they had never presumed to apply it to any other use; but Mahuvias caused it to be broken to pieces, and sold it to a Jewish merchant of Emesa, who, with the metal, loaded nine hundred camels. While Mahuvias was thus employed in the island of Rhodes, his countrymen, breaking into Armenia, laid waste that country far and wide, the emperor in the mean time continuing idle at Constantinople, or busying himself only in matters of religion, and promoting, as his grandfather had done, the doctrine of the Monothelites, which he had imbibed from his infancy. His supine negligence, and unaccountable indolence, encouraged Mahuvias to make an attempt upon Constantinople itself. With this view he fitted out a strong fleet at Tripolis in Phoenicia, and would, in all likelihood, have succeeded, had he not been prevented by two brothers, both christians and the sons of a Grecian trumpeter, who having found means to break open the public prison, crept with christian captives, with their assistance killed the ameras, as the Saracens called him, or the governor of the place, set fire
fire to the fleet, destroyed all the naval preparations, and
then escaped, in a ship provided for that purpose, into the
Roman dominions. Mahuvias, having with incredible ex-
pedition fitted out another fleet, failed to Phænice in Lycia,
where he engaged and defeated the imperial navy, commanded
by Constans in person, who with much-ado escaped in dis-
guise to Constantinople 2, whence to retrieve his reputa-
tion, he marched the following year against the Scavi or
Scalavonians, who had feized on that country, which to this
day is called from them Scalovnia. The emperor defeated
them in several encounters; but not being able to drive them
quite out, he returned to Constantinople, where he found
embassadors from the Saracens, now divided among them-
elves, come to solicit a peace; which the indolent and un-
warlike prince readily granted them, yielding to them the
many provinces they had feized, upon their paying to him
and his successors, by way of tribute, a thousand nummi a
year, with a horse and a slave. The following year 659,
the emperor, looking with a jealous eye upon his brother
Theodorus, who, on account of his virtue and integrity,
was the darling of the people, caused him to be ordained
deacon, and received the holy cup at his hands; but his fears
not being yet quite appeased, he ordered him soon after to be
murdered; which he had no sooner done, than he was feized
with dread and terror, imagining that he saw his brother con-
stantly standing before him, with a cup of blood in his hand,
commanding him to quench his inhuman thirst. Haunted
and terrified with this imagination, and the remorse of his
conscience, he left Constantinople, where the murder had
been committed, and repaired to Sicily, resoluing to transfer
the seat of the empire to Syracuse; but the inhabitants of
Constantinople, apprised of his design, kept in that metro-
polis his wife and children. From this time forward he wand-
ered, like a second Cain, from place to place; but his guilt
purifying him whithersoever he went, he became an object of
compassion even to his most inverteate enemies. In the mean
time Mahuvias, who had caused his competitor Hal to be
murdered, and now reigned alone, without any regard to
the late treaty, sent his son Izod to lay waste the Roman ter-
ritories, who advancing as far as Chalcedon, and having
made himself master of Amorium, a strong city of Phrygia,
left a garrison in the place, and returned with an immense
booty to his father. Amorium however, was soon after sur-
priused,
prisef, and retaken by Andreas, one of the emperor's officers, who put all the Saracens he found in the place to the sword. During the emperor's stay in Sicily, a war broke out between the Franks and Lombards; which he looking upon as a favourable opportunity of driving the latter out of Italy, fitted out a mighty fleet, and landing at Tarentum, marched directly to lay siege to Beneventum, taking Luceria, and several other cities belonging to the Lombards, in his way. But Grimoald, duke of Beneventum, marching after a signal victory over the Franks, to the relief of the place, the emperor, raising the siege in great haste, retired to Naples.

Not long after, a body of twenty thousand Romans was almost entirely cut off, with Saburros their general, by Romoald the son of Grimoald *. After this defeat, the emperor, laying aside all thoughts of dispossessing the Lombards of that part of Italy which they held, took a progress to Rome, which he entered in great pomp, being met six miles from the city by Vitalianus, bishop of the place, and his clergy. After he had continued twelve days in Rome, and caused the most remarkable rarities he found there to be removed to Constantinople, he returned to Naples, and from thence to Syracuse, where he resided for the space of five years, oppressing his people with most enormous exactions, and even plundering the churches of their rich ornaments, and sacred vessels. Having thus rendered himself most odious and contemptible to all his subjects, one Andrew the son of Troilus, resolved to rid the world of so great a plague; and accordingly dispatched him in the bath of Daphne at Syracuse, by repeated blows on the head with the vessel that was made use of to pour hot water upon him. Thus perished Constans II. in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, and 668, of the Christian æra. Upon his death, the people of Syracuse proclaimed one Mezizius, by birth an Armenian, who had no other qualifications to recommend him to their favour but the comeliness of his person. The news of his promotion sooner reached Constantinople, than Constantine, the son of the deceased emperor, having, with the utmost expedition, equipped a fleet, failed to Sicily; and having defeated, taken, and put to death the usurper, caused himself to be acknowledged emperor in his room *. He must have continued some time in the west, settling the provinces that were still subject to the empire there; for we are told by Zonaras, that he was, by

* Theoph. annal. ad ann Conf.  
by the people of Constantinople, surnamed Pogonatus, because, at his departure from thence, only a little down appeared on his chin; whereas he returned with a beard. The people of Constantinople received him, on his return from Sicily, with loud acclamations; but he had not been long in the city, when some, misled by a strange notion, that as there were three persons in the trinity, so there ought to be three emperors on the throne, pressed him to take his two brothers, Tiberius and Heraclius, for his partners in the empire. This alarmed the young emperor, who, having got the broachers of this new doctrine into his power, put them to death, and caused the noses of his two brothers to be cut off, that deformity rendering them incapable of the empire. While these things passed at Constantinople, the Saracens, entering Africa, where the people had insulted some of their garrisons committed unheard-of barbarities, and having ravaged the country returned with eighty thousand captives. The following year they made a descent upon Sicily, took and plundered the city of Syracuse, and over-ran the whole island, destroying every thing with fire and sword. They laid waste in like manner Cilicia; and having passed the winter at Smyrna, they entered Thrace in the month of April of the following year 672, and laid siege to Constantinople itself; but were received with such vigour and resolution by the emperor, who had already, with indefatigable pains, reformed both the court and army, that they thought it advisable to withdraw in the month of September to Cyzicus. However, the ensuing spring they renewed the siege, continuing thus to attack the city in the summer, and retire to Cyzicus in the winter for the space of seven years, say the Greek writers, though from some of them it appears, that in the fourth year of the siege, a peace was concluded between the Romans and Saracens, as we shall relate anon. In this long siege, the Saracens lost incredible numbers of men, and many ships consumed by sea-fire as it was called, because it burnt under water, being the invention of one Callinicus, a native of Heliopolis in Egypt. The enemy at length despairing of success, abandoned the enterprise; but as they were returning home, their fleet was shipwrecked off the Scylian promontory. About the same time three of the emperor’s lieutenants, viz. Florus, Petronius, and Cyprianus, gained a signal victory in Syria over Supidianus who commanded there a numerous body of Saracens; but lost in the engagement thirty

\[b\] Theoph. Cedren. ad hunc ann.
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Chap. 33. thirty thousand of his men. These misfortunes encouraged the Mardaites, or Maronites to seize on mount Libanus, where they fortified themselves; and being joined by multitudes of chriiffian captives flocking to them from all parts, they reduced the whole country between mount Taurus and Jerufalem, made frequent incursions into Syria, and so harassed and terrified the Saracens, that Mahuvian, not thinking himself able to contend with them and the Romans at the same time, sent embassadors to treat of a peace with Constantine; which was in the end concluded upon the following terms: 1. That it should be inviolably observed by both nations for the space of thirty years. 2. That the Saracens should retain the provinces they had seized. 3. That they should pay yearly, by way of tribute, to the emperor and his successors three thousand pound weight of gold, fifty flaves, and as many choice horfes. This peace was thought as affairs then stood, very advantageous and honourable to the empire. It was scarce concluded, when the Bulgarians, leaving their native feats on the banks of the Volga or Bulga, whence some think they took their name, advanced as far as the Danube, which they paffed without opposition, to the number of one hundred thousand persons; and entering the territories of the empire, ravaged far and wide the countries through which they paffed. The emperor sent a considerable army against them; which being put to flight by the barbarians, he chose rather to conclude a peace, by promising to pay them an annual pension, than to pursue an expensive and doubtful war. The emperor, being now diverted by no wars either foreign or domestic, laboured with indefatigable pains to establish in the church that peace and tranquillity which reigned in the state. In order to this, he assembled the sixth general or oecumenical council, which was opened at Constantinople on the twenty-second of November of the year 680. In this council, the doctrine of the Monothelites was condemned, and by that means tranquillity, in a great degree, restored to the church, the abettors of that doctrine not daring, under a prince who had so much at heart the purity of the faith, to raise disturbances, as they had done under the preceding emperors. Constantine enjoyed the remaining part of his reign in that peace and quiet, which his piety, justice and moderation well deserved, the Saracens religiously observing the treaty between them and the empire, and the Lombards being, by their intestine broils, diverted from

* Idem ibid. ad ann. Confl. 5.  
* Idem ad ann. Confl. 9.
from extending their conquests in Italy. In the beginning of
the year 685, he was seized with a lingering distemper, of
which he died in the month of September, after having reigned
seventeen years and some months *.

He was succeeded by his son Justinian, a youth but
sixteen years old. With him Abdelmelech, the new
prince of the Saracens, confirmed the peace made with the
empire, and at the same time proposed by his embassadors a
new treaty, in virtue of which Justinian was to reprefe
the Maronites, who by their frequent excursions from mount
Libanus, greatly harrassed the Saracens; and Abdelmelech
to pay him for this service a thousand nummi a day, an horfe,
and a slave. To this treaty the young and unwise prince
readily agreed, and immediately dispatched Magistrianus,
with a chosen body of troops, againfl the Maronites, whom
he overcame, and put out of a condition of molesting the
Saracens for a long time after. In the second year of his
reign, he marched in person against the Bulgarians, who had
been allowed to settle in Lower Macdia, from them after-
wards called Bulgaria, and without any regard to the treaty
concluded with them by his father, ravaged their country,
and took several of their strong holds. But the Bulgarians,
soon recovering from their consternation, drew together
their forces; and falling upon the emperor, drove him out of
their country, and obliged him to abandon the places, and
restore the captives, he had taken. He was attended with
better success against the Scavi or Scavonians, whom he de-
feated in several battles; which encouraged him to break
the treaty he had lately concluded with the Saracens, tho’
Abdelmelech had faithfully performed every thing required of
him by that agreement, and did all that lay in his power to
prevent a rupture. At length, finding the emperor obli-
nately bent upon a war, he raised a powerful army, and
gave the command of it to one of his generals named Mo-
hammed; who causing the articles of the late treaty to be
carried before his men on the point of a spear, met the em-
peror in the neighbourhood of Sebafopolis; but in the en-
gagement that ensued, was obliged to give ground, and re-
tire to his camp, where he must have perifheed with hunger,
or submitted to the conqueror, had he not in the mean time
gained over the commander of the Scavi in the emperor’s
service; whose unexpected defeftion, with twenty thoufand
of his men, caused such a confternation in the Roman army,
that

* Cedren. ad ann. Conf. 17. Niceph. c. 3.
that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitous flight, being pursued with great slaughter by the enemy.

The emperor with much-ado reached Leucate, where transported with rage, he caused the Sclavi or Sclavini who had continued with him, to the number of ten thousand, to be cut in pieces, with their wives and children, and their bodies to be thrown into the sea. From Leucate he returned to Constantineople, where, without betraying the least concern for his late disgrace, or attempting to restrain the victorious Saracens, by whom the abandoned provinces were harried in a most cruel manner, and Armenia entirely reduced, he was wholly taken up in embellishing his metropolis with new buildings. Among the rest he erected a magnificent banquetting-house, from him called Justinianeum, and a theatre near the palace, causing a church dedicated to the virgin Mary, to be pulled down to make room for it. This unchristian and unpopular action gained him the ill-will of the people, whose aversion to him was heightened by the tyrannical, arbitrary and cruel conduct of his two chief ministers Stephen and Theodotus. The former, by nation a Persian, caused several persons of distinction to be put to death, upon suspicions altogether groundless; and in the end came to such a pitch of arrogance, as to threaten in a most disrespectful manner Anastasia Augusta, the emperor’s mother. Theodotus was by profession a monk; but being by the emperor taken out of his cell, and intrusted with great power, he exceeded in cruelty Stephen himself, causing under various pretences, such of the nobility as seemed to despise him, to be put to no less cruel than ignominious deaths. The emperor, dreading the dangerous effects of the hatred, which the people had on several occasions shown to him, and his two favourite ministers, resolved to be before-hand with them; and accordingly ordered Stephen the eunuch, and Rufus one of his generals, to fall upon the inhabitants of Constantineople in the night-time, and massacre them in their houses, beginning with the patriarch Callinicus. But this bloody and inhuman massacre was happily prevented in the following manner: Leontius, a patrician, and formerly commander of the forces in the east, after he had been by the jealous emperor kept three years in prison, was at this time set at liberty, and appointed governor of Greece, with orders to embarque immediately for his government; but while he was waiting for a favourable wind, several of his friends came to visit him, and among the rest two monks, Gregory the superior of a monastery, and Paul, who, as they were skilled in Astronomy,
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... Astronomy, says Cedrenus, had foretold him, while he lay in prison expecting every moment his last doom, that he should attain to the empire before his death. These, upon his expostulating with them for having deceived him with vain promises, encouraged him to lay hold of the present opportunity to make good their prediction; which, they said, he might easily do, the emperor being universally abhorred, both by the nobility and people, and ready to receive him as their deliverer. Leontius hearkened to them; and taking with him his own soldiers, that is, those who had been appointed to attend him into Greece, he broke open the prison and being joined by many others, who had been long detained there, he led them to the forum, inviting the people, as he went, to meet him in the church of St. Sophia; which being soon crowded, the patriarch appearing, cried aloud to the assembled multitude, This is the day which the Lord hath made. The people, thus animated by the patriarch, proclaimed Leontius emperor, and hastening to the palace, seized on Jullinian, carried him to the circus, and there, after many other indignities, cut off his nose, and with one voice banished him to Cherbona. At the same time Theodotus and Stephen were dragged to the forum, where they were burst alive. This revolution happened in the tenth year of Jullian's reign, and 694th of the Christian era.

The first year of Leontius's reign, was not disturbed by any foreign wars or domestic troubles. In the second Sergius, who commanded the Roman troops in Lazica, betrayed that province to the Saracens, who the following year invaded Africa, made themselves masters of Carthage, and over-ran the whole country; but they were driven out by John the patrician, a man of great valour, and experience in war, whom the emperor had sent against them. The Saracens, to repair the great losses they had sustained, equipped another fleet, and returning to Africa, obliged John to fly to the sea-coast, where he embarked with the troops under his command for Constantinople. But the fleet having touched at Crete, some of the chief officers, apprehending the emperor would call them to an account for thus abandoning Africa to the enemy, prevailed upon the soldiers to revolt, and proclaim Apismar one of Leontius's generals emperor. Apismar, or, as he was afterwards called, Tiberius, readily accepted the imperial dignity, and falling without loss of time to Constantinople, surprized the city, took Leontius prisoner.

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prisoner, and having caused his nose to be cut off, confined him to a monastery in Dalmatia, after he had reigned in the palace three years. Tiberius, thus raised to the empire, sent his brother Heraclius into Cappadocia, to watch the motions of the Saracens. He, taking advantage of some divisions that reigned among them, penetrated into Syria as far as Samo-fata, waiting all before him, and returned to Cappadocia loaded with booty, after having put to the sword, as we are told, no fewer than two hundred thousand of the enemy. Notwithstanding this loss, the Saracens broke into the Roman territories the following year, and laid siege to Antara-dus in Syria; but not being able to master that place, they sat down before Mopueltia in Cilicia, which they reduced and fortified. In the fourth year of Tiberius's reign, Boanes, surnamed Heptadæmon, betrayed Armenia to the Sa-racens. The same year Tiberius banished Philippicus a pa-trician, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, into Cephalenia, for relating a dream, which Tiberius in-terpreted, as portending the empire to him. The following year, the nobility of Armenia, taking arms against their new masters, drove them out with great slaughter, and sent to Tiberius, demanding his assistance. But in the mean time Mohammed, entering Armenia with a mighty army, recovered the country; and having got the authors of the revolt into his power, burnt them alive. Encouraged with this success, they invaded Cilicia once more, under the conduct of Azar; but were, to the number of ten thousand either cut in pieces by Heraclius, or taken prisoners, and sent in chains to Constantinople. In the mean time Justinian, the deposed emperor, who had been confined to a monastery at Chersona, having betrayed a great desire of recovering his former dignity, the inhabitants of the place, dreading the indignation of Tiberius, and the evils attending a civil war, resolved to prevent them, by either killing Justinian, or sending him in chains to Constantinople; but he, suspecting their design, fled privately to the chagan or king of the Chazari, who received him in a manner suitable to his rank, and gave him his sister Theodora in marriage. But being soon after gained by the rich presents and large promises of Tiberius, he undertook either to deliver up to him the un-fortunate

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fortunate prince alive, or to send him his head. The design was revealed by one of the king's domestics to Theodora, and by her to her husband, who thereupon fled to Trebelis king of the Bulgarians, by whom he was received with great demonstrations of kindness. We are told, that being overtaken, on his flight from the country of the Chazari, by a violent storm near the freight of Daenaprium, Myaces, one of his domestics, apprehending the vessel to be in imminent danger, and therefore conjuring him to make a vow, that he would forgive his enemies, if it ever pleased Heaven to restore him to his throne, he answered sternly, Let God drown me this moment, if I spare any of them. Trebelis not only entertained the fugitive prince with extraordinary magnificence, but, having raised a powerful army, marched with him straight to Constantinople, and laid siege to that metropolis, the inhabitants, who looked upon their city as impregnable, rallying and reviling both princes from the walls; but the third day of the siege, some Romans having got into the city through an aqueduct, opened the gates to the rest; which Tiberius no sooner knew, than he fled with his treasure to Apollonia, leaving Justinian once more master of the imperial city and the empire. Being thus restored to his former dignity, he dismissed Trebelis, loaded with rich presents, and bestowed upon him part of the Roman dominions, called afterwards Zagoria. Having, after a diligent search, got into his power Tiberius, Leontius, by whom he had been driven out, and Heraclius the brother of Tiberius, he led the two former in triumph through the city, and carrying them to the circus, beheld the shews sitting on the imperial throne, with his feet upon their necks, the inconstant multitude repeating in the mean time that verse of the psalmist, Those shalt tread upon the lion and adder, &c. After this inflicting pageantry, he caused their heads, and that of Heraclius, to be cut off. As for Callinicus the patriarch, he ordered his eyes to be put out, and then banished him to Rome, that he might have the cruel mortification of depending for his subsistence upon the bishop of that city, whose authority he had always opposed to the utmost of his power.

The emperor, having now got rid of those whom he most dreaded, began to rage with implacable fury against all who had adhered to them, putting to death incredible multitude of citizens and soldiers, and dispeopling, in the heat of his revenge, whole provinces at once. In the third year of his restoration

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k Niceph. c. 5. 1 Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Tib. Apf. 7 Niceph. ibid.
Chap. 33. The Roman History.

restoration, unmindful of the obligations which he owed to Trebelis, king of the Bulgarians, he broke the alliance concluded with that prince, and invaded Thrace, at the head of a mighty army, with a design to recover the country he had yielded to him. But he was attended with no better success than his ingratitude deserved; his army being utterly defeated, and he himself obliged to make his escape in a light vessel to Constantinople. The following year he equipped a mighty fleet, not with a design to oppose the Bulgarians, who ravaged the provinces of the empire without control, but to be revenged on the inhabitants of Cherona and the Bosphorans, who had resolved to dispatch him, or deliver him up to Tiberius, while he lived in exile among them. On board this fleet was embarked a numerous army, with express orders to put all the inhabitants of those parts to the sword, without distinction of sex or age, of guilty or innocent. These cruel orders were executed with the utmost barbarity; multitudes of that unhappy people were put to the sword; some were by the cruel soldiery roasted alive, others cast into the sea, &c. The children, however, were spared; which the inhuman emperor no sooner understood, than, transported with rage, he dispatched fresh orders to his officers, commanding them not to leave a child alive in the place. They were accordingly all massacred; but some of the leading men among the Bosphorans having made their escape and taken refuge in the country of the Chazari, with the assistance of that neighbouring nation, they defeated in several encounters the emperor's forces; and, renouncing their allegiance to him, proclaimed Philippicus, the son of Bardanes, who had been banished by Tiberius to Cephalenia, as we have related above, but happened to be then at Cherona. The troops that were sent against them by Justinian, finding they could not reduce the city of Cherona, pursuant to his orders, and dreading the implacable humour of the tyrant, resolved to consult their own safety, by acknowledging Philippicus; which they did accordingly, joining those against whom they had been sent. Philippicus, thus proclaimed and supported by two powerful armies, marched strait to Constantinople, which he entered without opposition, the emperor being then at Sinope in Paphlagonia with a body of Thracians, against whom Philippicus dispatched Elias prince of the Bosphorans; who, having gained over the Thracians, took the emperor prisoner, and cutting off his head, sent it to Philippicus, by whose orders it was conveyed to Rome. Tiberius, the emperor's son by Theodora, took sanctuary in a church; but was dragged

Justinian defeated by the Bulgarians.

His cruelty.

Philippicus proclaimed emperor.

Justinian killed.
The Roman History. Book III.

GED from the altar, which he grasped, and slain by Maurus a patrician, in the presence of Anaftasia his grand-mother. Such was the deferred end of Justinian II. in the eighth year after his restoration, and 711th of the Christian era.

Philippicus. Philippicus had no sooner taken possession of the throne, than, openly espousing the cause of the Monothelites, he summoned a council of bishops, who were all infected with that heresy, and consequently easily prevailed upon to condemn and revoke all the acts of the sixth general council. The emperor was induced to summon this council by a Monothelite monk, who had foretold him he should one day attain the empire, if Cedrenus is to be credited, and now promised him a long and happy reign, provided he abolished the sixth general council, and established the doctrine of the Monothelites. But while Philippicus was thus baying himself in matters relating to religion, the Bulgarians, breaking unexpectedly into Thrace, advanced to the very gates of Constantinople; and, having laid waste the country, and put to the sword an incredible multitude of people, returned, without meeting with the least opposition, loaded with booty. At the same time, the Saracens, invading the Roman territories, committed dreadful ravages, took the city of Medea and several other places, and returned likewise un molested, carrying with them great numbers of captives. These calamities rendering Philippicus odious to the people, one Rufus, at the instigation of two patricians, viz. Theodorus, and Georgius commander of the troops in Thrace, entering the palace with a company of Thracians, while the emperor was rejoicing after dinner, put out his eyes, and withdrew undiscovered. Nicephorus writes, that Rufus, seizing the emperor, dragged him to the hippodrome, and there caused his eyes to be plucked out. Be that as it will, the next day, being Whitunday, the people, assembling in the great church, proclaimed Artemius, chief secretary to Philippicus, emperor; who was accordingly crowned by the patriarch. Artemius, or, as he was afterwards called, Anaftasius, was a man of great learning, and had been from his youth employed with uncommon success in the management of public affairs. As he was a zealous catholic, he made it his chief study to heal the divisions of the church, without neglecting the affairs of the state; for, in the very beginning of his reign, he appointed Leo, an Isaurian, a person of great experience i

m Theoph. ad ann. Just. 8. Niceph. c. 6. n Theoph. a
ann. Phil. 2. o Niceph. c. 7. p Idem. ibid.
war, commander in chief of all his forces, and sent him with a powerful army to the frontiers of Syria, to protect Asia Minor against the inroads of the Saracens. Being informed, that the Saracens designed to lay siege to Constantinople, he caused a great number of light ships to be built, the walls to be repaired, and having filled the public granaries, ordered such of the citizens as had not laid up provisions for three years, to depart the city. But news being brought in the mean time, that the enemy's fleet was failed to Phoenicia, he ordered his to assemble from the different ports of the empire at Rhodes, appointing John, deacon of the great church, his admiral. The fleet met accordingly; but the admiral punishing with more severity than prudence some refractory seamen, the rest mutinied and killed him; and being well apprised they could by no other means avoid the punishment due to their crime, but by openly revolting, they declared Anastasius unworthy of the empire, and obliged one Theodosius, a person of a mean extraction and then receiver of the revenue at Adramyttium to accept of the purple. Anastasius, upon the first notice of the revolt, fled to Nice in Bithynia, leaving a strong garrison in Constantinople; which city Theodosius immediately besieged by sea and land, and reduced, after having continued six months before it. He had no sooner entered the city, than he dispatched the magistrates and the patriarch to acquaint Anastasius with what had happened, who, upon promise of his life, renounced all claim to the empire, and, taking the habit of a monk, delivered himself up to the new prince, by whom he was banished to Theßalonica, after he had enjoyed the title of emperor about two years. But Leo, whom Anastasius had appointed commander in chief of all his forces, refusing to acknowledge Theodosius, drew together all the forces in the east, with a design, as he gave out, to restore the deposed emperor; but being persuaded by Masanthias, prince of the Saracens, to assume the purple, and powerfully assisted by Artavasdes, an Armenian, a man of great interest in that country, he marched, at the head of a considerable army, to Nicomedia, where he met, defeated, and took prisoner the son of Theodosius, who had been sent against him. From Nicomedia he pursuèd his march to Constantinople, being acknowledged emperor in all the places through which he passed. Hereupon Theodosius finding it was in vain to contend with so powerful a rival, dispatched

dispatched to him Germanus the patriarch, and some of the chief men in the senate, offering to resign the purple, on condition his life was spared. To this Leo readily agreed; and Theodosius, deposing himself of the purple, entered, with his son, into orders, after having reigned one year. Thus Theophanes and Cedrenus. But Nicephorus writes, that the officers of the army, finding Theodosius unequal to the high station to which he had been raised, persuaded him to abdicate, and choose Leo in his room. Be that as it will, Leo was received with loud acclamations at Constantinople, and crowned on the twenty-fifth of March of the present year 716, by the patriarch Germanus, after he had bound himself by a solemn oath to preserve, and, to the utmost of his power, defend, the orthodox faith. He was a native of Jaulia, of a mean extraction, and had served some time in the low station of a common soldier, from which he was raised by Justinian II. and admitted on account of the tallness of his stature and comeliness of his person, amongst the spatarii, that is, the emperor's guards. Anastasius appointed him commander in chief of all his forces, which post he held when he assumed the purple. He is distinguished from the other emperors bearing the name of Leo by the surname of Iconomachus, which was given him on account of his combating the worship of images. In the first year of his reign, Masalmias, prince of the Saracens, at whole instigation he had assumed the purple, took by surprize the city of Pergamus; which is looked upon by the historians, as a punishment justly inflicted by Heaven upon the wicked and barbarous inhabitants, who hearing the Saracens were preparing to invade Atra, had ripped up the belly of a woman big with child, and boiling the infant in a kettle, had dipped their right hands in the water, being pursued by a magician, that they would by that means become invincible, and defend their city against all the attempts of the enemy. In the second year of Leo's reign, Solyman, one of the generals of the Saracens, broke into Thrace; but he dying, Hauam was appointed to command in his room, who lost most of his men by the severity of the winter. However, in the following spring he approached Constantinople, and invested it by land, while Sufhiam and Izeth, arriving with two mighty fleets, the one from Egypt and the other from Africa, blocked it up by sea; but most of their ships being destroyed.


Idem ibid. Theoph. Cedren. ubi supra

Niceph. c. 9
The Roman History.

Smyrd, either by the artificial fire, of which we have spoken above, or by storms, they thought it advisable to abandon the enterprise, and retire, after having lain before the city thirteen months, or, as others will have it, two years. The calamities, which the inhabitants suffered during the siege, can hardly be expressed; thirty thousand of them are said to have perished with hunger, and the like number to have been swept of by the plague. Haumar, prince of the Saracens, highly provoked at the disappointment of his armies and fleets before Constantinople, began to rage with great fury against the Christians in his dominions, forbidding them at first the exercise of their religion, and soon after commanding them, on pain of death to renounce it, and embrace the abominable sect of Mohammed. Many, to avoid death, made an outward profession of the religion, if we may so call it, of their insulting masters, while some few, notwithstanding the ignorance and depravity of that age, maintained, with unshaken constancy, the true religion, at the expense of their lives. The same year, Sergius, governor of Sicily, revolt and declared one Basilius, the son of Onomagulus, emperor, changing his name into that of Tiberius, but Paul, an officer of the houehold, who was sent against the usurper, having got him into his power and caused his head to be struck off, restored the island to its former tranquility. Sergius, the chief author of the revolt, took refuge amongst the Lombards in Italy. The same year, the empress Maria was, to the unspeakable joy of the emperor and the inhabitants of Constantinople, delivered of a son, named Constantine, and commonly nicknamed Copronymus, from his having defiled the sacred font at his baptism. Theophanes, the true author of the history intituled micaella, which is ascribed to Paulus Diaconus, tell us fallly, that Germanus the patriarch foretold from that accident, that the infant would one day prove a great plague to the church. The joy for the birth of the young prince was somewhat allayed by the approach of a numerous army of Bulgarians headed by the late emperor Anastasius, who, weary of a private life, had prevailed upon those barbarians to acknowledge him for emperor, and support his claim to the crown. They laid siege to Constantinople, hoping, by means of the partizans of Anastasius, among whom were several persons of great distinction,

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distinction, to make themselves soon masters of the city; but meeting, contrary to their expectation, with a vigorous opposition, they seized on the unfortunate Anastasius, and delivered him up to the emperor, who put him to death, with all his accomplices, among whom was the bishop of Thessalonica. Leo, having happily weathered this storm, caused his son Constantine to be solemnly crowned emperor, in order to secure the empire to his posterity. The ceremony was performed by the patriarch Germanus, on Easterday in 720, the fifth of Leo’s reign. In the mean time the Saracens, under the conduct of their new prince Ized, who had succeeded Haumar, having equipped a mighty fleet, ravaged the coasts of Italy and Sicily; and landing in Sardinia, raged there with unspeakable fury, destroying all with fire and sword; but being soon after diverted from molesting the empire by the intestine divisions that arose amongst them, another Ized, surnamed Mualabis, having set up for himself in Persia, the emperor was more at leisure to reform several abusés, that had crept into the court and state under the former emperors. In the tenth year of his reign and 725th of the christian æra, he published the famous edict, commanding all images to be removed out of the churches, and forbidding any kind of worship to be paid to them. This edict was, with great vigour, opposed in the east by Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, and Johannes Damascenus; but Leo, having deposed Germanus, and raised Anastasius to the see of Constantinople in his room, caused his edict to be put in execution at Constantinople, and the images to be pulled down and destroyed by his officers throughout the city, without sparing the statue of our Saviour, which had been placed above the gate of the imperial palace by Constantine the Great. The people, struck with horror in seeing the images of our Saviour and his saints thus insulted, and either torn in pieces, or burnt by the emperor’s officers, assembled in a tumultuous manner, and having first vented their rage upon Leo’s statues and images, flew to the palace; but being repulsed and pursued with great slaughter by the emperor’s guards, they were forced to disperse and suffer the edict to take place. But in the west, especially in Italy, it was had in such abhorrence, that the people openly revolted; which gave Luitprand, king of the Lombards, an opportunity of seizing on Ravenna and several other cities of the exarchate.

* Niceph. c. 10. * Idcm, c. 11. Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Leon. 5.
Chap. 33. The Roman History.

exarchate. He was, however, soon after driven out by the Venetians, who, at that time, made no small figure in Italy. Gregory II. then pope, or bishop, of Rome, jealous of the growing power of the Lombards, had, by a letter to Orfus duke of Venice, prevailed upon him to espouse the interest of the emperor, and lead his forces against Ravenna; which city he surprized, before Luitprand, who was then at Pavia, had the least notice or suspicion of his design. Gregory had, from the very beginning, opposed with great warmth the emperor’s edict forbidding the worshipping of images; and now, presuming upon the eminent service he had rendered the empire, he wrote a long letter to Leo earnestly entreating him to revoke it. But the emperor, well apprised, that Gregory had been prompted by his own interest, and not by that of the empire, to prevent the Lombards from making new conquests in Italy, was exasperated to such a degree against him, for continuing still to oppose his edict, that he sent private orders to his officers in Italy, especially to Paul exarch of Ravenna, and to Mauritius, governor, or, as he was then styled, duke, of Rome, enjoining them to get Gregory, by some means or other, into their power, and send him dead or alive to Constantinople. But the people of Rome, who had a great veneration for their bishop, discovering the plot, guarded him so carefully, that the emperor’s officers could never find an opportunity of putting their orders in execution. Three assassins undertook to murder him; but two of them were apprehended, and put to death, which the third escaped, by taking sanctuary in a monastery, and there embracing a religious life. Gregory, finding himself thus supported by the people of Rome, solemnly excommunicated the exarch, for publishing, and attempting to put in execution, the emperor’s edict, writing at the same time letters to the Venetians, to king Luitprand, to the Lombard dukes, and to all the cities of the empire, exhorting them to continue steadfast in the catholic faith, and oppose, with all their might, the execution of the impious, as he styled it, and heretical edict. These letters made such an impression upon the minds of the people, that the inhabitants of Italy, though of different interests and often at war with each other, viz. the people of Rome, the Venetians, and the Lombards, entering into an alliance, resolved to act in concert, and prevent, to the utmost of their power, the execution of the imperial edict. The people of Rome and those of the Pentapolis, now Marcia and Ancona, did not stop here; but pulling every-where down the emperor’s statues, openly revolted.
revolted, and refusing to acknowledge an iconoclast, that is, a breaker of images, for emperor, they chose magistrates of their own; nay, they had some thoughts of electing a new emperor, and conducting him with a strong army to Constantinople: but this scheme was opposed by the pope as impracticable. In Ravenna the people rose in defence of the images against Paul the exarch; and having killed him and all the iconoclasts in the city, submitted to Luitprand king of the Lombards, a cunning prince, who took care to improve to his advantage the general discontent that reigned among the subjects of the empire. In Naples the people took arms against Exhilaratus their duke (for Naples was then governed by dukes sent from Constantinople) and murdered him, with his son Adrian and one of his chief officers, for pressing the inhabitants to receive theedit, and conform to the religion of their prince. However, as they hated the Lombards, with whom they had been almost constantly at war, they continued firm and constant in their obedience to Leo, and received Peter, who was appointed duke of Naples in the room of Exhilaratus. The people of Rome, finding the emperor inflexible in his design against the worship of images and the life of the pope, whom he looked upon as the chief author of all the disturbances, resolved at length to renounce their allegiance to Leo, and to continue united under the pope as their head, binding themselves by a solemn oath to defend him against all the attempts both of the emperor and the Lombards, whom they had but too much reason to mistrust b. Theophanes, Cedrenus, Zonaras, Nicephorus, and other Greek writers, tell us, that the Romans, withdrawing their obedience to Leo, chose pope Gregory for their prince, taking an oath of allegiance to him. They add, that the pope accepted of the principality, forbidding the Romans to pay thenceforth tribute to the emperor; that he publicly excommunicated Leo as an heretic, absolved his subjects from their allegiance to him, and solemnly declared him fallen from the empire. Hence, say they, had the temporal and independent dominion of the pope over Rome its rise, which was afterwards enlarged by Pepin and Charles the Great, and extended to the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, and several other cities of Italy. But it appears from Paulus Diaconus, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, Joannes Damascenus, who all flourished nearer those times, and in the places where

b Anat. in Greg. II. Paul. Dial. i. vi. Sigan. ad ann. 725, 926. Epist. i. 2 Greg. ad Leon.
The things they relate happened, nay, and from the letters of Gregory himself to Leo, that he acknowledged him for his lawful sovereign as long as he lived, as did likewise Gregory III. his successor. The Latin writers take no notice of Gregory's excommunicating and deposing the emperor, or abbling his subjects from their oath of allegiance; but only tell us, that when Leo deposed the patriarch Germanus and appointed Anastasius in his room, Gregory excommunicated the latter; and rebuking the emperor by letters, earnestly entreated him not to abuse the power with which he had been trusted, to introduce innovations in the church. However, the authority of the Greek historians has been preferred to that of the Latins, by all the protestant, and most of the Roman catholic, writers; but with very different views. The protestants followed them, that they might thence take occasion to make a comparison between our favour and the pope. When the multitude, say they, offered to make our Saviour king, he rejected their offers, saying, My kingdom is not of this world: when the Romans offered the principality to Gregory, he readily accepted it, and from the servant of servants became the lord and master. Our Saviour expressly commanded tribute to be paid to Cæsar: the pope would suffer no more tribute to be paid to Leo his lawful sovereign, &c. On the other hand, the Roman catholics, by standing to what the Greeks write, think they can defend the pope from all usurpation, and establish his temporal power and jurisdiction upon a better and more plausible foundation, viz. the unanimous consent of the people, conferring upon him, freely and without constraint, the principality; not reflecting, that those, who thus chose him for their prince, had revolted from their lawful sovereign; and consequently that Gregory, by accepting the principality, became guilty both of rebellion and usurpation. But from what we shall relate in the history of the Lombards in Italy, it will plainly appear, that the pope did not acquire the sovereignty of Rome at this time, but many years after; nay, that his temporal dominion had not its rise in Rome, but in the exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, which were taken by the celebrated Pepin, from Atilphus king of the Lombards, and given to pope Stephen, whom some call the second, others the

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the third, of that name. As for the sovereignty of Rome, the popes did not enjoy it, as we shall demonstrate in a more proper place, till the year 876, when it was yielded to the apostolic see, as it began then to be called, by Charles surnamed the Bald. But to return to Leo: He was wholly taken up, during the remaining part of his long reign, in suppressing the worship of images throughout his dominions, and raging with great cruelty against those, who refused to comply with his edict; while the Saracens, breaking into the eastern provinces, laid them waste without control, carrying yearly back with them an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. In the seventeenth year of his reign and 732d of the Christian æra, he married his son Constantine to the daughter of the king of the Chazari, after she had been instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, and received at her baptism the name of Irene, a word signifying in the Greek tongue peace. The same year, the emperor caused a mighty fleet to be equipped, with a design to chastize and bring back to their duty the Romans and other people of Italy, who had revolted on occasion of the edict against images; but, the fleet being shipwrecked in the Adriatic sea, Leo could by no other means be revenged on the pope, who continued to oppose the execution of his edict, than by causing the revenues of the Roman see in Calabria and Sicily to be confiscated. In the last year of Leo's reign, a dreadful earthquake happened at Constantinople, which overturned many churches, monasteries, and private houses, burying great numbers of people under the ruins. Not long after Leo died, having reigned twenty-five years, two months, and twenty days, and was succeeded by his son Constantine, who no sooner saw himself sole master of the empire, than he led an army against the Saracens, who had made an irruption into Asia. In his absence Artabazdus, who had married his sister, gave out, that he was dead; and being thereupon acknowledged by the people and proclaimed emperor, he caused the sons of Constantine to be secured; but as he was well apprised, that the report he had industriously spread of Constantine's death would be soon contradicted, he began to consult with the patriarch Anastasius, by what other means he might keep the people steady in their allegiance to him. Anastasius had been a zealous iconoclast in the late reign; but to curry favour with Artabazdus, who had a great veneration for images, and to estrange the minds of the people from Constantine,
Chap. 33. The Roman History.

Justinian, he assembled them in the great church, and holding in his hand the wood of the holy cross, he took the following oath: By him who died upon this wood, I swear, That Justinian one day addressed me with these words; I do not believe him to be the son of God, who was born of Mary, and is called Christ, but a mere man; for Mary was delivered of him after the same manner, as Mary my mother was delivered of me. This deposition of the patriarch, whether true or false we cannot take upon us to determine, made such an impression on the minds of the multitude, that they immediately deposed Justinian with one consent, and, with repeated acclamations, saluted Artabazdus again emperor, who took Nicephorus his eldest son for his partner in the empire. This gave rise to a civil war, the greatest, says Cedrenus, perhaps not without some exaggeration, that had happened since the beginning of the world. But all we know of it is, that Artabazdus and his son Nicephorus, being defeated by Justinian in several encounters, were in the end besieged in Constantinople; which city held out, till the inhabitants were forced by famine to submit. Artabazdus and his two sons were taken and delivered up to the emperor, who caused their eyes to be pulled out, gave the city up to be plundered by his soldiers, and either banished, maimed, or put to death all those who had been any-ways concerned in the revolt. Anastasius the patriarch was, by the emperor's orders, publicly beaten with rods, and then carried in an ignominious manner through the most frequented streets of the city on an ass, with his face to the tail. However, the time-serving prelate was continued in his see, because the emperor could not find a worse, says Theophanes, to prefer to it in his room. Justinian, having thus got rid of his enemies at home, resolved to march once more against the Saracens, who were at war among themselves. Accordingly, having raised a powerful army, he entered Syria; and having overthrown the enemy in several encounters, made himself master of Germanicia and some other strong-holds, which had been long in their hands. The Saracens, notwithstanding their domestic quarrels, to divert the emperor from pursuing his conquests in Syria, assembled a mighty fleet, which steered its course to the island of Cyprus, where it was to be joined by other ships of war and a great number of transports with land-forces on board. But the Roman fleet coming unexpectedly

* Idem ad ann. Const. 1.  
^ Idem ad ann. Const. 3. 

But is defeated, and Con-
stantinople taken by Con-
jstantine.
The Roman History.  Book III.

The emperor was diverted from pursuing the advantages that might have accrued to the empire, by the frequent earthquakes that happened about this time, and were by far the most destructive that had been known in any age. In Syria and Pallene several cities were swallowed up, others entirely ruined, and some, if we may give credit to Nicephorus, removed, without any considerable damage, six miles and upwards from their former seats. At the same time, happened an extraordinary darkness, which lasted from the fourth of August to the first of October, there being little or no distinction during that time, between day and night. This calamity was followed by another still more terrible, viz. a plague, which, breaking out in Calabria, soon spread all over Sicily, Greece, the islands in the Ægean sea, and at length reached Constantinople, where it raged for three years together with such fury, that the living were scarce sufficient to bury the dead. The plague no sooner ceased, than Constantine, having caused his son Leo, then scarce a year old, to be proclaimed emperor, marched with what forces he could draw together into Armenia, and, taking advantage of the divisions that still reigned among the Saracens, made himself master of Miletene, Theodosiopolis, and several other places. But he was diverted from pursuing his conquests in the east, by a sudden irruption of the Bulgarians, who, provoked at the emperor’s causing some forts to be built on the frontiers of Thrace, broke into that province, and, advancing as far as the long wall, laid waste the whole country. Constantine, having recalled his forces out of the east, marched against them in person; but being surprized by the enemy in a narrow passage called Beragaba, his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to save himself by flight to Constantinople. Soon after his return to that metropolis, he renewed the edict published by his father against images, forbidding at the same time any worship to be paid to the saints, or their relics, and commanding their images to be removed out of the churches, and publicly burnt. Such of the bishops as opposed the execution of this edict, were driven from their sees; and the monks,

The map illustrates the location of the Old Fort, now a Garden, and the Salt Pits, with the Stagnum on the SW Point of which was the antient City of TUNIS.
A Birds View of the Situation of Antient Carthage

- a. Cisterns or Reservoirs for the Aquaduct
- b. Cisterns for Rain Water
- c. A Birds View of the three Mountains on which CARThAGE was built
- d. Salt Pile
- e. The Stagnum on the SW Point of which was the antient City of TUNIS
monks, who preached against either, sent into banishment, or sentenced to death. At the same time, an edict was published in Constantinople, and in all the cities of the empire, forbidding, under the severest penalties, any one to embrace a monastic life; nay, at Constantinople most of the religious houses were suppressed, and the monks not only obliged to marry, but to lead their brides publicly through the streets. But of this persecution the reader will find a more particular and distinct account in the ecclesiastic writers, than it may be proper for us to give in this place. The twenty-third year of Constantine's reign and 763d of the Christian æra is remarkable for an extraordinary frost, which began on the first of October, and lasted till the latter end of February. At Constantinople both seas were frozen for an hundred miles from the shore, the ice being so thick as to bear the heaviest carriages, and covered with snow twenty cubits deep. When the frost broke, mountains of ice and frozen snow being driven by the winds through the freights, did a great deal of damage to the walls and the castle of Constantinople. The reader will find a surprising account of this frost in Theophanes, who, with thirty others, passed the freights upon one of these floating islands, as he styles it. The month following, several prodigies appeared, or were thought to appear, in the air. At the same time, a comet, which the Greeks called docites, because it resembled a beam, was seen for ten days in the east, whence it moved to the west, and shone there for one-and-twenty days more, the people being struck with terror and amazement at the sight of these prodigies, and apprehending the last day to be at hand. Constantine in the mean time continued to persecute with great severity those who appeared most zealous and forward in the worship of images, till he was diverted by a new irruption of the Bulgarians; who, breaking into the territories of the empire, committed every-where unheard-of cruelties. But Constantine marching in person against them, cut them all off to a man, and then returned in triumph to Constantinople. This the emperor styled his noble war, because not one christian perished in it. However, he owed the victory, it seems, to the treachery of some Bulgarians, whom Elerich their king discovered by the following device: He wrote to Constantine, pretending a desire to resign the crown, and lead a private life at Constantinople; for which purpose he begged

begg'd the emperor to send him a safe conduct, and at the same time to acquaint him what friends he had among the Bulgarians, that he might repair with them to Constan
tinople, being unwilling to trust his person or design to others. Hereupon Constantine, not suspecting any deceit, sent him a lift of the names of those who held intelligence with him; which the crafty prince no sooner received, than he caused them all to be put to death. The emperor, finding himself thus deluded, resolved at all events to be revenged on the treacherous prince; and accordingly, having spent the winter in warlike preparations, he marched early in the spring against Elerich; but being seized on his march with a violent fever, he returned to Achadiopolis, whence he was convey-
ed to Selymbria, and from thence by sea to Strongylum, where he dyed on the fourteenth of September of the year 775, after he had reigned twenty-four years, two months, and twenty-six days. As Constantine was a most zealous iconoclast, and did all that lay in his power to suppress the worship of the saints, their images, and relics, Theophanes, Cedrenus, and the other writers of those times, paint him in the blackest colours, biased in some measure, as we may reasonably suppose, by passion, interest, and prejudice. However, standing even to the accounts of his declared enemies, we must allow him to have been a prince of great temperance and moderation, well skilled in war, and in every respect equal to the high station to which he was raised. As for the great severity which he exerted against such as continued, in defiance of his decree, to worship images, it was, no doubt, owing to his zeal for the purity of the christian religion. After all, his severity against the worshippers of images did not exceed that of other emperors, highly commended by all christian writers, against the worshippers of idols. He de-
defended the empire with equal bravery and success against the Saracens and Bulgarians; but was not in a condition to pre-
vent the loss of the far greater part of his dominions in Italy, Aftulphus, king of the Lombards, having reduced in 751, the city and exarchate of Ravenna with the Pentapolis, which were soon after wrested from him by Pepin king of France, and given to pope Stephen III. and hence sprung the temporal dominion of the pope in Italy, as we shall relate at length in a more proper place. The exarchate of Ravenna comprehended Ravenna, Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forli, Cesena, Bobbio, Ferrara, Commachio, Adria, Creavia,

1 Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Conft. 25.
The Roman History.

Ceaviis, and Secchia; the Pentapolis, now Marca d’Ancona; comprised Rimini, Pesaro, Conca, Fano, Sinagiglia, Ancona, Osmo, Umana, Jesi, Fossolombrone, Montefeltro, Urbino, Cagli, Lucoli, and Eugubio, as appears from the grant of Lewis the Pious, confirming the donation of Pepin. The pope, thus enriched with large territories and dominions, would no longer be deemed a subject of the empire; but adding the sovereignty to the priesthood, and the sceptre to the keys, he created a new principality in Italy on the ruins of the eastern empire, to which nothing now remained in that country, except the provinces of Calabria and Brutium, with the dukedoms of Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta. But of the state of Italy at this time, and the great revolutions that happened there, we shall speak at length in the history of the Lombards.

Constantine was succeeded in the empire by his son Leo, who, soon after his accession, took his son Constantine, whom he had by Irene, for his partner in the empire, causing him to be solemnly crowned by the patriarch in the hippodrome, and bestowing at the same time the title of nobilissimi on his two brothers, Anthemius and Eudoxius, Nicephorus, his second brother, having received that honour in his father’s life-time. Constantine was crowned in the latter end of April of the year 776, and the following month Nicephorus, Leo’s brother, formed a conspiracy against the emperor and his son; but the plot being discovered, he was apprehended, and banished with his accomplices to Chersona. The same year Elerich, king of the Bulgarians, who had done great mischief to the empire in the preceding reign, moved with an earnest desire of embracing the christian religion, resigned his crown and repaired to Constantinople, where he was received by Leo with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and, after he had received the sacrament of baptism, created a patrician, and married to a relation of the empress Irene. In the third year of Leo’s reign, some advantages were gained by the emperor’s forces over the Saracens, who, by way of revenge, began to persecute the christians in a most cruel manner, cauing all their churches in Syria to be pulled down and levelled with the ground. The following year, Leo, who had hitherto dissembled his real sentiments concerning the worship of images, openly declared against that superstitious, as he styled it, and idolatrous practice; reviving the edicts of his father Leo III, king of the Bulgarians, embraces the christian religion.

B Vol. XVI.

1 Theoph. ad. ann. Leon. 1. 2 Idem ad ann. 2.
and grandfather, and punishing, with the utmost severity, such as presumed to pay any kind of worship to the saints, the virgin Mary, or their images. Having found two images in the closet of the empress Irene, he never after admitted her to his bed, and caused those who had conveyed them to her to be racked to death. He did not long outlive them, being soon after seized with a violent fever, of which he died on the sixteenth of September 780, after having reigned five years and ten days. Theophanes writes, that Leo, having taken out of the great church a crown, which had been deposited there by the emperor Heraclius, and was enriched with carbuncles of an inestimable value, while he was one day wearing it, a carbuncle broke out on his head, and he was at the same time seized with a fever, which, by a just judgment, soon put an end to his life.

Leo was succeeded by his son Constantine, surnamed Porphyrogenitus, because he was born while his father was emperor; but, as he was then only ten years old, his mother Irene took upon her the administration. The young prince had scarce reigned forty days, when some of the senators and great officers conspired against him, with a design to prefer his uncle Nicephorus to the imperial dignity; but Irene, having feasonably discovered the plot, caused the chief authors of it to be seized, and confined to different islands, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. Awakened by this danger, to prevent any future attempts of the like nature, she obliged all the late emperor’s brothers to take holy orders, and administer the sacrament to the people on Christmas-day, when she and her son restored to the church the crown of Heraclius, which Leo had seized. The same year 780, the Saracens, upon the news of Leo’s death, broke into the eastern provinces; but were driven back with great loss by the troops, which Irene had, upon the first notice of their motions, dispatched against them. The following year, the empress, to procure a strong alliance by the marriage of her son, sent embassadors into France, to propose a match between him and the daughter of Charles king of that country, who was afterwards surnamed the Great, and crowned emperor of the west. The proposal being well received by Charles, an eunuch, by name Lliscæus, was left at his court to teach his daughter, named Rotrudris, the Greek tongue, and instruct her in the manners and customs of the Greeks.

k Idem ad ann. 5.  
Cedren in comp. annal.  
1 Theoph. ibid.  
2 Idem ad ann. Conf. 1.  
3 Idem ad ann. 2.
Chap. 33.  The Roman History.

The same year, Helypdius governor of Sicily revolted; but was driven out of the island by Theodoreus a patrician, whom Irene had sent with a powerful fleet against him, and obliged to take refuge among the Saracens in Africa, who acknowledging him for emperor in opposition to Constantine, fell with such fury upon the eastern provinces, that Irene was glad to avert the danger that threatened the empire, by obliging herself to pay him an annual pension. The peace with the Saracens was scarce concluded, when the Scavi or Scavini, breaking into Greece and Peloponnesus, feized on those countries. Against them the empress dispatched Saturarius a patrician, who overcame them in several battles; but suffered them to continue in the countries they had feized, upon their promising to acknowledge the authority of the empire, by the payment of an annual tribute. In 788, the match between Constantine and Rotdrudris, which had been approved of by both parties, was broken off by Irene, who obliged her son, much against his inclination, to marry a woman of a mean descent, named Mary, by birth an Armenian or Paphlagonian, and the niece or daughter of one Philaretus, remarkable for his good nature and charitable disposition. Some ascribe the breaking off the match with Rotdrudris to the ambition of Irene, apprehending, that Constantine would no longer be governed by her, but by his father-in-law. Others tell us, that the empress was provoked against Charles, on account of his invading the dukedom of Benevento in Italy, which she had taken under her protection. Be that as it will, the conduct of the empress on that occasion disobliged her son to such a degree, that he was never after truly reconciled to her. The young prince’s courtiers, apprized of the misunderstanding that passed between him and his mother, and defirous of getting the power into their own hands, took care to put him in mind, that he was no longer a minor, but of an age to govern without the directions or counsels of a woman. Constantine hearkening to their insinuations, they resolved to feize on Saturarius, who governed with an absolute sway, as Irene’s first minister, and, after having banished him, to oblige the empress to resign the administration. But Saturarius, having notice of their design as soon as it was concerted, immediately im-parted it to Irene, who caused all those who had been privy to it to be beaten with rods and sent into banishment. As for her son, she chastized him with her own hands, and, hav-
The Roman History. Book III.

The Senate and soldiery, having confined him to his apartment, obliged the Senate and soldiery to bind themselves by a solemn oath not to acknowledge Constantine, but her alone, for their sovereign, so long as she lived. This oath was taken by all the forces quartered in the different provinces, except some legions in Armenia, who resolutely declared they would adhere to Constantine, pursuant to the oath which they had already taken. The resolution of the Armenian legions encouraged the rest, notwithstanding their late oath, to proclaim Constantine anew, and demand, with unanimous consent, that he might be forthwith vested with the whole power and authority. Irene, dreading the fury of the incensed multitude, immediately released her son from his confinement, who, being received with the repeated acclamations of the citizens and soldiery, took the reins of the empire into his own hands. Constantine, now at liberty to act without control, recalled and advanced to the first employments such as had been banished on his account, sending into exile Saturacius and his mother's other favourites, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. As for Irene, he led her with great respect out of the palace, and attended her in person to an house built by herself, in which she had laid up an immense treasure. The same year 790, a dreadful fire happened at Constantinople, which consumed great part of the city, with the patriarch's palace, in which were the comments of St. Chrysostom on the scripture, written with his own hand. The following year, the city was alarmed with a violent earthquake, which obliged the inhabitants to quit their habitations and retire to the open fields. The same year the emperor marched at the head of a considerable army against the Bulgarians, who had broken into the empire, and engaged them in Thrace; but with what success, is uncertain: for Cedrenus writes, that he gained a great victory; but Zonaras will have the two armies to have parted upon equal terms. Upon his return to Constantinople, the friends of Irene, what by extolling her wisdom, prudence, and experience in public affairs, what by entreaties and arguments drawn from filial duty, prevailed upon him to recall his mother to court, and restore her to her former authority; which, however, the Armenian legions could never be induced to acknowledge. Being thus reconciled to his mother, he marched anew against the Bulgarians, encouraged thereunto.

P Idem, & Cedren. ad ann. Const. 10. 6 Idem ad ann. 109
11. 1 Idem ad ann. Const. fol. 2.
Chap. 33. The Roman History.

unto by some mathematicians, who promised him certain victory; but while, depending upon their vain predictions, he neglected the proper means to obtain it, the Bulgarians, taking advantage of his ill-grounded security, gave him a dreadful overthrow. Besides a great number of common soldiers, the best officers of the army and the most considerable men in the empire lost their lives in the battle, with Pancratius the mathematician, who, by his lying predictions, had given occasion to the overthrow. The emperor growing jealous and distrustful upon this defeat, some malicious and designing courtiers took care to improve that disposition, by insinuating to him, that the soldiers quartered in Constantinople had formed a design of preferring Nicephorus to the empire; which heightened his jealousy to such a degree, as he was conscious to himself of his evil conduct, that he not only caused his eyes to be put out, but those likewise of his other uncles, Nicetas, Anthemius, and Eudoxius, though nothing had been alleged against them. Alexius Mofoles, whom the Armenian legions had demanded for their leader, when they refused to consent to the restoration of Irene, was, at her instigation, treated with the like severity; which so provoked those legions, that they refused to obey Camilianus, appointed by the emperor to command them. Hereupon Constantianus, Artaferas, and Chrysochires were sent against them at the head of a strong party; but the mutinous legions, having defeated and taken them prisoners, caused, by way of retaliation, their eyes to be pulled out; which so provoked Constantine, that he marched against them in person; and having defeated them in a pitched battle; put all their officers to death, causing the common soldiers to be led in chains to Constantinople, and conveyed from thence into different islands. The Armenian legions, who had always suspected and been ready to oppose the ambitious designs of Irene, being thus broken and dispersed, she began to put the emperor, now destitute of that support, upon such measures, as, the thought, would render him odious to the people. As he had no great affection for the empress Mary, whom she had forced him to marry, contrary to his inclination, she advised him to divorce her, and marry Theodota or Theodecta, one of the maids of her chamber; who was accordingly crowned empress at Constantinople, where the nuptials were solemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence for three days together.
This marriage occasioned great contentions among the clergy concerning the lawfulness of it, in which Irene artfully sided with those who opposed her son, encouraging them underhand to estrange the minds of the people from him. However, the success which attended his arms against the Saracens and Bulgarians, prevented the people from revolting, tho' privately flirled up, by Irene and her emissaries, to depose him. The Saracens had broken into Cilicia; but were driven back with great loss by the troops which Constantine seasonably dispatched against them. As for the Bulgarians, Cardames their king having sent embassadors to demand a tribute, threatening to come as far as the golden gate of Constantinople, and there take it by force, if it was refused him, Constantine replied, that since he was stricken in years, he would save him the trouble of so long a journey, by coming in person to wait upon him. Accordingly he marched against him at the head of a considerable army; upon the sight of which the barbarians, struck with a panic, fled in the utmost contermination. Upon his return to Constantinople, he attended his mother from thence to the baths of Prusa in Bithynia, where he had not been long, when news was brought him, that the empress Theodota was delivered of a son; at which he was so overjoyed, that he returned in great haste to Constantinople. Irene, taking advantage of his absence, gained over the chief officers of the army, who promised to depose Constantine, and commit the government to her alone. Pursuant to this promise, some of them, returning to Constantinople, seized on the unhappy prince, and carrying him to the palace of Porphyra, where he was born, pulled out his eyes in such a cruel and barbarous manner, that he died a few days after in the utmost agony, having reigned seven years alone, and ten with his mother. Our historian observes, that five years before his uncles lost their eyes by his orders, on the same day of the same month, and in the same chamber. Nicephorus and Christoper, her husband's brothers, hearing of the death of Constantine, took sanctuary in the great church; but were dragged from thence and banished to Athens, where they are said to have been killed by the inhabitants, upon their attempting to raise disturbances in the empire. In them ended the family of Leo Isauricus; so that no one was now left to dispute with Irene her title to the empire. She no sooner received intelligence of the death of her son, than,

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* Idem ad ann. 7. Conf. fel.  
* Idem ibid.
than, leaving Prusa, she repaired to Constantinople; which she entered in a gilded chariot, drawn by four horses, being attended by several patricians, who waited as her slaves on either side, while she threw money among the people, as was usual at the solemnity of a coronation. In the meantime, the Saracens, hearing the empire was governed by a woman, broke into the eastern provinces; and having defeated the forces Irene sent against them, entered Thrace, made their excursions to the very gates of Constantinople, destroying all with fire and sword, and returned home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty and an incredible number of captives. In 798, the second of Irene’s reign, her great favourite Saturacius, prompted by his boundless ambition, conspired against her, with a design to deprive her of the crown, and to place it upon his own head; but his design being discovered before it was ripe for execution, Irene, after upbraiding him with treachery and ingratitude, contented herself, in consideration of his former services, with forbidding any one to keep him company. The partiality which the empress shewed him, joined to a lively sense of his ingratitude to her, made such a deep impression upon his mind, that he died of grief soon after. Irene, finding she could not depend even upon those whom she thought she had most reason to confide in, made it her chief study to gain the hearts of her people. With this view she remitted an annual tribute, which had been long paid by the citizens of Constantinople, encouraged commerce, and, what most of all obliged the people, promoted, to the utmost of her power, the worship of images, causing them to be set up anew in the churches, and annulling the edicts enacted against them by former emperors. In 802, Charles, surnamed the Great, who had been crowned emperor of the west by pope Leo III. on Christmas-day of the year 800, sent a solemn embassy to Constantinople, with proposals of a firm and lasting peace between him and Irene. To these embassadors were joined legates from the pope, who were received with extraordinary pomp at Constantinople. The embassadors of Charles, among their other instructions, were ordered to propose a match between him and Irene, that the two empires might be once more happily united in their persons. Irene readily entered into the negotiation; but Aetius an eunuch, who bore the chief sway at

* Idem ad ann. Iren. 1.  
\( \text{v} \) Idem ad ann. Iren. 2.  
\( \text{z} \) Idem ad ann. 4.  
\( \text{Bb4} \)
at court, by daily starting new difficulties, put off from time to time the conclusion of the treaty. As he was excluded from the empire himself, on account of his condition, he had been long labouring under-hand, to prefer it to his brother, by name Leo, at that time governor of Thrace and Macedonia; but being well-apprised, that his design would be unavoidably defeated, should the treaty between Irene and the powerful and warlike a prince take place, he left no stone unturned to divert the empress from it, at least to get the conclusion of it suspended, till a favourable opportunity offered of putting in execution his private design. In the meantime, the nobility, who hated Aetius, on account of his haughty and imperious conduct, suspecting his design, and apprehending the empress, over whom he had gained a great ascendancy, might by him in the end be prevailed upon to take Leo for her partner in the empire, resolved to set up Nicephorus, a patrician of great wealth and interest among the people. Accordingly, having first disposed the minds of the citizens to a revolt, by giving out, that Irene not only designed to marry Charles, but to transfer the seat of the empire to the west, by which means the eastern empire would soon become a province to the new empire of the west, they assembled one night, and went in a large body to the palace, where they seized on Irene without opposition; and confining her under a strong guard to her chamber, conducted Nicephorus, their new emperor, with the usual solemnity to the great church, where he was crowned in a tumultuous manner, the populace, whom Irene had obliged by several acts of generosity and good nature, uttering reproaches and curses against him. Nicephorus treated Irene with great civility and respect, till he had, by his obliging behaviour, prevailed upon her to discover to him the place where her treasures lay concealed; which she had no sooner done, than, contrary to his solemn promise, he confined her to a monastery, which she herself had built in an island; but soon after removed her from thence to the island of Lesbos, where she died of grief. She is greatly extolled, notwithstanding her unnatural conduct towards her son, by all the writers of those times, no doubt, on account of her zeal for the worship of images, and the great pains she took utterly to suppress the heresy, as it was then called, of the iconoclasts. She built a great many monasteries and hospitals for the relief of the poor and aged, and, by many other acts of piety, gained,
Chap. 34. The Roman History.

if the writers of those times are to be credited, both the esteem and affections of her subjects. Her great attachment to the see of Rome, and the indefatigable pains she took to get the doctrine of the iconoclasts condemned in the second council of Nice, by her assembled for that purpose, have so far baffled some writers of that party, that they have not been ashamed to vindicate, even by texts of holy scripture, her unnatural and barbarous conduct towards her son, who perhaps well deserved such treatment, but not at the hands of his mother. Irene was thus deposed in 802, after having reigned ten years with her son, and five alone.

C H A P. XXXIV.

The Roman history, from the promotion of Nicephorus, to the death of Basilus II.

The embassadors who had been sent, as we have related Nicephorus, in the foregoing chapter, by Charles the Great to propose a marriage between him and the empress Irene, in order to unite by that means once more the two empires, were, no doubt, greatly concerned at the unexpected revolution, which happened during their stay in Constantinople, and utterly disconcerted the ambitious views of their master. However, as they were enjoined to conclude a firm and lasting peace with the eastern empire, they readily made their court to the new prince, who being well apprized of the advantages that might accrue to him from the friendship of Charles, received his embassadors in a very obliging manner, and the year following concluded a treaty with him, in virtue of which Charles was acknowledged emperor of the west, and all Italy to the rivers of Vulturnus and Aufidus yielded to him. Nicephorus, in the third year of his reign, caused Nicetas Triphyllius, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, to be taken off with poison, for no other crime but because he was beloved by the army. He gave several other instances of a most cruel, sanguinary, and covetous temper, which, as they rendered him odious to the people, encouraged Bardanes, governor of one of the eastern provinces, to revolt, and assume the
the title of emperor. Michael and Leo, two officers of
great reputation in the army, joined him at first; but soon
after, finding him unequal to so great a charge, they aban-
donned him and went over to Nicephorus, who raised them to
the first posts in the army. Bardanes, thus forsaken by his
friends, sent a submissive message to Nicephorus, and, upon
his promising to pardon him, retired to a monastery, and
there embraced a religious life. The emperor, pretending
to be entirely reconciled to him, invited him in a friendly
manner to Constantinople; but on his way to that city, his
eyes were plucked out by perfons sent for that purpose. The
emperor, to prevent any future attempts of the like nature,
and secure the crown to his family, took his son Saturaciis
for his partner in the empire, and caused him to be crowned
with the usual solemnity. Having thus settled his affairs at
home, he marched against the Saracens, who had broken into
the eastern provinces; but his army was utterly defeated,
and he obliged to save himself by a hameful flight, having
narrowly escaped falling into the enemy’s hands. The fol-
lowing year, the Saracens, to the number of three hundred
thousand men, invaded the empire anew; and advancing
without opposition as far as Tyana, the metropolis of Cap-
padocia Minor, made themselves masters of that city and se-
veral other fortified places, extending their ravages to the very
gates of Ancyra in Galatia. Nicephorus marched against
them with what forces he could raise; but not daring to ven-
ture an engagement, he dispatched emissaries with rich
presents to Aaron their kalif, who with much ado was pre-
vailed upon to grant a peace upon the following terms: That
the emperor should pay to the Saracens a yearly tribute of
thirty thousand pieces of gold, besides three thousand for his
own head and as many for that of his son; and that he should
not presume to repair such forts as had been dismantled. Ni-
cephorus agreed to these terms; but the enemy was no sooner
retired, than, with an open breach of the treaty, he rebuilt
the forts that had been demolished; which so provoked the
Saracens, that they returned the same year, and raged with
more fury than ever, putting all to fire and sword, both on
the continent and in the island of Cyprus, where they demoli-
ished the churches, and put an incredible number of the in-
habitants to the sword. The following year they made a de-
scent upon the island of Rhodes, and took a great number
of prisoners; but their fleet suffered much by a violent storm,
which overtook them as they were returning home. The
same

same year Nicephorus married his son Saturacius to Theophania, a near relation of the late empress Irene, though she had been some time before contracted to another, which gave occasion to great complaints, and encouraged some to conspire against him: but they were all detected and punished with the utmost severity; nay, many persons of great distinction, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, were, upon bare suspicions, dragged to prison, and there either put to death or racked with the greatest cruelty. In the seventh year of his reign, the Bulgarians, making an irruption into the empire, under the conduct of Crumus, their king, surprized Sardica, a city of Moesia, and put the whole garrison, consisting of six thousand men, to the sword. Nicephorus marched against them with a considerable army; but the enemy retiring with their booty at his approach, instead of pursuing them, he returned to Constantiopole, and imposed a new tribute upon the city for the repairing of Sardica; which incensed them to such a degree, that they rose in a tumultuous manner, and attacked the palace, but were repulsed by the emperor’s guards with great slaughter. In the ninth year of his reign, he raised a powerful army, and, marching at the head of it, entered the country of the Bulgarians, destroying all with fire and sword. Crumus, their king, alarmed at his approach, sent embassadors to sue for peace, which he offered to conclude upon terms highly honourable to the empire. But Nicephorus, rejecting them with indignation, pursued his ravages, wasting the country, destroying the cities, and putting all the inhabitants to the sword, who had the misfortune to fall into his hands, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. Crumus, sensibly affected with the calamities of his subjects, sent the emperor a second submissive message, offering to agree to any terms, on condition he would quit his country. But Nicephorus dismissing the embassadors with scorn, Crumus, pushed on by despair, attacked unexpectedly the emperor’s camp; and having forced it, in spite of all opposition, cut off almost the whole army, with the emperor himself, a great number of patricians, and most of the chief officers. Saturacius received a dangerous wound in the neck, but escaped in a litter to Adrianople. All the arms and baggage fell into the enemy’s hands; and the body of Nicephorus being found among the slain, Crumus caus’d his head to be cut off; and after having kept it for some time expos’d to the view of the soldiery, he inclosed the feall in silver, and made use of it instead of a cup. Such was the end of Nicephorus.

The Bulgarıans take Sardica.

A tumult in Constantiopole.

Nicephorus ravages with great cruclty the country of the Bulgarians.

H. indecated and slain.

v Theoph. ad ann. Niceph. 9.
rus, after having reigned eight years, as many months, and twenty-six days. He is said to have been strongly inclined to the execrable doctrine of the Manichees, to have denied providence, and to have exceeded all the princes who reigned before him, in lewdness, cruelty, avarice, and all manner of debaucheries. 

Saturacius fled, as we observed above, to Adrianople, where he was acknowledged emperor by some of the officers, who had escaped the general slaughter. But as he was not in a condition, on account of his wound, to appear in public, and at the same time knew himself to be universally hated both by the nobility and people, he resolved to confer the empire on his wife Theophania. But, in the mean time, the senate caused Michael, who had married Procopia, sister to Saturacius, to be proclaimed emperor in the circus; which Saturacius no sooner understood, than he retired with his wife to a monastery, where he embraced a religious life, and died soon after, having reigned two months and ten days. Michael, mindful of the oath he had taken to Nicephorus and his son, declined at first the imperial dignity; but being afterwards informed, that Saturacius, the better to secure the crown to his wife, had resolved to deprive him of his fight, he accepted the offer, and was crowned in the great church by Nicephorus the patriarch, after he had by a solemn promise under his own hand obliged himself to maintain the privileges of the church, and to abstain from shedding Christian blood. The new emperor a few days after caused his wife Procopia to be likewise crowned by the patriarch with his son Theophylact, whom he took for his partner in the empire. He was scarce warm in his throne, when the Saracens broke into the empire on one side, and the Bulgarians on the other. The former were defeated and driven back by Leo, who governed the eastern provinces, with the loss of two thousand men. Against the Bulgarians Michael marched in person; but having, after several slight skirmishes, ventured an engagement, his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to fly back with shame and disgrace to Constantinople. The emperor was affected with this misfortune to such a degree, that he resolved to quit the purple, which required a person of a more warlike and active genius, and retire to a cloyster. Accordingly he earnestly pressed Leo to accept of the empire, who, as he was free from all ambition, inviolably attached to Michael.

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Michael, and at the same time sensible of the dangerous state of affairs, was with much ado prevailed upon to comply with his request, though backed by the entreaties of the magistrates, the soldiery, and the patriarch. Michael no sooner understood, that Leo had in the end suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor, than he retired, with his wife Procopia and his children, to the monastery of Pharos, where he took the monastic habit on the eleventh of July 813, after having reigned one year, nine months, and as many days. Thus Theophanes, who lived at this time, and was an eye-witness of what he wrote. But Cedrenus gives us a very different account of the promotion of Leo. According to that writer, Michael had the advantage in the engagement with the Bulgarians, till Leo, who aspired at the empire, drew off the forces under his command; which so disheartened the Romans, that they betook themselves to a disorderly flight, leaving the Bulgarians masters of the field. The emperor, with much ado, escaped to Adrianople, and from thence to Constantinople, attended by a small body of horse. In his absence, Leo, by exclaiming against him as a weak, effeminate, and cowardly prince, prevailed upon the army to revolt from Michael, and offer the empire to himself; which, however, he pretended to decline, till Michael Traulus or Balbus, one of the chief officers of the army, drawing his sword, as it had been agreed on beforehand, threatened him with present death, if he did not immediately comply with the earnest entreaties of the whole army, who, he said, placed their safety and that of the empire in him alone. When news was brought to Constantinople of the revolt of the army and the usurpation of Leo, some of the emperor’s friends advised him to maintain his title, and prepare for a vigorous defence. But the good-natured emperor sharply reprimanded them, declaring, he had rather lose his life, than involve the state in a civil war, which would be inevitably attended with the effusion of much Christian blood. Accordingly he sent to Leo the diadem, the purple robes, and the scarlet shoes, the ensigns of sovereignty, requiring him to come, without the least apprehension of danger, to Constantinople, and take possession of the imperial palace. Thus Cedrenus, to whose authority we should, without the least hesitation, prefer that of Theophanes, were we sure that the latter part of the history, which goes under his name, was done by him; but as some able critics pretend, that he concluded it with the reign

1 Idem ad ann. Mic. 2. 2 Cedren. in Leo. 381
The Roman History.  

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reign of Nicephorus, and that the remaining part was added by some other writer, who, favouring Leo, concealed his ambitious practices in obtaining the empire, we will not take upon us to decide whether Leo usurped the sovereignty, or was raised to it by the voluntary abdication of Michael. The new emperor, upon his arrival at Constantinople, took care to have Michael and his wife, who had retired to the same monastery, separated; and therefore confined him to a monastery on the island Prota, and banished Procopia, with her children, to another place, having first caused Theophylaet, their eldest son, to be cruelly maimed, that he might have no issue. He had scarce taken possession of the throne, when the Bulgarians, elated with their late successes, entered Thrace, destroying all with fire and sword. Leo having drawn together what forces he could, marched out against them, and offered them battle; which they not declining, great multitudes were slain on both sides, but at length the Romans, overpowered with numbers, were put to the rout. As they were pursued by the enemy in great disorder, Leo, who held all from a neighbouring eminence, falling unexpectedly upon the barbarians with a revery of chosen men, who attended him, renewed the fight, and in the end obtained an entire victory. Great numbers of the enemy were slain, and more taken prisoners. Some reckon the king himself, by name Crumus, among the former; but others will have him to have been only wounded. However that be, the Bulgarians were so disheartened by this overthrow, that they made no inroads into the empire for some years after. The emperor, having now nothing to fear either from the Bulgarians or the Saracens, who were at variance among themselves, applied himself wholly to the suppressing of the worship that was paid to images. In order to this, he enforced the observance of the council held at Constantinople in 754, under Constantinus Copronymus, and published an edict forbidding any worship to be paid to images, and commanding them to be removed out of the churches. Nicephorus the patriarch, Nicetas a patrician, and one of the empress Irene's relations, Theodorus a monk in great reputation, Theophanes the historian, and many others, were banished for refusing to comply with the emperor's edict. But while the emperor was wholly intent upon redressing the abuses both in the church and state, Michael, surnamed Balbus, or the flammeer, whom he had preferred to the first employments, conspired against

4 Zonar. Cedren in Mich. 5 Idem ibid.
against him, with a design to deprive him of the crown, and place it upon his own head. But the plot being discovered, Michael was apprehended, tried, and condemned to be burnt alive. But as the officers were leading him on Christmas eve, to the place of execution, the empress Theodora, by upbraiding her husband with cruelty and irreligion for not respecting that holy time, when he was to partake of the holy sacrament, prevailed upon him to respite the execution. However, that the criminal might not in the mean time make his escape, the emperor ordered him to be loaded with irons, of which he kept the keys himself. But Michael having, by means of some religious persons, who had been admitted to him, with the emperor's permission, acquainted his accomplices, that he was determined to discover them to Leo, unless they speedily procured his release, alarmed them to such a degree, that they resolved, without loss of time, to put their design in execution. Accordingly, mixing themselves with those who performed divine service in the emperor's chapel, they were admitted early in the morning into the palace, and lay concealed in a corner of the chapel, till the emperor came to his devotions, when, upon a signal agreed on beforehand, they started up; but by mistake, as it was not yet day-light, fell upon the person who presided over the clerks, or, as we may call them, the dean of the chapel. Leo, in the mean time, well apprised of their design, retired to the altar, where he was attacked by the conspirators, now sensible of their mistake; but defended himself with the chain of the incensory, or, as some write, with the crofs, till, one of his hands being cut off, he fell to the ground, when the conspirators rushing upon him, dispatched him with many wounds, and in the end struck off his head. Such was the end of Leo IV. after he had reigned seven years, five months, and fourteen days. He is allowed, even by such as were his avowed enemies on account of his zeal in suppressing the worship of images, to have been a vigilant and active prince, and to have reformed many abuses, that had long prevailed in the state. In conferring employments, he had regard to merit alone, was quite free from avarice, and endowed with many princely qualities; whence the patriarch Nicephorus, who had been banished by him, in hearing the news of his death, could not help owning him to have been a great, though a wicked, prince. The body of the unhappy

happy emperor was dragged to the circus, and there exposed for some time to public view. After this, the conspirators having seized on the empress Theodosia, confined her to a monastery, and banished her four sons, viz. Sabbatius, called also Constantine, Basil, Gregory, and Theodosius, to the island of Prota, where they were afterwards made eunuchs by Michael's orders, in which cruel operation Theodosius died. Michael, in the mean time, being set at liberty, and conducted by the conspirators from the prison to the palace, placed himself upon the imperial throne, loaded, as he still was, with his irons, the keys being no-where to be found; at length the bolts being knocked off with a hammer, he repaired to the great church, where he was crowned by the patriarch.

Michael, thus raised to the empire, was a native of Amorium, a city of Phrygia, inhabited chiefly by Jews, and such christians as had been driven from their own countries on account of their heretical opinions. Michael himself observed the Jewish sabbath, denied the resurrection of the dead, and held several other tenets condemned by the catholic church. In the first year of his reign he recalled a great number of bishops, monks, and others, who had been banished by Leo for not complying with his edict forbidding the worship of images, but at the same time summoned them to dispute in a council at Constantinople the point in question. With this summons they refused to comply, alledging, that as the worshipping of images had been already approved of and established by a general council, it could admit of no dispute. This answer greatly provoked the emperor, who nevertheless was so far from proceeding with rigor against them, that he indulged them in the use of images without the city. In the second year of his reign and 823d of the christian æra, a civil war broke out in the east, which involved the empire in endless calamities. It was raised by one Thomas, concerning whom authors are greatly divided in their accounts. According to some, he was meanly born, and at first a menial servant to a senator at Constantinople, whose wife he debauched, and then, to avoid the punishment due to his crime, fled to the Saracens, among whom, after he had continued for the space of twenty-five years, professing their religion, he obtained of their kalif a considerable body of troops, boasting, that he could easily subdue the whole Roman empire. The better to entice the Romans over to his interest,
interest, he gave out, that he was Constantine, the son of Irene. Others will have him to have been a man of great power in the east, and inviolably attached to Leo; whose death he resolved to revenge, and with that view took arms. However that be, he was a man of a grave aspect, of extraordinary strength and courage, and acceptable to the soldiers on account of his affable and engaging behaviour. Being well received in the eastern provinces by the inhabitants, who hated Michael, he soon raised a very numerous army, and over-ran, without controul, all Asia, seizing everywhere on the public revenues, and plundering such cities as refused to submit to him. And now being master of all Asia and Syria, he assumed the purple and diadem, and caused himself to be acknowledged as emperor by the patriarch of Antioch. Michael, in the mean time, dispatched all the troops he could assemble against him; but Thomas, meeting them in Asia, gave them a total overthrow; and having with incredible expedition fitted out a strong fleet, he engaged and defeated that of the emperor; and then crossing over into Thrace appeared unexpectedly before Constantinople, not doubting but the inhabitants would open their gates to him at his first approach. But to his great surprize, they received him with most opprobrious language, repulsed him in two successive attacks, and in several sallies killed great numbers of his men. Thomas made the necessary preparations for a third assault, being resolved to make an utmost effort, and attack the city at the same time by sea and land. But a most violent storm arising, when he was upon the point of giving the signal, his fleet was dispersed, and his battering engines overturned and rendered quite useless. This disappointment, and some successful sallies of the besieged, obliged him, as the season was already far advanced, to raise the siege, and put his troops into winter-quarters, but with a resolution to return before the city early in the spring; which he did accordingly: but Michael having in the mean time equipped a fleet and raised a land-army, he met with far greater opposition at his return than he had done before. His army was routed with great slaughter in a sally, and his fleet driven ashore by that of the emperor. The usurper had in his army a commander of great valour and experience; named Gregory, who, having been banished by Michael to the island of Scirus, because he was a near relation of Leo, the late emperor, had in the beginning of the war declared for the usurper, and been entrusted by him with the command.
of twelve thousand men; but now observing, that fortune, which had hitherto attended Thomas in all his undertakings, began to forsake him, he resolved to make his peace with Michael, the rather because his wife and children were in his hands. This negotiation was not carried on so privately, but Thomas had timely notice of it, who thereupon leaving a sufficient number of troops before Constantinople to carry on the siege, led the rest against Gregory; and coming up with him, while he was marching away with the forces under his command to join the emperor, defeated his whole party, took him alive, but put him immediately to death, and then returned in triumph to pursue the siege. But in the mean time, Mortagon, king of the Bulgarians, hearing the emperor was besieged in his metropolis, and either pitying his condition, or desirous of gaining his friendship, marched at the head of a numerous army to his assistance. Thomas, when informed of his approach, was some time in suspense, whether he should continue the siege, or march with all his forces against the barbarians, but at length resolved on the latter; and accordingly breaking up the siege, he met and engaged the Bulgarians at a place called Cedocetus, but was by them put to flight with great slaughter. Upon the news of his defeat, his fleet before Constantinople revolted to the emperor; which obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of pursuing the siege, and to retire to Diabesis, a place distant a few furlongs from the city; whence by his parties he laid waste all the neighbouring country. While he lay encamped there, the emperor ordered all his troops to march out against him, under the command of Catalas and Oblianus, whom he received with great bravery, but was overthrown by the treachery of his own men, most of whom went over to the emperor in the heat of the engagement. Thomas, with much ado, escaped to Adrianople, where he was immediately besieged by the emperor’s forces, and at length delivered up to Michael by his own people, no longer able to endure the famine and the unspeakable hardships, to which they were reduced. The emperor, having caused his hands and feet to be cut off, ordered him, thus maimed, to be carried upon an ass round the camp. He died soon after in the utmost agony. Anastafius, his adopted son, who for that honour had forsaken the monastic life, which he professed before, being delivered up to the emperor by the inhabitants of Byvia, met with the same treatment as his father had done. Pavia and Heraclea, two maritime cities of Thrace, which Thomas
Thomas had seized, refused to submit, not so much out of affection to him, as out of hatred to the emperor, on account of his opposing the worship of images. But the walls of the former city were overturned by an earthquake, and the latter was taken by storm. Some other cities and castles continued to hold out for some time, but they were all in the end reduced, and the civil war entirely extinguished.

In the mean time, the Saracens, who had settled in Spain and were grown too numerous for that country, taking advantage of the distracted state of the empire, having equipped several ships, dispatched them in quest of some fruitful island, in which they might plant a colony. Apochapsus, who commanded this squadron, having ravaged most of the islands in the Mediterranean without opposition, all the ships and garrisons being gone to the assistance of Thomas, touched in the end at Crete; and being greatly taken with the fertility and pleantness of that island, described it to his countrymen upon his return as a place, to use his expression, flowing with milk and honey. Hereupon the Saracens, having equipped, during the winter, a fleet consisting of forty ships well armed and manned, put to sea early in the spring; and landing in the island, encamped on the promontory Charax, whence Apochapsus sent spies to discover the country, who upon their return informed him, that the island was quite destitute of soldiers, and that he would no-where meet with the least opposition. Hereupon he ordered the fleet to be set on fire, that his men, laying aside all thoughts of returning home, might look upon that island as their native country. The emperor, upon the first notice of this descent, dispatched Damianus with a considerable body of troops to drive the Saracens out of the island. Damianus, being joined by Photinus, advanced, as soon as he had landed his forces, against the enemy, who killed him at the first onset, and put his whole army to flight. Photinus having with much ado made his escape in a light vessel, and carried the news of the overthrow to the emperor. The Saracens, having now no enemy to oppose them, built and fortified a city in a very convenient place, called Chandax, pointed out to them by a monk. From thence they made frequent excursions, and in a short time reduced the whole island, which by its new masters was thenceforth called Chandax, and by others Candia, from the above-mentioned city. This happened in the second year of the reign of Michael Balbus and the 82d of

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k Idem ibid.  
1 Cedren. ibid.
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the christian æra. Michael, thinking it would reflect eternal ignominy, if he suffered the Saracens to settle in Crete, as soon as he had put an end to the civil war, dispatched Craterus, with a powerful fleet and a numerous army, to recover the island. Craterus, having landed his men without opposition, fell upon the enemy with great resolution, who received him with equal intrepidity. The fight continued from day-break to noon, the victory inclining to neither side; but soon after the Saracens, great numbers of them being slain and more taken prisoners, began to give ground, and towards the evening fled in great confusion. Had the Romans pursued them, they might have easily, in that consternation, cut them all off to a man, and made themselves masters of their city. But, instead of following the fugitives, and afflicting, without loss of time, the place whether they had all retired, they spent the night in riot and drunkenness, as if the war had been already concluded, without so much as placing a guard or centry to prevent their being surprised. The enemy, apprised of their security, resolved, however fatigued with the duty of the preceding day, not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of being revenged on their conquerors. Accordingly sallying out in the dead of the night, they fell upon them while they were partly intoxicated with wine and partly asleep, and cut them off almost to a man. Craterus, their general, with great difficulty escaped on board a small vessel to the island of Cos. But the prince of the Saracens, not finding his body among the slain, dispatched some vessels with troops after him, who, landing on the island, surprised him, and nailed him to a cross. After this defeat, the emperor, despairing of being able to recover the island of Crete, contented himself with defending the other islands, and refraining the piracies of the Cretan Saracens. Besides the loss of the pleasant and fruitful island of Crete, severall other public calamities happened in this wicked emperor’s reign, viz. great conflagrations, destructive earthquakes, which overturned whole cities, inundations, strange phenomena in the heavens, general dearth and scarcity of provisions, violent storms, &c. which are all ascribed by Cedrenus to the contempt of images. But these calamities did not reclaim him from the loose and dissolute life which he led, without any regard to religion, or the laws. In the sixth year of his reign, his wife being dead, he forced Euphrosyne, the daughter of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, out of a monastery, where she had led from her infancy a recluse life and married.

\* Idem ibid.
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married her. Soon after, Euphemius, an officer of great interest and authority in the army, falling in love with another sacred virgin, and encouraged by the example of the prince, took her by force out of the monastery and debauched her. Of this outrage her brothers made loud complaints to the emperor, who thereupon ordered the governor of Sicily, where the fact was committed, to examine into the matter; and if he found what was alleged against Euphemius to be true to cut off his nose. To avoid this punishment, Euphemius drew several other officers of the army into a conspiracy; repulsed the governor, when he came to execute his orders; and then flying to the Saracens in Africa, promised to betray Sicily into their hands, and pay them a large tribute, provided they would declare him emperor of the Romans. To this the Saracen governor of Africa readily consented; and having acknowledged him emperor, sent him back with a sufficient number of troops to make good his title. He landed in Sicily without opposition; and advancing to Syracuse, endeavoured, by a flattering speech, to persuade the inhabitants, who stood on the wall, to open their gates to him, and own him for emperor. Among the rest he observed two brothers, who were men of great interest in the city, to pay him great respect and hear him with more attention than the rest; which encouraged him to call them to him. But as he advanced from the rest of his company to meet and salute them, one of them, taking hold of him by the hair, held him till the other cut off his head. The Saracens, however, did not quit the advantage which he had put into their hands; but, being thus introduced by him, made themselves by degrees masters of the whole island; and passing over into Italy landed at Taranto; whence they drove the Romans, and got possession of Calabria and the adjoining provinces. The emperor died soon after of a flux, having reigned eight years, nine months, and seven days; and was buried in the church of the apostles. His death happened on the first of October 829.

He was succeeded by his son Theophylus, who, in the beginning of his reign, to gain the affections of the people and prevent conspiracies, pretended to be a strict observer of justice, and a severe averter of the laws of the empire. Though his father owed both his life and dignity to the murder of Leo, yet he resolved to punish all those who had been

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any-ways accessory to it, in order to deter others from attempts of the like nature. With this view he summoned the chief of the nobility, and the great officers of the empire, to attend him in the palace Magnaura, or, as it was called from the five towers, Pentapyrgium. When they were assembled, he told them, that his father had in his life-time resolved to reward the eminent services of those, who had been instrumental in his promotion; but since death had prevented him, he thought it incumbent upon himself as the executor of his father, to pay that debt. He therefore desired them to withdraw from the rest into a particular room, where he would examine the merit of each person, and reward him accordingly. Herewith those, who had been accessory to the murder of Leo, readily discovered themselves, in expectation of some great reward. But the emperor having thus got them, convicted by their own confession, into his power, he ordered one of his officers to put the laws against murder in execution, and to punish, according to their deserts, those who had not only shed innocent blood, but had inhumanly massacred the anointed of the Lord within his temple. He then dismissed the assembly, and the officer, pursuant to his orders, punished all those who had conspired against Leo as murderers. After this he sent Euphrosyne back to the monastery, from whence his father had taken her, and applied himself with great diligence to public affairs, hearing once a week all complaints that were brought against his ministers, administering justice with the utmost impartiality, and frequently visiting in person the markets, in order to settle the prices of the necessary provisions. In the third year of his reign, he married his favourite daughter, by name Mary, to Alexius Mafeles, an Armenian by birth, a person of comely and majestic aspect, then in the flower of his age, and endowed with many excellent qualities. As he repose in him an entire confidence, he conferred upon him the dignity of patrician, raised him to the proconsulship, and at last, as he had yet no issue-male of his own, created him Caesar, and sent him at the head of a numerous army to restrain the Saracens, who committed dreadful devastations in Italy. Being attended there with uncommon success, his rivals at court, jealous of the esteem he was in with the emperor and the reputation he had acquired, represented him as one who aspired at the empire, strengthening their malicious suspicions with an old prediction, that A should one day

m Joann. Cypolal. in Theophyl.
day drive out Th. This Alexius no sooner understood, than he desired leave of Theophylus to retire, and embrace a monastic life. The emperor, who gave no ear to these insinuations denied his request, and commanded him to keep his rank and power. However, Theophylus having a son soon after, and his daughter, who was married to Alexius, dying about the same time, he was at length prevailed upon, by the repeated importunities of his son-in-law, to comply with his request and suffer him to retire. Besides Alexius, the emperor had two other eminent commanders, viz. Manuel and Theophobus. The former had been raised, by Leo and the late emperor Michael, to the first posts in the army. The latter was the natural son of a Persian ambassador, descended from the blood royal of that nation, who, dying soon after the birth of his son, left him at Constantinople, where he was educated after the Roman manner. All those of the royal family of Persia being either destroyed or driven out by the Saracens, who had made themselves masters of their country, the few Persians, who had outlived the general slaughter of their nation, hearing of Theophobus, sent to the emperor, desiring him for their king. But Theophylus chose rather to raise him to the rank of a patrician, and give him one of his sisters in marriage, giving at the same time, by a law enacted for that purpose, all his subjects leave to intermarry with the Persians; which brought great numbers of that nation over to the Romans, who formed them into one body, called the Persian legion, from which the emperor promised himself no small service in the expedition, which he was about to undertake against the Saracens, who had invaded the Roman territories. Against them the emperor, attended by Manuel and Theophobus, marched in person; but in the battle which ensued, the Romans, after a most bloody and obstinate contest, gave ground and fled in the utmost confusion. The emperor, with his guard, two thousand Persians, and Theophobus, gained a neighbouring hill, where he was immediately surrounded by the enemy, who exerted their utmost efforts to take him prisoner, his own men striving with equal resolution and intrepidity to defend him. The day being thus spent, when night came on, the Romans, by the advice of Theophobus, filled all on a sudden the air with loud acclamations, founding at the same time their trumpets and other warlike instruments.

a Idem, ibid.
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The Saracens, deceived by this stratagem, and concluding they had received some reinforcement, retired in great haste, left they should be surrounded; and gave the emperor an opportunity of making his escape to the rest of the army. The Persians were so taken with the conduct of Theophilus on this occasion, that they addressed the emperor, begging he would suffer them to serve under him in a separate body, which was readily granted. The following year, he was attended with better success; for having engaged the Saracens, he gained a complete victory, killed great numbers of them, and took above twenty thousand prisoners, whom he carried in triumph to Constantinople. This encouraged him to make another attempt the next spring; but his army was utterly defeated, and he himself in great danger of being taken prisoner, while he advanced too far into the enemy’s ranks. Manuel, apprised of the danger he was in, broke through to him with a body of chosen men, in order to bring him off. But he refusing to retire, left by his retreat he should discourage his army, Manuel presenting his sword to his breast, and telling him, that the state would suffer more by his captivity than his death, threatened to kill him, unless he retreated with him to the rest of the army. The emperor then complied, Manuel and his chosen band opening him a way through the midst of the enemy. Theophylus had, at first, a just sense of this eminent piece of service, styling Manuel his deliverer; but afterwards, envying him the reputation he had thereby acquired, and ashamed of being indebted to one of his subjects for his safety, he readily gave ear to the malicious insinuations of some courtiers, accusing him of ambitious views, and privately resolved to deprive him of his right; of which Manuel being seasonably informed by the emperor’s cup-bearer, he fled to the Saracens, and, upon condition he should not be obliged to change his religion, entered into their service, and was soon raised to the highest honours, and trusted with the command of their armies against the Cermatæ, a neighbouring nation, whom he overcame in several battles. The fame of his great exploits reaching Constantinople, the emperor, grieved for the loss of so brave and faithful a commander, resolved to bring him back by any means. Accordingly he wrote a letter to him with his own hand, inviting him home, and promising to reinstate him in all his honours and employments. This letter being privately conveyed to Manuel by a monk, he received it with unspeakable
unspeakable joy, and waited only a favourable opportunity of complying with the emperor's kind invitation. He had hitherto declined fighting against the Romans; but now, pretending a desire of being revenged on those by whom he had been unjustly accused to the emperor, he desired leave of Ishmael, prince of the Saracens, to make war upon the Romans in Cappadocia. Ishmael, highly pleased with this demand, not only gave him the command of a powerful army, but, as he had already given signal proofs of his fidelity, appointed the young prince his son to serve under him. Being arrived in Cappadocia, while the army lay encamped at a convenient place for the execution of his design, he went out with the young prince, under pretence of hunting; and being met, as had been agreed on before-hand between him and the governor of the province, by some Roman troops, he acquainted the prince with his design, desiring him to return to the army and acquaint them with it. From Cappadocia he immediately repaired to Constantinople, where he was received with great solemnity by the emperor in the church of Belcherna, raised to the highest post in the army, and chosen to stand as godfather to his son Michael, whom he soon after took for his partner in the empire. The following year, the Saracens invaded Cappadocia under a general of their own nation, and the emperor marched against them in person; but both armies, seized, while they were already in flight of each other, with a panic fear, betook themselves to flight, and returned home, without coming to an engagement. The following year 837, Theophylus invaded Syria, ravaged the country far and wide, and having made himself master of several strong-holds, returned in triumph to Constantinople, leaving Theophobus to command the army. In his absence the Persians, now encreased to thirty thousand, depending upon their strength and numbers, seized on Theophobus at Sinope, and, notwithstanding all his entreaties, protestations, and arguments, declared him emperor. Theophobus gave the emperor private notice of what had passed, affurred him of his loyalty, though he had, in appearance, accepted of the imperial dignity, and laid hold of the first opportunity that offered to make his escape to Constantinople, where he was received by the emperor with the greatest demonstrations of kindness, and continued in his former honours and employments. The rebellious Persians were, at his request, pardoned and received into favour; but dispersed into several provinces a. Theophylus,

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Phylus, in ravaging Syria, had, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the prince of the Saracens, destroyed Sozopetra, the place of his nativity; which provoked him to such a degree, that, breathing nothing but revenge, he raised a mighty army, ordering every soldier to engrave upon his shield the word Amorium, the birth-place of Theophylus and capital of Cilicia, which he was resolved, at all events, to destroy. The emperor, informed of these mighty preparations, raised what forces he could, and marched with them to Dorylaeum, distant about three days journey from Amorium. There, in a council of war, several officers advised him to decline an engagement with the Saracens, whose army was far more numerous than that of the Romans, and to remove the inhabitants of Amorium to some other place; but the emperor, imagining such a proceeding would reflect no small disgrace upon him, resolved to venture all in the defence of his native city; and accordingly sent thither a strong detachment, under the command of Actius, general of the eart, Theodorus, Craterus, Theophilus Bubutzicus, and other experienced generals. In the mean time, the prince of the Saracens dispatched his son, with ten thousand Turks and a strong party of Armenians, to try the strength of the emperor's forces. The two armies met at a place called Dazymenum; whereupon an engagement ensuing, the Saracens were at first put to the rout; but the Romans, in pursuing the fugitives, were so called by the arrows of the Turks, that they not only gave over the pursuit, but betook themselves to a disorderly flight. The Persians, however, though abandoned by the rest of the army, stood their ground, and surrounding the emperor, made head against the enemy, till night coming on gave them an opportunity of retiring. The prince of the Saracens, informed of his son's success, marched directly to Amorium, and being there joined by the young prince, laid close siege to the place, which, after a long and obstinate resistance, was in the end betrayed to him by one of the inhabitants, named Badiates, who, upon some discontent, had abjured the christian religion. The Saracens, enraged at the resolute opposition they had met with, put most of the men to the sword, carried all the women and children into captivity, and levelled the city with the ground. The emperor was so affected with the destruction of the place, that, falling into a deep melancholy, he abstained from all nourishment, drinking nothing but snow-water, which threw him into a dysentery. Being apprised that his end approached, he caused himself to be carried to Magnaura; and having summoned
summoned the senate and chief officers of the empire to meet him there, he exhorted them in a pathetic speech to continue faithful to his wife and son, and protect them from all treachery. After this, sinking under the affliction of his mind and distemper of his body, he fainted away and expired, having reigned twelve years, three months, and twenty days. Joannes Curopalates, whom we have followed in the history of this prince’s reign, as the nearest to those times, tells us, that, when he was at the point of death, he commanded the head of Theophobus, who had been arrested upon some groundless suspicions, to be cut off and brought to him; and that, touching it with his hand, he expired, uttering these words, Neither shall I be henceforth Theophylus, nor thou Theophobus. But Zonaras and Cedrenus write, that he was put to death by one of the emperor’s officers, without his knowledge. He professed a greater enmity to images, and persecuted with greater severity, than any of his predecessors had done, those who worshipped them. Hence he is painted by the writers of those times in the blackest colours; but his actions, even as they are related by his sworn enemies, speak him a prince endowed with many excellent qualities, an exact observer of justice, a true lover of his people, and an utter enemy to covetousness. Of the latter Cedrenus gives us the following instance: having one day observed from his palace a ship of great burden fraught with merchandise entering the harbour of Constantinople, he asked the mariners, To whom the cargo belonged? They answering, To the empress; he replied with great indignation, God has made me a prince, and my wife a merchant! Was ever any emperor before married to a merchant? Having thus spoken, he commanded the mariners to come ashore, and fire to be set to the vessel, saying, If princes apply themselves to trade, their subjects must starve. He beautified the city of Constantinople with many stately edifices, and fortified it with new walls, which could not, on account of their height, by any art be scaled. He banished all loose and scandalous women out of the city, being a great enemy to all manner of dissoluteness, and a pattern of the antient Roman temperance, which he endeavoured to revive by several wholesome laws.

Theophylus was succeeded by his son Michael; but, Michael III., as he was then only six years old, his mother Theodora took the regency.

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She persecutes the Iconocasts and Manichees.

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took upon her the administration; which she began by exerting her zeal for the worshiping of images, recalling all those who had been banished on that account in the late reign, and banishing such as differed in opinion from her. She drove from his see John the patriarch of Constantinople, and placed Methodius, a monk and zealous patron of images in his room, ordering the second council of Nice, in which the worship of images was approved of and established, to be observed throughout the empire. Having thus, in a few years, utterly suppressed the Iconocasts, whose doctrine had prevailed in Constantinople and most cities of the east, for the space of one hundred and twenty years, she fell in the next place upon the Manichees, of whom no fewer than an hundred thousand are said to have been destroyed, which drove the rest to despair and rebellion, having one Carboes of that sect for their leader; who, hearing that his father had been crucified on account of his persuasion, fled with four thousand of the same sect to the Saracens, and opened them a passage into the Roman territories, where they ravaged and unpeopled whole provinces. In the mean time, the emperor, having attained the twentieth year of his age, began to think of governing by himself, being instigated thereunto by Bardas, brother to Theodora, who promised himself mighty advantages from a change of affairs; but despairing of being able to succeed in his designs, so long as Manuel and Theoctistus, whom the late emperor had appointed tutors to his son, continued near his person, he resolved, in the first place, to remove them by some means or other. He had scarce taken this resolution, when a misunderstanding arose between those two faithful ministers; which Bardas improved with such art, that Manuel quitting the court, retired to a private life. He being removed, Bardas easily persuaded the emperor, that Theoctistus, having nothing left in view than the empire, designed to marry either the empress, or one of her daughters, and to render him incapable of governing, by depriving him of his sight. Upon these malicious, and altogether groundless, insinuations, Theoctistus was, by the young prince’s orders, apprehended, dragged to prison, and there most inhumanly murdered. Michael and Bardas resolved to finish what they had begun, by removing the empress, who, well apprized of their design, to spare them the crime of shedding more blood, determined to retire of her own accord. Accordingly, having summoned the senate, she laid before them the present condition of the treasury, to obviate, by
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by that means, the extravagant expences of her son, and at the same time to shew them how careful and frugal she had been during her administration; for she had, by a commendable economy, not only spared the immense treasure left by her husband, but greatly improved it. After this, she resigned her power, and quitted the court, to the great satisfaction of her brother and son, now at liberty to act without restraint or controul. However, lest he should attempt to resume the power she had so readily quitted, Michael ordered her and her three daughters to be shut up in a monastery, where she died soon after of grief. This happened in 854, after Theodora had governed the state for the space of fourteen years. Michael, thus free from all restraint, abandoned himself to the most infamous debaucheries, taking pride in imitating Nero, whom he proposed to himself for his pattern, and even seemed to exceed in all manner of wickedness. He, in a short time, squandered away the immense treasure left him by his mother, being always attended by a crew of most extravagant, debauched, and profligate wretches, whom, to expose to ridicule the most sacred things, he often caused to appear in copes and other vestments, in which priests used to officiate, and in that apparel to imitate the most holy functions and ceremonies. One Gryllus, the most profligate of the crew, he styled patriarch; others he called metropolitan; and took to himself the title of one of the chief bishops. Thus attended, he used to walk in broad daylight, as in procession, through the streets, imitating and de-riding the patriarch and his clergy. Having once caused the infamous Gryllus to be apparelled like the patriarch, he sent for his mother in the name of Ignatius, who then held that see. The empress came immediately; but as she fell down upon her knees to crave his blessing, Gryllus, discovering himself, derided the piety of the good empress with indecent gestures, applauded with a loud laugh of the whole assembly. The dissolute prince, having in a short time wasted all his treasures, was reduced to the necessity of melting down and coining certain trees of gold, which had been made in the late reign by a bishop named Leo, the greatest man of his age, and were the admiration of all who beheld them; for among the boughs were dispersed several golden birds, which, by the help of an engine, sung melodiously, while the spectators were at the same time no less agreeably surprised and frightened.

The empress Theodora resigns.

Michael a wicked and impious prince.

frightened by the roaring of a golden lion, effected by the same artifice. The prodigal emperor had likewise disposed of the imperial robes, and other curiosities, for which the palace was famous, had he not been prevented by death. In the year 855, he undertook an expedition against the Saracens, and laid siege to a city of theirs on the Euphrates; but the besieged falling out upon the Romans, while they were at their devotions on a Sunday, put the whole army to flight, and made themselves masters of their camp and all their baggage, the emperor himself having with much ado made his escape. Two years after, the Saracens, entering with an army of thirty thousand men the Roman dominions, put the emperor to flight, though at the head of forty thousand Thracians and Macedonians. The loss of this battle, however, was soon repaired by the good fortune of Petronas, the emperor's brother, who falling unexpectedly upon the Saracens in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, cut off the caliph himself and his whole army, took his son prisoner, and returned in triumph to Constantinople. In 860, he raised his uncle Bardas, who had hitherto governed with an absolute sway, to the dignity of Caesar, in which high station he acted in a most arbitrary manner, without the least regard to the laws and customs of the empire. He divorced his wife, without being able to lay anything to her charge, and married his own niece. Hereupon the holy patriarch Ignatius refused to communicate with him on the feast of the epiphany; which provoked him to such a degree, that having assembled a synod at Constantinople, he suborned several false witnesses, who accused Ignatius of having murdered his predecessor Methodius; upon which he was deposed and thrown in prison, Photius being raised to the patriarchal see in his room; which occasioned great disturbances at Constantinople. In 867, the emperor, at the persuasion of Bardas, who ruled with an absolute sway, undertook an expedition against the Saracens, who had settled in Crete, whence they were continually infecting the coasts of the empire, and made this year a descent upon Thrace, penetrating far into the country, and committing everywhere dreadful ravages. Against them the emperor marched in person, attended by Bardas; and arriving at a place called Chorus, ordered his army to encamp there. The servants of Bardas, whether on purpose or unadvisedly, is uncertain, pitched their master's tent on a hill, which overlooked the emperor's pavilion placed in the plain. This the emperor seemed to resent; and the enemies of Bardas
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at court, laying hold of that opportunity to convince the prince how much reason he had to be jealous of so insolent and ambitious a favourite, incensed him to such a degree, that he gave them private orders to dispatch him; which they did accordingly on the first of April of the present year. The soldiers, upon the news of his death, began to mutiny, and would have revenged it upon the emperor himself, had he not privately retired from the army, and returned to Constantinople. The ruin of Bardas made room for Basilius, the emperor's great chamberlain, and the chief author and promoter of the late murder; for the emperor, who had an utter aversion to all manner of busines and application, immediately committed to him the whole management of public affairs, and soon after, that is, on the twenty-sixth of May of the same year, declared him his partner in the empire. Basilius was born in Macedon, but an Armenian by decent, and, according to Cedrenus, descended from the royal family of the Artaczæ; but others affirm, he was come of mean and obscure parents. At the sacking of Adrianople by Crumus king of the Bulgarians, being then a child, he was carried into captivity with his parents; but set at liberty upon the conclusion of the peace. As he was tall in stature, of a comely aspect, and well-shaped, Theophilizes, a nobleman of great distinction, took him into his family, and appointed him his protosтратar, that is, his gentleman of the horse. Having soon after tamed an unruly horse belonging to the emperor, he was, by the interest of Bardas, taken into the emperor's service, and raised to the post of master of the horse; which giving him an opportunity of conversing often with the prince, he gained, by degrees, a great ascendant over him, and was advanced to the high office of great chamberlain. Hereupon Bardas, jealous of the credit he was in with the emperor, and looking upon him no longer as his creature, but his rival, resolved on his destruction. But Basilius, apprised of his design, was beforehand with him, as we have related above. Basilius, being upon the death of Bardas advanced to the imperial dignity, did all that lay in his power to redress the many abuses that had crept into the state, and to reclaim Michael from his vicious courses; but the dillolute prince was so far from following his wholesome counsels, that he resolved to rid himself of so troublesome a censor; which hastened on his own ruin: for Basilius, finding he could by no other means save himself, he is murdered.

He is murdered.

Michael takes Basilius for his partner in the empire.

Michael takes Basilius for his partner in the empire.

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He breaks the power of the Manichees.

fals, but by destroying his colleague, entered one night his room, while he was drunk and asleep; and, with the assistance of some others privy to his design, first cut off both his hands as he held them up, and then dispatched him with many wounds, after he had reigned fourteen years with his mother, and five years three months alone.

Basilius, now sole master of the empire, governed with great justice and moderation, preferring such only as were persons of known probity, and allowing all his subjects free access to him; which greatly endeared him to his people, who looked upon him rather as their father than their prince. However, in the very beginning of his reign, a conspiracy was formed against him by George and Symbadius, two patricians; but, it being seasonably discovered, their eyes were put out, and their accomplices banished. To obviate any future attempts of the same nature, in the second year of his reign he raised his eldest son Constantine to the imperial dignity, and in the third he created Leo and Alexander, his second and third sons, Cæsars. As for his fourth son, by name Stephen, he caused him to take orders, with a design to raise him to the patriarchal see. His four daughters took the religious habit in the monastery of St. Euphemia, where they led exemplary lives. Having thus settled his domestic affairs, he resolved to make war upon the Manichees. We have observed above, that in the late reign one Carbeas, a Manichee, fled, with four thousand of the same sect, to the Saracens, with a design to revenge the death of his father, who had been crucified on account of his persuasion. Great numbers of the persecuted Manichees flocking to him for shelter, he made frequent inroads into the Roman territories from three strong-holds in Armenia, viz. Arganum, Armera, and Tephrica, which had been yielded to them by the Saracens. Against these Manichees Basilius marched in person, laid waste their country, took or killed their best commanders, and returned with an immense booty to Constantinople; which city he entered in triumph. The following year, the Manichees, resolved to revenge the losses they had sustained, broke unexpectedly into the empire, under the command of Chrysochir; but being met by the imperial troops, they were almost to a man cut off, with their leader, whose head was sent to Constantinople. By this defeat the strength of the Saracens was so broken...
broken that they were never afterwards in a condition of molesting the empire, as they had done for several years together. Encouraged with his success against the Manichees, he entered Syria the following year 880, attended by his eldest son Constantine, recovered several strong-holds out of the hands of the Saracens, and took an incredible number of prisoners. On his return he made himself master of Caesarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia, and of several other strong-holds, which he levelled with the ground. The prisoners he took in this expedition were so numerous, that not being able to spare sufficient forces to guard them, he commanded multitudes of them to be put to the sword; which struck such terror into the Saracens, that some of their governors not only submitted, but joined the emperor against their own nation. The African Saracens and those of Crete, attempting to invade the empire, were likewise defeated with great slaughter, and the fleet of the former utterly destroyed by Nazar the Roman, admiral. These extraordinary advantages were, in some degree, counterbalanced by the loss of Syracuse, which the Saracens of Carthage took and destroyed. Adrian, a patrician, who had been sent to relieve it, arriving too late, the emperor upon his return to Constantinople, caused him to be dragged from the great church, where he had taken sanctuary, and sent him into exile. Basilius, at such times as he was not engaged in wars, busied himself in building and repairing churches, of which Cedrenus mentions a great number. Zonaras blames him for erecting and dedicating so many churches to the honour of St. Michael, as if he had designed thereby to expiate the murder of the emperor Michael. His eldest son Constantine being dead, he raised his second son Leo to the imperial dignity, who being offended at the great sway which Theodorus Santabarenus, by profession a monk, but commonly reputed a magician, bore at court, endeavoured to remove him from the emperor's presence. Of this the jealous monk was soon apprised, and therefore resolved to destroy him. With this view, pretending to have private intelligence of a conspiracy against Basilius, which was to be put in execution while he was hunting, he first prevailed the young prince privately to arm himself and some of his attendants, that he might be ready to oppose any attempt upon the life of his father; and then hastening to the emperor, told him in great consternation, that his

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\(^x\) Curopalat. Cedren. Zonar. ibid

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his son designed to murder him; that his design was to be put in execution the first time he went out to hunt; and that, if he caused him to be searched, he would find him armed accordingly. The emperor, giving ear to the wicked and malicious insinuations of the monk, ordered his son to be searched; and a dagger being found under his garments, committed him to close prison in an apartment of the palace, where his eyes had been put out at the instigation of the monk, had not the patriarch and the senate interposed in his behalf. However, he was long kept under close confinement; but at length released, at the earnest and repeated entreaties of the senate, and restored to his former dignity. Cupoplates tells us, that the emperor having forbidden the senate to mention to him the young prince’s name, or make any further application in his favour, while he was one day entertaining several of the nobility, a parrot, which hung up in a cage in the room, in imitation of some, who used to lament there the unfortunate prince’s condition, cried out all on a sudden, Alas, unhappy Leo! His friends, laying hold of that opportunity, as if the bird reproached them with their neglect, notwithstanding the emperor’s prohibition, renewed their former applications; to which Basilius at length yielded. Basilius not long after died, having reigned eighteen years, ten months, and seven days. Cedrenus writes, that he was carried off by a diarrhoea; but Zonaras tells us, that while he was hunting, a stag thrusting his horns under his girdle, and lifting him up from the ground, shook him with such violence, that he died soon after. The same writer adds, that one of the emperor’s attendants having disengaged him from the stag, by cutting his girdle, he, instead of rewarding him, caused his head to be cut off, for drawing his sword in the presence of his sovereign. But of this no mention is made either by Cedrenus or Cupoplates. Some pretend, that before he died, he embraced a monastic life, but without devesting himself either of his power, or the ensigns of majesty. It is certain, that towards the latter end of his reign, he addicted himself entirely to the conversation of monks, and to works of piety. To his son Leo, whom he appointed his successor, he left, with the empire, some excellent rules or maxims of government, comprised in sixty-six chapters, the initial letters of which form the following sentence; “Basilius, emperor of the Romans in Christ, to Leo, his dear son and colleague in the empire.”

7 Curopalat, in Annaït.
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The maxims contained therein are truly worthy of a great prince and a christian philosopher. Basilius made a new collection of the laws, known by the name of basilicæ, that is, royal or imperial laws; for they did not take their name, as some have imagined, from the emperor Basilius, by whose orders they were compiled. They were written in the Greek tongue, the Latin, in which the laws of Justinian were compiled, being at this time scarce understood in the eastern empire. Basilius is, by all the ancient writers, deservedly ranked among the best emperors.

Basilius was succeeded by his son Leo, whom he had taken for his partner in the empire, upon the death of his eldest son Constantine. The new prince was a great lover of learning, and to well verified in all the branches of literature, that he deservedly acquired, as Aritonianus had done, the surname of Philosophus. His first care was to punish Theodorus Santabarenus the monk, whom he ordered to be whipt in an ignominious manner, and then banished him to Athens, where his eyes were put out. Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, had favoured Theodorus, and conspired with him to raise a kinsman of his own to the throne; he had besides raised great disturbances in the church; for which crimes he was, by Leo's orders, deposed, and banished into Armenia, Stephen, the emperor's brother, being raised to the patriarchal see in his room. To shew his gratitude to the emperor Michael, who had first preferred his father, and had been murdered by him, he caused his body to be conveyed with extraordinary pomp from the monastery of Chrysopolis, where it had been interred, to the church of the Apostles in Constantinople, and there to be deposited in a stately monument of marble. In the year 893, the eighth of Leo's reign, a war broke out between the Romans and Bulgarians on the following occasion: A great trade had been long carried on between the two nations, and the public mart was kept at Constantinople, whence it was, at the request of some merchants, removed to Thessalonica. There the collectors of the customs oppressing with new and unlawful impositions the Bulgarian merchants, Simeon their king having first applied in vain to the emperor for redress, resolved to do himself justice; and accordingly, entering the Roman territories at the head of a powerful army, ravaged and laid waste the country as far as Macedon, where he was met by the Roman army, under the command of Procopius Crenites and Curticius, who were both cut off, with most of their men, in the engagement that ensued. Simeon, having taken in
in the pursuit a great number of prisoners, caused their noses to be cut off, and sent them back thus deformed to Constantinople. The emperor, highly provoked at this outrage, prevailed upon the Ungri or Hungarians, whom our author styles Turks, to invade the country of the Bulgarians on one side, while he entered it on the other. Against the Hungarians Simeon marched in person; but was by them utterly defeated, the flower of his army being cut off, and he himself with much ado escaping to a city named Dorostolium, whence he sent embassadors to Leo suing for a peace; which was readily granted him upon very honourable terms. But the emperor's forces were no sooner withdrawn, than Simeon fell unexpectedly upon the Hungarians; and having put them to flight, ravaged their country, destroying all with fire and sword. Leo, provoked at this breach of the treaty, and more at his new and unreasonable demands, resolved to fall upon him with the whole strength of the empire, and utterly destroy him. A powerful army was accordingly raised, and sent into Bulgaria, under the conduct of Catocalon and Theodosius a patrician. But Simeon, who carefully watched their motions, falling unexpectedly upon them, cut most of them in pieces, with Theodosius and a great number of officers of distinction; which obliged the emperor to submit to the best terms he could obtain. While Leo was engaged in these wars abroad, several conspiracies were formed against him at home; which, however, were feasonably discovered, and the conspirators sent into exile, the emperor being averse to the shedding of blood. In 901, the empress Theophano, or, as others call her, Theophania, being dead, the emperor married one Zoe, the most beautiful woman of her age, whom he had kept as his concubine in his wife's life-time, and caused her to be crowned with the usual solemnity, conferring at the same time on her father, by name Zantzas, the title of father to the emperor. Zoe did not long enjoy her new dignity, and, upon her death, Leo married to his third wife a lady of extraordinary beauty, named Eudocia; but she dying in child bed, together with the infant, Leo, who had yet no issue male to succeed him, married to his fourth wife another Zoe, who brought him a son, called Constantine. This fourth marriage, which was then held unlawful, gave rise to great disturbances and divisions in the church of Constantinople; for Nicolaus Mysticus, at that time patriarch, not only declared against the marriage, but

\[\text{exom-}\]

\[\text{Idem in Leon. Zonar. Cedren. ibid.}\]
excommunicated the emperor; who thereupon, after having earnestly begged, but in vain, to be restored to the communion of the church, confined the patriarch to a monastery, and placed one Euthymius Synkellos in his room. Some of the clergy adhered to Nicolaus, and others to Euthymius; which occasioned a schism in the church. Though Euthymius restored the emperor to the communion of the faithful, yet he resolutely opposed him, when, by the advice of the senate he was about to publish an edict, declaring it lawful to marry the fourth time. Leo had formerly published an edict, subjecting those who married thrice to the penalties which had been decreed against them by some antient councils, and the clergy would not suffer him to revoke that edict. Some time before his fourth marriage, as he was going on Whitunday in a solemn procession to the church of St. Mocius, as was customary on that day, a person of a mean condition, watching that opportunity, just as he entered the church, gave him such a blow on the head with a club, that he fell to the ground, and those about him believed him dead; and truly he had been killed upon the spot, had not the violence of the blow been broken by a chandelier, which hung in the way. Alexander, the emperor’s brother, was thought to have been privy to this attempt; but no proof could be adduced against him, the traitor, though tortured in a most cruel manner, obstinately refusing to discover his accomplices. As they could extort nothing from him, he was burnt alive in the circus, after his hands and feet had been cut off. The following year 902, the sixteenth of Leo’s reign, the Saracens, having equipped a mighty fleet, took Tauronimium in Sicily, reduced the island of Lemnos, and, ravaging without control the coasts of Asia, threw the imperial city itself into great consternation. In the end of the summer, they laid siege to Thessalonica, which they took, and would have destroyed, had it not been redeemed with a large sum by Simeon, one of the emperor’s secretaries, who was on that account raised to the rank of a patrician. Leo, not able to make head against the Saracens at sea, raised a powerful army, which he sent into the east, under the conduct of Eustathius Argyrus and Andronicus Ducas, in order to attack them by land; which they did with great success, having gained several victories over them. However, the year following, they invaded with a mighty army the Roman territories;
tories; which obliged the emperor to dispatch Himerius and Andronicus Ducas against them. They were both generals of great courage, experience, and conduct; but a fatal misunderstanding between them, which was owing to the malicious intrigues of one Samonas, put a stop to the progress of their arms. Samonas, a Saracen by birth, and, formerly chamberlain to the emperor, having discovered a conspiracy, had been on that account, advanced to the first employments in the state. Having by that means acquired immense wealth, he attempted to escape into his own country, carrying with him his treasures; but was stopped upon the road, and brought back to Constantinople by Constantine Ducas, the son of Andronicus. The emperor, provoked at his thus abandoning him, notwithstanding the many favours he had heaped upon him, kept him for some time under close confinement; but in the end restored him to his former rank and honours. As Samonas bore an irreconcilable hatred to Andronicus, on account of his son Constantine, by whom he had been intercepted on his way home, he prevailed upon one of that general's intimate friends, with a large sum, to warn him by letter not to join Himerius, who, he said, had orders from the emperor to put out his eyes, as soon as he had him in his power. Andronicus, giving credit to this letter, refused to join Himerius, who nevertheless engaged the Saracens, and gave them a total overthrow. Andronicus, dreading the emperor's indignation, seized a castle near Iconium, called Cabala, with a design to revolt; which Samonas no sooner understood, than making use of all his authority at court to his destruction, he prevailed upon the emperor, with his artful insinuations, to declare Andronicus a traitor, and to dispatch a strong army against him, under the command of Iberitzas Gregorias. Hereupon Andronicus despairing of pardon, fled to the Saracens, by whom he was received with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem. Leo, greatly concerned for the loss of so brave a commander, who had hitherto served him with much honour and integrity, and dreading him as an enemy, resolved to persuade him, if possible, to return home. With this view he released a Saracen captive, on condition he delivered to Andronicus a letter, wherein the emperor invited him home, promised to restore him to his former honours, and gave him repeated assurances of his friendship and esteem; but the captive, bribed by Samonas, instead of conveying the letter to Andronicus, delivered it to the caliph, who immediately cau-

the rest who had attended him in his flight, to be thrown into prison, where they were treated with the utmost cruelty. Andronicus soon perished under the hardships he endured; several others purchased their liberty by renouncing their religion; but Constantine, the son of Andronicus, made his escape with a small number of attendants, and though pursued, sometimes by fighting, and sometimes by casting gold in the way, and by that means diverting the greedy soldiery, got safe to Constantinople, where he was kindly received by the emperor, and feasted upon his arrival in the golden room. We are told, that as he was departing, when the banquet was over, the emperor, calling him back, warned him not to suffer himself to be so far misled by the omen of his name as to aspire at the empire; adding, that he had been assured by those who could fortell things of that nature, that his own son Constantine was destined by heaven to the empire; and that, if Ducas ever attempted the imperial dignity, his head would inevitably be cut off, and brought through the gate of that very place, where he was now treated with so much honour and magnificence. The event confirmed the truth of this prediction, as we shall relate anon. About this time, Samonas the emperor’s chief favourite, who had hitherto governed with an absolute sway, was at length disgraced on the following occasion: He had recommended a youth, named Constantine, by birth a Paphlagonian, to wait on the empress, who, being greatly taken with his address and other good qualities, used all her interest to prefer him. This gave no small jealousy to Samonas, who, apprehending he might in time be supplanted by this new favourite, did all that lay in his power to remove him; but finding all his efforts ineffectual, he arrogantly accused the empress of too much familiarity with him, and even had the boldness to publish a libel against the emperor himself, who, finding him to be the author of it, confined him to a monastery; and appointed his rival Constantine great chamberlain in his room. In 911, the twenty-sixth and last year of his reign, the Saracens, under the conduct of Damianus a Tyrian and Leo of Tripolis, committing dreadful ravages, on the coasts and in the islands of the Ægean sea, Himerius was sent with a powerful fleet against them; but in a sea-fight near the island of Samos, the Roman navy was utterly defeated, Himerius himself having with much difficulty escaped.

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Leo dies.

His character and
works.

The Roman History. Book III.

sca ped to Mitylene. The emperor did not long outlive this calamity; but died of the colic on the eleventh of May of the present year, after having reigned twenty five years and three months. He left behind him only one son, by name Constantine; but, as he was scarce five years old, he bequeathed the empire to his brother Alexander, after having earnestly entreated him to leave it at his death to his son, Constantine, whom he recommended to his care. Leo is allowed on all hands to have been a prince of great prudence and uncommon penetration in the management of public affairs. He is highly extolled by the ecclesiastic writers, on account of his zeal for the purity of the catholic faith, and by them compared to the most zealous and vigilant among their bishops. As he was a man of great learning, he left several works behind him, viz. a letter to Omarus king of the Saracens, concerning the mysteries and truth of the christian religion, and the heresies and blasphemies of the Saracens; a book of military discipline, which had been translated into Latin; another on hunting; several theological and historical tracts, still to be seen, the strangely maimed and corrupted, in the Vatican library; a circular letter, which, in imitation of the bishops, he wrote to all his subjects, encouraging them to the practice of every christian virtue; but as he applied himself above all to the study of the law, he new-modelled the Roman jurisprudence. His father Basiliius had, in the year 870, with the assistance of his two sons Constantine and Leo, published an epitome of Justinian's code, which he called "procheiron." This work, which consisted of forty titles, is still to be found among the manuscripts in the Vatican library. It is by some ascribed to Basiliius, Constantine, and Leo, by others only to Leo and Constantine, and by some to Leo alone; whence Cujacius and other civilians conclude it to have been revised by Leo, and brought into a better form. Leo, not satisfied with that, published, about the year 886, his basilicæ, divided into sixty books and six volumes. In this great work the emperor followed the order which Justinian had observed in his laws; for it was compiled from his code, edicts, novellæ, and from the constitutions of the succeeding emperors down to Basiliius, whatever was superfluous, or had been abrogated by the custom of after-times, being retrenched. The basilicæ were no sooner published, than the books of Justinian were quite laid aside, both in the schools and court, of justice. Leo dying, his...
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his son Constantine revised and corrected the basilicae, which had been published by his father, and ordered them, thus corrected to be made use of both at the bar and in the schools. The basilicae of Leo were called prioris, and those of Constantine posteriores; but the latter alone were in force, and continued to be the foundation of the Greek jurisprudence to the end of the empire.

Leo being dead, his brother Alexander was by the senate and people acknowledged emperor; but he, in the very beginning of his reign, gave such instances of his cruelty, avarice, and debauchery, as rendered him odious to all his subjects. These who seemed to discountenance him in his lewd and dissolute course, he banished under various pretences, placing persons of most infamous characters in their room, and suffering himself to be entirely governed by debauchees and prostitutes. He was so taken with one Basili tzas, a person of a mean descent, but of a most dissolute life and his inseparable companion in the most abominable extravagancies, that he resolved to settle the empire on him, and, by castrating his nephew Constantine, to deprive the young prince of all hopes of succession. But he was diverted from such an unpopular attempt, by some of the late emperor’s friends, representing to him, that the child, who was of a weak and sickly constitution, would, in all likelihood, be soon removed out of the way by a natural death. In the mean time, he banished the empress Zoe from the court, suffering none to continue there, but such as were slaves to his sensual pleasures, and subservient to his brutish appetites. Simeon, prince of the Bulgarians, no sooner heard of his accession to the empire, than he dispatched embassadors to him to renew the treaties of peace and friendship concluded by former emperors between the two nations; but Alexander, instead of cultivating the friendship of that warlike and powerful nation, dismissed their embassadors in an ignominious manner; at which Simeon justly provoked, invaded with a mighty army the Roman territories, destroying all with fire and sword. Alexander, instead of offering to oppose him, pursued without interruption his dissolute course, till death, hastened on by his intemperance, delivered the world from so pernicious a monster. As he was one day using violent exercises, after having eaten and drunk to a great excess, some of the vessels breaking, he continued to bleed inwardly till

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He died. Before his death, which happened in 912, after he had reigned about a year and a month, he declared Constantine his successor; but appointed him for his governors, as he was yet a child, such persons as had been most subservient to him in his infamous pleasures, and were, on that account, despised and abhorred by all men of honour and integrity. This encouraged Constantine Ducas, the son of Andronicus, of whom we have spoken above, to attempt the sovereignty, notwithstanding the warning given him by the late emperor; but as he endeavoured to force the imperial palace, after he had been proclaimed emperor by his friends in the circus, he was seized by the guards, who immediately cut off his head, and carried it to the emperor. With him fell the hopes of his party, most of his accomplices, who were men of great power and authority in the city, being discovered, and punished either with death or banishment.

During these domestic broils, Simeon, king of the Bulgarians, having laid waste Thrace, was advanced to the very gates of Constantinople, which city he had great hopes of reducing in a short time; but the unexpected and vigorous opposition he met with from the inhabitants, obliged him, after several unsuccessful attempts, to abandon the enterprise and retire to Hebdomon, whence he sent embassadors to the young prince's governors with overtures for a treaty; which were received with great joy. While the negotiations were carrying on, Simeon was admitted to dine with the emperor in the palace of Blachernae, whence he returned home loaded with rich presents. Cedrenus writes, that a peace was concluded; but Zonaras assures us, that the treaty was broken off, before it could be brought to an happy conclusion, the prince of the Bulgarians refusing to submit to the conditions insisted upon by the regents. If an agreement was made, it was broken soon after, as we shall relate anon. In the mean time, the regents, disagreeing amongst themselves, at the earnest request of the people of Constantinople and of the young prince himself, recalled to court the empress Zoe; who, having soon got all the power into her own hands, removed from the emperor's presence the favourites of Alexander, and put others in their room, who were better qualified for that high trust. Zoe had scarce taken upon her the administration, when the Bulgarians broke into the empire on one side, and the Saracens on the other. The former, after having laid waste Thrace, 

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1 Cedren. Zonar. Leo Grammæt. & Cæropalat. in Constant.
fat down before Adrianople, which was betrayed to them by one Pancratucus an Armenian, whom Simeon had bribed with rich presents. The Saracens, under the conduct of Damianus, kalif of Tyre, having equipped a powerful fleet, committed great devastations on the coasts. Zoe, thus attacked by two powerful enemies at once, resolved, pursuant to the advice of the senate, to make peace upon any terms with the Saracens, and employ the whole strength of the empire against the Bulgarians. Accordingly a treaty was happily concluded with the former, and a mighty army sent against the latter, under the conduct of Leo Phocas, who, having muster'd his numerous forces in the spacious plain of Diabasis, led them straight against the enemy, encamped at a small distance. Before the engagement, Constantine, the chief chaplain of the palace, or, as he was styled protopapa, exposing the wood of the holy cross to the view of the whole army, commanded them to kneel down, and swear, that they would fight to the last. After this, both armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expressed; but the Romans prevailed after a most obstinate dispute, the Bulgarians fled in the utmost confusion. The victory, however, was unluckily snatched out of their hands by the following accident: Leo, the Roman general, alighting at a fountain to quench his drought during the pursuit, his horse broke loose, while he stooped down to drink. The soldiers, who knew him, seeing him without a rider, concluded from thence, that their general was slain, and thereof, giving over the pursuit, began to retire in a disorderly manner; which Simeon quickly perceiving, rallied his men, and, facing about, fell unexpectedly upon the Romans, put them to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter, not only great numbers of the common soldiers being slain in that confusion, but many officers of great distinction. To this unhappy mistake some ascribe the dreadful overthrow which the Romans received on this occasion; but others relate the matter in a quite different manner. They tell us, that while Leo was busy in the pursuit of the enemy, news was brought him, that Romanus Lacapenus, the admiral, a man of great power and authority, who had been ordered to hover on the coast with his fleet and assist Leo, if required, was returned to Constantinople, with a design to seize on the empire in the absence of the army and the chief officers. Upon this intelligence, Leo, say they, who had the same ambitious view, returned immediately to the camp; 

*Curopalat. ibid.
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the better to be informed of the truth. But the soldiers, imagining he retired out of fear, were so discouraged, that they turned their pursuit into a sudden and disorderly flight. Simeon, elated with this unexpected success, resolved to return before Constantinople; but, two strong detachments from his army being met on their march by the imperial troops, and utterly defeated, he thought it advisable to drop that enterprise and return home. In the mean time, the two rivals, Leo and Romanus, returning to court, began to plot, not only against the emperor, but against each other; for they had both nothing less in view than the sovereignty. But the faction of Romanus prevailing at length over that of Leo, the latter was declared a traitor; and being seized in a castle named Atcas, whither he had fled for shelter, he was, by the emperor's orders, deprived of his sight, and by that means rendered incapable of any further attempts. Romanus, having thus got rid of Leo, and driven all his partisans from the emperor's presence, persuaded the young prince to marry his daughter, and to appoint his son Christopher commander in chief of the allies, which post was at that time one of the greatest dignities in the empire. Having in this manner engrossed to himself the whole power, he drove the empress Zoe from the palace, and confined her to the monastery of St. Euphemia. Soon after her departure, he caused himself to be first declared Cæsar, and afterwards to be solemnly crowned emperor by the patriarch, the young prince rather silently permitting, than approving of these extraordinary proceedings. The following year 921, Romanus caused his two sons, Stephen and Christopher, to be crowned in the great church, reserving the other, by name Theophylactus, for the patriarchal dignity; nay, with the utmost arrogance he ordered himself to be named before Constantine in all public edicts and monuments. Several projects were set on foot by the friends of young Constantine to deliver him from the controul, or rather captivity, in which he lived; but they were all discovered, before they were ripe for execution, and the authors of them punished with the utmost severity. Simeon, king of the Bulgarians, taking advantage of these intestine broils, broke anew into the Roman territories; and having defeated, with great slaughter, the imperial troops dispatched against him, he advanced, without opposition, to the very gates of Constantinople; but despairing of being ever able to reduce that metropolis, he desired an interview.

interview with the emperor Romanus; which being readily
granted, a peace thereupon ensued between the two nations,
Romanus having in a pathetic speech put the Bulgarian in
mind of the account he was to give one day to the eternal
Judge of the Christian blood he had already shed. At the
same time, the Saracens, who had long infested the coasts
and the islands, being surprised by John R الدينus, the Roman
admiral, in the harbour of Lemnos, were cut off almost to
a man, and their whole fleet destroyed. Not long after,
Simeon, king of the Bulgarians, died, and was succeeded by
his son Peter, who, breaking into the Roman dominions,
destroyed all with fire and sword, without any regard to the
treaty lately concluded between the emperor and his father.
When he heard Romanus was marching against him at the
head of a powerful army, he dispatched a monk to him, with
proposals for a peace, which he desired might be strengthened
and confirmed with a marriage. This overture being well
received by Romanus, the Bulgarian prince, after several ne-
gotiations, repaired to Constantinople, where he was splen-
didly entertained by Romanus in the palace of Blacherna,
and with great solemnity married by Stephen, the patriarch,
to Mary, the daughter of Christopher, the emperor’s son.
At one of many public entertainments that were made on this
occasion, the Bulgarians loudly complaining, at the instiga-
tion of Romanus, as was supposed, that the emperor Con-
fantine should take place of Christopher, the father-in-law
of their prince, Romanus, pretending to gratify them, caused
his son, with a seeming reluctance, to take the most honour-
able place. The nuptial solemnities were scarce over, when
the Saracens in Syria invaded the Roman territories; but John
Curcuas, the imperial general in those parts, not only drove
them back with great loss, but having besieged and taken the
city of Melitena, reduced the adjoining country to the form
of a province. The following winter proved very severe;
and the long frost, said to have lasted an hundred and twenty
days, was followed by a dreadful plague, which swept off
incredible numbers of people: earthquakes were felt in several
provinces, and whole cities overturned. At Constantinople
a fire broke out, which consumed many stately buildings.
But Romanus was not so much affected with these public ca-
lamities, as with the death of his son Christopher, who died
on the fourteenth of August of the present year 933. The
following year, one Basilus, a native of Macedon, giving
out,
out, that he was Constantine Ducas, who had been slain in the beginning of the present reign, drew vast crowds after him; but being seized by an officer in the army, he was brought to the emperor at Constantinople, who, after having caufed one of his hands to be cut off, set him at liberty. But he continuing still to pass himself upon the credulous multitude for the son of Andronicus, got together great numbers of malecontents, who, having seized on a strong hold, made from thence frequent incursions into the neighbouring country, destroys all with fire and sword. But Romanus, having with much difficulty got him once more into his power, ordered him to be burnt alive. In 944, the Rossii, who inhabited the European Sarmatia, and were known to the ancients by the names of Roxolani and Baffaræ, having equipped a numerous fleet, consisting, according to some of ten, according to others of fifteen, thousand vessels, committed dreadful ravages on the coasts of the empire. But Theophanes, the Roman admiral, falling unexpectedly upon them, destroyed their whole fleet; and the two generals Bardas and Curcuas, pursuing those who had saved themselves ashore, made such a havoc of them, that very few returned home with the news of their misfortune. All this while Constantine, the lawful prince, lived without the least authority, having but the bare name of emperor. However, he carefully watched an opportunity of recovering his former power; and with this view gained over some perfons of great credit and esteem with Romanus and his sons, who being well apprised, that to remove Romanus was the first step towards the re-establishment of Constantine, applied to Stephen, the usurper's youngest son, and by degrees brought him to rebel against his father, whom he feized on the sixteenth of December of the present year 944, and confined to a monastery in the island Prota. He being thus removed, Stephen caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in his room, obliging his elder brother Constantine, who had been raised by his father to the imperial dignity, to acknowledge him for his partner in the sovereignty. This gave rise to a misunderstanding between the two brothers, which proved fatal to both. For Constantine having invited them to an entertainment, as if he had been desirous of bringing about an accommodation, caused them both to be seized in the midst of their jollity, and to be immediately conveyed away, viz. Stephen.

k Idem ibid.  
N. p. 394.
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to the island of Panormus, and Constantine to Terebintus, where they were both ordained priests. Stephen was afterwards removed to Proconnesus, and from thence to Rhodes, then to Mitylene, and lastly to Lefbos, where he died, after having borne his misfortunes for many years with great constancy and resolution. Constantine having two years after killed one of his keepers, with a design to make his escape out of the island of Samothrace, whither he had been removed, the rest, transported with rage, fell upon him and slew him. As for Romanus, their father, he died in the beginning of the fourth year of his exile. Constantine, thus restored to his former power and authority, amply rewarded all those who had been instrumental in his restoration, preferring them to the first employments in the state. Soon after, in order to prevent any future designs that might be formed against him, he caused his son Romanus to be crowned with the usual solemnity, and Romanus the son of Stephen, with Bafilus the natural son of Romanus the elder, and Michael the son of Christopher, to be made eunuchs, and to enter into orders. In 948, the Saracens breaking into the empire with a mighty army, Bardas Phocas and his two sons Nicephorus and Leo were dispatched with the flower of the Roman forces against them. Bardas was one of the best officers of his age; but being hated by the soldiery on account of his extreme covetousness, he performed nothing answerable to the high character he bore; nay, his men having abandoned him in an engagement, he was dangerously wounded in the forehead, and with much ado brought off alive by some of his friends. His two sons gained several victories over the enemy, by whom, however, they were not more feared than beloved by those who served under them: Leo, having overthrown the Saracens in a pitched battle, took, among the other prisoners, Apolaenus, a person of great distinction, and nearly related to Chabdanus the calif; which the emperor no sooner knew, than he ordered the captive to be sent to Constantine, where the vain prince, after having led him in triumph, trod in an insulting manner upon his neck. The calif, highly provoked at this indignity, used in a most barbarous manner Constantine the third son of Bardas Phocas, whom he had taken prisoner, in order to make him abjure the Christian religion; but not being able to prevail with

\[n\] Cnepalat. Cedren. Zonar. ibid. Luitprand. l. v. c. 9, 10, 11.
him, he caused him to be poisoned. Phocas, to revenge his
death, put to the sword all the relations of the kalif, who had
the misfortune to fall into his hands. On the other hand, the kalif,
having raised a numerous and formidable army, marched
against Phocas and his sons, carrying with him Nicetas, a
patrician, and several other prisoners of distinction, with an in-
tent to cause them to be massacred in the fight of the Roman
army. But Nicetas, who was a man of great address, hav-
ing in the mean time insinuated himself into his favour, was
by him made privy to all his designs, which he found means
to impart to Phocas, who lying in ambush for him in a nar-
row pass, cut off his numerous army almost to a man, the
kalif himself escaping with much difficulty, after having put
to the sword all the Roman prisoners, except Nicetas, who,
by bribing his keepers, had made his escape in the beginning
of the engagement. After this victory, Phocas, invading
the territories of the Saracens, took several strong-holds, and
laid waste whole provinces. But, in the mean time, the Sa-
racens, who had settled in Crete, committing dreadful ra-
vages on the coasts, the emperor having with incredible ex-
pedition fitted out a powerful fleet, dispatched it with a strong
army on board against the island of Crete, where they landed,
without the least opposition from the Saracens, altogether unprovided against so sudden a descent, and would have
easily made themselves masters of the whole island, had they
been commanded by an officer of any skill or experience.
But the emperor having appointed commander in chief in
this expedition one of his chamberlains named Constantine
Gongylas, who had been brought up in the court, and was
consequently an utter stranger to the art of war, through his ignorance the whole undertaking miscarried. For the Saracens, finding he neither took care to fortify himself by any works, nor to send out scouts to get intelligence, concluded from thence, that he was no warrior; and recovering from their consternation, fell upon him unexpectedly,
put his army to flight with great slaughter, and made them-
selves masters of his camp and baggage. He had himself
fallen into the enemy’s hands, had not some of his guards, in
spite of their utmost efforts, conveyed him on board one of
his vessels. Not long after this defeat, Romanus, the em-
peror’s son, prompted by his ambition, and egged on by his
wife Theophano or Theophania, conspired with her against
his father; and having gained over Nicetas, one of the at-
tendants

* Curopalat. in Constantin.
tendants at the emperor’s table, prevailed upon him to administer poison to the prince instead of a potion, which had been prescribed to him by his physicians. But the emperor happening to stumble after he had taken in his hand the poisonous cup, the greater part of the draught was spilt by that lucky accident; so that what remained had not the desired effect, tho’ his life was for some time in great danger. In the month of September of the same year, he undertook a journey to mount Olympus, to beg the prayers of the monks, as given out, for the success of his arms against the Saracens, whom he designded, if possible, to drive out of Syria: but the true motive of his journey was to advise with Theodorus, bishop of Cyzicus, by what means he might drive from the patriarchal see Polyeuctus, who had succeeded Theophylactus, the son of Romanus. Being taken ill on his journey, either by the wicked practices of his son, or through the bad habit of his body, he was carried back in a litter to Constantinople, where he died on the ninth of November 960, after having lived fifty-four years and two months, and reigned thirteen with his father, uncle, and mother, twenty-five with Romanus, and fifteen alone? Curopalates, from whom other authors have copied, charges him with being too much addicted to wine, and with committing the whole management of affairs to his wife Helena and his favourite Basilus, who, abusing the trust reposed in them, set every thing to sale, bestowing the first employments in the state on the highest bidder. By this means all the offices, both civil, and military, were filled with persons no ways qualified for them, which equally redounded to his dishonour and the detriment of the state. He is likewise condemned for punishing the smallest faults with the utmost severity. On the other hand, he was a great encourager of learning, which he is said to have revived, after letters had been long neglected. He was himself well skilled in most branches of literature, especially in history, arithmetic, astronomy, philosophy, and geometry. Zonaras commends him on account of his piety, which, says he, appeared in all his writings and epistles? 

Constantine was succeeded by his son Romanus, sur- Romanus, named the boy, to distinguish him from the other Romanus, his grandfather; for he was the son of Constantine by Helena,


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lana, the daughter of Romanus the usurper. He is des-
servedly reckoned amongst the most lewd and debauched
princes mentioned in history. Tho' he was himself capa-
bile of governing well, being endowed with uncommon
parts, yet he committed the whole management of affairs
to one Jofeph, his chief chamberlain, that he might, with
more liberty and without interruption, pursue his pleasures;
which he did, wallowing in all manner of debaucheries,
without bestowing one thought on the public. Soon after
his accession, he caused his young son Basilius to be crowned
with the usual solemnity by the patriarch Polyeuctus; and
imagining he had by that means secured the empire to his
potestity, he took no further care either of his family or the
public. In the second year of his reign, Nicephorus Phocas,
a person of extraordinary merit, who had been raised by
Constantine to the chief command of all the forces of the
empire, undertook, with the consent of Romanus and the
senate, an expedition against the Saracens in Crete; and
landing in that island, defeated the enemy in several engage-
ments, made himself master of all their strong holds, Chand-
dax itself not excepted, took Curupes, the kalif, and Arce-
mas, his lieutenant, prisoners, and in the space of seven
months reduced the whole island. But before he could set-
tle affairs there, he was recalled by the emperor, at the in-
festation of Jofeph, who, growing jealous of the success of
Nicephorus, alarmed the young prince with a pretended pre-
diction, that "he who conquered Crete should become
master of the whole Roman empire." While Nicepho-
rus was thus signalizing himself in Crete, his brother Leo
was attended with equal success in the east, where he gave
the Saracens the greatest overthrow they had ever received.
Chabdamus, their kalif, with much difficulty, made his es-
cape; but the rest were either killed upon the spot, or taken
prisoners. Such numbers of captives were sent by Leo to
Constantinople, that all the houses, both in the city and the
neighbouring country, were, if we may give credit to the
writers of those times, filled with Saracen slaves. Leo, on
his return to Constantinople, was honoured with a triumph;
but his brother Nicephorus, of whom the emperor ent-
tained no small jealousy, on account of the above-mentioned
prediction, was not allowed to come to court, but ordered
to march against Chabdamus, the kalif of Syria, who, having
recruited his army after his late defeat, threatened the empire
with a new invasion. But Nicephorus, meeting him on the
borders
borders of Syria, overthrew him in a pitched battle; and then laying siege to Beroea, made himself master of that important place, in which he found great wealth, and multitudes of Christian captives, who on that occasion recovered their liberty. The news of this victory had not yet reached Constantinople, when the emperor died, after having lived twenty-four years, and reigned thirteen years four months and five days, viz. ten with his father, and the rest alone. His death, which happened on the fifteenth of March of the year 963, is by some ascribed to poison, administered to him by his wife Theophano; by others, to his great lewdness and intemperance. He left two sons behind him, viz. Basilius and Constantine; but as they were yet very young, the empress Theophano took upon her the administration; which she had no sooner done, than she commanded Nicephorus to repair to Constantinople, much against the will of Joseph, the prime minister, and honoured him with a triumph in the circus, where he displayed the rich spoils he had taken in the island of Crete and the city of Beroea. During his stay at Constantinople, he found that Joseph suspected him of ambitious designs, as if he aspired at the empire, which he was well apprised would end in his ruin, Joseph still bearing great sway at court. In order therefore to remove the suspicions of the prime minister, having desired and obtained of him a private audience, he told him, that looking upon all worldly grandeur with that contempt it deserved, he had long panted after a retired and monastic life; but had been prevented from complying with his inclination by the kindnec of his masters, who had forced employments upon him of the greatest trust. At the same time, he shewed him a hair-cloth, which he pretended he wore constantly next his skin. The credulous minister, surprized at his speech and the sight of the hair-cloth, fell down at his feet, and with tears in his eyes, begging his pardon, declared, that for the future he would give no credit to any thing that could be alleged against him. Nicephorus, having thus gained the good opinion of Joseph, was suffered to return to the army in the east; where he had not been long, ere Joseph, jealous of the esteem he was in with the army, began to repent he had let him escape out of his hands, and seriously to consider by what means he might put him out of a condition of raising disturbances in the state. As his apprehensions daily encreased, he wrote in the end to Tzimisches.
and Curcuas, two principal commanders in the east, promising to prefer them to the first posts in the army, provided they seized on Nicephorus, and secured him in a monastery, or by any other means removed him out of the way. But the two officers not only delivered the letters to Nicephorus, but advised him to provide for his own safety by the only means that was now left him, viz. that of taking upon him the sovereignty. This proposal he rejected at first, or seemed to reject, with the utmost horror; but Tzimiarches and Curcuas threatening him with their drawn swords, he accepted of the empire, as was given out, to save his life, and suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor on the second of July of the year 963. Some writers tell us, that he was not so much prompted by his ambition to usurp the sovereignty, as by his love for the empress Theophano, of whom he had been long enamoured. They add, that he maintained a private, and perhaps not altogether innocent, correspondence with her, which greatly heightened the suspicions of the prime minister, who had secret intelligence of all that passed. As Nicephorus was no less beloved by the people of Constantinople, on account of his affability and mighty exploits, than Joseph was hated for his pride and haughty carriage, the news of what had happened in the east was received by all ranks of people with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, nothing being heard in the streets but success and prosperity to Nicephorus Callinicus, or the brave conqueror. The house of Joseph and those of his friends and adherents were in an instant levelled with the ground by the tumultuous rabble. The new prince, being arrived at Chry- fopolis, was there met by the chief nobility, and conducted to Hebdomon, where he was crowned with great solemnity by the patriarch Polyeuctus. Being thus acknowledged both by the people and senate, he began his reign by banishing Joseph into Paphlagonia, and confining him to a monastery in that province, where he died two years after. In the second year of his reign, he married the empress Theophano, though he was therein opposed with great warmth by the patriarch, because he had been married before, and was said to have fixed godfather to one of the empress's children; nay, Polyeuctus proceeded so far as to excommunicate the emperor, pretending his marriage to be unlawful, on account of the two above-mentioned impediments. But the matter being examined in a synod held for that purpose at Constantinople,

2 Idem Cedren. Zonar. & ali. in Niceph.
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Nicephorus was by the assembled bishops restored to the communion of the church. In the third year of his reign, he raised a powerful army, with a design to drive out of Sicily the Saracens, who had settled there, and were daily committing dreadful ravages on the coasts of Italy. With the command of this army he entrusted Manuel, the natural son of his uncle Leo, who, being an entire stranger to the art of war, suffered himself to be drawn by the enemy into the mountainous parts of the island, where he was cut off with all his men. John Zimisces, who commanded in Cilicia, was attended with better success; for the Saracens, who had invaded that province, were defeated by him with such slaughter, that the hill, on which the battle was fought, was from that time forward called the bloody hill. The same year, the Saracens in Cyprus were overthrown in several successive battles, and in the end driven quite out of the island, which was reunited to the dominions of the empire. The following year, the emperor marched in person against the Saracens in Cilicia, took three of their strongest cities; and having wintered in Cappadocia, invested early in the spring the cities of Mopuefta and Tarfus at the same time, which, after an obstinate defence, were obliged to surrender at discretion. A fleet, with a great number of troops on board, was sent from Egypt to the relief of Tarfus; but the city having submitted three days before their arrival, they failed back, when they were overtaken by a violent storm, which destroyed most of their ships, and drove the rest on the coasts of the empire, where they were seized, with the soldiers on board, by the Romans. Nicephorus, encouraged with the success that attended his arms, broke into Syria the following year; and having easily reduced such cities and forts as refused voluntarily to submit, he marched forward, the Saracens flying every-where before him, and laid siege to Antioch itself. But as that metropolis was defended by a numerous garrison, and well stored with provisions, the emperor, after having continued three months before it, was obliged by the approach of winter, to drop the enterprise and return to Constantinople. Cedrenus writes, that he might have reduced the place, but was deterred from it by an old prediction, that the prince who took Antioch would not long enjoy that conquest. Upon his return to Constantinople, Burtzas, a patrician, whom he had left in Syria

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a Cypropolat. in Nicoph. b Idem ibid. c Cedren. in Niceph.
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with a large body of troops, to secure the places he had conquered in those parts, having drawn together his forces in the depth of winter, marched strait to Antioch, and appearing unexpectedly before the place, struck the garrison with such terror, that they immediately submitted. Thus was the metropolis of Syria once more reunited to the empire. But Nicephorus, mindful, says Cedrenus, of the above-mentioned prophecy, instead of rewarding Burtzas for such an eminent piece of service, discharged him, and forbade him the court. John Zimisces, who had served him with the utmost fidelity and uncommon success, was likewise dismissed soon after upon some groundless suspicion, and banished the court, which in the end proved the ruin of the unhappy prince. For Zimisces, highly provoked at the undeserved treatment he met with, confired with Burtzas, and several others, and found means to draw the empress herself into the conspiracy, incensed against her husband, according to the most probable opinion, on account of his designing, as he apprehended, to make her two sons Basilius and Constantine eunuchs, and to leave the empire to his brother Leo. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the empress was not only privy to the conspiracy, but acted the chief part in it; for by her means Zimisces and the other conspirators were privately let into the palace in the night-time, and conducted to the emperor’s room, where they dispatched him with many wounds, before the guards could come to his relief. When they received the alarm, Leo Abalantius, cutting off the emperor’s head, shoved it out of the window; which unexpected sight struck the guards with such terror, that, without offering to revenge the unfortunate prince’s death, they continued quiet, expecting what farther designs the conspirators had in view. Such was the end of Nicephorus Phocas, in the fifty-eighth year of his age and seventh of his reign. He was without all doubt a prince of great valor and experience in war, gained several signal victories over the Saracens, drove them out of the island of Cyprus, recovered Cilicia and the greater part of Syria and Africa Minor, and would in all likelihood, if he had lived longer, have restored the empire to its antient splendor. But his abominable covetousness and the exorbitant taxes, with which he loaded his subjects, estranged from him the minds of the people; so that he was, notwithstanding the glory he had acquired in arms, universally hated both by the nobility and the populace, who were

so far from revenging his death, that they received the news 
of it with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable.

Nicephorus being thus murdered, John Zimisces was 
proclaimed by the conspirators, and by all acknowledged 
emperor. His first care was to remove from their em-
ployments, both in the state and army, all the friends of the 
deceased emperor, and among the rest Leo, the brother of 
Nicephorus, whom he confined to the island of Lesbos. All 
those who had been banished by his predecessor he recalled, 
and restored them to their former honours. When he 
thought himself by this means thoroughly settled on the 
throne, he went to the great church to receive the crown at 
the hands of the patriarch. But Polyuenatus, meeting him at 
the door, opposed his entrance, telling him, that he could not 
suffer the church to be profaned by one who had imbrued his 
hands in the blood of his sovereign, till he had atoned by a 
public penance for so enormous a crime. Zimisces heard the 
patriarch with great submision; and, being unwilling to quar-
rel with the church in the beginning of his reign, offered him-
self ready to give what satisfaction should be thought proper, 
alluding at the same time in his own defence, that the emperor 
had not been murdered by him, but by Abanalintus, at the in-
stigation of the empress. Hereupon the patriarch commanded 
him to banish them both, and to revoke all the edicts pub-
lished by his predecessor to the prejudice of the church and 
the ecclesiastics; which he readily complying with, and at 
the same time promising to settle his paternal estate on the 
poor, the patriarch admitted him into the church, where he 
was crowned with great solemnity on Christmas-day. As 
for the empress Theophano, she was banished into Armenia, 
and there shut up in a monastery. Some writers are of op-
inion, that the opposition made by the patriarch was not real, 
but feigned, and concerted beforehand between him and Zim-
isces, who only wanted a plausible pretence to remove her. 
However that be, the new emperor took her two sons Basil-
ius and Constantine for his collegues, and caufed them to be 
acknowledged as such by the senate and people of Constanti-
нопole. In the mean time, the Saracens, hearing of the death 
of Nicephorus, raised without los of time one of the most 
numerous armies that had been seen for some ages in those 
parts; and, giving the command of it to one Zochares, a 
person well skilled in the art of war, fat down before Anti-
och, not doubting, but they should be able to reduce the 
splace, before it could be relieved by the emperor. But, in 
pite of their utmost efforts, the besieged held out, till Nic-
olas,
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las, an eunuch, declared general by the emperor, having raised what forces he could in Mesopotamia and the neighbouring provinces, fell unexpectedly upon them, gave them a total overthrow, and obliged them to raise the siege, and return with shame and disgrace to their own territories. The following year 970, the Rossii, having driven out the Bulgarians and seized on their country, advanced with an army of above three hundred thousand men into the dominions of the empire, and, having wasted all Thrace, sat down before Adrianople. Zimifces, having first endeavoured in vain to come to an agreement with them, ordered Bardas Sclerus, or the bold, his wife’s brother, to make head against them with what troops he could draw together. Bardas, pursuant to his orders, marched straight to Adrianople; but not daring to venture an engagement, as he had with him but thirteen thousand men, he had recourse to stratagems; and having drawn a strong party of the enemy into an ambuscade, he first cut them all off to a man; and then falling, when least expected, upon the main body of their army, he gave them a total overthrow, put most of them to the sword, took an incredible number of prisoners, and would not have suffered one to escape, had not night coming on obliged him to give over the pursuit. The Romans are said to have lost but twenty-five men in both engagements. The successes which attended the emperor’s arms abroad did not deter several of the nobility from conspiring against him at home, with a design to raise to the empire Bardas Phocas, the late prince’s nephew, who, upon the encouragement given him by his friends at Constantinople, withdrew on a sudden out of Asia, the place of his banishment; and, being joined by several persons of distinction, made himself master of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and there took upon him the imperial title and ensigns. At the same time, Leo, the father of Phocas, who had been confined to the island of Lesbos, attempted to make his escape from thence with his other son Nicephorus, in order to join Bardas; but being apprehended by the emperor’s officers, both he and Nicephorus were sentenced to death, but soon after pardoned by the good-natured emperor. In the mean time, Bardas Sclerus, who had been dispatched by the emperor at the head of a considerable army against Phocas, arriving at Dorylaeum the capital of Phrygia, endeavoured first by fair offers to bring him and his accomplices back to their duty; for he had been strictly enjoined by

5 Idem. in Zimifce.
by the emperor to abstain, as much as possible, from shedding blood. But when he found them deaf to his offers and pro-

mises, he left Dorylaus, and advanced to Caesarea, in order to lay siege to that place. Upon his approach, those who had appeared the most fangouc in the revolt agreed among them-

selves to abandon Phocas, and consult their own safety. Ac-

ccordingly, they withdrew with their attendants, before Bar-

das invested the place; for that Phocas, who had with him but a small number of troops, thought it advisable to retire from Caesarea, and shut himself up in a strong castle called Cyropoeum, which at first he resolved to defend to the utmost extremity. But when Bardas invested the place, and by repeated meffages aflured him of all imaginable kindness on his part, and at the fame time undertook to obtain his pardon of the emperor, he submitted; and depending upon the pro-
mises of Bardas, delivered himself up into his hands. The emperor granted him his life; but, to prevent his raising new disturbances, confined him to the island of Chios. The rebellion being thus suppressed, the emperor married with great solemnity Theodore, according to some the sister, according to others the daughter, of the late emperor Romanus. The following year 971, the emperor, being informed that the Rossii, notwithstanding their late defeat, were preparing to invade the empire anew, resolved to be beforehand with them. Accordingly having raised a powerful army, and committed the administration of affairs at home to such as he thought he had the greatest reason to confide in, he set out from Constantinople early in the spring; and marching with great expedition over mount Haemus, invested Perithalba, the principal city of Bulgaria, before the enemy received the least intelli-
gence of his approach. A party of the Rossii, consisting of eight thousand men, attempted to throw themselves into the city, but were all to a man either cut off, or taken prisoners, by the Romans: among the latter was Sphagellus, a person of great authority among the Bulgarians. The Romans, animated with this success, attacked the city with great resolution and intrepidity, but were obliged, by the approach of night, to retire to their camp, before they could render it. Early next morning, Zimises, having drawn out his men, offered the besieged very advantageous conditions; which they rejecting, he gave the signal for a general attack. The Rossii made a most vigorous resistance; but, the Romans pre-
takes their city, and the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, put to the sword by the incensed soldiery. Eight thousand Scythians,
part of the garrison, finding the Romans masters of the city, retired to the citadel, with a design to defend themselves there to the last extremity. As the cattle fled on a steep rock, and the Romans were already greatly fatigued, they seemed inclined to put off the assault to the next day. But Zimisces advancing in person against the enemy, at the head of a small band of chosen men, the whole army followed him, every one striving who should first thrust himself between his prince and the danger that threatened him. The Scythians fought like men in despair; but the Romans, after a terrible slaughter on both sides, made themselves in the end masters of the place. All the Scythians were either driven down the rocks and precipices, or put to the sword. In the city, when the first fury of the soldiery was over, the women and children were spared, and, together with such men as were found without arms, made prisoners. Among the captives was Borises, king of the Bulgarians, who being conducted to the emperor in his royal robes, was received by him in a manner suitable to his rank, magnificently entertained, and released with his wife, and children, and all the Bulgarians, Zimisces declaring he was at war with none but the Rossii. The city of Perithalba was utterly destroyed; but the emperor, having caused it to be rebuilt, called it after his own name Joannopolis. From thence he marched to Doroferus, a city of great strength on the Danube, where he was met by the army of the Rossii, three hundred and thirty thousand strong. However, he resolved to venture an engagement, which they not declining, one of the most bloody battles ensued we find mentioned in history. It continued from morning to night, victory inclining sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another. As night approached, the left wing of the Rossii began to give ground, which the emperor observing, he charged them at the head of a chosen body with such resolution, that they betook themselves in the end to a precipitous and disorderly flight. Upon their retreat, the Romans, animated by the example of their prince, fell with fresh vigour upon the main body of the enemy, and bearing all down before them, carried the day. The Rossii fled in the utmost confusion to Doroferus, whether the emperor pursued them, and laid close siege to the place, which brought on a second battle, wherein the Rossii were defeated anew with great slaughter. However, they still held out, and in their daily fallies made a dreadful havoc of the Romans, till their provisions failing them, they unanimously agreed to quit the city, and open themselves a way, sword in hand, through the midst of the Roman army. This they
they attempted with great boldness and resolution, and succeeded in the attempt, though great numbers of them were cut in pieces, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a precipitous flight. Their general, by name Stephoschetalus, finding himself no longer in a condition to make head against the Romans, sent embassadors to the emperor, offering to relinquish Bulgaria, and conclude a peace upon the following terms; viz. That he should be acknowledged as a friend and ally of the empire; that he and his countrymen should be suffered to return home unmolested; and that a free commerce should be settled between the two nations. The emperor, who was grown weary of the war, readily agreeing to these articles, the treaty was concluded and signed by both parties. After this Stephoschetalus went to wait on the emperor, who received him in a very obliging manner, entertained him with great magnificence, and dismissed him loaded with rich presents. The Rossii being obliged, on their way home, to pass through the territories of the Patcinace, that fierce and savage people fell upon them unexpectedly, and cut of the general and most of his men. The war with the Rossii being thus ended, to the great reputation of Zimifises, and the safety of the empire, the emperor caused all the towns on the Danube to be fortified, and then returned to Constantinople, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. He was met at some distance from the city by the patriarch, the clergy, the senate, and the people, with crowns, and a triumphal chariot, drawn by four horses richly caparisoned; but he, placing the image of the virgin Mary in the chariot, followed it in a solemn procession, mounted on a white horse, and thus entered the city amidst the joyful acclamations of the people. During the war with the Rossii, several cities in the east, which had been reduced by his predecessor, revolted, which obliged him to undertake another expedition. Leaving therefore Constantinople, he marched into the eastern provinces; and having reduced several cities, partly by force, partly by fair promises, he advanced as far as Damascus, and there rested some time, applying himself with great care to the affairs of state. During his stay in the east, he was informed, that Basilius the eunuch had engrossed almost the whole wealth of those provinces to himself; that most of the fine palaces and fruitful territories, which he observed on the road, belonged to him; that in the late reign he had oppressed the people in a most cruel manner, &c. Upon which he broke out with a sigh in

Cupropalat. bid. Cedren. & Leo Gramm. in Zimifisc.
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this expression; "How unhappy is the present condition of the Roman empire, which is thus pillaged by an avaricious and aspiring eunuch!" Basilus had served with great reputation under several emperors in their wars with the Saracens; and, as he was a man of great authority, had not a little contributed to the promotion of Nicephorus, who out of gratitude raised him to the post of prime minister, in which he was continued by Zimisces, on account of his great knowledge and experience in affairs of state. As he had many friends at court, he was soon informed of the emperor's reflection; and apprehending he might be called to an account, he resolved to prevent, by some means or other, the evil consequences, which he had reason to fear would attend it. Accordingly, by large presents and greater promises, he prevailed upon the emperor's cup-bearer to administer him poison; which brought him to his end, before he reached Constantinople. Though he mistrusted his prime minister, yet he would not suffer any inquiries to be made about the treason, but spent the short time he lived in exercises of christian piety. He died in 976, after having reigned six years and as many months, and was universally lamented, especially by the inhabitants of Constantinople, whom he had eased of many heavy taxes, with which they had been burdened by his predecessors. He is deservedly reckoned amongst the best and greatest emperors, on account of his equity, moderation, courage, and piety, in which he excelled most of his predecessors. He was the first who caused the image of our Saviour to be engraved on the coins, with this legend, "Jesus Christ, the King of kings. The writers of those times tell us, that in the last battle with the Rossii, a champion on a white horse was observed by the whole army fighting before the first ranks; that to his single valour was owing the victory gained on that occasion; and that, as he had never been seen before and disappeared after the battle, they all believed him to be St. Theodore the martyr, on whose anniversary the victory was obtained. The emperor himself seemed to be of this opinion; for he repaired a church dedicated to that martyr, and changed the name of Euchaniae, the city in which it stood, to that of Theodoropolis. Zimisces, dying without children, appointed Basilus and Constantine, the sons of the late emperor Romanus by Theophano, for his successors. But as both princes were under age, the eldest being but nineteen and the other seventeen,
teen, Basilius the eunuch, took upon him the administration; and, the better to establish his authority, recalled Theophano, the young prince's mother, who had been banished by Zimisces. His next care was to remove Bardas Sclerus, of whom we have spoken above. He had been rewarded for his eminent services by Zimisces with the chief command of all the forces in the east, and was greatly beloved by the soldiery, among whom he had been brought up from his youth. This gave no small jealousy to the prime minister, who thereupon deprived him of his command, and sent him into Mesopotamia, to restrain the incursions of the Saracens into that province. Sclerus broke out into bitter invectives against Basilius; but the prime minister threatening to deprive him of all his employments and confine him to his house, he thought it advisable to obey the orders he had received, and to depart into the province which had been assigned him. He carried with him a firm resolution of being revenged on his rival; and accordingly, soon after his arrival, he acquainted the chief officers of the army with his design, who all to a man promising to stand by him, and encouraging him to set up for himself, he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and was saluted as such with loud acclamations by the whole army. Having spent the winter in warlike preparations, and entered into an alliance with the Saracens, who sent him large supplies of money and horses, he set forward in the beginning of the spring towards Constantinople. Basilius, struck with terror and dismay at the news of his revolt, left no means unattempted to divert the impending storm. He dispatched orders to Peter, who had been appointed, in the room of Sclerus, commander of the forces in the east, to draw together all his troops, and encamp with his whole army in the neighbourhood of Caesarea. At the same time, Syncellus, bishop of Nicomedia, a man famed for his eloquence and the holiness of his life, was sent to try whether he could prevail upon Sclerus to quit his unjust pretensions, and disband his army. The usurper received the prelate with the greatest demonstrations of esteem and affection; and, having heard him in appearance with great submission, returned him this short answer: That having once appeared in the purple, he was firmly resolved never to quit it but with his life. Upon the return of the bishop to court, Peter was ordered to secure all the passses, and to prepare for a vigorous defence, in case he was attacked, but by no means to begin hostilities. Peter, pursuant to his orders, posted strong parties in all the passses; but Sclerus hav-
ving, in spite of all opposition, opened himself a way into Cappadocia, encamped at a small distance from the imperial army. Hereupon several skirmishes ensued, without any considerable advantage on either side. But at length Sclerus, falling unexpectedly upon the emperor's army, cut great numbers of them in pieces, before they could put themselves in a posture of defence; and having forced the rest to save themselves by flight, made himself master of their campy in which he found great sums of money and an immense quantity of arms and provisions. The fame of this victory induced most of the eastern provinces to renounce their allegiance to the young princes, and declare for Sclerus, who, elated with this success, would not so much as admit to his presence the embassadors, who were sent to him with very honourable and advantageous proposals. In the mean time, Leo, who had been appointed to succeed Peter in the command of the army, arriving in Phrygia, marched from thence at the head of a strong detachment into the eastern provinces, which had submitted to the usurper, but had been left quite destitute of troops. This obliged Sclerus to divide his army, and send a body of men to cover those countries. But Leo falling in with them on their march, a battle ensued, in which the emperor's troops had the advantage, great numbers of Sclerus's men being slain, and many taken prisoners. The usurper, alarmed at the news of this defeat, left Cappadocia, and hastening after Leo, came up with him in a few days march, engaged him, and gained a complete victory. Most of the chief officers in the emperor's army were slain, and Leo himself taken prisoner, with several other persons of great distinction. Such of them as had abandoned Sclerus to side with Leo, had their eyes pulled out by the usurper's orders at the head of the army. As for Leo himself, he was treated with great civility, but kept under close confinement. Bardas, animated with this success, marched strait to Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, not doubting, but he should carry the place at the first assault. But Manuel Eroticus, whom Basilus had sent with a considerable body of troops to defend it, repulsed the usurper in several successive attempts with such vigour, that, despairing of being able to take a place so well garrisoned by force, he resolved to reduce it by famine. Manuel, apprised of his design, and sensible of the great frights to which the numerous garrison would be soon reduced, filled the empty granaries with sand, which he strewed over with corn, and shewed them to some prisoners he had
Chap. 34. The Roman History.

had taken; who, being dismissed, represented to Sclerus, that he attempted in vain to reduce a place by famine, that was so plentifully supplied with corn. Soon after, Manuel sent deputies to acquaint Sclerus, that, considering the doubtful events of war, he was willing to surrender upon certain conditions, one of which was, that the garrison should be allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and to pass unmolested to Constantinople. To these conditions the usurper readily consented; but was highly provoked, when, entering the city, he discovered the deceit, and found the place quite destitute of provisions. Sclerus, after the reduction of Nice, was preparing to march to Constantinople, where he had many friends, who were ready to declare for him as soon as he appeared. But, in the mean time, Bardas Phocas, whom Basilius had recalled from exile, and appointed commander in chief against Sclerus, as the only man in the empire able to contend with him, arriving, with all the troops he could draw together, at Amorium, the usurper thought it advisable to march in the first place against him. Accordingly he hastened with all his forces to Amorium; and coming there to an engagement, put Phocas's army to the rout. Though Phocas himself discharged all the offices of a valiant soldier and experienced officer, yet his soldiers were so dispirited by former defeats, that he could neither with words nor his example inspire them with courage. Phocas, no longer able to keep the field, retired to Phrygia, and having there received large supplies out of Iberia and the other provinces, which continued steadfast in their allegiance, he resolved to venture a second engagement. Accordingly, leaving Phrygia, he advanced into Cappadocia, where he found Sclerus encamped on a large plain named Panclea, and ready to receive him. Both armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expressed; but Phocas's men beginning, after an obstinate dispute, to give ground, the brave general, determined to conquer or perish, opened himself a way, sword in hand, into the midst of the enemy's ranks, and there engaging Sclerus himself, dangerously wounded him. Some of the enemy's officers, apprized of the danger their general was in, hastened to his rescue; and finding him covered all over with blood, they carried him to a neighbouring fountain, there to wash his wound and refresh him, as he was fainting with drought. In the mean time, his horse

1 Curopalat. Cedren. Leo Gramm. luid.
Bardas gains a complete victory over Sclerus.

Who flies to Babylon.

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horse running in with his bloody main among the ranks, his soldiers concluded from thence, that their general was slain, which occasioned such consternation in the army, that, instead of pursuing the emperor's troops, who had, in spite of Phocas's utmost endeavours, begun to fly, they fled themselves in the greatest confusion, some throwing themselves headlong down vast precipices, others taking to the river Halyss, in which great numbers were drowned. Thus was the fortune of the day turned, and the victory, by a lucky mistake, snatched out of the hands of the enemy, who were pursued with great slaughter by Phocas. Sclerus escaped with a small body of horse to Martyropolis, and from thence to Babylon, to implore the protection and assistance of Closfrothes, sultan of the place; which the emperor Basiliius no sooner understood, than he dispatched embassadors to Closfrothes, representing to him the evils that might accrue from one prince's protecting such as had, by an open revolt, taken arms against another. The embassadors were at the same time enjoined to assure Sclerus in the emperor's name, that he should not only be pardoned, but received into favour and restored to his former honours, provided he renounced his pretensions and returned home. Closfrothes, finding the embassadors were privately treating with Sclerus, ordered both him and them to be thrown into prison, whence we shall fee him in a short time releaved, to raise new disturbances in the empire.

The rebellion of Sclerus being thus suppressed, the emperor Basiliius, who had taken the administration into his own hands, resolved to be revenged on the Bulgarians, who had made frequent inroads into the empire, while the emperor's troops were employed in the east. With this view he put himself at the head of his army, and, without impairing his design either to Phocas or any other of his generals in the east, he entered Bulgarla, and, leaving Leo Melissenus to secure the narrow passes behind him, marched straight to Sardica. But while he was preparing to lay siege to that important place, Stephen, commander in chief of the western forces, and an avowed and irreconcilable enemy to Leo Melissenus, coming in the dead of the night to the emperor's tent, conjured him to lay aside all other designs whatsoever, and to return with all possible expedition to Constantinople, whither Leo had already marched, with a design to seize on the sovereignty in his absence. The emperor, alarmed at this unexpected news, and apprehending the enemy might, by seizing on the posts which Leo was said to have abandoned, cut off his retreat, ordered in a great frigh
fright his army to march the same night; which being observed by Samuel, prince of the Bulgarians, he fell upon them in their retreat, and put great numbers of them to the sword. The emperor with great difficulty reached Philippopolis, where he found Leo carefully attending his duty on the station which had been assigned him. Hereupon, highly provoked against Stephen, who had thus imposed upon him, he immediately discharged him, and conferred his employment on his competitor. Stephen, however, maintained to the last, that Leo really intended to usurp the empire; which incensed the emperor to such a degree, that he could not forbear striking him, and dragging him in a violent passion on the ground by his hair and long beard.

The emperor had undertaken the Bulgarian expedition, as we have observed above, without imparting his design to Bardas Phocas, commander in chief of all the eastern forces. This that general highly resented; and apprehending the young prince would act for the future without any regard to his counsels, he began to entertain thoughts of usurping the supreme authority. The officers of the army, to whom he imparted the motive of his discontent, encouraged him in his attempt, and promised to support him to the last; so that, after several private conferences, they all met at the house of one Eufathius Melenius, and there investing Phocas with the imperial ornaments, unanimously proclaimed him emperor. At the same time, Bardas Sclerus, of whom we have spoken above, being set at liberty by Chosroes sultan of Babylon, returned into the territories of the empire, at the head of three thousand Roman captives, the sultan having granted them their liberty, in regard of their eminent services against the rebellious Persians. With these Sclerus thought himself once more in a condition to renew his former pretensions; and accordingly entering Mesopotamia, caufed himself to be there acknowledged emperor. But being, in the mean time, informed of the revolt of Phocas, after having been some time in suspense whether he should join him or Basilius, he offered in the end to assist Phocas, and share the empire with him; but at the same time he advised his son Romanus privately to abandon him, and fly to Basilius at Constantinople. By this means, if Phocas prevailed, he thought he should be able to obtain of him his son's pardon; and if Basilius got the better, he did not doubt, but
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his son would have interest enough to obtain his of the emperor. Romanus, upon his arrival at Constantinople, was received by Basilius with all possible demonstrations of kindness, and raised to the first employments in the state. But Sclerus met with a far different treatment from Phocas; they agreed at first to divide the empire between them; Sclerus was to have for his share Antioch, Phœnicia, Palestine, Coele Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt; Constantinople, with the rest of the provinces, was allotted to Phocas. This agreement being ratified and sworn to by both parties, Sclerus and Bardas joined their forces; which was no sooner done, than Phocas caused Sclerus to be privately seized; and, having stripped him of his imperial ornaments, committed him to close prison. His men at first mutinied; but, being overpowered with numbers, they were forced to submit, and in the end prevailed upon with large promises to serve under Phocas; who, being thus reinforced, sent Calocyrus Delfinus with part of his army to Chrytopolis, while he removed with the rest to Abydus, in order to besiege that important place, and, after reducing it, to block up Constantinople itself. But, in the mean time, the emperor Basilius, acquainted with the enemy's motions, having pafled the freights in the night, fell unexpectedly upon Delfinus; and having put his army to flight at the first onset, took him and some other officers of great note prisoners, who were all immediately nailed to several trees on the highway, to strike terror into the rest. Phocas met with a vigorous resistance at Abydus, the inhabitants and garrison being encouraged by the arrival of the imperial fleet, which was immediately followed by the emperor Basilius, and he soon after by his brother Constantine. Upon the arrival of the two princes, Phocas resolved to give them battle; and accordingly, leaving part of his forces before Abydus to pursue the siege, he drew up the rest in a neighbouring plain. Some of the young princes generals advised them to throw themselves into Abydus, and there wait the arrival of fresh supplies; but the greater part thinking it advisable to engage the enemy without loss of time, they marched at the head of their forces in battle-array into the plain where the usurper had drawn up his. But while both armies were ready to engage, or, as some write, when the battle was begun, Phocas was taken off. The manner of his death is differently related; some write, that his horse threw him, and that he died of the fall; others, that he was killed in the first onset. The emperor Constantine bragged,
that he had killed him with his own hand; but the most received opinion is, that one of his domestics, by name Symeon, in whom he reposed an entire confidence, at the instigation of Basilius, administered him poison before the battle, of which he died soon after. Be that as it will, the report of his death was no sooner spread abroad in the army, than his men took themselves to a precipitous and disorderly flight. The emperor's forces pursued them close, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and having taken most of the leading men of the party prisoners, conveyed them to Constantinople, where they were punished according to their deserts, some being publicly executed, and others stripped of their estates and sent into banishment. However, the death of Phocas and the defeat of his army did not put an end to the civil wars; for such of the party as had the good luck to make their escape, having set Sclerus at liberty, encouraged him to pursue his former pretensions; and he, though now in a very advanced age, hearkening to their suggestions, put himself at their head, and marching into Cappadocia, reduced great part of that province. But the emperor having written a friendly letter to him, offering him his favour and protection, and his son Romanus earnestly entreat him at the same time not to involve the empire in new wars, but to enjoy the small remainder of his life in peace and tranquility among his friends and relations, he was prevailed upon to quit his pretensions, and return to Constantinople, where he was received by Basilius with uncommon civility, entertained at his table, and declared great friend of the household. Such of his followers as had enjoyed offices of honour or profit under him, were continued in the same employments, or preferred to others equally advantageous and honourable. We are told, that when he first appeared before Basilius, supported, on account of his age and corpulence, by two of his domestics, the emperor, in reflecting how much he had dreaded him, could hardly forbear laughing.

The civil war being thus happily ended, Basilius took a progress into Thrace and Macedonia; and having left a sufficient number of troops at Thessalonica to awe the Bulgarians, he passed over into Asia with the rest, to settle the affairs of the eastern provinces. On his march through Cappadocia, he was entertained with his whole army by Eustathius Melenius, commander of the troops in that province. The wealth which Melenius displayed on that occasion gave the emperor such umbrage, that, pretending a particular esteem for
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for him, he took him with him to Constantinople, whence he never after suffered him to depart, lest he should raise disturbances in the empire; and, after his death, seized on his vast estate. The emperor, upon his return to Constantinople, was informed, that Samuel, king of the Bulgarians, had surprized the city of Theflalonica, and, having crossed the Peneus, was laying waste Thessaly, Boeotia, Attica; nay, that some of his parties had penetrated into the very heart of Peloponnesus. Hereupon Nicephorus Uranus, commander in chief of the western forces, was dispatched against him, at the head of a powerful army. Uranus, leaving his baggage at Larissa, reached by long marches the Sperchius, and encamped with his whole army over-against the enemy, who lay on the opposite bank. As the river was greatly swelled with the heavy rains that had fallen, Samuel, not imagining the Romans would attempt to pass it, suffered his troops to roam in large parties about the country in quest of booty. But Uranus, having at length found out a place where the river was fordable, passed it in the dead of the night; and falling unexpectedly on the Bulgarians, who were left in the camp and lay for the most part asleep, cut great numbers of them in pieces, took their baggage, with many prisoners, and made themselves masters of their camp. Samuel and his son were dangerously wounded, and would unavoidably have been taken, had they not all that day concealed themselves among the dead. The next night they stole away to the mountains of Aetolia, and from thence made their escape into Bulgaria. The following year 1001, the emperor Basilius entered Bulgaria at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army; and having defeated Samuel in a pitched battle on the banks of the Axios, took Vidina, Scopi, and several other strong cities. However, the emperor narrowly escaped being cut off with his whole army in the frights of Cimba, where he was unexpectedly attacked by Samuel; but rescued from the danger he was in by the seafable arrival of Nicephorus Xiphias, governor of Philippopolis, who falling upon the enemy’s rear, put them to flight. Basilius pursued them close, and having taken an incredible number of prisoners, caused their eyes to be pulled out, leaving to every hundred a guide with one eye, that he might conduct them to Samuel; who, not able to stand the shock of so terrible and affecting a spectacle, fell into a deep swoon and died two days after. Samuel was succeeded by his son Gabriel, who was soon after murdered.

1 Idem ibid.
ordered by John Bladithlabus, a person nearly related to him. Bladithlabus, having caused himself to be acknowledged prince of the Bulgarians, sent embassadors to Basilius, offering to submit to any terms, and to own himself, and behave on all occasions, as a subject and vassal of the empire. The emperor received the embassadors in a very obliging manner, but the new prince declining, under various pretences, to execute the conditions agreed on, Basilius returned the following year into Bulgaria, firmly resolved not to sheath his sword, till he had entirely reduced it. Accordingly, having in the space of two years made himself master of most of the enemy's strong-holds, and gained several victories over Bladithlabus, who had defended his country with incredible valour, but was at length slain in a battle fought near Achridus, the Bulgarians sent deputies to the Roman camp, with offers of a total and unfeigned submission. Basilius received them with his usual civility; and having raised to the rank of patricians such of the Bulgarian nobility as seemed most forward in surrendering their castles and strong-holds, he was received with loud acclamations into the city of Achridus, where he found the vast treasures of the Bulgarian princes, which he distributed, by way of donative, amongst his soldiers. Soon after, the widow of the late king, with her six daughters and three of her sons, delivered herself up to the emperor, who received her with the greatest kindness and respect, and entertained her suitable to her rank. This obliging behaviour in the emperor encouraged her three other sons, with most of the princes of the blood, who had taken shelter among the mountains, to submit and throw themselves upon the emperor's mercy. However, Ibatzes, a person nearly allied to the royal family, who had distinguished himself in a very eminent manner during the whole course of the war, refusing to submit, fled to a steep and craggy mountain, with a design to defend himself there to the last extremity. Basilius endeavoured by fair means to induce him to submit to necessity, and comply with the present posture of affairs; but he equally despising the emperor's threats and promises, Eustathius Daphnomelus, whom Basilius had lately appointed governor of Achridus, without imparting to any one his design, repaired, with two persons in whom he could confide, to the mountain where Ibatzes had fortified himself. He hoped to pass undiscovered among the many strangers, who flocked thither to celebrate the approaching feast of the assumption of the virgin Mary, for whom Ibatzes had a particular veneration; but being known to the guards, he was seized and carried before Ibatzes, to whom he pretended...
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pretended to have matters of the greatest importance to communicate. Ibatzes received him in a very obliging manner; and having, at his request, followed him into a remote place, Daphnomelus threw himself all on a sudden upon him; and his two men, who attended at some distance, and with whom the whole scheme had been concerted before-hand, coming up, and thrusting their cloaths violently into his mouth, pulled out both his eyes, and got safe to an abandoned cattle on the top of the hill; which Ibatzes's men invested on all sides, as soon as they heard of the misfortune which had befallen their leader. But Daphnomelus exhorting them to follow the example of their countrymen, and, now that they were destitute of a leader, to submit to the emperor, by whom, he assured them, they should be well received and amply rewarded, instead of attacking the cattle, they congratulated Daphnomelus on his success, and took an oath of allegiance to the emperor of the Romans. Hereupon Daphnomelus, quitting the cattle, carried Ibatzes, without the least opposition, to Basilius, who, no less surprised at the boldness than at the success of the attempt, rewarded his officer with the government of Dyrrahchium and all the rich moveables of his prisoner. Basilius, having thus at length accomplished the entire reduction of Bulgaria, returned with an incredible number of prisoners and hostages to Constantinople, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy by the senate and people. After the conclusion of this war, which began in 995, and ended in 1019, the emperor undertook an expedition into Iberia; but with what success, we are nowhere told. During his absence, Xiphius and Nicephorus, the son of Bardas Phocas, revolted; but Xiphius, being gained over by Basilius, put a stop to the rebellion, by dispatching his fellow conspirator. Basilius proceeded with great severity against all who had been, or were, only suspected of having been, privy to the conspiracy. Great numbers of the nobility were on this occasion either put to death, or sent into exile; which occasioned some commotions at Constantinople: but the ringleaders being seized and publicly executed, the city was restored to its former tranquillity. In 1025, the emperor, though then in the seventieth year of his age, resolved to engage in a new war against the Saracens, who had settled in Sicily and committed dreadful ravages on the coasts of Naples and Calabria; which countries were still subject to the empire. Accordingly, having assembled a powerful army and equipped a mighty fleet, he sent before a strong body of forces, under the
the conduct of Orestes his favourite eunuch, with a design to follow in person soon after with the rest of the army; but was prevented by death, which overtook him in the month of December of the year 1025, after he had lived seventy years, and reigned fifty. He was highly esteemed by his subjects, on account of his application to public affairs, and his success in the long and bloody war, which he undertook against the Bulgarians. But as his jealousy encreased with his years, towards the close of his reign he grew inexorably severe; on which account he was rather feared than beloved by his subjects. The absolute conquest of Bulgaria, which had been in vain attempted by so many of his predecessors, but was happily accomplished by him, has rendered the name of Basilus II. famous among the Roman, or rather the Constantinopolitan, princes.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Roman history, from the death of Basilus II. to the taking of Constantinople by the Latins.

By the death of Basilus, Constantine, who had borne the name of emperor in conjunction with his brother, remained sole master of the empire. As he was an effeminate, vicious, and indolent prince, he entirely neglected all public affairs, to follow his private diversions, suffering his ministers, most of them persons no less infamous than himself, to oppress the provinces without controul, and lay on the people what burdens they thought fit. By this means the empire, which had begun to revive under Nicephorus, Zimicces, and Basilius, was, in the short reign of Constantine, brought to as low an ebb as it had ever been at. Such persons as had, either by their exploits or virtues, acquired reputation in the late reign, were removed from their employments, to make room for the emperor’s companions in his debaucheries. Nicephorus Comnenus, a person no less esteemed for his virtue than his experience in war, was at the same time deprived of his command and his sight, under pretence of conspiring against the emperor, though, in reality, his eminent virtues.
virtues, which gave umbrage to the abandoned prince, were his only crimes. Bardas, the son of the celebrated Phoca's who had served Basilios with the utmost fidelity, and distinguishe[d] himself on many occasions in a most eminent man[ner], was treated with the like severity, for no other reason, but becaue his extraordinary merit gave umbrage to the emperor's favourites. Many other persons of great distinc[tion], who seemed to dislike the emperor's conduct, were, under various pretences, either put to death, or sent into exile. Such proceedings raised a general discontent at home, and at the same time encouraged the nations abroad to make irruptions into the territories of the empire; but they were restrained by the care and vigilance of those who commanded on the borders. It was happy for the state, that, Constantine's reign was short; for he had scarce governed three years alone, when he fell dangerously ill, and was given over by his physicians; which divided the court into two factions concerning his successor, some proposing Constantine Delafer[nus], commander of the forces in Armenia, and others urging all their interest in favour of Romanus Argyrus, a person of an ancient family and nearly related to the emperor. As Constantine had three daughters, it was agreed, that who[ever] succeeded him should marry one of them. Romanus was already married, and therefore seemed by this agreement to be excluded from the empire; but his friends, who were the most powerful at court and the emperor's chief favourites, prevailed upon the prince to declare in his favour, and send[ing for him, to put it to his choice, either to be deprived of his sight, or to divorce his wife, and, marrying one of the emperor's daughters, be raised to the dignity of Caesar. Romanus seemed at the first inclined rather to lose his eyes and the imperial dignity, than part with his wife, whom he tenderly loved; but she, informed of what passed, retired immediately to a monastery, and, by embracing there a monastic life, made room for Zoe, the emperor's second daughter, to whom Romanus was married, and at the same time created Caesar. Three days after the nuptials, Constantine died, in the year 1028, the seventieth of his age, and third of his reign without a colleague.

Romanus, thus raised to the empire, began his reign by easing the people of the many taxes, with which they had been burdened by his predecessor; which gained him the hearts of his subjects. His liberality to the church knew no bounds, and his indulgence to the unhappy captives, who had been taken in the late wars, was no less remarkable; for they
they were all ransomed at his private expence, supplied with money to defray the charges of their journey, and sent back to their respective countries. In his second year, the Saracens, who had continued quiet in the reign of Basilius, but had begun to prepare for war in that of Constantine, broke into that part of Syria which belonged to the Romans, and with their daily incursions, greatly harassed the territory of Antioch. Spondyles, who commanded the troops quartered in Antioch and that neighbourhood, endeavoured to restrain them; but being in several encounters worsted and put to flight, the emperor resolved to march in person into Syria, and retrieve, if possible, the reputation of the Roman arms there. Pursuant to this resolution he set out from Constantinople, at the head of a very numerous and formidable army. But before he had advanced far on his way, he was met by embassadors from the Saracens of Berœa, who, alarmed at his vast preparations, were come to sue for peace, promising at the same time to pay their usual tribute for the future, and never more to infest the territories of the empire. Most of the officers in the army advised Romanus to accept of their submission, and not to engage rashly in a war, which in all likelihood, would prove both bloody and expensive. But he, promising himself great glory and advantages from that expedition, dismissed the embassadors with disdain, and entering Syria, detached a strong party to observe the enemy’s motions. The party, falling unhappily into an ambuscade, were all cut off to a man; and the Saracens, elated with this success, attacked unexpectedly Constantine Delassmenus, who had been sent out with a strong body of troops to cover the Roman foragers, put him to flight at the first onset, and pursued him to the very gates of the camp, which they invested on all sides. The emperor’s army being soon reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions, and above all of water, it was agreed in a council of war, that they should decamp in the night and march to Antioch. But the Saracens, who carefully watched their motions, falling upon them with great violence in their retreat, put most of them to the sword, the emperor himself escaping with the utmost difficulty to Antioch. The enemy took all the emperor’s baggage; which however, was recovered by George Maniaces, at that time governor of a small town in those parts, in the following manner: Eight hundred Saracens, loaded with the rich plunder of the emperor’s army, His marches in person against the Saracens. His army is cut off. The baggage of the army recovered by Maniaces.
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...peror's camp, appeared before the place, and affirming that the emperor himself was taken and his army totally defeated, summoned Maniaces to surrender. Maniaces, already informed of the emperor's escape, but pretending to give credit to what they said, sent them out a great quantity of provisions to refresh themselves that night, and promised to deliver up the town to them as soon as it was light. Hereupon the enemy, without the least distrust, passed the greater part of the night in mirth and jollity; but when, after having eaten and drank to a great excess, they were all asleep, Maniaces, sallying out, cut them all off to a man, without the least opposition; and having taken two hundred and eighty camels loaded with the spoils of the Roman army, he sent them to the emperor, who rewarded him for this seasonable piece of service with the government of Media. In the mean time, Romanus, having with much ado reached Cappadocia, returned from thence, with the remains of his shattered army, to Constantinople; and there laying aside all thoughts of any warlike attempt for the future, made it his whole study to fill the exchequer, which had been quite drained by the prodigality and extravagance of his predecessor. In order to this, he renewed his claim to old debts, thought to have been utterly forgotten, and proceeded with such rigor in the recovery of them, that many persons of distinction were driven from their estates, and reduced with their families to beggary. These severe exactions raised a general discontent in the people, which gave rise to several plots and conspiracies, for the most part carried on by Theodora, the late emperor's youngest daughter, who was on that account confined to a monastery, and obliged to take the religious habit; which we shall see hereafter exchanged for the imperial purple. In 1033, the fourth of Romanus's reign, a dreadful plague broke out in Cappadocia, and raged with such violence in that province, as well as in Paphlagonia and Armenia, that the inhabitants were forced to abandon their dwellings and retire to other parts of the empire. The plague was followed by a terrible famine, and that by earthquakes, which destroyed several cities, and overturned many flasely edifices at Constantinople, where it was felt for the space of forty days. At the same time, a comet appeared, which passed with a terrible noise from the north to the south, the whole horizon seeming to be in a flame. Romanus, alarmed at these and several other public calamities.

calamities and prodigies, with which the histories of those times are filled, applied himself wholly to the works of piety, hoping by that means to avert the wrath of Heaven, which seemed to threaten the empire. He erected several hospitals for the relief of the poor, repaired those which had been destroyed by the late earthquakes, rebuilt the aqueducts, supplied the city with water, of which it began to be in great want, and, above all, enriched with large donations the monasteries, bestowing on the monks whole cities and the most fruitful lands in the provinces, purchased by him at the public expense. In the mean time, the empress Zoe, a most lewd and incontinent woman, despising her husband, now in the sixty-sixth year of his age, cast her eyes on Michael, the brother of John an eunuch, in great authority with the emperor. As Michael, though meanly born, was a man of a most comely aspect, of a graceful person, and great address, the empress began to entertain a violent passion for him; which, as she abandoned herself to it, grew in a short time so powerful, that she resolved to dispatch her husband and marry him. Accordingly, having imparted her design to such of her creatures as she could confide in, poison was administered by them to the unhappy prince, which, in a short time, reduced him to a most deplorable condition. However, the empress thinking it too slow in its operation, hired an assassin to dispatch him, who, entering the bath where the emperor was refreshing himself, held his head under water till he expired. His death happened on the eleventh, or as others write on the fifteenth, of April of the year 1034, after he had reigned five years and six months.

Romanus being dead, the empress Zoe sent for the patriarch Alexius in great haste, who was then celebrating in the church the office appointed for Good-friday; for on that day the emperor was murdered. As Alexius had been sent for in Romanus's name, he was greatly surprised, when he heard he was dead; and much more when the empress, upon his being introduced to her, ordered him to marry her to Michael. Struck with horror and amazement, he declined the office for some time; but was in the end, with a present of an hundred pounds weight of gold, prevailed upon to comply. When the ceremony was over, the new emperor acquainted the people with the death of Romanus and his own marriage with Zoe, who, he said, had taken him for her partner in the empire, to which she had an undoubted right. Letters to the same purpose were dispatched into the provinces, where none of the great men seemed displeased at the promotion.
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promotion of Michael, except Constantine Delaissenus, who had been named by some to succeed Basilus II. and being, on account of his rank and family, the first man in the empire, was highly offended, that a person of Michael’s obscure birth should be preferred to him. But John the eunuch, Michael’s brother, having, with repeated oaths, promises, and allusions, prevailed upon him to come to court, banished him, as soon as he had him in his power, to the island Prota, whence he was removed to a strong tower, and there kept under close confinement, till he was sent for to court by the empress Zoe, as we shall relate hereafter. At the same time, John took care to remove, and, under various pretences, to send into exile, such as gave him the least umbrage, or seemed to be ill-affecting to his family: Constantius Monomachus, afterwards emperor, was confined to a castle; Maniaces, who was highly esteemed and beloved by the people, was sent into Upper Media, under pretence of restraining the incursions of the Saracens; all the friends and relations of the late emperor were driven from their estates and employments, and the government of the provinces, as well as the charge of civil affairs, committed to none but eunuchs. John, having thus established his brother’s interest in the provinces, began to reflect on the fate of Romanus; and distrusting the fickle temper of Zoe, removed from her all the women, in whom she reposed any confidence; and discharging her eunuchs, appointed others in whom he could confide, to attend, or rather to watch, her; so that she could not stir out of the palace without his knowledge and consent. The empress, highly provoked at the restraint put upon her, and looking upon John as no other than her gaoler, endeavoured to get rid of him by poison; but the design being discovered, before it could be put into execution, the minister fled thenceforth on his guard, and watched her more narrowly. As for Michael the emperor, he suffered John to govern with an absolute sway, applying himself wholly to his devotions. Being conscious of the heinous crime he had committed in murdering his sovereign, he hoped to atone for it by works of piety, by his liberality to the poor, and by erecting and endowing churches, hospitals, oratories, &c. As he began to grow distempered in his body and disordered in his mind, John, concluding that, if he died, the empress would endeavour to recover her authority, and would not fail, if she succeeded therein, to gratify her revenge with the utter ruin of him and his family, prevailed upon the emperor to prefer Michael, surnamed Calaphates,
his sister’s son, to the dignity of Caesar, and to banish all the friends and relations of the empress Zoe. In the third year of Michael’s reign, a peace for thirty years was concluded between him and the Saracens of Egypt, whose Kalif being dead, his widow is said to have embraced the Christian religion, and to have brought about an agreement between her subjects and the Romans. The following year 1036, was remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which overturned several cities in different parts of the empire, and for an attempt of the Saracens on the city of Edessa, which narrowly escaped falling into their hands. Twelve of the chief men of their nation, presenting themselves before the gates, with five hundred horses and as many camels, loaded with large chests, demanded admittance, pretending they were carrying presents to the emperor. The governor received into the city the twelve embassadors, as they styled themselves, and entertained them at a banquet; but could not be prevailed upon to admit the horses and camels: which diffidence preferred the place; for the chests were filled with armed men, who, in the dead of the night, were to be let out, and, killing the sentinels, to seize on the city. The design was discovered by an Armenian to the governor; who, suddenly withdrawing from the banquet, and taking a sufficient force with him, surprized and put to the sword all the Saracens without the town; then returning to his guests, treated them in the like manner, sparing but one, whose hands, ears, and nose he cut off, and sent him home in that condition, to give his countrymen an account of what had happened. The following year, the Bulgarians revolted, and, shaking off the yoke, chose one Deleanus, or as some call him Dolianus, for their king. He was servant to a citizen of Constantinople; but escaping from his master, fled into Bulgaria, his native country; and there gave out that he was the son of Gabriel and grandson of Samuel. The Bulgarians, weary of the yoke, to which they had but lately submitted, received him as their deliverer, and having proclaimed him king, murdered all the Romans, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. At the same time, the inhabitants of Dyrrachium, no longer able to bear the cruel exactions of their governor Michael Dermocaitas, rose up against him, drove him out of the town, and, despairing of pardon, openly revolted, and chose one Teichomerus, a soldier of great reputation amongst them.
them, for their king. Deleanus, the new king of Bulgaria, no sooner heard of this revolt, than he wrote an obliging letter to Teichomerus, offering to take him for his partner in the kingdom of Bulgaria, provided he joined him with all his followers. Teichomerus, not suspecting the least treachery, readily received him into Dyrrachium; but Deleanus, instead of performing his promise, caused the credulous and unhappy Teichomerus to be put to death; and then marching without loss of time to Thessalonica, where the emperor lay encamped, struck with his unexpected approach such terror into the Roman army, that they fled with Michael in the utmost confusion to Constantinople, leaving all their baggage behind them to the care of Manuel Ibatza, who, betraying his trust, delivered it up to the enemy. In the mean time, Alusianus, the brother of John the last king of Bulgaria, who, when that country submitted to Basilius, had been raised to the dignity of a patrician, having made his escape from Constantinople and got undiscovered into Bulgaria, was there received by his countrymen with great demonstrations of joy. As he was a real descendent of the royal family, his arrival gave no small umbrage to Deleanus, who nevertheless, to ingratiate himself with the people, took him for his colleague in the empire, and sent him, at the head of forty thousand men, to lay siege to Thessalonica. Alusianus distinguished himself on that occasion in a very eminent manner; but the vigorous opposition he met with from Constantine the patriarch, obliged him to raise the siege and retire, after he had lost fifteen thousand men in the undertaking. Deleanus laid hold of this opportunity to lessen the credit of his colleague, giving out, that he maintained a private correspondence with the Romans. But Alusianus, apprised of his evil designs, resolved to be before-hand with him; and accordingly, having invited him to an entertainment, he caused his eyes to be plucked out; and then, distrusting the fickle humour of the Bulgarians, returned to Constantinople, after his friends had obtained of the emperor his pardon. Upon his return, Michael, though grievously afflicted with a dropsey, entered the enemy's country at the head of a powerful army, and falling upon the Bulgarians, now destitute of a head to advise and command them, put them to flight, and obliged them to submit anew to the yoke. After this, the emperor returned in triumph to Constantinople; but finding his distemper daily increased, he soon after devolved himself of the imperial purple, and
entering into a monastery, which he himself had built, spent there the remaining part of his life in acts of piety and repentance. He died on the tenth of December 1041, after he had reigned seven years and eight months. Upon his death, Michael Calaphates, his sister's son, who had been created Caesar, and at the same time adopted by Zoe, as some authors write, was proclaimed emperor. He, upon his accession to the empire, probably out of complaisance to Zoe, who appeared very zealous in his interest, banished his uncle John the eunuch, and proceeded with the like unnatural severity against his other relations, causing most of them, without any regard to their age or circumstances, to be made eunuchs. Over-jealous of his authority, he caused in the end the empress Zoe to be confined to a monastery, under pretense, that she had, by witchcraft and sorcery, attempted to take away his life. His monstrous ingratitude to one, who had been chiefly instrumental in his promotion, and was still held in great veneration by the people, on account of her high birth, provoked them to such a degree, that, breaking out into a general sedition, with an unanimous consent they sent for Theodora, the emperor Constantine's youngest daughter, who had been shut up in a monastery, as we have observed above, and saluted her empress, with her sister Zoe. Michael, finding the people universally bent against him, retired of his own accord, with his uncle Constantine, to a monastery, where they both took the religious habit, hoping by that means to appease the enraged multitude. But Theodora, who was more incensed against them than Zoe herself, moving that their eyes should be plucked out, the populace, breaking into the church of St. John the baptist, where they had taken refuge, dragged them from the altar to the forum, and there, in a most cruel manner, deprived them of their sight. After this, they were banished, with all their relations and adherents, Michael having enjoyed the sovereignty scarce four months.

Zoe, seeing herself once more invested with the sovereignty, banished all the friends of the late tyrants, and recalled from exile such as had served her father and uncle, preferring them to the first employments in the state and army. Among the rest Maniaces, of whom we have spoken above, was sent for to court, and appointed commander in chief of all the western forces. Zoe had scarce reigned three months, when

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Note: Curopalath: Zonar. Cedren: ibid.
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when the people pressuring her to marry, and by that means prevent the disturbances that might arise among competitors for the empire, she recalled from banishment Constantine, furred Monomachus, a person of a noble extraction and comely aspect; and having married him, caused him to be crowned by the patriarch with the usual solemnity. He had been banished, during the reign of Michael, to the island of Lesbos, and from thence removed, at the instigation of John the eunuch, to Mitylene, where he was sent for to court, and raised to the empire. He no sooner saw himself invested with the imperial dignity, than he banished the eunuch, to the island of Lesbos; where, his eyes being pulled out by the emperor's orders, he died soon after. In the very beginning of Constantine's reign, Maniaces not able to brook the ill treatment he met with from Sclerus, one of the emperor's chief favourites, revolted with the troops under his command, and, assuming the imperial ornaments, passed with his army into Bulgaria, where he was joined by the malecontents of that country. Constantine dispatched Stephen Sebasitophorus against him, at the head of a very numerous army; which, however, was defeated and put to flight by Maniaces at the first onset. Maniaces did not live to reap the fruit of his victory, being slain a few days after it, by a person unknown, who had the good luck to make his escape. Upon his death, those who had been most forward in the rebellion, were the first who threw down their arms, and submitted to Stephen, the emperor's general, who, notwithstanding his defeat, was, on his return to Constantinople, honoured with a triumph. The same year 1043, the Roffi, who had continued long quiet, appeared unexpectedly before Constantinople with a mighty fleet; but being defeated by the emperor's navy in the straits, they were glad to renew their ancient alliance with the empire. Upon their retreat, the emperor marched in person into the caft, and there recovered several cities, which the Saracens had seized in the two late reigns. But while he was pursuing the war with great success, Leo Tornicius, escaping out of a monastery, to which he had been confined, assumed the purple, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Leo was a person of extraordinary parts, and nearly related to the emperor, by whom he had been, out of jealousy, removed from his government of Iberia, and shut up in a monastery; but having found means to make his escape from thence he fled to Adrianople, where he was received with loud acclamations by the people,
people, who had been lately disobliged by Monomachus. Being joined there by great multitudes, who flocked to him from all parts, he advanced to Constantinople, and laid siege to that metropolis; but meeting, contrary to his expectation, with a vigorous opposition from the inhabitlants, and several of his accomplices falling off from him, he raised the siege, and retired to Arcadiopolis, where he defended himself for some time against the forces the emperor had sent to reduce him; but being in the end overpowered with numbers, he was taken, and sent in chains to Monomachus, who first cau ed his eyes to be pulled out, and then confined him to a remote island. The rebellion being thus happily suppressed almost in its birth, and the Saracens in the east awed by the emperor’s presence, a profound tranquillity reigned the two following years throughout the provinces. But in 1048, the Roman dominions were invaded by a new enemy, scarce mentioned before in history; but reserved by providence for the utter destruction of the empire, which we shall see them accomplish four hundred years hence, and put a period to the very name of a Roman empire. These were the Turks, who, quitting their ancient habitations in the neighbourhood of mount Caucasian, and passing the Caspian frights, had settled in Armenia Major, about the year 844. There they continued an unknown and despicable people, till the wars of the Saracens among themselves gave them an opportunity of aggrandizing their nation. The Saracens, having, with amazing success and rapidity, subdued Persia, Assyria, Egypt, Africa, and a considerable part of Europe itself, divided their vast spreading dominions into several governments or principalities, which were ruled by their respective sultans or commanders, who, in process of time quarrelling with one another, hastened the ruin of the empire, which they had so successively established. About the year 1030, Mohammed, the son of Sambrail, sultan of Persia, not finding himself a match for Pifar, sultan of Babylon, with whom he was at war, had recourse to the Turks, who sent him from Armenia Major, where they settled, as we have observed above, three thousand of their nation, under the conduct of one Tangrolipix, a leading man among them. Mohammed, strengthened with this supply, gained a complete victory over the sultan of Babylon; but when the Turks, to whom it was chiefly owing, desired leave to return home, he refused to comply with their just demand, being unwilling to part with them, till he had ended

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The war, in which he was engaged with the Indians. Hereup on the Turks, withdrawing without his consent to the desert of Carbonitis, and being there joined by several discontented Persians, began to make frequent inroads into the territories of the Saracens. Mohammed immediately dispatched an army of twenty thousand men against them, who were surprized in the night by Tangrolipix, and utterly defeated. The fame of this victory, and the immense booty which the Turks acquired by it, drew multitudes to them, from all parts, of criminals, fugitive slaves, robbers, &c. info much, that Tangrolipix saw himself in a short time at the head of fifty thousand men. Mohammed, enraged at the defeat of his forces, ordered the ten generals, who had commanded them, to be deprived of their fight, and at the same time a new army to be raised, which he headed in person; but as he was riding about in the heat of the engagement to animate his men, he fell from his horse, and soon after died of the fall. His death was no sooner known, than his men threw down their arms, and submitting to Tangrolipix, proclaimed him king of Persia. This battle, which gave rise to the Turkish power, was fought about the year 1034, in the neighbourhood of Apfakan, now Isfahan, the metropolis of Persia. Tangrolipix, now master of Persia, having first opened a passage for his countrymen into that kingdom over the Araxes, parting it from Armenia, made war upon Pifaris or Pifatris, kalif of Babylon, whom he at length slew, and annexed his dominions to his own. He then sent his nephew, Cutlu-Moles or Cuthimufes, against the Arabians; but he was overthrown by them in a pitched battle, and obliged to take shelter in Media, through which Stephen, the Roman governor, denying him a passage, he put his troops to flight, took the governor himself prisoner, and, without any further opposition, reached Brijium, on the confines of Persia, where he sold Stephen for a slave. Returning from thence to Tangrolipix, he excused, in the best manner he could, the bad success of his expedition, acquainting him at the same time with his victory over the Romans in Media, and encouraging him to invade that fertile country, which, he said, might be easily subdued, as it was inhabited by none but women, meaning the Romans. Tangrolipix did not then hearken to his advice, being wholly bent on revenging the late defeat on the Arabians, against whom he marched in persons, at the head of a numerous army; but

[Newph. Bryenn. I. c. 3.]
but being himself defeated and put to flight by that warlike nation, he gave over all thoughts of reducing them; and reflecting on what Cutlu-Mofes had told him, he sent Afsan, his brother's son, surnamed the Deaf, with an army of twenty-thousand men, to reduce Media; which Afsan entered, committing every-where dreadful ravages. But being in the end drawn into an ambush by the Roman generals, he was cut off, with his whole army. Tangrolipix, no-ways discouraged at this misfortune, sent a new army into Media, near an hundred thousand strong; who, after having laid waste the country without opposition, the Romans shutting themselves up in their strong-holds, laid siege to Artza, a place of great trade, and on that account esteemed the most wealthy in those parts; but not being able by any other means to master it, they set fire to it, which in a short time reduced it to ashes. Of the inhabitants an hundred fifty thousand, and upwards, are said to have perished, either by the sword, or in the flames. After this, Abraham Halim, half-brother to Tangrolipix, who commanded the Turks, hearing that the Romans, reinforced with a body of troops under the command of Liparites, governor of Iberia, had taken the field, marched against them, and offered them battle; which they not declining, the two armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expressed. The victory continued long doubtful; but at length inclined to the Romans, who nevertheless did not think it advisable, as their general Liparites was taken prisoner, to pursue the fugitives. The emperor, greatly concerned for the captivity of Liparites, dispatched embassadors, with rich presents and a large sum, to redeem him, and at the same time to conclude an alliance with Tangrolipix. The sultan received the presents; but generously returned them, with the money, to Liparites, whom he set at liberty without ransom, only requiring him, at his departure, never more to bear arms against the Turks. Not long after, Tangrolipix sent a person of great authority among the Turks, with the character of embassador, to Constantineople, who, having arrogantly exhorted the emperor to submit to his matter, and acknowledge himself his tributary, was by Monomachus dismissed with scorn, and driven out of the city. On his return, he acquainted Tangrolipix with the reception he had met with; who thereupon resolved to renew the war. Monomachus, on the other hand, did not neglect the necessary preparations to oppose so powerful an enemy; but was diverted from it by a war, which suddenly broke out between him and the Patzinaces, a Scythian nation. The Patzinaces break into the empire.
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whose king, by name Tyrach, highly provoked at the kind reception Kegenes, after revolting from him, had met with from the Romans, passed the Danube on the ice, and entering, if the authors of those times are to be credited, with eight hundred thousand men the Roman provinces, destroyed all with fire and sword. Constantine Arianites was sent against them with all the troops quartered in Macedon and Bulgaria; but he, not thinking it advisable to venture an engagement, suffered them to ravage the country without control, till great multitudes of them being swept off by the diftempers which raged in their army, he was advised by Kegenes, who joined him with twenty thousand men, to fall upon them suddenly; which he did with so much resolution, that the barbarians, weakened with sickness, and terrified at so sudden an onset, threw down their arms and submitted. Great numbers of them were allowed to settle at Sardica, Naissus, Entzopolis, and in other cities of Bulgaria; some returned to their own country; but Tyrach and an hundred and forty of the most noble among them were sent to Constantinople, where they were kindly received by the emperor; and upon their embracing the christian religion, as Kegenes had done before, with all his followers, they were entertained in a manner suitable to their rank, and even raised to considerable employments. However, the emperor having sent fifteen thousand of those who had settled in Bulgaria, under the conduct of Catalunes, one of their own officers, to reinforce the army in Iberia, they revolted on their march; and being joined by great numbers of their countrymen, encamped on the banks of the Danube, making from thence frequent incursions into the Roman territories. The emperor sent some of his best generals against them; but was not able to suppress them, his forces being, in three successive engagements, put to the rout. Having at length resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against them, they were so terrified at the noise of the preparations the emperor was making, that they sent deputies to sue for peace; which was readily granted them for thirty years. During this war, Tangerlipix affronted at the reception of his embassador, as we have related above, entered Iberia, and having laid the country waste far and near, returned from thence into Media, and laid siege to Manzichiera, a place defended by a numerous garrison, and fortified with a triple wall and deep ditches. However, as it was situated in a plain and open country, he hoped
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hoped to be master of it in a short time; but finding, after he had continued before it thirty days together, that the besieged were resolved to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, despairing of success, he resolved to raise the siege, when Alcan, one of his chief officers, prevailed upon him to continue it but one day longer, and to commit to him the conduct and management of the attacks. This being granted, Alcan the next day disposed his men with such skill, and encouraged them by his example to fight with so much bravery and resolution, that, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition they met with, the place would, in all likelihood, have been taken, had not Alcan been slain, while, in spite of the incessant flowers of arrows, darts, stones, &c. he was mounting the wall. The besieged, knowing him by the richness of his armour, drew him by the hair into the city, and cutting off his head, threw it over the wall amongst the enemy, who, disheartened at that sight, gave over the assault, and retired, Tangrolipix pretending some urgent affairs had called him home. However, he returned the spring following, and ravaging Iberia, spared neither sex nor age. But upon the approach of Michael Acolthus, who was sent against him at the head of a considerable army, he retired to Tauris, leaving thirty thousand men behind him, to infest the frontiers of the empire; which they did with great success, the borders being, through the avarice of Monomachus, left unguarded; for, till his time, the provinces bordering on the countries of the barbarians, had maintained, at their own charge, forces to defend them, and were on that account exempted from paying tribute. But Monomachus exacting of them the same sums that were paid by the other provinces, they were no longer in a condition to restrain the incursions of the enemy. About this time died the empress Zoe, and soon after the emperor himself. Though he had always expressed a great esteem and regard for Theodora, the sister of Zoe, yet he was prevailed upon by the eunuchs at court to name for his successor Nicephorus, who commanded the forces in Bulgaria, and was privately sent for, when the emperor's recovery was despaired of. But Theodora, informed by her friends at court of the emperor's intention, privately withdrew from the monastery of St. George, whither she had attended him; and returning to Constantinople, attended by her most faithful friends, caused herself to be proclaimed, and saluted empress; which gave Monomachus so much concern.


But are forced to raise the siege.
cern, that he fell into a swoon, and died soon after, having reigned twelve years and eight months. Some authors write, that both he and Zoe died of the plague, which indeed raged at that time with great fury in Constantinople; but most authors ascribe his death to the gout, which he encreased by his intemperance, lewdness, and debaucheries.

Theodora. Theodora no sooner received the news of his death, than she caused all those to be secured, who had proposed the promotion of Nicephorus; and depriving them of their employments, named others in their room, in whom she thought she could confide. Theodorus, the eunuch, was sent at the head of a considerable army into the east to awe the Turks, who, hearing of the emperor's death, were preparing to renew the war. He prevented with his care and vigilance the enemy from making inroads into the Roman territories; so that the eastern provinces enjoyed, during Theodora's short reign, a profound tranquillity, to which they had been long strangers. Her prudent choice of the great officers and ministers of state, her impartial administration of justice, (for she heard all caufes herself) and her great moderation in the use of the authority with which she was invested, gained her the affections of her people, and the respect and esteem of all foreign nations. But the empire did not long enjoy the many valuable blessings that attended her administration; for in the second year of her reign she was feized with a violent pain in her bowels, which in a few days put an end to her life. Before she died, she was persuaded by Leo Strabospodulus, her prime minister, and her favourite eunuch, to bequeath the empire to Michael Stratificus, a person stricken in years, and altogether ignorant of state-affairs, which chiefly recommended him to the eunuchs, who hoped to govern in his name with an absolute sway. Theodora died, soon after she had named him, in the month of August 1056, having reigned one year and nine months. The death of Theodora, and promotion of Michael, which had been managed with the utmost secrecy, being known at the same time, Theodorus, cousin-german to the deceased emperor, laying claim to the empire, as of right belonging to him, protested against what had been done in favour of Michael; and summoning all his friends, servants, and dependents, moved in the evening with a great train through the most frequented streets to the palace; but finding the gates shut and well guarded, he went from thence to the great church, not doubting but he should be well received there by the patriarch and the clergy. But they refusing, contrary to his expectation
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expectation, to admit him, he had recourse to the people, who, unmoved by his offers and promises, continued firm in the resolution they had taken a few hours before to support Michael. Theodorus, now well apprised he could not succeed in his attempt, and dreading the resentment of the new emperor, renounced all claim to the imperial dignity, and took refuge with his son in the church; but he was soon dragged from thence by the emperor’s orders, and banished to Pergamus, where he died some years after. The rebellion being thus suppressed, Michael enjoyed the imperial dignity without a competitor, but soon shewed himself altogether unequal to so eminent a post. As he was an entire stranger to state-affairs, having been brought up from his youth in the camp, he suffered the eunuchs, to whom he was indebted for his promotion, to govern without control. At their instigation he disoblige most of the general officers of the army, whom he ought to have regarded as his chief support, and among the rest, Isac Comnenus, and Ambus tus Catacale, men renowned for their eminent services and experience in war. The former he de- prived of his command in the army, and the latter he removed from the government of Antioch, recalling Bryennius, a man of a turbulent and restless spirit, who had been banish- ed by Theodora, and appointing him commander in chief of the eastern forces. Bryennius, upon his return to court, petitioned the emperor for his estate, which had been con- finement in the late reign, but met with a frisky denial; which provoked him to such a degree, that he resolved to revolt, and employ the forces under his command against the person who had entrusted him with them. Having imparted his design to Ambus tus, Comnenus, and several others, who had been disoblige by Michael, they all met, in order to pro- ceed to the election of a new emperor, when, by the unanimous consent of the whole party, Ambus tus was chosen; but he declining the burden on account of his age, Isac Comnenus was proposed next, as a person in every respect well qualified for so great a trust. As the proposal was received by all with great applause, Comnenus did not oppose it, but suffered the conspirators to take an oath of allegiance to him, promising at the same time to govern with justice and moderation. After this, they all departed from Constantinople, where they had met, according to custom, at Easter, and repaired to their several posts, where each of them was, in his respective station, to promote the general design. Bryen- nius hastened to the army in the east; but falling out there with John Orphas, a patrician, whom the emperor had ap- pointed to distribute a largess among the soldiers, the quar-
rel was carried to such an height, that Bryennius, in defiance of the emperor's orders, committed Oppas to custody, after having caused him to be publicly beaten with rods. Here-upon Lycanthes, who commanded in that neighbourhood a strong body of Lycaonians, and Pisidians, concluding that Bryennius designed to revolt, fell upon him unexpectedly in his camp; and having taken him prisoner, delivered him to Oppas, by whose orders his eyes were pulled out. The officers of the east, informed of his misfortune, and apprehending he might, upon examination, reveal their designs, (for he was sent in chains to the emperor) resolved openly to declare themselves; and accordingly having drawn together, in a spacious plain, all the forces under their command, they sent for Comnenus, who was then at his house in Paphlagonia, and presented him in the imperial robes to the soldiery, by whom he was, with universal consent, saluted emperor on the eighth of June 1057.

Comnenus, thus raised to the imperial dignity, took upon him the command of the army, which he immediately marched over the river Sangarius in Phrygia Major, bending his rout towards Nice, which he surprised, most of the soldiery, who garrisoned it, being retired to their own homes. In the mean time, Stratoticus, receiving news of the revolt, assembled all the forces quartered in the west; and having furnished his army, chose for his generals Theodorus the eunuch, and Aaron Ducas, an officer of great experience in war, and brother to the wife of Comnenus. The two generals marched at the head of their army to Nicomedes, and from thence to Nice, in the neighbourhood of which city they found Comnenus encamped. Upon their approach, he drew up his army, Ambustus having the command of the left wing, Romanus Sclerus of the right, and Comnenus himself of the main body. The emperor's generals accepted the challenge, and the two armies engaged with great resolution and intrepidity. At first Aaron, who commanded the left wing of the imperial army, broke the opposite wing of the enemy, took Romanus himself prisoner, and pursued the fugitives to their camp. But Ambustus, on the other hand, bearing all down before him, pierced into the enemy's camp, which he took and plundered; and then charging with fresh vigor the emperor's left wing, obliged them to give over the pursuit, and retire in some confusion. In their retreat they were attacked by Comnenus, and easily put to flight; which so discouraged the rest of the emperor's troops, that throwing away their arms, they fled in great disorder. Comnenus, having
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having thus gained a complete victory, began his march to Constantinople, not doubting, but the citizens would open their gates to him, as soon as he appeared before them. In the mean time, Stratoticus, informed of the overthrow of his forces, sent some of the chief men in the senate to Comnenus, with proposals for an agreement, which was concluded on the following terms: That Comnenus should be declared Caesar; that a full pardon should be granted to all his followers; and that such of them as enjoyed employments, should be continued in them, and confirmed by the emperor. But this agreement was made void by the emperor himself soon after he had ratified it: for, at the instigation of some about him, he obliged, partly by promises, partly by menaces, the senate and people to bind themselves by a most solemn oath never to give Comnenus the title of emperor, nor own him for their sovereign. This oath was exacted, when Comnenus was still in Asia; but news was no sooner brought, that he was within a day's march of Constantinople, than he was, by a decree of the senate, and the unanimous consent of the people, proclaimed emperor, and all those, who should oppose him, adjudged enemies to their country. The decree being passed in the senate without opposition, the patriarch dispatched messengers to Comnenus, inviting him to the city, and at the same time some bishops to Stratoticus, commanding him in the name of the senate and people to resign the imperial dignity, and quit the palace. We are told, that when the bishops delivered their message, Stratoticus asked them, What they intended to give him in exchange for the empire? and that they answering, The kingdom of heaven, he immediately devested himself of the purple, and, quitting the palace, retired to his own house, and from thence to a monastery, after he had reigned one year. Comnenus arrived the same evening, and was the next day, the first of September 1057, crowned in the great church by the patriarch Michael Cerularius. The new emperor's first care was to reward those, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, and above all the patriarch, whose nephews and relations he preferred to the first employments in the state. As he was well skilled in military affairs, and had given signal proofs of his courage and resolution, the neighbouring barbarians continued quiet, during his short reign. At home he

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he was more feared on account of his severity than beloved. As he found the exchequer quite drained, he loaded the people with heavy taxes, and at length fell upon the monasteries, depriving them of the immense wealth, with which they had been enriched by his predecessors. This the patriarch highly resented, and with great arrogance threatened to pull him down from the throne, to which he had raised him, unless he restored to the monasteries the estates which he had unjustly seized. But the emperor, instead of yielding to his threats, immediately banished him, and raised Constantine Lichudes to the patriarchal see in his room. Isaac had not reigned above two years, when he was seized with a violent distemper, occasioned, as some authors write, by a flash of lightning. Being sensible that his end approached, and at the same time touched with remorse in reflecting by what means he had obtained the imperial dignity, he voluntarily resigned it, and retiring to a monastery, there spent the remainder of his days in exercises of piety, having reigned but two years and three months. Being advised, before he resigned, to chuse a successor, though he had several children and near relations of his own, yet, preferring the public good to his private interest, he named Constantine Ducas, a person generally esteemed the best qualified in the whole empire for so eminent a station. Ducas, thus chosen by Comnenus, and received by the senate and people, was crowned with the usual solemnity by the patriarch. He applied himself with great diligence to the affairs of state, administered justice with the utmost impartiality, reformed several abuses, which had prevailed under his predecessors, and behaved on all occasions with such moderation, that he might have been reckoned amongst the best princes, had not his intractable avarice drowned, in a manner, all his good qualities. He chose rather to leave the frontiers naked and unguarded, than to maintain the necessary garrisons; which encouraged the Turks to extend their conquests on all sides, and the Uzians, a Scythian nation, to pass the Danube to the number of five hundred thousand men, and ravage the neighbouring countries. Nicephorus Botoniates, afterwards emperor, and Basilus Apocraphe, were sent against them. But the barbarians having put the emperor's forces to flight at the first onset, and taken both the generals in the pursuit, laid waste all Thrace and Macedonia; and, penetrating without opposition into Greece, destroyed all with fire and sword. The emperor, affected with the calamities of his subjects, but yet unwilling to be at the charge of raising the necessary forces to deliver them,
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them from the oppression under which they groaned, endeavoured at first to purchase a peace with rich presents, and even with promising to pay them an annual tribute. To such meanness was the emperor brought by his fordid temper, but the barbarians refusing to hearken to any terms, he ordered a general fact to be observed throughout his dominions, and then marched out against them with an handful of men. But, in the mean time, the enemy being greatly weakened by a plague that began to reign among them, the Hungri, or Hungarians, whose country they had ravaged, fell unexpectedly upon them, and cut them off almost to a man. Nothing else happened, during this unactive prince's reign, which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity, except a dreadful earthquake, which overturned several stately edifices at Constantinople, and the appearing of a comet, which was seen for forty days together, and thought to portend the emperor's approaching fate. And indeed Constantine was soon after seized with a violent distemper, which in a few days put an end to his life. He left the empire to his three sons, Michael, Andronicus, and Constantine; but as they were yet very young, he appointed the empress Eudocia, their mother, regent during their minority, after having required of her an oath never to marry, which was lodged with great solemnity in the hands of the patriarch. He likewise obliged the senators solemnly to swear that they would acknowledge none for their sovereign but his three sons. Having thus secured, as he thought, the imperial crown to his family, he died in 1067, after having reigned five years and six months. He was no sooner dead, than the Turks, hearing the empire was governed by a woman, broke with great violence into Mesopotamia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, destroying all with fire and sword. The empress was no-ways in a condition to oppose them, the greater part of the army having been disbanded in her husband's lifetime, and the troops, that were still on foot, being undisciplined and altogether unfit for service. This gave the empress great concern, which was aggravated by the f cabinet speeches of a discontented party at home, repeating in all assemblies, that the present state of the empire required a man of courage and address at the helm, instead of a weak and helpless woman. As they imagined the empress would never think of marrying, in regard of the oath she had taken, they hoped by these speeches to induce the people to revolt, and

But are cut off by the Hungarians.

The Turks invade the empire.

and chuse a new emperor. This Eudocia was aware of; and therefore, to prevent the evils that threatened her and her family, she resolved to marry some perfom of merit, capable of defeating the designs of her enemies both at home and abroad.

At this time, Romanus Diogenes, a perfom of a most beautiful aspect, extraordinary parts, and an illustrious birth, for he was descended from the emperor Romanus Argyrus, being accused of aspiring at the empire, tried and convicted, was brought forth to receive the sentence of death, which his ambition had deserved. But the empress, touched with compassion at the appearance of the unhappy prisoner, who, she thought, deserved a better fate, put a stop to the sentence; and, having gently upbraided him with his ill-timed ambition, set him at liberty; and soon after appointed him commander in chief of all her forces; in which situation he acquitted himself so well, that the empress resolved to marry him, if she could but recover the writing, in which her oath was contained, out of the hands of the patriarch. In order to this, she applied herself to a favourite eunuch, who, going to the patriarch, told John Xiphiline, that the empress was so taken with his nephew, by name Bardas, that she was determined to marry him, and raise him to the empire, provided he absolved her from the oath she had lately taken, and convinced the senate of the lawfulness of such a marriage. The patriarch, though a man of great probity and learning, yet dazzled with the prospect of his nephew's promotion, readily undertook to perform both; and accordingly, having first obtained the consent of the senate, by representing to them the dangerous condition of the empire, and excusing against the rash oath, which the jealousy of the late emperor had extorted from the empress, he publicly discharged her from the observance of it, restored the writing to her, and exhorted her to marry some deserving perfom, who, being entrusted with an absolute authority, might protect her and her children, and defend the empire against the many enemies, who threatened it, and were not to be repressed by the hands of a weak woman, or awed by three young children. The empress, thus discharged from her oath, married a few days after, to the great disappointment of the patriarch, Romanus Diogenes, who was thereupon proclaimed emperor. As he was a man of great activity and experience in war, he no sooner saw himself invested with the sovereign power, than, taking upon him the command of the army, he passed over into Asia with the few forces he could assemble,
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ble, recruiting and inuring them on his march to the milita-
y discipline, which had been utterly neglected in the preced-
ing reigns. Upon his arrival in Asia, he was informed, that
the Turks, having surprized and plundered the city of Neo-
cæsarea, were retiring with a rich booty. Hereupon, ha-
ftening after them at the head of a chozen body of light-arm-
ed troops, he came up with them the third day; and falling
upon them, while they were marching in disorder, without
the least apprehension of an enemy, cut great numbers of
them in pieces, and recovered the booty. He then pursu-
his march to Aleppo, which he retook, together with Hie-
rapolis, where he built a strong casle. As he was returning
to join the forces he had left behind him, he was met by a nu-
umerous body of Turks, who attempted to cut off his retreat;
but the emperor, pretending at first through fear to decline
an engagement, attacked them afterwards, when they
least expected it, with such vigor, that he put them to
flight at the first onset, and might have gained a com-
pete victory, had he thought it advisable to pursue
them. After this, several towns submitted to him, the
Turks abandoning them upon the first news of his ap-
proach. But the autumn being already far spent, he retired
to Cilicia, and from thence to Constantinople. The follow-
ing year, he passed over into Asia early in the spring; and
being informed, that the Turks, having defeated Philaretus,
who had been left to guard the banks of the Euphrates, were
advanced into Cilicia, and had there surprized and sacked Icon-
nium, the most rich and populous city of that province, he
marched in person against them. But the Turks, not think-
ing it advisable to wait his arrival, retired in great haste.
However, the Armenians, encouraged by the approach of
the emperor's army, fell upon the enemy in the plains of
Tarsus, put them to flight, and stripped them both of their
baggage and the booty they had taken. The enemy being
retired, the emperor spent the remaining part of the summer
in settling the affairs of the provinces; and, upon the ap-
proach of winter, returned once more to Constantinople,
which he entered in triumph, amidst the loud acclamations
of the people. The spring following, the emperor marched
anew into Asia, at the head of a considerable army, which
he had raised, and with incredible pains disciplined, during
the winter. As the Turks had already taken the field, se-
veral skirmishes happened between the parties detached from
the two armies, in one of which Nicephorus Basilacius, one
of the emperor's chief officers, was taken prisoner, and

carried to Axan, the Turkish sultan, and son of the celebra-
ted Tancrelipix, who received and entertained him with
great civility. When the two armies drew near, the sultan,
obseving the disposition and number of the emperor's forces,
and dreading, as he was a man of great experience and sag-
acity, the uncertain issues of war, sent embassadors to Ro-
manus, with proposals for a lasting and honourable peace,
which being rejected by the emperor with disdain, both
armies prepared for an engagement. Though the emperor's
troops were not near so numerous as those of the enemy,
Rufelius, one of his best commanders, having been detach-
ed a little before with a considerable body; yet Romanus,
presuming upon the courage of his men and the success
that had hitherto attended his arms, caused the signal to be given,
and falling with great fury upon the enemy, put them into
some disorder. However they soon rallied, and charged
with fresh vigor, so that the dispute continued with various
success, till the emperor, fearing the sultan should send part
of his army to attack his camp, which he had left weakly
guarded, caused, as the day was already far spent, a retreat
to be founded, and retired in good order with that part of
the army, which he commanded in person. But Andronicus,
the son of John Ducas brother to the late emperor Constanti-
tine, and in his heart an enemy to Romanus, whose good
fortune he envied, cried out, that the emperor was put to
flight; and at the same time, turning his horse about, fled
with great precipitation to the camp. The rest of the army
followed his example, and were pursu'd by the Turks, who
in that confusion put great numbers of them to the sword.
The emperor did all that lay in his power to make them rally
and face the enemy; but, in spite of his utmost efforts,
they continued their flight, every one shifting for himself in
the best manner he could. The emperor, though thus for-
saken by his army, yet stood his ground, till he himself be-
ing wounded and his horse killed under him, he was at length
overpowered with numbers and taken prisoner. When
news was first brought to the sultan of his captivity, he
could hardly give credit to it. But being assured of the
truth, both by the embassadors, whom he had sent to him
before the battle, and by Basilicus his captive, he ordered
the emperor to be brought before him, and tenderly em-
bracing him, "Grieve not, noble emperor, said he, at your
misfortune; for such is the chance of war; sometimes
"ever"
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"overwhelming one, and sometimes another; you shall have no occasion to complain of your captivity; for I will not use you as my prisoner, but as an emperor:" which he did accordingly, lodging him in a royal pavilion, assigning him attendants, with an equipage suitable to his quality, and discharging such prisoners as he desired. After he had entertained for some days his royal captive with extraordinary magnificence, a perpetual peace was concluded between them, and the emperor dismissed with the greatest marks of honour imaginable. Being thus set at liberty, he proceeded, attended by the sultan's embassadors, for Constantinople, where the peace was to be ratified. He stopped at Theodosiopolis, and continued some days there to have his wounds dressed, with a design to pursue his journey to the imperial city, as soon as he was able to travel. But, in the mean time, he was informed, that John, the brother of Constantine Ducas, with Pfellus, a leading man in the senate, and several others, having, upon the news of his captivity, driven Eudocia from the throne, and shut her up in a monastery, had proclaimed her eldest son Michael Ducas emperor. Upon this intelligence he left Theodosiopolis, and repairing to a strong castle called Docia, he fortified himself there, not doubting, but he should be soon joined by his friends, and by great numbers of the officers and soldiers, who had served under him. But, in the mean time, John, who had taken upon him to act as guardian to the young prince, and governed with an absolute sway, dispatched his eldest son Andronicus against him with a strong body of troops, who having defeated the small army the unfortunate prince had with him, pursued him to Adana, a city in Cilicia, where he was closest besieged, and in the end forced to surrender. Andronicus carried his prisoner into Phrygia, where he fell dangerously ill, being, as was suspected, secretly poisoned. But the poison being too slow in its operation, John ordered his eyes to be pulled out, which was done with such cruelty, that he died soon after in the island Prota, to which he had been confined, having reigned three years and eight months." Romanus Diogenes being thus removed, Michael Ducas was universally acknowledged emperor; but he being an indolent and unactive prince, the whole power was lodged in John his uncle, who preferred such only as had been instrumental in the late revolution, and,

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and, under various pretences, banished those who gave him the least umbrage.

In the mean time, Axan, the Turkish sultan, hearing of the unhappy end of the late emperor, resolved to revenge the death of his friend and ally; and accordingly, having raised a powerful army, he broke into the territories of the empire, not with a design only to spoil and plunder, as formerly, but to conquer and hold what he had once conquered. The emperor, alarmed at the motions of the Turks, dispatched Isaac Comnenus, son to the late emperor of that name, against them, who gained at first some advantages over them; but having soon after ventured a general engagement, his army was, after a long and obstinate dispute, utterly defeated, and he himself taken prisoner. Another army was soon dispatched against them, under the command of John Ducas, the emperor's uncle, who gained several advantages over the enemy, and would, in all likelihood, have put a stop to their farther conquests, had he not been diverted by Rufelius, or Urselius, a native of Gaul, who, revolting with the troops of his own nation under his command, reduced several cities in Phrygia and Cappadocia, causing himself to be everywhere proclaimed emperor. Against him John marched with all his forces, suffering the Turks in the mean time to pursue their conquests; but coming to an engagement with the rebels on the banks of the Sangarius, he received a total overthrow and was taken prisoner. Notwithstanding this victory, Rufelius, to stop the progress of the Turks, who threatened the empire with utter destruction, not only released his prisoner, but joined him against the common enemy, by whom they were both overcome and taken prisoners. However, Axan was for some time diverted from pursuing his conquests, and reaping the fruit of his victory, by Cutlu-Moses, cousin to the late sultan Tangrolipix, from whom he had revolted; but being defeated by him in a pitched battle, he had taken refuge in Arabia, whence he now returned, at the head of a considerable army; and laying claim to the sovereignty, was preparing to decide the controversy by dint of sword. But while the two armies were ready to engage, the kalif of Babylon, who had been deprived of his temporal jurisdiction by Tangrolipix, as we have related above, but still continued to exercise his authority in matters of religion, being looked upon as the successor of their great prophet, interposed; and by representing to them the dangers, to which their intestine dissensions exposed them, brought them to this agreement ; that
that Axan should enjoy undisturbed the monarchy lately erected by his father Tangrolipix, and that Cutlu-Moses, and his family, should quietly possess such provinces of the empire as he or his sons should, in process of time, conquer. This agreement being made, Cutlu-Moses turned all his forces against the empire; and being assisted by Axan, made himself, in this and the following reign, master of all Media, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, fixing the seat of his new empire at Nice in the latter province. While the Turks were busied in reducing the above-mentioned provinces, Rufelius, who had been ransomed by his wife, and, notwithstanding his late revolt, restored to favour and entrusted with a considerable command in Asia Minor, revolted anew, and, depending upon the assistance of the Turks, with whom he had privately entered into an alliance, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Michael went the best commanders in the empire against him; but they were all successively overcome in the several battles that were fought, Rufelius being powerfully supported by the Turks, whose interest it was to lower and maintain divisions in the empire. At length the emperor was advised to send Alexius Comnenus against him, he being esteemed, though then very young, a man of uncommon address and well skilled in the art of war. Alexius, by intercepting the enemy's provisions, and constantly harrying them on their marches, without ever coming to an engagement, reduced them in a short time to such frights, that they were forced to take refuge in the dominions of the sultan, where they were kindly entertained, and supplied with necessaries at the public expense. But Alexius applying to Tutach, the Turkish commander in those parts, he prevailed upon him with a large sum to seize on Rufelius, and send him in chains to Amaçia, whence he was conveyed to Constantinople. The rebels, destitute of a leader, readily submitted, and surrendered the cities and strong-holds which they had reduced. The civil war being thus ended, Alexius returned to the imperial city, which he found highly dissatisfied with the emperor's conduct, and grievously afflicted with a famine, during which the emperor, instead of relieving the distressed inhabitants, had lessened the measure of the corn, which deftverely procured him the nick-name of Parapanaces. The aversion which people of all ranks had for the emperor, on account of his avaricious temper, encouraged Nicephorus Botoniates, who commanded the forces in Asia, to revolt.
volt, and enter into an alliance with the Turks, upon whom he had been sent to make war. Cutlu-Moses promised to assist him to the utmost of his power; upon which he assumed the purple, and was saluted emperor by the army under his command. At the same time, Nicephorus Bryennius, who commanded in Dyrrachium, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor there; and depending upon the affection of his soldiers, whom he had obliged with his liberality, was preparing to march straight to Constantinople. Michael, well apprised that he was not in a condition to oppose either of the two competitors, resolved to resign the empire, and leave the throne empty for which of them should prevail. Accordingly, devesting himself of the imperial ornaments, he retired to a monastery, where he took holy orders, and was soon after raised to the see of Ephesus*. He had reigned six years and as many months, and resigned in the year 1078. Upon his resignation, Botoniates entered Constantinople without opposition; and being crowned by the patriarch on the twenty-fifth of March 1078, he immediately dispatched Alexius Comnenus with the flower of his army against Bryennius, who was advancing with long marches to the imperial city at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army, and received with loud acclamations in all the places through which he passed, he being universally beloved by the people, and looked upon as a person in every respect well qualified for the empire. The two armies met at Caulaura in Thrace; and an engagement ensuing, the fortune of the day continued doubtful, till the Scythians, who served under Bryennius, pursuing the advantage they had gained over the forces of Alexius, fell upon his baggage and began to plunder; which occasioned great confusion in the army of Bryennius, the rest of his troops following the example of those barbarians. Of this Alexius took advantage, and charging them with fresh vigor, put them to flight. However, they rallied, and, encouraged by Bryennius, returned to the charge; but Alexius having, in the mean time, taken the horse of Bryennius, adorned as he was, according to the custom of those times, with the imperial ornaments, he ordered him to be led up and down the ranks, giving out that the general was slain. His own men being, by this device, greatly encouraged, and those of the enemy equally demoralized, the victory continued no longer doubtful. Bryennius

ennius, by shewing himself at the head of his army, convinced them of their mistake; but, as they were already put into disorder, and had begun to give ground, after having attempted in vain to stop their flight, he was himself obliged to fly with the rest. As he was pursued close by the emperor's forces, he had the misfortune to fall into their hands, after having given extraordinary proofs of his personal valour. Alexius received him in a most obliging manner, entertained him at his own table, and soon after, having put his troops into winter-quarters, set out with his unfortunate prisoner for Constantinople; but was met on the road by Borilus with orders from court to deliver up Bryennius to him, and march back against Basilacius, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at Dyrrhachium; and being supported by all the men of interest in the west, had surprized Thessalonica, and was preparing to march to the imperial city at the head of a considerable army. Alexius having drawn his troops out of their winter-quarters, marched against the enemy, and encamping at a small distance from Basilacius, began to ravage and lay waste the neighbouring country. Hereupon Basilacius, having attempted in vain to bring him to an engagement, resolved to fall upon his camp in the night, which he did accordingly; but Alexius, informed beforehand of his design, received him, while he expected to meet with no opposition, so briskly, that his forces were soon put to flight, and he himself obliged to throw himself, with part of his army, into Thessalonica, which was immediately invested by the conqueror. Basilacius, who was a man of great resolution and intrepidity, rejecting the advantageous conditions offered by Alexius, prepared to hold out to the last extremity; but the inhabitants, dreading the emperor's retribution, opened their gates, allowing Basilacius just time enough to retire into the castle, which he defended with incredible bravery, till he was betrayed by his own men, and delivered up to Alexius, who sent him to Constantinople, where his eyes were pulled out by the emperor's orders, and he confined to a monastery. As the emperor was stricken in years and had no issue male, Borilus and Germanus, two brothers, natives of Scythia and the chief favourites of Botoniates, persuaded him to name in his will one Synadmus for his successor, a youth of uncommon parts and nearly

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1 Niceph. Bryenn. in Botan. i. c. 1, 2. Ann. Comnen. i. c. 4, 5.
related to the emperor. Though this was managed with
great secrecy, yet Mary the empress had some intimation of
it. She was first married to the emperor Michael Ducas,
and afterwards to his successor Nicephorus Botoniates. By
her former husband she had Constantine Ducas, who, by
marrying the daughter of Botoniates, had acquired an indi-
pputed right to succeed him. The empress therefore, highly
provoked both against the emperor and his favourites, for
thus excluding, with the utmost injustice, her son from the
empire, disclosed the whole to the two brothers Alexius and
Isaac Comneni, who promised her all imaginable assistance.
But in the mean time, the two favourites, taking umbrage
at the intimacy that appeared between the empress and the
Comneni, resolved to remove, by some means or other, the
two brothers out of the way. Of this Alexius being scapo-
ably informed, he applied to Pacurianus, an officer of great
experience in war and equally versed in state-affairs, acquaint-
ed him with the design they had formed of deposing the em-
peror, and begged him to assist them with his advice. Pacu-
rianus, having heard him with great attention, answered
without the least hesitation, “That if they withdrew to the
army early next morning, he would attend them in their
flight; but if they delayed one moment longer, he would
discover to the emperor their treasonable designs.” Alexi-
us, charmed with this resolute and generous answer, fled early
in the morning, with his brother Isaac, Pacurianus, and the
rest of their friends, towards the army, which then lay en-
camped on the borders of Thrace. Upon their arrival, they
acquainted the chief officers of the army with their design of
creating a new emperor; which being universally approved
of, a council was summoned; and after some deliberation,
whether Isaac or Alexius should be raised to the empire, the
latter was unanimously chosen, and saluted emperor by the
whole army, which, without loss of time, he led to Con-
stantinople, being received with joyful acclamations in all the
cities through which he passed. The inhabitants of Con-
stantinople, awed by the troops of Botoniates, shut their gates
against him; but an officer, to whose charge one of the
quarters of the city was committed, having privately admit-
ted part of Alexius’s forces, the gates were by them opened
in the night to the rest, who, rushing in, made themselves
masters of the city, before Botoniates knew it was assaulted.
As Alexius’s army was composed of barbarians as well as
Christians, the unhappy city was plundered in a most cruel
manner, without any regard to the churches themselves,
which, together with the monasteries, were stripped of all their wealth and ornaments. George Paleologus, a person of great authority in the empire and a zealous champion for the Comneni, easily prevailed upon the officers of the imperial navy, then riding in the haven of Constantinople, to declare for the new emperor. Botoniates, thus forsworn by all, sent some senators to Alexius, offering the whole power to him, provided he were suffered to retain the bare name of emperor, and with it the ornaments of the imperial dignity. Alexius was inclined to comply with his request; but John Ducas brother to the late emperor Constantine Ducas, an irreconcilable enemy to Botoniates, would not suffer him to hearken to an accommodation upon any terms whatsoever. Hereupon Barilus, the reigning favourite, observing with how much security the troops of Alexius ranged through the city in quest of plunder, drew together a considerable body of resolute men; and having encouraged them with large sums and greater promises, was preparing to fall upon the unwary enemy. But Cosmas the patriarch, a man famed for his piety, advising Botoniates rather to submit to providence and resign the empire, than suffer the city to be polluted with the effusion of Christian blood, he readily embraced his counsel; and leaving the imperial palace, withdrew to the great church, and from thence to a monastery, where he took the religious habit, after he had reigned two years and ten months.

Botoniates having thus resigned the sovereign power, Alexius was, by the unanimous consent of the senate and people, proclaimed emperor, and crowned by the patriarch in the month of April 1081. His first care was to reward those who had been instrumental in his promotion, conferring on them the chief employments in the state, and even inventing new honours and dignities to gratify them. Constantine Ducas, the son of the late emperor Michael, was suffered to wear an imperial crown, and appear with the other ensigns of sovereignty, pursuivant to a promise, which he is said to have made to the empress Mary, before he took arms against Botoniates. As the barbarous behaviour of his soldiers, upon their first entering the city, had given great offence both to the clergy and people, Alexius, either being really, or pretending to be, touched with remorse for the disorders they had committed, resolved to make an open confession, and undergo a public penance. Accordingly he appeared before the patriarch and several other ecclesiastics, in
the attire of a penitent; and, acknowledging himself guilty of the many disorders that had been committed by his soldiers, begged the patriarch to impose upon him a penance answerable to the enormity of his crimes. The patriarch enjoined him, and all his relations and adherents, to fast, to lie upon the ground, and to practise several other austerities, for the space of forty days; which no one performed with more cheerfulness than the emperor himself. Having thus attuned for his crimes, or at least gained the affections and esteem of the clergy, he began to make the necessary preparations for putting a stop to the conquests of the Turks, who had seized on several provinces during the late distractions, and threatened the empire with utter destruction. But Solyman, the son and successor of Cutlu-Moses, alarmed at the warlike preparations that were carrying on in all the provinces of the empire, dispatched embassadors to Alexius with overtures for a lasting peace, which he at first rejected, but was in the end glad to accept, tho' he had gained several advantages over the enemy, upon certain advice, that Robert Guiscard, duke of Puglia and Calabria, was making great preparations against him in the west. Robert was by birth a Norman, the son of Tancred lord of Hauteville, who, having a numerous family and but a small estate, sent his two eldest sons to try their fortune in the wars against the Saracens in Italy, where they distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner; and having driven out the Saracens, seized on the places they had held, establishing by that means a new principality in Italy. Robert, the third son, upon the death of his two elder brothers, did not content himself with the principality of Puglia, which they had held, but reduced the greater part of that country which is now called the kingdom of Naples, taking upon him the title of duke of Puglia and Calabria. Towards the end of the reign of Botoniates, Michael, who had been forced to resign the empire, having made his escape into the west, prevailed upon Robert whose daughter had been some years before betrothed to Constantine, Michael's son, to espouse his cause and attempt his restoration. With this view Robert made great preparations both by sea and land, which were continued even after the resignation of Botoniates, Robert being determined to drive Alexius from the throne, if possible, and restore Michael, or, as some authors intimate, to seize on the empire for himself. Be that as it will, Robert, having left his son Roger as his lieutenant in Italy, sailed with all his forces from Brundusium; and landing at Butthrotum in Epirus,
made himself master of that place, while his son Bohemond, with part of the army, reduced Aulon, a celebrated port and city in the country now called Albania. From thence they advanced to Dyrrhachium, which they invested both by sea and land, but met with a most vigorous opposition from George Palæologus, whom the emperor had entrusted with the defence of that important place, and who, in spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy, held out, till the Venetians, with whom the emperor had entered into an alliance, arriving with a powerful and well-appointed navy, fell upon the enemy's fleet commanded by Bohemond, and gave them a total overthrow, the admiral himself, whose ship was sunk with several others, having narrowly escaped falling into their hands. After this victory, the Venetians, landing without loss of time, and being joined by Palæologus from the town, fell with great fury upon Robert's men, who were employed in the siege, destroyed their works, burnt their engines, and having driven them back to their camp, returned to their ships loaded with booty. As the Venetians were masters at sea, the besieged were supplied with plenty of provisions, while a great famine raged in the enemy's camp, attended, as usual, by a pestilential distemper, which is said to have destroyed ten thousand men in the space of three months, among whom were some of the chief officers, and many other persons of great distinction. However, Robert, who was a prince of great intrepidity, address, and resolution, pursued the siege; and, having with great difficulty repaired and equipped his fleet, found means to supply his famished troops with provisions, brought in great plenty from Italy. Palæologus, finding the courage of the garrison and citizens began to fail them, sent repeated advices to the emperor of the straights, to which they would, in all likelihood, be reduced. Hereupon Alexius resolved to march in person to the relief of the place; and accordingly, leaving his brother Isaac at Constantinople, to prevent any disturbances there during his absence, he set out for Thessalonica; and being joined there by Pacurianus and the troops under his command, he pursuèd his march with incredible expedition to Dyrrhachium; and encamping at some distance from the town, on a rising ground, with the sea on the left, and an inaccessible mountain on the right, he summoned a council of war, in which, after a warm debate, it was resolved by a great majority, but contrary to the opinion of the most experienced officers in the army, that the whole should be put to the issue of an engagement; which Robert was so far from declining, that, observing the emperor's preparations,
parations, he ordered all his ships to be sunk, which was giving his men to understand, that they had no hopes of safety, but in victory. However, the emperor's forces had at first the advantage, and drove a body of Robert's troops quite to the sea, which occasioned no small disorder in the army; but they being encouraged and brought back to the charge by Gaia, Robert's wife, a woman of a masculine courage and behaviour, the fight was renewed with fresh vigor, and the victory long disputed. At length the emperor's forces began to give ground, and being warmly pressed by the enemy, the whole right wing betook themselves to a precipitous and disorderly flight, most of them escaping to a neighbouring church, dedicated to St. Michael, as to a place of safety. But the victorious enemy, pursuing them close, set fire to the church, which was soon consumed, with all who were in it. In the mean time, Robert having put to flight the main body of the emperor's army, Alexius himself was forced to retire, though he was the last, if we may give credit to his daughter Anna Comnena, who turned his back. The flower of the emperor's troops were cut off, either in the flight or in the pursuit, with an incredible number of officers and persons of distinction, among whom were Constantius, the son of Constantine Ducas, Nicephorus Synadenius, Nicephorus Palæologus, the father of George, Zacharias, Aspetes, &c. The emperor with much ado made his escape, and reached Achris, leaving the enemy master of his camp and the whole baggage of the army. Robert, elated with this victory, returned before Dyrhachium, which immediately submitted, and opened its gates to the conqueror, who, as the year was already far spent, put his troops into winter-quarters, with a design to pursue his conquests early in the spring. In the mean time, Alexius, who had lost the flower of his troops in the battle, ordered new forces to be raised in all the provinces of the empire, feizing for that purpose, as the exchequer was quite exhausted, on the wealth of the churches and monasteries, which gave great offence to the clergy, and had like to have occasioned dreadful disturbances in the imperial city. At the same time, Alexius, entering into an alliance with Henry, emperor of Germany, prevailed to invade the territories of Robert in Italy, which he did accordingly early in the spring, entering Calabria at the head of a numerous army. Robert was no sooner informed of the emperor's motions, than, summoning a council of war, he appointed his son Bohemond his lieutenant in the camp; and having recommended him to the officers,
officers of the army, he set out without delay for Italy, where he relieved the pope, besieged by the emperor’s forces in the caffle of St. Angelo, retook Rome, and drove the emperor out of Italy, as we shall relate at length in a more proper place. In the mean time, Bohemond reduced several places in Illyricum; and, having defeated Alexius in two pitched battles, entered Thefaly, and sat down before Larilla; which, being defended by an officer of great experience in war, held out till the emperor, having recruited his army, marched to its relief. Soon after his arrival, he found means to draw a strong party of Bohemond’s men into an ambuscade, who were almost all cut off. However, in the battle, which was fought a few days after, Bohemond had the advantage; but his troops mutinying, and refusing to continue the war, till they had received their arrears, he was obliged to repair to his father in Italy. Alexius, taking advantage of his absence, recovered several cities; and being informed, that Robert was making great preparations against him, he had recourse once more to the Venetians, who, having with incredible expedition equipped a powerful fleet, engaged Robert, and overthrew him in two successive battles, but were soon after surprized by him, and defeated with the loss of almost their whole navy. We are told, that Robert used his victory with the greatest barbarity, putting several of his prisoners to unheard-of torments. The Venetians equipped a second fleet; and, joining that of the emperor, fell unexpectedly upon Robert’s navy, while they were riding without the least apprehension of an enemy near Buthrotum, sunk most of his ships, and took a great number of prisoners, his wife and younger sons having narrowly escaped falling into their hands. But Robert, not in the least disheartened with this overthrow, ordered his fleet to be refitted, new ships to be built, and levies to be made throughout his Italian dominions, with a design to pursue the war with more vigor than ever. But being in the mean time seized with a violent fever, he died in the island of Cephalenia, being then in the seventy-ninth year of his age. Upon his death, Roger, his son and successor, not thinking it advisable to pursue so dangerous and expensive a war, recalled his troops; so that Dyrrachium, and the other places, which they had seized in Illyricum, submitted anew to the emperor.

This war was scarce ended, when another broke out with the Scythians, who, passing the Danube, laid waste the great

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great part of Thrace, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. Against them the emperor dispatched Pucurianus and Branas, who, engaging the enemy, tho' far superior to them in numbers, were both cut off, with the greater part of the army, to the unspeakable grief of the emperor, who had a particular esteem for Pucurianus, on account of his extraordinary parts, his experience in war, and his approved fidelity. This overthrow was owing to the rafflnes of Branas, who in a manner forced his colleague to venture an engagement, contrary to his own opinion. Talicius, who had signalized himself on several occasions, being appointed to command the army in their room, fell upon the enemy as they lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Philippopolis, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to retire in the utmost confusion. However, they returned the spring following in such numbers, that the emperor resolved to march against them in person. Accordingly, leaving the imperial city, he set out for Adrianople, and from thence to a place called Lardea, where, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers, he engaged the enemy; but, after a warm dispute, which lasted almost from morning to night, was put to flight and utterly defeated. Incredible numbers of his men were put to the sword or taken prisoners, he himself escaping with the utmost difficulty to Berea. About the same time, the Turks, finding the main strength of the empire was employed against the Scythians, broke with great violence into the Roman territories, and made themselves masters of several places of great importance in Asia, and among the rest of Clazomene, Phocaea, Mitylene, Methymna, and soon after of the island of Chios. This sudden irruption obliged the emperor to fend part of his forces into the east, under the conduct of John Ducas, brother to the empress, while he himself led the rest, reinforced with new levies, against the Scythians, by whom he was again overthrown with great loss, being betrayed by one Neantzes, a Scythian, who had deserted to him in the beginning of the war; but abandoning him in the heat of the battle, so disheartened the Romans with his sudden flight, that they began to give ground; and being pressed by the enemy and overpowered with numbers, they retired in great disorder, leaving the Scythians masters of their camp and baggage. However, not long after, Alexius gained a considerable advantage over them, and the year following, 1084, having defeated them in a pitched battle and put them to flight, made such a dreadful havoc of the fugitives, that few of
of them are said to have escaped the general slaughter. An end being put to the Scythian war by this victory, the emperor resolved to march in person against the Turks, with whom John Ducas, his brother-in-law, had often fought with various success. Tzachas, a leading man among the Turks, having made himself master of Smyrna, erected there a new principality, independent of the sultan, harassing with frequent incursions the neighbouring countries. He had, besides several other places, reduced Mitylene, which John Ducas, pursuant to his instructions, closely besieged by land, while Constantine Delaffenus who commanded the fleet, invested it by sea. But Tzachas, having committed the defence of the place to his brother, kept the field with a choosen body of troops, watching the motions of the Romans, intercepting their provisions, and harassing them with frequent and sudden onsets, which diverted them from pursuing the siege with due vigor. But John Ducas, having at length drawn Tzachas to an engagement, gave him a total overthrow; after which he sent deputies to Ducas, with proposals for a peace, which was concluded upon the following terms: That Tzachas should be allowed to retire unmolested to Smyrna; that Mitylene should be delivered up to the Romans; and that none of the inhabitants should be injured in their persons or estates, or be forced to attend Tzachas at his departure. These articles were mutually agreed to, and hostages delivered on both sides; but Tzachas having, with a manifest breach of the treaty, obliged several of the inhabitants to quit their habitations and follow him, Delaffenus failed after him; and, soon coming up with him, funk most of his ships, put great numbers of his men to the sword, and released the captives, Tzachas himself having narrowly escaped falling into his hands by embarquing on a light vessel, which carried him safe to Smyrna, where he ordered a new fleet to be equipped, and in the mean time marched with all the forces he could raise to Abydos, which he hoped to reduce, before it could be relieved by the emperor. But the sultan, looking upon him as an enemy no less dangerous to himself than to the empire, marched against him in person at the head of a powerful army, while Delaffenus, the Roman admiral, cut off his retreat by sea. Tzachas, finding himself thus attacked by two powerful enemies at once, chose to submit to the sultan, whose daughter he had married. The sultan received him in a very obliging manner,
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Tzachas put to death by the sultan.

The Scythians renew the war.

manner, and invited him to an entertainment; but, in the height of his mirth, caused him to be murdered, and soon after concluded a peace with the emperor  

In the year 1093, the Scythian war broke out anew, the barbarians being encouraged to invade the empire by an impostor, who, pretending to be Leo, the eldest son of the late emperor Romanus Diogenes, slain some years before in an engagement with the Turks, laid claim to the empire, and was received with great joy by the Scythians, who wanted only a pretence to renew the war. Alexius, having received timely advice of the design they had formed of falling with all their forces on the empire, visited the borders in person; and having supplied the frontier towns with whatever was necessary for their defence, repaired to the city of Anchialus on the Euxine sea. There he was informed, that the barbarians, having passed the Danube, and caused the impostor to be proclaimed emperor in several towns, which had submitted to them, were advancing with long marches to Anchialus, in order to besiege the place, and, by taking the emperor, put an end to the war at once. Upon this intelligence, Alexius, having left a sufficient garrison in the place, encamped with the rest of his forces on a rising ground at a small distance from the city, and there fortified himself in such manner, that the barbarians, after having viewed his camp and works for three days together, thought it advisable to draw off; and leaving Anchialus, which they could not invest without driving the emperor from his post, marched to Adrianople, the impostor persuading them, that the place would be immediately delivered up to them by Nicephorus Bryennius, who commanded in it, and had, he affirmed, been highly obliged by his father Romanus Diogenes, when emperor. The credulous barbarians, believing all he said, marched cheerfully to Adrianople, but, contrary to their expectation, met there with so vigorous a resistance, that, after they had continued seven weeks before it, they had some thoughts of abandoning the enterprise. But being encouraged by the pretended Leo to pursue the siege, the place was in the end reduced to the utmost extremity, and must have submitted in a few days, had not an officer of the army, by name Alacafeus, preferred it by the following stratagem: In imitation of the celebrated Zopyrus, he disfigured his face, mangled his whole body in a cruel manner, and flying in that condition

—Ann. Comnen. l. vii. c. 6, 7.
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condition to the impostor, told him, that he was the son of one, who had been inviolably attached to his father, on which account he had been thus inhumanly treated by Alexius, and was come to implore the protection of the lawful emperor, and conjure him, by the memory of both their fathers, to revenge their mutual injuries. The usurper, giving credit to what he said, and reposing an entire confidence in him, followed him, attended by a chosen body of Scythians, to a strong-hold in that neighbourhood, which, Alacaesus pretended, the governor designing to betray to him. He was accordingly received, as had been agreed before-hand, into the place, and invited by the governor to a grand entertainment; at which the mock prince and his Scythians, who, without the least apprehension of treachery, had drunk to excess, were seized and loaded with chains. Hereupon Alexius, informed of what had happened, marched with all possible expedition against the Scythians, now destitute of a leader; and falling upon them, before they had the least intelligence of his approach, slew seven thousand of them upon the spot, took three thousand prisoners, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitous flight. However, they returned the following year with a very numerous army; but, being overthrown in two successive engagements, they sent at length deputies to treat of a peace; which was concluded upon the emperor’s own terms. After this Alexius returned to Constantinople, loaded with booty; which he generously divided among those, who had distinguished themselves most in the war.

During his stay at Constantinople, he was informed that the western christians were making great preparations for the recovery of the holy land, at that time possessed by the Turks and Saracens. As the fortunes of those adventurers are inseparably interwoven with the remaining part of this history, it might be jufully deemed an unpardonable omission, not to acquaint the reader with the motives that prompted them to engage in that mighty undertaking, commonly known by the name of the holy war, or the crusade. About the year 1093, an hermit, by name Peter, a native of Amiens in Picardy, undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to visit the holy places there; and observing the miserable condition of the christians in Asia, Syria, and Palestine, at that time mostly possessed by the Turks, and the cruel usage they met with from those infidels, on account of their religion, he began to deliberate,
The council of Clermont.

The crusade published.

The principal commanders.

Peter the hermit begins the expedition.

deliberate, first with himself, and afterwards with Simon, then patriarch of Jerusalem, about the means of rescuing them from the tyranny under which they groaned. As the eastern empire was in too weak a condition to give any hopes of relief, he resolved to apply to the western princes, and endeavour, by all possible means, to unite them in a league against the common enemy, for the relief of the unhappy christians and the recovery of the holy land. Accordingly, having received pressing letters from the patriarch and the grand master of the hospitalers, to that purpose, to the pope and all the christian princes in the west, he took upon him to be messenger; and embarking on the first ship he met, he arrived at Bari in Puglia; and proceeding from thence to Rome, he delivered the letters to pope Urban II. giving him at the same time a pathetic account of the unexpressible miseries the christians suffered under the Turkish yoke, of which he himself had been an eye-witness. Having received all the encouragement he could with for from the pope, he applied to the other princes; and, travelling from kingdom to kingdom, inspired both princes and people with the pious and commendable desire of relieving the oppressed christians, and rescuing the holy land out of the hands of the infidels. The pope, informed of this general disposition, summoned a council at Clermont in France, where three hundred and ten bishops met, and likewise the embassadors of most christian princes; to whom Peter the hermit made an eloquent speech, representing the sufferings of the oppressed christians, the deflation of the holy places, the cruelty of the Turks, &c. in so lively and affecting a manner, that a religious war was unanimously resolved on, all declaring, as if filled with one spirit, their consent, by often repeating aloud, Deus vult, Deus vult, God will have it so, God will have it so. Upon the dissolution of the council, the crusade was published by the pope, and generally embraced throughout the west, multitudes flocking together from all parts, with red crosses on their breasts, the mark of their expedition, ready to recover the holy land, and redeem the christians from the cruel yoke they groaned under, at the expense of their lives. They are supposed in all to have been no fewer than three hundred thousand men, of whom the chief commanders were, Hugh brother to Philip I. king of France, Robert duke of Normandy, Robert earl of Flanders, Raymond of Toulouse, Godfrey, of Bouillon, with his brothers Baldwin and Leuflace, Stephen de Valois earl of Chartres, Bohemond prince of Tarentum, and Peter the hermit. To the latter was given
given the command of forty thousand men; which army he divided into two bodies, leading one himself, and committing the other to the conduct of Gautier, a native of France, surnamed, from his being a soldier of fortune, the Moneyless. Gautier began his march on the eighteenth of March 1096, and, passing through Germany, entered Hungary, where the inhabitants refusing to supply him and his army with the necessary provisions, he was forced to plunder the country. Hereupon the Hungarians, falling upon him on his march, killed great numbers of his men, and obliged the rest to save themselves among the woods and marshes, where they lay concealed, and suffered unexpressible miseries, till the prince of Bulgaria, touched with compassion, furnished them with guides, who conducted them to Constantinople, the place of their general rendezvous, where they waited the arrival of Peter, who did not join them till the first of August, being strangely harassed on his march by the Hungarians, who slew above two thousand of his men, took all their baggage and two thousand wagons, with the money designed to pay the army. To those hostilities Peter himself gave occasion, by suffering his men to commit all sorts of disorders, under pretence of revenging the cruel treatment, which the army under Gautier had met with from the natives. Peter, having with much ado reached Constantinople with the remains of his shattered army, was there received, in appearance, with great marks of friendship and kindness by the emperor Alexius, who nevertheless was in his heart greatly alarmed at the expedition; for though he believed the common people might act upon principles of religion, yet he could not persuade himself, that princes would leave their dominions, and engage in so hazardous an undertaking upon the same motives. However, he supplied Peter’s army with all manner of provisions; who thereupon passed the straits, and marching into Bithynia, encamped not far from the city of Nice. Not long after his departure, the emperor received advice of Godfrey’s arrival at Philippopolis, with ten thousand horse and seventy thousand foot; which gave him no small jealousy, the more, as Godfrey immediately dispatched to him an officer, to demand the liberty of Hugh, brother to the king of France, who, in his passage from Bari to Dyrrhachium, being separated by a storm from the rest of the fleet, had been seized by the governor of the above-mentioned city and sent to Constantinople, where he was detained prisoner. As the emperor refused, under various pretences, to set his prisoner at liberty, Godfrey, who was already
already advanced as far as Adrianople, began to act against him as an open enemy, laying waste the country, and marching directly to Constantinople. Hereupon Alexius, not finding himself in a condition to oppose so powerful an enemy, complied at length with his demand, promising at the same time to supply his army with provisions; which, however, he neglected to do, and by that neglect provoked Godfrey to such a degree, that he laid waste the whole neighbouring country to the very gates of Constantinople. Alexius, dreading he might fall upon the imperial city itself, sent ambassadors to treat of an accommodation, offering his own son as an hostage, and promising the provoked prince all possible satisfaction. Godfrey having received the ambassadors in a most obliging manner, and put a stop to all hostilities, the emperor invited him and the other princes and chief officers of his army into the city, where they were received with great magnificence, and entertained in a friendly manner. After several conferences and warm disputes, the following agreement was at length concluded between them and Alexius; that, during the expedition, the emperor should assist them with with all his forces, supply them with arms, provisions, and other necessaries, and treat them on all occasions as his friends and allies. On the other hand, the princes were to restore to the empire such provinces and cities as they should recover out of the hands of the Turks and Saracens. Soon after, the other princes arrived by different ways at the head of powerful armies, and were all received by the emperor with the greatest marks of esteem and affection. After a short stay at Constantinople, the forces passed the Bosphorus, and encamped near Chalcedon, with a design to advance from thence to Nice, and lay siege to that important city.

While Godfrey and the other princes were yet on their march, the army commanded by Peter the hermit, which had entered Bithynia, as we have observed above, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Nice, began to mutiny; and, deposing Gautier, advanced Raymond, a German commander of great prowess, in his room. After this, the Germans and Italians, separating from the French, encamped apart. A strong party of the Italians, having made themselves masters of a town called Xerigordus, were there surprised by the Turks and put to the sword. The French, who lay encamped near Helenopolis and Cibolus, two villages on the gulf of Nicomedia, were, by the Turkish commander in those parts, drawn into an ambuscade, and mostly either cut.
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cut off, or taken prisoners; so that of the forty thousand men commanded by Peter, scarce three thousand were left, who with him took refuge in Cinite; which place they defended till the arrival of Godfrey and the other princes of the crusade, with whom they marched to Nice; which city was invested by the christian princes in the month of May 1097. As the place had been strongly fortified by Solyman, then sultan of the Turks, who had chosen it for the seat of his empire, and was defended by a numerous garrison, the siege lasted several weeks; during which time, both the christians and Turks gave many signal instances of their intrepidity and resolution. Solyman, who hadposted himself with a numerous army among the neighbouring mountains, attempted twice to raise the siege; but was as often repulsed with much slaughter. However, the besieged continued to defend the place with great courage and resolution, till the emperor Alexius, who assisted in person at the enterprize, having caused a great number of small vessels to be fitted out, cut off the communication, which, by means of the lake Ascanius, the city maintained with the neighbouring country. The garrison being thus deprived of the constant supplies they received both of men and provisions, and at the same time privately solicited by the emperor with mighty promises to surrender the place, not to the western princes, but to him, they submitted at length, and, on the fifth of July, delivered up the city to his lieutenant, by name Butumites. Among the many captives taken on this occasion, were Solyman's wife and two of his children, who were immediately sent to Constantinople. After the reduction of Nice, the princes, taking their leave of the emperor, of whom they now entertained great distrust, bent their march towards Syria, having first divided the army into two bodies, for the convenience of forage and subsistence. Bohemond, who marched the first, was suddenly attacked by Solyman, at the head of sixty thousand Turks, and would in all likelihood have been put to flight, had not Hugh come scathingly to his relief with thirty thousand men; who falling upon the enemy, cut forty thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to take shelter among the neighbouring mountains. This victory was attended with the surrender of Antioch in Pisidia, of Iconium in Cilicia, Heraclea, and several other places. The christian princes, animated with this success, bound themselves by an oath not to return, till they had rescued the holy city of Jerusalem out of the hands of the infidels. Accordingly, having passed mount Taurus, they made themselves masters of

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The Turk defeated. Nice besieged by the christians.

And taken. 

The Turka

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of the cities of Maresia and Arta sia; and marching from the latter, but fifteen miles distant from Antioch, they encamped before that famous metropolis on the twenty-first of October 1097. As the place was strongly fortified, and garrisoned with seven thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, the siege lasted to the third of June, when one Pyrrhus, who had in appearance embraced the Mohammedan superstition to save his estate, and was entrusted with the defence of a tower called the Two sifters, betrayed the city to Bohemond, whose men entering it in the night, opened the gates to the rest of the army; who falling upon the Turks before they could put themselves in a posture of defence, cut them off almost to a man. Cassianus the governor, with some others, found means to make his escape out of the place; but fell soon after into the hands of the Armenian christians, by whom he was slain. While the christians were engaged in the siege of Antioch, Corbenus, one of the sultan of Persia's generals, attacked Edessa with a mighty army; but Baldwin, to whom the place had submitted some months before, gave him such a warm reception, that he abandoned the enterprize, and marched to the relief of Antioch. Being informed on his march that the city was taken, he resolved nevertheless to venture a battle, in hopes of recovering it; but received a total overthrow, having lost, as we are told, an hundred thousand, partly killed, and partly taken prisoners; whereas of the christians only four thousand two hundred were slain. This memorable battle was fought on the twenty-seventh of June 1098, and the next day the Turks, who still kept the castle of Antioch, despairing of relief, submitted and were made prisoners. The christians, thus become masters of Antioch, chose with one consent Bohemond prince of that metropolis, not thinking themselves bound by the late treaty, since Alexius had, contrary to that agreement, under various pretences, declined lending them the least assistance. However, they sent Hugh, brother to Philip king of France and Baldwin earl of Heynault, to give the emperor an account of their success, and press him to join them with all his forces, pursuant to the treaty; but the earl of Heynault was never afterwards seen or heard of, whence he was generally believed to have been taken prisoner and murdered by the emperor's orders. As for the other, he got safe to Constantinople; but, instead of returning to the princes with an account of his embassy, he departed from thence into France; whence some writers speak of
of him much to his disadvantage, as if he had been bribed by the emperor to abandon the enterprize. The emperor had indeed at this time a just excuse for not joining the western princes; for Targripermes, a Turkish pirate, having seized on the cities of Smyrna and Ephesus, and reduced the islands of Rhodes and Chios, infested the coasts of the empire, committing everywhere dreadful ravages. Against him the emperor sent a considerable fleet and army; which arriving safe at Smyrna, besieged that city by sea and land, and having in the end reduced it, marched to Ephesus, which was likewise forced to submit, Targripermes having been defeated with great slaughter in that neighbourhood. The victory gained by the emperor’s forces was followed by the surrender of Philadelphia, Laodicea, and other maritime cities of great importance. Alexius, elated with this success, laid claim to Antioch, and sent embassadors to Bohemond, requiring him to deliver up that city to its lawful owner. Bohemond was so offended at this demand, that, instead of complying with it, he, in his turn, claimed, as prince of Antioch, the city of Laodicea, and dispatched a considerable body of forces, under the conduct of his nephew Tancred, to take it by force; which they did accordingly, reducing at the same time several other strong-holds in Cilicia, belonging to the emperor. Hereupon Alexius, having caused a mighty fleet to be equipped with all possible expedition, resolved to stop the passage of the supplies, which the western princes, especially the bishop of Pisa, were preparing for the support of the christians in the east, till such time as they had restored to the empire the cities they had taken from the Turks. Of this fleet Tatius was appointed admiral, who, meeting that of the western princes near Rhodes, attacked them, and gave them a total overthrow; but was himself overtaken, in his return to Constantinople, by a violent storm, which destroyed the greater part of his fleet. After this, the emperor ordered Catalczenus, one of his generals, to lay siege to Laodicea; which, notwithstanding the supplies Bohemond with much difficulty threw into it, was in the end obliged to submit. Hereupon the prince of Antioch, finding he had not sufficient strength at present to contend with the emperor, either by sea or land, left a strong garrison in Antioch, and passed undiscovered into Italy, with a design to levy new forces there and return early in the spring into the east. Alexius, acquainted with his design, ordered his admiral, by name Contostephanus, to cruise on the coast of Italy, and prevent, by all means, Bohemond’s fleet from passing into the east;
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but Constantinus, departing from his instructions, made a descent, and laid siege to Brundusium; which, however, he was obliged to raise, his men being with great slaughter put to flight by the inhabitants. Among the prisoners taken on this occasion were five Scythians, whom Bohemond carried to the pope, telling him, that, with the assistance of such infidels and barbarians, Alexius endeavoured to stop the progress of the Christian princes in the east; which inflamed both the pope and the people against him to such a degree, that multitudes crowded daily to Bohemond, desiring to be employed against a prince, whom they looked upon as an avowed enemy to the Christian name. Bohemond, having by this means soon raised a powerful army, passed over into Illyricum; and landing without opposition in the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium, sat down before that important place, after having caused his fleet to be burnt in the flight of the whole army, that, seeing there was no means of making their escape, they might fight the more courageously, and place their safety in victory alone. As the place was defended by a numerous garrison and supplied with great plenty of provisions, it made a vigorous defence, and held out, till Bohemond's army being reduced to the utmost extremity for want of necessaries, that haughty prince began to give ear to the proposals that were made him for putting an end to the war. After several conferences between him and the emperor's ministers, a peace was in the end concluded, upon terms equally honourable to both princes. The war being thus ended, Bohemond returned to Italy, according to Anna Commena; but according to others, to Antioch, where, we are told, he died six months after. Alexius, being disengaged from this war, marched in person against the Turks, who, renewing their incursions, had laid the country waste to the very walls of Nice; and coming up with them in the neighbourhood of that city, gave them a total overthrow. However, the Turks returned the following year; but were, in several successive battles, overcome and put to flight by the emperor's lieutenants, Alexius himself being prevented, by the gout and other distempers, that usually attend old age, from heading his army in person. The Turks, disheartened with the great losses they had sustained, sent to sue for peace; which was readily granted them by the emperor, who thenceforth never appeared more in the field, but spent the remaining part of his life in thriving

* Ann. Commen. i. ii. c. 6. & 1. xi. c. 1, 2, 3. Glyc. annal. 1  
iii. Zonar in Alex.
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striving to heal the divisions, which at that time rent the Greek church. Being seized with a violent cold, he died in the year 1118, the thirty-seventh of his reign, and twenty-second after the expedition of the western princes for the recovery of the holy land. There is a great disagreement among authors touching the character of this prince, the Greek historians, especially his daughter Anna Comnena, painting him as the best of princes, and those who have written the history of the holy war, representing him as the worst. However, it is agreed on all hands, that he was a man of great address and penetration, endowed with uncommon parts, and the best statesman of his time. He was grateful, generous, and liberal, as appears from his behaviour to his brother and the rest of his friends, who had been instrumental in his advancement to the throne; for on them he heaped such wealth, as quite drained the exchequer; whence, to carry on the war with the Turks, he was forced to seize on the riches of the churches and monasteries; which has prompted some ecclesiastic writers to paint him in the blackest colours. He seems to have been a stranger to all manner of cruelty; for though many conspiracies were formed against him during the long course of his reign, yet we read of no other punishment inflicted even on the chief authors of them, besides banishment, or the confiscation of their estates. His behaviour to the western princes, though altogether unbecoming one who professed the same religion, may in some degree be excused, in regard of the jealousy he entertained of them, especially of Bohemond, his old enemy, which prompted him rather to oppose and weaken, than assist, them in an undertaking, which, he apprehended, might at last end in his own ruin, as well as in that of the common enemy. During his sickness, he was earnestly solicited, by the empress and his daughter Ann, to exclude his own son John from the succession, and bequeath the empire to Bryennius, the husband of Ann; but the emperor, deaf to their solicitations, declared John his successor, who was thereupon saluted emperor by the people, as soon as the death of Alexius was known, and a few days after, crowned in the great church by the patriarch. He had scarce taken possession of the imperial throne, when some of his nearest relations, at the instigation of Ann, conspired against him, with a design to depose him, and place Bryennius in his room; but, the conspiracy being feasonably discovered, the conspirators were immediately put to death.
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immediately seized, tried, and convicted. However, the
good natured emperor did not suffer them to be otherwise
punished, than by confiscating their estates, which he soon
after restored to them, receiving anew into favour all those,
who, with his sister Ann, had given life to the conspiracy.
After this, he removed from court such as he had reason to
suspect, appointing none to succeed them but persons of
known probity and distinguished characters. In the second
year of his reign, the Turks, in defiance of the treaty lately
concluded with his father, broke into Phrygia; but the em-
peror, marching against them in person, overthrew them in
several engagements; and having recovered such cities as
they had taken in Cilicia, and among the rest Laodicea, he
laid siege to Sozopolis, a strong town in Pamphylia, which
he took by a stratagem, having enticed the Turks out by a
pretended flight, and cut off their retreat into the city. The
Turks, alarmed at the success that attended his arms, renewed
the peace, which they had concluded with his father
Alexius. Hereupon the emperor returned in triumph to
Constantinople, where he had not been long, when news
was brought him, that the Scythians, having passed the Da-
ube and broken into Thrace, were destroying all before
them with fire and sword. Against them the emperor led
the flower of his army, and falling upon the barbarians be-
fore they could put themselves in a posture of defence, cut
incredible numbers of them in pieces, took many prisoners,
and obliged the rest to save themselves beyond the Danube.
He then turned his victorious arms, first against the Servii,
whom he easily overcame, and afterwards against the Hunns,
who had invaded the empire, but were driven beyond the
Danube with great slaughter. The emperor, crossing that
river after them, carried the war into their country; and
having taken several of their strong-holds, and forced them
to conclude a peace upon his own terms, he returned the
second time in triumph to Constantinople. While the em-
peror was thus employed against the barbarians, the Turks,
without any regard to the late treaty, entered unexpectedly
Galatia and Cilicia, and made themselves masters of several
cities in those two provinces. The emperor therefore, hav-
ing allowed his men a few days to refresh themselves at Con-
stantinople, led them afterwards into the east, where he soon
made himself master of all Armenia, driving every-where

a Nicet. i. i. c. i.  b Idem, c. 2—5.
the Turks before him. The castle of Baca, and the cities of Caftamon, Anazarba, Serep, Capharda, Iftria, and Sezer, made a vigorous resistance; but were in the end obliged to submit. However, having laid siege to Berœa in Syria, he was forced by the numerous garrison to raise it, and drop that enterprise. On his return homewards, he was reconciled to his brother Isaac, who, in the beginning of his reign, having taken some disgust, had fled to the Turks, and affixed them with his advice in all their undertakings against the Christians. Soon after, John, Isaac’s son, defected to the enemy, and, renouncing the Christian religion, embraced the superstition of Mohammed. The emperor, having spent three years in the east, and recovered from the Turks the several cities and strong holds which they had lately taken, returned to Constantinople, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. Having settled his domestic affairs, he resolved to return once more into the east; and accordingly began his march early in the spring of the year 1140, attended by his three sons, Alexius, Andronicus, and Manuel, giving out, that he had nothing else in view but to secure his conquests in Armenia, and confirm the cities, that had lately submitted to him, in their obedience; but his real design was to recover, if possible, the city of Antioch, held by the Latins, and reunite that lately metropolis to the empire. Heaven seemed to be offended at this undertaking; for soon after he had left Constantinople, his two eldest sons, Alexius and Andronicus, died in the prime of their years, to the unexpressible grief of the afflicted father, who was ready to sink under the weight of so unexpected a calamity. However, he pursued his march, and entering Syria, acquainted the inhabitants of Antioch with his arrival; who thereupon sent some of the chief men in the city to meet him. But when he drew near, they refused to admit him within the gates, till he had solemnly sworn he would attempt no innovation, but quietly depart, after a short stay in the city. He had entertained hopes of gaining over the citizens, and by that means making himself master of the city; but finding them inviolably attached to the Latins, he retired in a great rage, ordering his soldiers, at their departure, to plunder the suburbs. From Antioch he bent his march to Cilicia, where, while he was one day hunting, he was accidentally wounded in the hand with a poisoned arrow, which he carried in his quiver. Though the wound was slight, yet, as the proper remedies were not applied in due time, it caused such a swelling in his
his arm, that the physicians were for cutting it off; but he peremptorily refusing to submit to the operation, the strength of the poison prevailed to such a degree, that he was in a short time brought to the point of death; when, summoning the chief of the nobility to his chamber, he named in their presence his youngest son Manuel to succeed him, as better qualified in every respect for that eminent station, than his other son Isaac. Hereupon Manuel was immediately proclaimed and acknowledged emperor by the nobility and the chief officers of the army, who bound themselves by a solemn oath to obey no other. The emperor died soon after, on the eighth of April 1143, having reigned twenty-four years and eight months. It is observable of him, that he put none to death during the whole time of his reign; whence he was no less beloved by his subjects for his humanity and good nature, than feared by the enemies of the empire, on account of his courage, experience in war, and the success that attended him in all his expeditions.

The emperor no sooner expired, than Manuel dispatched Alexius, who had been prime minister to his father, to Constantinople, with orders to secure Isaac; who was accordingly seized, before he had time to assert his right to the empire, and confined to a monastery. Soon after, the new emperor arrived; and being received with loud acclamations by the people, who hated Isaac; he was crowned with great solemnity by the patriarch. Having settled his domestic affairs, and set his brother Isaac at liberty, upon his promising to attempt no innovations during his absence, he passed over into Asia, at the head of a mighty army; and having recovered several cities in Phrygia, lately taken by the Turks, he sat down before Iconium; but not being able to matter that important place, he returned to Constantinople, leaving sufficient garrisons in the frontier-towns to restrain the incursions of the Turks. During his stay in the imperial city, he married Gertrude, sister-in-law to Conrade, the German emperor; but slighting her, though endowed with every perfection becoming a person of her sex and quality, he maintained a criminal conversation with his own niece Theodora; which greatly estranged from him the minds of his people. But nothing has rendered his name more odious to posterity, than his treacherous behaviour to the western princes; for having promised to supply the army of Conrade, who in the year 8 Nicet. c. 7—12.
year 1146, undertook an expedition into the holy land, with forage and provisions, instead of that, he caused the countries, through which they were to pass, to be laid waste, and the gates of the towns to be shut; nay, we are told, that the Greeks, inspired by the emperor with an irreconcilable hatred to those adventurers, mixed the flour they sold them with quick-lime; which occasioned a dreadful mortality in the christian army. Besides, the emperor privately acquainted Mamut, sultan of Iconium in Asia Minor, with the designs of Conrade and the other princes. Whereupon the sultan alarming all the princes of his nation, a formidable army was raised in defence of their common interest, and sent to protect their territories, before the christian princes were in a condition to attack them. By this means the designs of the western princes were defeated, and an army, which otherwise might have easily triumphed over all the east, in a great measure destroyed. Roger, king of Sicily, highly provoked at Manuel's treachery, took advantage of some disturbances raised by the inhabitants of Corcyra, who thought themselves oppressed by too heavy exactions, and made himself master of that island. From thence he sailed to Corinth, which he likewise took and plundered, with Thebes, and most of the principal cities in Boeotia. Hereupon Manuel, having assembled all the forces of the empire and equipped a mighty fleet, proclaimed war against Roger and the Sicilians; which he began with the siege of Corcyra, now Corfu. The besieged defended the place with incredible bravery; but being in the end quite tired out with repeated attacks, they surrendered upon honourable terms. In this siege the emperor, who commanded his troops in person, lost an incredible number of men, and among the rest Stephen, one of his chief officers. However, elated with his success, he resolved to carry the war into Sicily itself; but was overtaken by a violent storm, in which several of his ships were lost, and he himself driven, with most of the transports, to Aulon. Being informed, during his stay there, that the Servians had broken into the neighbouring provinces, he marched against them in person, committing the management of the Sicilian war to Michael Palæologus. Manuel gained great advantages over the Servians, though assisted by the Hungarians, whom he likewise overcame in several battles; and carrying the war into their country, took and razed some of their chief towns, and then returned to Constantinople, loaded with

k Idem in Manuel. l. i. c. 1—4.
with booty. As for Palæologus, he marched into Calabria, where he frequently defeated Roger's forces, and continued laying waste the country, till, by the mediation of the pope, a peace was concluded between the two princes. The emperor, now disengaged from this war, took a progress into the east, being every-where received in a friendly manner, and entertained with shews and festivals, by the western princes, notwithstanding his unaccountable and treacherous behaviour towards them. On his return, he was attacked unexpectedly by the Turks, who killed several of his men, and took part of his baggage. To revenge this outrage, the emperor, after a short stay at Constantinople, passed over into Asia, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army; which struck the sultan with such terror, that he sent embassadors to sue for peace, offering to conclude it upon such terms, as the emperor himself should judge proper. But Manuel adhering to the young and unexperienced officers, who, pushed on with a false courage, declared with great warmth for war, the offers of the sultan were rejected, and his embassadors dismissed with this haughty answer, That the emperor would come and let him know his pleasure at Iconium, which was the metropolis of the Turkish empire in Asia Minor. Hereupon the sultan, finding a war unavoidable, fixed on the narrow passes of Zibrica, through which the emperor's army was to pass, and falling upon them, as soon as they entered the straits, made a dreadful havock of them with showers of arrows from the mountains and broken cliffs. The Romans attempted to retire; but their retreat being cut off by a strong detachment of Turks, posted at the entrance of the straits, they were forced to pursue their march, being galled the whole time by the enemy's arrows showering down upon them from the eminences. In the mean time, night coming on, the Turks, who were well acquainted with the country, posted themselves of all the outlets; so that the Romans found themselves, when light appeared, hemmed in on every side, without being able either to retire or advance. In this condition, while they looked upon themselves as lost, the sultan, to the great surprise of the emperor and the whole army, sent to Manuel one of his chief officers, by name Gabras, with proposals for a peace; which he immediately signed, to the inexplicable joy of the whole army, who pursued their march unmolested to Chonas, where the emperor distributed what money he had with him among the soldiers, and then proceeded to Phila-
Philadelphia, in which city he continued, till his wounds were cured. One of the conditions of the peace was, that the fortifications of Dorylæum and Subleum in Asia Minor should be razed. This the emperor, now out of danger, refused to perform, alledging, that what had been extorted from him by force was not binding. The sultan, highly provoked at this answer, sent a body of twenty four thousand chosen men, under the conduct of Atapacus, to lay waste all Phrygia; which they did with the utmost barbarity, sparing neither sex nor age. But the emperor’s forces, falling upon them as they were crossing the Maeander on their way home, cut them all off to a man, and recovered the whole booty. The Turks were so disheartened with this overthrow, that they continued quiet the remaining part of Manuel’s reign, who, having no wars to employ his thoughts, turned them to religious matters, and, by endeavouring to introduce and establish heterodox opinions, raised great disturbances and divisions in the church, some of the prelates being prompted by their interest to embrace and maintain the doctrine he had broached, and others impugning it with great warmth. Among the latter was Eustathius archbishop of Thessalonica, famous for his learned comments on Homer. But the death of the emperor put an end to these disputes. He was taken ill in March 1180, and died in the following September, having near completed the thirty-eighth year of his reign. Some time before his death, he took the monastic habit, hoping thereby to atone for the debaucheries, to which he abandoned himself in times of peace.

He was succeeded by his son Alexius Comnenus; but, being only twelve years old, his mother took upon her the administration, and governing with an absolute sway, suffered the young prince to indulge himself in his pleasures and diversions, in order to indolise him for applying to the affairs of state. The ministers, whom the empress employed, made it their chief study to enrich themselves at the expense of the public, the empress herself having nothing else in view but to fill her coffers. Public affairs being thus entirely neglected, while every one studied his private interest, the Turks, who let slip no opportunity of enlarging their territories, breaking into the empire, made themselves masters of Sozopolis, and several other important places in Phrygia. This raised in the people a general dislike to the present administration; which being observed by Andronicus, who

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k Nicet. l. vi. c. 1—9.  
1 Idem, l. vi. c. 6, 7.
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was cousin-german to the late emperor, and had long aspired at the empire, he thought this the most proper time to attempt the obtaining of what he so ardently wished for. Accordingly, as he was generally beloved on account of his infatuating and popular behaviour, he left Oeneum, to which place he had been confined by the late emperor; and moving with his friends and dependents towards Constantinople, gave out, that he had nothing else in view but to reform the abuses of the state, to assert the imperial dignity, to redress the grievances of the people, and rescue the young prince out of the hands of those who, in a most shameful manner, abused his authority, to the opprobrium of those whom they were bound to protect. He was everywhere received by the credulous people as their deliverer and defender; and such multitudes flocked to him from all parts, that none dared to oppose him, till he came into Bithynia, where the governors of Nice and Nicomedia shut their gates against him, as a public enemy. However, he pursued his march to a castle called Charace, where he was met by a body of the imperial troops commanded by Andronicus Angelus, whom he put to flight; and, advancing with long marches towards Constantinople, encamped at a small distance from Chalcedon, in sight of the imperial city. The empress had committed the whole management of affairs to Alexius, then president of the council, with whom she was thought to be more familiar than was consistent with her honour. As Alexius hoped by her means to be advanced one day to the imperial dignity, he left nothing unattempted to defeat the designs of Andronicus; but being universally detested by the people, on account of his tyrannical and arbitrary government, the troops he had raised fled over to Andronicus, and the fleet, which was committed to the conduct of Contostephanus, followed their example. Hereupon the people, assembling in a tumultuous manner, with repeated acclamations declared Andronicus guardian of the young prince, set at liberty his two sons, John and Manuel, whom Alexius had thrown into prison, and seizing on Alexius himself, carried him in a mock triumph to the sea-side, attended with the scuffles and curfews of the enraged multitude, and thence conveyed him in a small boat to Andronicus, who, after having exposed him to the insults of the whole army, caused his eyes to be pulled out. Soon after, Andronicus, passing the strait, went to wait on the emperor, who was then, with the empress his mother, at a royal seat in the country; and being immediately admitted to his presence, fell on the ground, out of a pretended respect to his prince, repeating several
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several texts of scripture, adapted to the present purpose. As for the empress, he saluted her with a coldness, which sufficiently betrayed the aversion he bore her. Having stayed some days with the emperor, he made his entry into the city, attended with the shout and acclamations of the people, and was by all, with one voice, declared and acknowledged the protector of the empire, during the minority of young Alexius. But, notwithstanding the tyrannical conduct of Alexius the president, the citizens of Constantinople had soon occasion to repent of the change, there being no kind of cruelty, which the protector did not practice upon the unhappy people, without distinction of sex or condition. Some were deprived of their sight, others banished, and many inhumanly murdered, either out of some private grudge, or because they seemed attached to the young prince. Among the rest Mary, daughter to the late emperor, who had been very instrumental in the late revolution, and her husband Manuel, Andronicus's own son, were poisoned by the tyrant's orders. As for the empress, he caused her to be accused of treason, as if she had by letters invited Bela, king of the Hungarians, her brother-in-law, to invade the empire. Upon this charge, altogether groundless, she was tried, found guilty, no one daring to oppose the tyrant's pleasure, and shortly after strangled by Pterigionites the eunuch. Soon after her death the tyrant, pretending a great tenderness and unshaken fidelity for the young prince, caused him to be solemnly crowned by the patriarch; but took care at the same time to enlarge in an eloquent speech on the dangers that threatened the empire, and required, he said, a person of wisdom and experience to avert them. He had no sooner done speaking, than his friends crying out aloud, as had been agreed on beforehand, "Long live Alexius and Andronicus Roman emperors," the whole multitude saluted him with the title of emperor, and placed him, with the consent and approbation of Alexius, on the imperial throne, the tyrant affecting the whole time an utter aversion to what he had so long coveted; nay, upon receiving, as was customary, the holy eucharist at his coronation, lifting his eyes up to heaven, he solemnly swore by that venerable mystery, that he took upon him the sovereignty for no other end, but to protect the young emperor and support his authority; but notwithstanding his oath, as he had now both the emperor and the empire in his power, he resolved a few days after to dispatch his collegue, and take the whole authority into his own hands. Pursuantly to this wicked resolution, one Stephanus Hagiochristophorites, 493
tes, with some others, entering, by the tyrant’s orders, the
unhappy prince’s chamber in the night, strangled him with
a bow-string. Such was the miserable end of Alexius II. in
the third year of his reign and fifteenth of his life. Andronicus, now sole master of the empire, made it
his chief study to establish the power he had usurped, raging
without distinction against persons of all ranks, whom he
imagined in the least affected to Manuel’s family, or capable
of revenging his death. No day passed without some cruel
execution; insomuch, that in a short time the flower of the
nobility was utterly cut off, the merciless tyrant complaining
all the while of the severity of the law, which did not allow
him to shew pity to so many deserving men. Some, how-
ever, found means to make their escape, and among the
rest Isaac Comnenus, Manuel’s near kinsman; who, taking
refuge in Cyprus, made himself master of that island, and is
said to have exceeded even Andronicus himself in all manner
of barbarities. Alexius Comnenus, brother to the late em-
peror Manuel, fled to Sicily; and having persuaded William,
king of that island, to make war upon Andronicus, he at-
tended him to Dyrrhachium, which city the king soon re-
duced; and marching from thence into Macedon, laid waste
that province without opposition, and sat down before The-
salonica, where his fleet had been ordered to attend him.
The city was taken by storm, after a few days siege, through
the indolence and cowardice of the governor, and with the
utmost cruelty plundered by the Sicilians, who, without di-
! ninction of sex or age, put all they met to the sword, not
sparing even those who had taken refuge in the churches. An-
dronicus, having assembled his troops, ordered them to march
under the conduct of the best generals in whom he could con-
fi d e against the enemy. But they were defeated and put to
flight at the first onset; which inspired the Sicilians with such
courage, that they began to look upon themselves as already
masters of the imperial city itself. In the mean time, the ty-
rant, finding the number of the malecontents increased at
home, in proportion to the success of the enemy abroad, be-
gan to rage with more cruelty than ever, not sparing even his
own favourites, who had been hitherto the executioners of
his tyranny against others. Among the many who were de-
fined to slaughter was Isaac Angelus, a person of great di-
! ninction, being descended from one of the most ancient fa-
mlies in Constantinople. Hagiochristophorites, Andronicus’s
prime

Nicct. in Alex, Commnn. c 3——16.
prime minister, was ordered to seize him; but Isaac, having
killed the assassin with his own hand, made his escape to a
neighbouring church, whither he was followed by his uncle
John Ducas, by his son Isaac, and by several other persons
of the first quality. As Isaac was generally beloved, on ac-
count of his popularity and engaging behaviour, multitudes of
people flocked from all parts of the city to see him in his asy-
lum. As Andronicus was then absent from the city, Isaac
laid hold of that opportunity to stir up the populace against
him; which he did so effectually, that, on a day appointed,
they flocked in crowds to the church of St. Sophia, and there,
with one voice, saluted Isaac emperor, declaring at the same
time Andronicus a public enemy. The tyrant, informed of
what had happened in the city, and despairing of being able
to appease the enraged multitude or make head against them,
flled to Melodium, a royal palace on the east side of the Pro-
pontis, and from thence attempted to escape into Scythia;
but being several times driven back by contrary winds, and
pursued, as it were, by divine vengeance, he was in the end
apprehended and presented in chains to Isaac; who, having
casuied his right-hand to be cut off and one of his eyes to be
pulled out, delivered him up to the enraged populace, from
whom he suffered indignities answerable to the injuries with
which he had provoked them; for having led him, as it were,
in triumph, through the most frequented streets of the city on
a camel, with his face towards the tail, amidst the reproaches
and insults of the incensed multitude, they hung him up by
the feet between two pillars, stripped off his clothes, cut off
his private parts, and tormented him for three days together;
he bearing the whole time with an invincible courage all the
torments, the incensed and relentless mob could inflict upon
him, sometimes repeating, Lord, have mercy upon me,
and sometimes addressing the multitude with these words,
Why do you break a bruised reed? At length one, touched
with compassion at the sight of an object, which might have
drawn tears from cruelty itself, by a mortal wound in his
throat, put an end at the same time to his life and torments,
after he had lived seventy-three years and reigned two a. He
was the last emperor of the Comnenian family.
Isaac, thus raised to the imperial dignity, gained, in the Isac Angesel
beginning of his reign, the affections of his subjects, by his
lenity and moderation, not only recalling and restoring to their
states such as had been banished by Andronicus, but relieving
several

* Nicet. in Andronic, l. i. c. 5——11.
several decayed families out of his private estate. When he
though himself sufficiently established on the throne, he disch-
patched the flower of the army, under the conduct of Branas, an of-
cer of great experience, against the Sicilians; who, being
surprized by him as they were roving about the country in
quest of plunder, were put to flight, and cut off almost to a
man, either by the emperor’s troops, or the natives, whom
they had provoked with their barbarities. Their fleet, con-
sisting of two hundred sail, on their return home, being
overtaken and dispersed by a violent storm, most of their
ships were taken by the emperor’s admiral, and great num-
bbers of prisoners sent to Constantinople, where most of them
perished with famine, the emperor, who was naturally ad-
dicted to cruelty, not suffering them to be relieved even with
bread and water. Having thus put an end to the Sicilian war,
he resolved to drive, if possible, Isaac Comnenus, of whom
we have spoken above, out of Cyprus, where he oppressed
the inhabitants in a most tyrannical manner. In order to this,
he equipped a mighty fleet, which he sent under the com-
mand of John Contostephanus and Alexius Comnenus, to
make a descent upon that island; which they did accordingly,
landing without the least opposition. But while the forces
were afoot, Margarites, a famous pirate, who had joined
Isaac Comnenus, falling upon the fleet, seized or burnt all
the ships, while the tyrant, attacking the forces that were
landed and could not retreat, cut them off all to a man. This
misfortune encouraged the Macedions, whom the emperor op-
prefled with heavy taxes, to revolt, and return to the pro-
tection of the Scythians; who, having raised a numerous
army, over-ran the neighbouring provinces. Against them
the emperor dispatched his uncle John Ducas, who gained
several advantages over the enemy, and would in all likely-
hood have put an end to the war, had he not been recalled
by the jealous emperor. John, surnamed Cantacuzenus,
being appointed to succeed him, was, through his rashnes
and indiscretion, often worsted by the enemy. Wherupon
Branas Alexius, the greatest commander of his age, was en-
trusted with the whole management of the war. Branas, feel-
ing himself at the head of a powerful and well disciplined
army, after having gained some advantages over the enemy;
returned on a sudden to Adrianople, the place of his nativity;
and having caused himself to be proclaimed emperor there,
led his troops without loss of time to the imperial city, hop-
ing to surprize the emperor, who had scarce received intelli-
gence
The Roman History.

gence of his revolt; but the citizens putting themselves, upon his approach, in a posture of defence, and haraсking his troops with frequent sallies, he resolved to encamp at some distance from the city, and, by cutting off all communication with the neighbouring country, to reduce it by famine. The emperor, in the mean time, reposing all his confidence in the virgin Mary, (whose image he caused to be placed on the walls) and in the prayers of the monks, continued inactive in his palace, till he was routed by Conrade, son to the marquis of Montferrat, who, happening to be then at Constantinople, encouraged him to draw together his troops, and march out against the enemy; which he did accordingly, being attended by Conrade, who commanded the main body of the imperial army. Branas received him with his men in battle-array; whereupon an engagement ensuing, the dispute was maintained for a considerable time on both sides with great obstinacy; but in the end the emperor’s forces, though a handful in comparison of the enemy’s, prevailing, Branas himself was killed on the spot, and most of his chief officers either slain in the pursuit or taken prisoners. This victory was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of Conrade, by whose hand Branas fell, while he was encouraging his men to return to the charge. The rebellion being thus happily quelled, the jealous emperor resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against the celebrated emperor of Germany, Frederic Barbarossa, who was marching, at the head of a mighty army, to the assistance of the princes of the crusade. He had promised to grant Frederic a free passage through his dominions, and supply his army with all manner of provisions; but being in the mean time gained over by Saladin, the Turkish sultan, who promised to restore Palestine to him, instead of assisting the German army, pursuant to his engagement, he no sooner heard of their arrival on the borders, than he dispatched his cousin Manuel, with a powerful army, to obstruct their passage and intercept their provisions, having first, without any regard to the law of nations, thrown into prison the bishop of Munster, the earl of Nassau, and count Walram, Frederic’s embassadors. The Germans, justly provoked at the emperor’s treachery and perfidiousness, passed, in spite of the opposition they met with from the cowardly Greeks, into Thrace, and there seized on the corn, of which they found great plenty in the fields, before the inhabitants had time to remove it into the fortified

And lays fire to Constantinople.

He is defeated and killed.

The emperor’s treacherous conduct towards Frederic the German emperor.

Vol. XVI. K
fortified towns, pursuant to the orders they had received from court. As they approached Philippopolis, the inhabitants abandoned the place; and Frederic, taking possession of it, halted there a few days to refresh his troops. In the mean time, the emperor, highly incensed against Manuel, whom he accused of cowardice, sent him peremptory orders to engage the Germans; pursuant to which, the Greek general advanced within six miles of Philippopolis. But his whole army being shamefully put to flight by a party of Germans, whom Frederic had sent out to scour the country and watch the enemy’s motions, the cities of Nicopolis and Adrianople, with all the places between the Ægean and Euxine seas, opened their gates to the victorious army, without attempting to make the least opposition. Hereupon the emperor, having set Frederic’s embassadors at liberty, began to sue for peace, offering to supply the Germans with provisions and the necessary ships to transport them into Asia, provided they delivered hostages to him for his security, and crossed the freights without delay. Frederic, now master of the whole country to the very gates of Constantinople, thought it became him to chastise the pride of the presumptuous, but cowardly, Greeks, and therefore returned the following answer to the emperor’s deputies: That he had conquered Thrace, and therefore would dispose of it at his pleasure; that he was determined to winter there, since the emperor had by his perfidiousness retarded his march, till it was too late in the year to pass the freights; that he was resolved to treat the emperor as an enemy, if he had not a sufficient number of ships ready against Easter to transport his troops; and since he could not depend upon his faith, he commanded him to send without delay twenty-four of the principal lords and officers of his court, with eight hundred persons of inferior quality, as hostages for the performance of what he required. To these shamefull conditions the emperor readily submitted, sending immediately the hostages with rich presents to Frederic, who, having wintered at Adrianople, removed early in the spring to Callipolis, where he found a great number of vessels ready to transport his army into Asia. In the year 1193, the eighth of Isaac’s reign, an impostor, pretending to be the son of the emperor Manuel, laid claim to the empire; and, being encouraged by the sultan of Iconium, raised in a short time an army of eight thousand men, made himself master of all the cities in the Meander.

* Nicet. ibid. i. ii. c. 495.*
Chap. 35. The Roman History.

der, in spite of the opposition he met with from Alexius, the emperor's brother, who was sent against him, and would in all likelihood have in the end driven the emperor from the throne, multitudes flocking to him from all parts, had not a priest put an end to his conquests, by stabbing him with his own sword, while he lay asleep, after having drunk to excess. The Scythians, encouraged by these domestic commotions, renewed their incursions, and, over-running the neighbouring provinces, destroyed all with fire and sword. Against them the emperor marched in person; but having passed the summer without daring to attack them, they fell upon him in his retreat, and cut the greatest part of his army in pieces, the emperor himself having with much ado made his escape. After this, the barbarians roved about the country without control, plundering the cities, and carrying the inhabitants into captivity. The emperor dispatched against them first Alexius Guido, and afterwards Batatzes Basilius; but both these generals being defeated, and the latter killed upon the spot with the flower of his army, the emperor, having raised new forces, resolved to march against them once more in person. Accordingly, he set out from Constantinople early in the spring, and arriving at Cypselia on the frontiers of the empire, he halted there, till the troops, that were marching from all parts, joined him. In the meantime, his brother Alexius Angelus, who had long aspired at the empire, observing the general discontent that reigned among the soldiery, resolved to lay hold of the present opportunity of attaining what he had so long wished for. Accordingly, having imparted his design to some of the chief officers of the army, and found them ready to espouse his interest and combine against Isaac, while the emperor was one day diverting himself with the chase, the conspirators, seizing Alexius, as had been agreed on before-hand, carried him to the imperial pavilion, and, with repeated acclamations, saluted him emperor, being therein followed by the whole army. Isaac, judging it impossible to reclaim the revolted army to their duty, fled with great precipitation to Macræ, where he was overtaken by those whom his brother had sent after him, and by his orders deprived of his sight and thrown into prison, after he had reigned nine years and eight months. 

Alexius Angelus, thus raised to the throne, abandoned himself to the same vices, for which he pretended to have removed his brother, spending his time in riot and luxury.

1 Idem, l. iii. c. 1. 2 Idem ibid. l. iii. c. 9.
ury, while the Scythians on one hand, and the Turks on the other, made themselves masters of several important places, and laid waste whole provinces. As he was an utter enemy to all application, he committed the whole management of affairs to his wife Euphrosyne and his favourites, who oppressed the people in a most tyrannical manner, selling the first employments of the state to the highest bidder, without any regard to their birth or abilities, and using all other means, how unjust soever and dishonourable, to fill their private coffers.

In the year 1202, Alexius, reflecting on the great kindness his brother had shewn him during his reign, and thinking himself now firmly established on the throne, ordered the unhappy Isaac to be set at liberty, and called his son Alexius, at that time about twelve years old, to the court, treating him as his own child. But Isaac, still mindful of the indignity that had been offered him, and the injustice done both to himself and his son, began to entertain thoughts of recovering his former dignity, and asserting his undoubted right to the imperial crown. With this view he maintained a private correspondence with the Latins, and by their means with his daughter Irene, wife to Philip emperor of Germany, earnestly pressing her to persuade the emperor to undertake the protection of her unfortunate father and brother. Irene giving them hopes of a speedy and powerful assistance, young Alexius made his escape from Constantinople; and embarking in a ship belonging to a merchant of Pisa, riding then at the mouth of the Hellespont, landed safe in Sicily, where he spent some days in private conferences with his father, who was then in that island, and from thence pursued his journey to Rome, to solicit the assistance of the pope, by whom he was kindly received and warmly recommended to Philip. That prince received young Alexius with the greatest demonstrations imaginable of kindness and esteem, and was sensibly touched, as he had an entire affection for Irene, with the misfortunes of her family; but being then engaged in a troublesome war with Otho, who disputed the empire with him, he could not espouse the young prince's cause. However, by means of his embassadors, he engaged the French and Venetians, who had then a powerful army in Dalmatia, ready to march against the Turks, to attempt the restoration of his brother-in-law, and employ their whole strength against the usurper. The treaty, after some warm disputes, was concluded; in virtue of which the French and Venetians were to establish Alexius on the imperial throne, and Alexius, upon his restoration, to pay two hundred thousand marks in silver towards
towards the expences of the holy war, maintain ten thousand
men one year to be employed in the conquest of Egypt, and,
during his life, five hundred knights well armed for the defence
of such places as they should conquer in the holy land. The
treaty being ratified with mutual oaths, the army embarked
and failed for Corfu, the place of the general rendezvous.
As they appeared before Dyrrhachium, the inhabitants were
no sooner informed, that the young prince was on board the
fleet, than they presented him with the keys of the place, and
swore allegiance to him. Encouraged with this happy pre-
sage, they pursued their course to the island of Corfu, and
from thence, after a short stays, to the port of St. Stephen,
on the Propontis, where they refreshed themselves, and then
failed to Chalcedon, opposite to the imperial city, where they
landed their troops. In the mean time, the emperor, having
drawn together all his forces, encamped on the Bosporus,
over against the confederates, who notwithstanding palsied the
firetines, the emperor having but twenty galleys to oppose
them, and landed in sight of the emperor's army, who, at
their approach, retired in great disorder. The next day, the
French made themselves masters of the castle of Galata, and
the Venetians, being favoured by an easterly wind, sailed up
to the chain that locked up the mouth of the harbour; and
having cut it with sheers of steel, that opened and shut by
means of an engine, they took or sunk all the Greek vessels
in the haven. After this, the Venetians having battered the
walls for ten days together by sea and the French by land, a
general assault was given on the seventeenth of July. The
Greeks made a more vigorous opposition than was expected;
and being assisted both by the advantage of the place and their
numbers, often repulsed the aggressors. But at length the cele-
brated Henry Dandalo, duke of Venice, though then above
eighty years old, putting himself at the head of his country-
men, whom he encouraged more with his example than his
words, broke in, maugre all opposition; and having seized
on one of the towers, planted on the top of it the great
standard of St. Mark. The emperor, finding part of the
enemy's troops was got into the town, fell out with a de-
sign to charge them in the rear, and by that means oblige them
to draw off their men from the attack; but being repulsed
with great slaughter, and the brave Dandalo having by this
time made himself master of twenty-five towers on the side
of the haven, the cowardly prince, abandoning his people,
went privately on board a small vessel, kept ready for that
purpose, and escaped with his treasures and the imperial or-
naments.
nments, to Zagora, a city of Thrace, at the foot of mount Hæmus. It was no sooner known, that the tyrant had fled, than the people, crowding to the prison, where Isaac had been detained ever since the flight of his son Alexius, saluted him anew with the title of emperor, placed him upon the imperial throne, from which he had been driven about eight years before; and acquainting the confederates with the flight of the usurper, and the re-establishing of Isaac, invited the young prince to share the empire with his father. The confederates were transported with joy at the news of so sudden and unexpected a revolution; however, as they had been but too often deceived by the Greeks, they refused to acknowledge Isaac, till he had ratified the treaty concluded with his son; which he had no sooner done, though not without some reluctance, the articles appearing to him very hard, than the confederates owned him for emperor, and conducted the young prince in great triumph into the city, where he was affiliated with his father in the empire, and crowned with extraordinary pomp and solemnity on the first of August 1203.

As the usurper continued still in Thrace, supported there by a strong party; and Theodorus Lascaris, his son-in-law, was at the head of a numerous body of troops on the other side of the Bosphorus, the two emperors earneffly entreated the confederates to put off their expedition to the holy land, till they had completed the work, which they had so happily begun. To this they readily agreed; and marching against the tyrant, who had seized on Adrianople, drove him from thence, and obliged him to fly for refuge to the neighbouring barbarians. Theodorus Lascaris no sooner heard, that the confederates were preparing to cross the straits, in order to attack him, than he disbanded his army, and withdrew to the territories of the Turks. The confederates, having thus established the two princes on the throne, returned about the middle of winter to Constantinople, where they were received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable; and from thence passed early in the spring over into Asia. The same year, 1203, happened a dreadful conflagration at Constantinople, occasioned by some Latin soldiers, who having plundered a mosque, which the late emperor had suffered the Mohammedans to build in the imperial city, and being on that account attacked by the Turks, who were much superior to them in number, set fire to some wooden houses, the better to favour their escape. The flame, spreading in an instant from

* Nicet. i. iii. c. 2——12.
from street to street, reduced in a short time great part of the city to ashes, with the capacious store-houses, that had been built at a vast expense on the key. The emperor Isaac died soon after the departure of the Latins, leaving his son Alexius sole master of the empire. The young prince, to discharge the large sums he had promised to the French and Venetians, was obliged to lay heavy taxes on his subjects, which, with the great esteem and friendship he shewed to his deliverers, raised a general discontent among the people, who were sworn enemies to the Latins. This encouraged John Ducas, furred Murtzuphlius from his joined and thick eye-brows, to attempt the sovereignty. As he was a person of great address and uncommon parts, he not only ingratiated himself with the multitude, by exclaiming against the Latins, as the only cause of the present miseries; but having found means to gain the young prince's confidence, he by degrees brought him to disoblige the Latins, and even to treat them as enemies. As the hostilities were returned by the western princes, Murtzuphlius dispatched in the emperor's name one of his friends to the marquis of Montferrat, with proposals for an accommodation, offering to deliver up to him the palace and fortress of Blachernæ, within the walls of Constantinople, provided he would come and deliver him from the enraged populace, who, he said, had revolted and proclaimed another emperor. The marquis giving credit to the ambassador, prepared to march to Constantinople: but, in the mean time, the treacherous Murtzuphlius, having stirred up the people by giving out, that Alexius had sold the city to the Latins, who were in full march to take possession of it, entered, in the height of the tumult, the prince's chamber, and strangled him with his own hands. After this, he presented himself to the people, acquainted them with what he had done to secure their liberties, and earnestly entreated them to chuse an emperor, who had courage enough to defend them against the Latins, who were ready to oppress and enslave them. He had no sooner ended his speech, than those who were privy to his wicked design, saluted him with the title of emperor, and were followed by the whole multitude, who, with loud acclamations, placed him on the imperial throne, as one capable of defeating the pretended designs of the Latins. The princes of the crusade no sooner heard of the death of Alexius and the promotion of the treacherous affassin.

Idem I. iii. c. 12.
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afflatus, than they unanimously agreed to turn their arms against the usurper, to revenge the murder of a prince, whom they had placed upon the throne; and since they had been so often betrayed, and retarded in their several expeditions to the holy land by the Greek emperors, to make themselves masters of Constantinople, and seize on the empire for themselves. Pursuant to this resolution, having mustered all their forces in Asia, they crossed the freights, and closely besieged the imperial city both by sea and land. The tyrant, who was a man of courage and great experience in war, made a vigorous defence. However, the Latins, after having battered the walls for several days together with an incredible number of engines, gave a general assault on the eighth of April, which lasted from break of day till three in the afternoon, when they were forced to retire, after having lost some of their engines and a great number of men. It was nevertheless resolved the same night in a council of war, that the attack should be renewed, which was done accordingly on Monday the twelfth of April, when after a warm dispute of several hours, the French planted their standard on one of the towers; which the Venetians observing, they quickly made themselves masters of four other towers, where they likewise displayed their ensigns. In the mean time, three of the gates being broken down with the battering rams, and those who had scaled the walls having killed the guards and opened the gates between the towers they had taken, the whole army entered, and drew up in battle-array within the walls. But the Greeks flying up and down in the greatest confusion, several parties were detached to scout the streets, who put all they met to the sword, without distinction of age or condition. Night put a stop to the dreadful slaughter, when the princes, founding the retreat, placed their men in the different quarters of the city, with orders to stand upon their guard, and fortify themselves, not doubting but they should be attacked early next morning. They were therefore greatly surprised, when, instead of an armed enemy, they saw by break of day processions of suppliants advancing to them from every quarter of the city, with croffes, banners, images of saints, relics, &c. to implore mercy. The princes touched with compassion, promised them their lives, but at the same time, ordering them to retire to their houses, they gave up the city to be plundered by the soldiery for that day, strictly enjoining them to abstain from slaughter, to preserve the honour of the women, and
and to bring the whole booty into one place, that a just distribution might be made according to the rank and merit of each particular. The Greeks had, without all doubt, removed and concealed their most valuable effects during the night; the most eminent persons had made their escape, and carried with them infinite treasures; most of the soldiers had, in all likelihood, reserved several things of great value for themselves, as it commonly happens, notwithstanding all prohibitions to the contrary; and yet the booty, without the statues, pictures, and jewels, amounted to a sum almost incredible. As for Murtzuphlus, he made his escape in the night, embarquing on a small vessel with Euphrofyne, the wife of the late usurer Alexius Angelus, and her daughter Eudoxia, for whose sake he had abandoned his lawful wife. This great revolution happened in the year 1204, of the christian æra, eight hundred and seventy-four years after the removal of the imperial seat from Rome to Constantinople.

C H A P. XXXVI.

The Roman history, from the expulsion of the Greeks, to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the utter destruction of the Roman empire.

The Latins, now masters of the imperial city, proceeded to the election of a new emperor; when Baldwin, earl of Flanders, a prince in every respect equal to that high trust, was, after some deliberation, chosen, and crowned with extraordinary pomp and magnificence in the church of St. Sophia. To him was allotted the city of Constantinople and the country of Thrace, with a limited sovereignty over the other provinces, which already were, or should afterwards be, taken from the Greeks. To Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, they assigned Thessaly, which was erected into a kingdom. The Venetians had for their share the islands of the Archipelago, part of Peloponnesus, and several cities on the Hellespont. But while the Latins were thus dividing
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dividing their new acquisitions, Theodorus Lascaris, son-in-law to the tyrant Alexius Angelus, having, at the taking of Constantinople, made his escape into Bithynia, was there joyfully received by the inhabitants; and poaching himself not only of that country, but of Phrygia, Myidia, Ionia, and Lydia, from the Meander to the Euxine sea, took upon him the title of emperor, and fixed his imperial seat in the famous city of Nice. At the same time, David and Alexius Comnen, grand-children to the late tyrant Andronicus, seizing on the more eastern countries of Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia, erected a new empire at Trapezus or Trapezond where their posterity reigned, till their empire, as well as that of Constantinople, fell into the hands of Mohammed the Great, as we shall relate in a more proper place. Thus the Greek empire was no longer one, but divided into several empires, Baldwin reigning at Constantinople, the marquis of Montferrat in Thessaly, Theodorus Lascaris at Nice, the Comnen at Trapezond, and the Venetians in the islands, not to mention several other toparchies or principalities erected on the ruins of the Constantinopolitan empire. But to resume the thread of our history, Baldwin, the new emperor of Constantinople, having with the assistance of the other princes, reduced all Thrace, except Adrianople, whither great numbers of Greeks had fled for shelter against the prevailing power of the Latins, resolved to lay siege to that important place, and accordingly set down before it with all his forces. The Greeks defended themselves with great resolution, and at the same time, by means of some of their nation, who had withdrawn into Bulgaria, prevailed upon John, king of that country, to espouse their cause, who marching at the head of a powerful army, consisting partly of Bulgarians partly of Scythians, to the relief of the place, drew the emperor, by a pretended flight, into an ambuscade, cut off most of his men, and took Baldwin himself prisoner. After this victory, the Bulgarians over-ran all Thrace, plundering the cities, laying waste the country, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. As for the unhappy emperor Baldwin, he was sent in chains to Ernon, or Ternova, the capital of Bulgaria, where after his hands and feet had been cut off by the king's orders, he was carried into a desert, and there left exposed to the wild beasts and birds of prey. In that miserable condition he lived three days, and then expired. The Greek historians themselves, who, we may well imagine, were no-
wars prejudiced in his favour, allow him to have been a prince endowed with every good quality becoming a person in his high station.

In the mean time, Alexius Angelus, the late usurper, hearing that Theodorus Lascaris, his son-in-law, reigned in Asia, left Greece, where he then lay concealed; and passing over into Asia, went privately to the court of Jathatines sultan of Iconium, his ancient friend and ally; and laying before him the miserable condition to which he was reduced, with tears in his eyes, implored his assistance for the recovery of his empire, especially of that part of Asia Minor, which was, with the utmost injustice, withheld from him by Theodorus Lascaris. Jathatines, at this time sultan of Iconium, was the younger son of sultan Aladin, who, at his death, divided his kingdom between his two children Aratines and Jathatines. But, they quarrelling about the sovereignty, the latter was driven out by the former, and forced to fly for refuge to Constantinople, where he was kindly received, and entertained in a manner suitable to his rank by Alexius, then emperor. Jathatines therefore espousing, out of gratitude, the cause of his unfortunate friend, sent embassadors to Lascaris, requiring him in a threatening manner, to deliver up the country he unjustly possessed, to the lawful owner Alexius, his father-in-law. Before the return of the embassadors, the sultan, attended by Alexius, advanced at the head of twenty thousand men to Antioch on the Meander, and laid siege to that place; which Lascaris no sooner understood, than he marched with two thousand men, the moff he was able in that exiguity to raise, to the relief of the besieged city, being well apprised, that if he suffered it to fall into the enemy's hands, as it stood on that river and was the boundary of his empire, it would open a way for them into the heart of his dominions. The sultan at first could scarce give credit to those who brought him intelligence of the approach of Lascaris with so small a force. However, he drew up his army in the best manner the narrowness of the place would allow of; which he had scarce done, when eight hundred Italians, of Lascaris's army, charging the Turks with incredible resolution, broke through the sultan's army, disordered his ranks, and put his men into the utmost confusion. As the Greeks had not courage enough to follow them, they were separated from the rest of the army, and on their return surrounded by the Turkish cavalry, and all to a man cut in pieces. The Greeks,

*Nicet. in Bald. c. 1—11.*
The Roman History.

Book III.

Greeks, disheartened at so great a loss, were upon the point of turning their backs, when the sultan, now, as he imagined, sure of the victory, singling out the Greek emperor, and trusting to his own strength, engaged him in person, and at the first blow struck him off his horse. But Lafragis, quickly recovering himself, unhorsed the sultan, and, before he could put himself in a posture of defence, cut off his head; and fixing it upon the point of a spear, in sight of the enemy's army, struck such terror into them, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitous and disorderly flight, leaving the Greeks, who before were ready to fly, masters of their camp and baggage. Alexius, the author of this war, was taken prisoner, and carried to Nice, where he was confined to a monastery, in which he ended his days some years after. This victory was followed by a peace, concluded with the Turks upon the Greek emperor's own terms, who being now at leisure to secure his dominions against Henry, brother to the late emperor Baldwin and his successor in the Constantinopolitan empire, a bloody war was continued for several years between these two princes, with various success; but the Greeks being divided among themselves, and several princes of the imperial family erecting, in different provinces, independent principalities, Lafragis was in the end obliged to acknowledge the authority of Henry, and conclude a peace with him. After this, Henry turned his arms first against the Bulgarians, whom he drove out of Thrace, and afterwards against Michael Angelus, a Greek prince of the imperial family, who having seized on Aetolia and Epirus, during the confusion that ensued upon the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, caused himself to be acknowledged despot or lord of the country. The emperor waged war with him and his brother Theodorus, a warlike prince, during the greater part of his reign; but was not able to recover the countries which he held. Henry, after having reigned ten years, nine months, and twenty days, with great glory and success, died at Thessalonica in the fortieth year of his age. He was succeeded by Peter, count of Auxerre, who had married his sister, and signalized himself upon several occasions. This prince, arriving at Rome on his way from France to Constantinople, was solemnly crowned there by pope Honorius III. on the ninth of April 1217. From Rome he proceeded to Venice, whence he entered into an alliance with that republic against Theodorus, who
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who had succeeded his brother Michael in the principality of Eetolia and Epirus. Leaving Venice, he entered that prince's dominions, and laid siege to Dyrrhachium, which Theodorus had lately taken; but not being able to reduce it, he was forced to abandon the enterprise, and soon after to come to an agreement with Theodorus, who promised him a free passage through his dominions; but nevertheless fell upon him unexpectedly, cut most of his forces in pieces, and having taken the emperor himself prisoner, put him to death soon after *. Upon his death, the Latins named his eldest son Philip, count of Namur, to succeed him; but he declining that burden, Robert, the deceased emperor's second son, was, with much ado, prevailed upon to submit to it. In the third year of his reign died Theodorus Lascaris, after having governed, for the space of eighteen years, that part of the empire, which the Greeks still retained in Asia, and defended it with no less courage than success against the Turks on one side, and the Latins on the other. He left behind him one son and three daughters; but the son being yet an infant, he bequeathed the empire to John Ducas, surnamed Vataces, who had married his eldest daughter Irene, and was by the dying emperor not undeservedly judged more capable than his own brothers, Alexius and Isaac, of defending, and even enlarging, the empire, which he had founded. John Ducas was crowned in the year 1222, by Manuel, patriarch of the Greeks, at Nice. Alexius and Angelus, the late emperor's brothers, thinking the empire belonged of right to them, withdrew to Constantinople, to improve the protection of the Latins against one, whom they looked upon as no other than an usurper. Robert, the Latin emperor, readily espoused their cause; and having raised a considerable army, committed it to their conduct. But John, having assembled in the mean time all his forces, met the two brothers at a place called Poemenium; and having engaged them, gained a complete victory, the flower of the Latin army being cut off, and the two commanders taken prisoners. The Greek emperor, encouraged with this success, built with incredible expedition a great number of galleys in the several ports of Asia; and falling unexpectedly upon the islands in the Archipelago, reduced most of them, driving every-where the Latins before him. The fame of his exploits reaching Aaffan or Azen, king of Bulgaria, that prince, courting his friendship, proposed a match between his daughter Helena and Theodore, 

* Georg. Acrop. L i. c, c.
Theodore, the emperor's son, which was readily embraced by Ducas, who well knew how advantageous to his affairs an alliance would prove with so powerful a prince. At the same time, the sultan of Iconium, apprehending an irruption of the Tartars, who had already driven the Turks out of Persia, sent embassadors to Nice, to confirm and prolong the truce between the two crowns; which Ducas readily agreed to, and then employing his whole strength against the Latins, made himself master of all the places held by them on the Bosphorus and the Hellespont. While the Latins were thus distressed on the other side of the straights by John Ducas, Theodorus, prince or despot of Epirus, invading Thessaly and Thrace, made himself master of those countries; and, assuming the title of emperor, caufed himself to be crowned with great solemnity by Demetrius, patriarch of Bulgaria. He had lately concluded a peace with John, the son and successor of Azen, in the kingdom of Bulgaria; but elated with his success against the Latins, and desirous of enlarging his dominions with new conquests, in defiance of the late treaty, he broke into Bulgaria. But John, whom he looked upon as no-ways a match for so renowned a conqueror, having raised a mighty army, engaged him: and having after a long and bloody dispute, put his forces to flight, took the despot himself prisoner, and caused his eyes to be pulled out. Not long after, that is, about the year 1228, died Robert, emperor of the Latins in Constantinople, in the ninth year of his reign. He died in Achaia, as he was returning from Rome, which city he had visited, according to some writers, in order to be crowned there in a more solemn manner by the pope. He had married the daughter of Baldwin of Neville, though she had some time before been betrothed to a Burgundian lord, who, highly provoked at her forsaking him to marry the emperor, seized on her and her mother, during the prince's absence; and having caused the ambitious mother to be thrown into the sea, ordered the nose, ears and lips of her beautiful daughter to be cut off. The sense of this barbarous outrage sunk so deep into the emperor's mind, that it was thought to have occasioned his death. He was succeeded by Baldwin II. his brother, or, as some writers will have it, his son, who being but eight years old, John of Brienne, formerly king of Jerusalem, and one of the greatest captains of this time, was appointed regent and guardian of the empire during his minority. Some writers reckon

V Idem. c. 3 - 9.
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reckon him among the Latin emperors of Constantinople, and tell us, that it was agreed among the Latin princes, that he should be honoured with the title of emperor during his life, he being then near eighty years of age; and that upon his death the empire should return to Baldwin, who was to marry Martha, or, as some stile her, Mary, the daughter of John, by his second wife Bevengaria, the daughter of Alphonso, king of Castile. Be that as it will, it is certain, that John governed with an absolute and uncontrolled power and was by all respected and obeyed as emperor. In the beginning of his administration, John Azen, king of Bulgaria, and John Ducas, the Greek emperor, entering into an alliance, fell with their united forces upon the territories of the Latins, and laid close siege to Constantinople itself. But the regent, behaving with a courage and resolution equal to his former reputation, sallied out with no more than two hundred horse and an handful of foot, put the enemy’s army, though a hundred thousand men strong, to flight; and having obliged them to raise the siege, and pursued them with great slaughter, returned to the metropolis loaded with booty. However, the following year 1236, the confederate princes, depending upon their numbers, appeared anew before the imperial city; but were attended with no better success, being a second time defeated and put to flight. But the enemy receiving daily new supplies, and the Latin army being in time greatly weakened and diminished, partly by sickness, and partly by frequent battles and skirmishes, the regent was at length obliged to flout himself up in the imperial city, having no more men left alive than were necessary to defend the walls. The enemy, well apprised of the state of his affairs, returned once more, and renewed the siege; whereupon John, knowing he could not rely upon the Greeks, who abhorred a foreign yoke, and were entirely devoted to the families at Nice and Trapezond, sent the young emperor Baldwin to solicit succours in person from the western princes. During his absence, the Venetians, arriving with a powerful fleet at Constantinople, obliged the confederate forces of Azen and Vataces to raise the siege. But John of Brienne dying soon after, that is, in 1237, the ninth year of his administration, the loss of so great a man would have proved fatal to the Latins, but for a misunderstanding that arose between the Greek emperor and king of Bulgaria, and was carried to such an height, that the latter having by a stratagem recovered his daughter, whom he had married to the emperor’s son, joined the Latins against him, and with them laid
laid siege to the city of Chiorli. But, in the mean time, news being brought him of the death of his wife Ann, daughter to the king of Hungary, he dropped that enterprize and returned home, where he soon after married the daughter of Theodorus Angelus, the late despot of Epirus, whom he had taken prisoner a few years before and deprived of his sight, as we have related above. This alliance produced a great change in the affairs of Theodorus; for Azen not only set him at liberty, but assisted him in the recovery of his dominions, which had been usurped by his brother Manuel. Being thus restored to his former power, he appointed his son to govern in his room, causing him to be acknowledged as emperor. This gave no small umbrage to John Vataces, who pretended to be the sole emperor of the Greeks; and therefore, upon the death of Azen, which happened soon after, he passed over into Thrace; and entering into an alliance with the Scythians, who had lately settled in Macedon, he entered the mock-emperor’s territories, stripped him of great part of his dominions, and obliged him to renounce the title of emperor, and content himself with that of despot. In 1239, the emperor Baldwin, returning from the west, arrived at Constantinople, and was there crowned by the patriarch in the church of St. Sophia. He concluded an alliance with the Comneni reigning at Trapezond, and, with their assistance, besieged and took the city of Chiorli, which, however, was soon after retaken by Vataces, together with the island of Rhodes, surprized a few years before by the Genoese. Vataces, having thus recovered such places as had been by the Latins dismembered from his empire, and not only made himself master of the greater part of Asia, but extended his conquest in Europe almost to the very gates of Constantinople, died, after a glorious reign of thirty-three years, being then in the sixty-second year of his age. Vataces was succeeded by his son Theodorus Laefaris, who having renewed the antient alliance with the sultan of Iconium, passed the Hellespont at the head of a powerful army, and made war upon the king of Bulgaria and the despot of Epirus, who had invaded his dominions in Macedon and Thrace, with such success, that they were forced to sue for peace, which he granted them upon his own terms.

* Acrop. in Vat. c. 12——21.
While he lay at Thessalonica, he received letters from Nice, informing him, that Michael Palæologus, whom he had left governor of Aia during his absence, had secretly withdrawn to the Turks, under pretence, that his enemies at court, by misrepresenting his conduct, had rendered him suspected to the emperor, whose displeasure he feared. As Michael was an officer of great courage and experience in war, the sultan of Iconium received him with uncommon demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and gave him the command of a body of Greeks in the Turkish pay, at the head of which he distinguished himself soon after in a battle between the Turks and Tartars, and would have gained a complete victory, had not the sudden revolt of a chief officer, who was nearly related to the sultan, turned the fortune of the day. The Turkish army being almost entirely cut off, the victorious Tartars, who had already driven the Turks out of Persia, and the more eastern provinces, ravaged without control the countries belonging to them in Aia, and reduced the sultan to such straits, that he was forced to fly for refuge to the emperor Theodorus, who received him in a very obliging manner, and sent him back with a body of chosen troops, under the command of Isaac Ducaς, an officer of great reputation, and the emperor’s chief favourite. The sultan, in his turn, delivered up to the emperor the city of Laodicea. In the mean time, Theodorus, unwilling to lose a subject of such extraordinary parts as Palæologus, wrote to him a most kind and obliging letter, inviting him home, and promising to receive him anew into favour, and restore him to his former honours and employments. With this invitation Palæologus readily complied, and was, upon his return, reinstated in the emperor’s favour, after having taken an oath of allegiance to Theodorus and his son. The emperor died soon after, having scarce reigned three years complete, leaving his son John, then about nine years old, to succeed him. Some time before his death, he took the monastic habit, distributed great sums among the poor, and applied himself with exemplary piety to acts of devotion. On his death-bed, he appointed Arsenius, the patriarch, and George Muzalo guardians to the young prince. Muzalo was a person of a mean descent, but had, by his great fidelity and inviolable attachment to the emperor, deserved to be raised to the highest employments in the state, which he had ever discharged with wonderful integrity, and a character altogether unblemished. However, the nobility, thinking the care and tuition of the young prince belonged of right to...
them, began to complain of his conduct, and malign all his measures. Hereupon Muzalo, who sincerely desired to retire, and lead a private life, having assembled the nobility, offered to resign the administration to such as they thought the best qualified for the discharge of so great a trust. But they all declining it, he obliged them to renew their allegiance to the emperor, and bind themselves under a solemn oath to obey him, and, during his minority, those whom the deceased emperor judged proper to entrust with the care of his son and the government of the state. But, notwithstanding this oath, the leading men among the nobility, conspiring against Muzalo, on the day appointed for the obsequies of the late emperor, repaired to the abbey of Sofandra, where he was to be interred; and mixing with the crowd, in the midst of the service, fell upon Muzalo with their drawn swords, and dispatched him at the very altar, whither he had fled for refuge, with his two brothers Andronicus and Theodorus, men of distinguished characters. Muzalo being thus removed, the conspirators, without any regard to the patriarch, who was a man of learning, but an utter stranger to state-affairs, declared Michael Palæologus guardian to the young prince, and protector of the empire. He signalized the beginning of his administration with a signal victory over Michael Angelus, despot of Epirus, who, taking advantage of the distractions of the state, after the death of Vataces, had broken into Thrace and Macedon, at the head of a numerous army; but was obliged to retire into his own dominions by John Palæologus, the protector's brother, after having loit, in a bloody engagement, the flower of his army. When news of this victory was brought to Magnesia, where Palæologus then resided, he was, by the most powerful among the nobility and the populace, saluted with the title of emperor, which he did not reject. The patriarch threatened at first to cut off from the church both Palæologus and his adherents; but the protector binding himself, by a solemn oath, to resign the empire to the young prince, as soon as he should be of age, the credulous patriarch was prevailed upon to place the crown upon his head. Palæologus, thus raised to the empire, dispatched his brother Constantine with a considerable army into Peloponnesus, which was then held partly by the despot of Epirus, and partly by the Latins, but soon recovered by Constantine. After this, Michael passed in person with a numerous army into Thrace, having nothing less in view than the reduction of Constantinople itself, the dominions of the Latins being now so dismembered, that
that scarce any thing was left to the inactive and slothful Baldwin besides the imperial city. However, Palæologus apprehending the difficulty and dangers of such an extraordinary undertaking, resolved to put it off to a more favourable opportunity, and in the mean time to make himself master of the castle of Pera, in order to disquiet the Latins more effectually. But, being in several successfull assaults repulsed with great loss, he was obliged to give over the enterprise and retire. However, as he was master of the neighbouring country, before his departure, he dispersed his troops in such manner, that the city being in some degree blocked up, the inhabitants were reduced to the utmost extremity. In the mean time, Alexius Angelus, despot of Epirus, attempting, in defiance of a late treaty with Palæologus, to recover the places he had lost in Thessaly and Greece, Alexius Strategopolus, a person descended of an illustrious family, and for his eminent services distinguished with the title of Caesar, was sent against him, with orders to try whether he could on his march surprize Constantinople. Alexius, having passed the streights, encamped at a place called Rhegium, where he was informed by the natives, that a strong body of the Latins had been sent to the siege of Daphnusa; that the garrison was in great want of provisions; and that it would be no difficult matter to surprize the city. Hereupon the Greek general resolved at all events to attempt it; and being encouraged by some of the inhabitants, who, coming privately to his camp, offered themselves to be his guides, he approached the walls in the dead of the night, which some of his men scaled without being observed; and killing the centuries, whom they found asleep, opened one of the gates to the rest of the army, who rushing in, put all they met to the sword; and at the same time, to create more terror, set fire to the city in four different places. The Latins, concluding from thence the enemy’s forces to be far more numerous than they really were, did not so much as attempt either to drive them out, or to extinguish the flames; but, struck with terror and amazement, suffered themselves to be cut in pieces in the streets or their houses, which were soon filled with blood and slaughter.

In this general confusion, the emperor Baldwin, quitting the ensigns of majesty, fled with Justilian, the Latin patriarch, and some of his intimate friends, to the sea-side; and thence embarking on a small vessel, sailed first to Ephesos, and from thence to Venice, leaving the Greeks in possession of the imperial city, after it had been held fifty-eight, or, as some will have it, sixty, years, by the Latins. This happened
pened in the year 1261, of the Christian æra, the second of
the reign of Michael Palæologus. When news of the sur-
prizing, and altogether unexpected, successes of Alexius was
first brought to Palæologus, residing then at Nymphaeum,
he gave no credit to it; but receiving soon after letters from
Alexius himself, with a particular account of so memorable
an event, transported with joy, he ordered public thanks to
be returned in all the churches with great solemnity,
appeared in public in his imperial robes, attended by the
nobility in their best apparel, and ordered couriers to be im-
mediately dispatched with the agreeable tidings into all the
provinces of the empire. Soon after, the emperor, having
settled his affairs at Nice, set out for Constantinople with the
empress, his son Andronicus, the senate, and the nobility,
to take possession of the imperial city, and fix his residence
in the place, which, at first, had been destined for the seat
of the western empire. Having puffed the freights, he ad-
vanced to the Golden gate, and continued some days without
the walls, while the citizens were busied in making the neces-
sary preparations to receive him with a magnificence suitable
to the occasion. On the day appointed, the Golden gate, which
had been long shut up, was opened, and the emperor enter-
ing it amidst the repeated acclamations of the multitude,
marched on foot to the great palace, being preceded by the
bishop of Cyzicus, carrying the image of the virgin Mary,
supposed to have been done by St. Luke, and followed
by all the great officers, the nobility, and the chief citi-
zens, in their most pompous apparel. Public thanks were
again returned in the church of St. Sophia, at which the em-
peror assisted in person, with the clergy, the senate, and the
nobility. The exercises of piety were succeeded by all sorts
of diversions, which lasted several days, the nobility, and
chief citizens, striving to excel each other in testifying their
joy by banquets and public sports, on such an extraordinary
occasion. When the public rejoicings were over, the em-
peror carefully surveyed the imperial city, which alloyed in
great measure the senate of his present good fortune; for he
observed the stately palace of Blachernæ, with the other
magnificent dwellings of the Roman emperors, lying in ruins;
the many capacious buildings, that had been erected by his
predecessors at an immense charge, destroyed by fire and other
unavoidable accidents of war; several streets quite abandoned
by the inhabitants, and choaked up with the rubbish of the
ruined

7 Pachym. l. i. c. 1—22. & l. ii. c. 27.
ruined houses, &c. These objects gave the emperor no small concern, and kindled in him a desire of rebuilding the city, and restoring it to its former lustre. In the mean time, looking upon Alexius as the restorer of his country, he caused him to be clad in magnificent robes, placed with his own hand a crown upon his head, ordered him to be conducted through the city, as it were in triumph, decreed that for a whole year his name should in the public prayers be joined to his own, and to perpetuate the memory of so great and glorious an action, he commanded his statue to be erected on a stately pillar of marble before the church of the apostles. His next care was to repeople the city, many Greek families having withdrawn from it, while it was held by the Latins, to settle elsewhere, and the Latins now preparing to return to their respective countries. The former were recalled home; and the latter, in regard of the great trade they carried on, prevailed upon with many valuable privileges not to remove. The Genoese were allowed to live in one of the most beautiful quarters of the city, to be governed by their own laws and magistrates, and to trade without paying customs or taxes of any kind. Great privileges were likewise granted to the natives of Venice and Pisa, which encouraged them to lay aside all thoughts of removing, and carry on a trade, which proved highly beneficial and advantageous to the state. The emperor being soon after informed, that Baldwin had married his daughter to Charles, king of Sicily, and given him by way of dowry the city of Constantinople, which that warlike prince was making great preparations to recover, he ordered the Genoese, who were become very numerous, and might have done great mischief, if the city had been attacked, to remove first to Heraclea, and afterwards to Galata, where they continued. As for the Pisans and Venetians, who were not so numerous and wealthy, they were allowed to continue in the city. The emperor, having thus settled the state, and gained the affections both of the natives and foreigners, began to think of securing to himself and his posterity the sovereignty, which he only held as it were in trust, and was to resign to the young prince as soon as he came of age. Having therefore caused himself to be crowned anew in the imperial city, he soon after ordered the young prince to be deprived of his right, pretending that no one but himself had any title to the city or empire of Constantinople, which he alone had recovered from the Latins.

\* Pachym. l. ii. c. 27—35.
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tins. This treason and barbarity involved him in endless troubles and dangers. For Arsenius, the patriarch, immediately excommunicated him and all those who had been anyways accessory to his crime, which occasioned great disturbances in the city. At the same time, Michael, despot of Epirus, and Constantine, king of Bulgaria, who had married the young emperor's sisters, breaking into Thrace, laid waste that country, destroying all with fire and sword. Pauleologus marched against them in person; but as he was returning home without performing any thing worthy of notice, he was attacked unexpectedly by the Bulgarians, and had unavoidably fallen into their hands, had he not escaped by sea on board a small vessel, which conveyed him safe to Constantinople. The troops he had with him were for the most part cut in pieces or taken prisoners; and the Bulgarians, being reinforced with twenty thousand Tartars, roved about the country without control, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. The Venetians, observing the distracted state of the empire, laid hold of that opportunity to recover the islands in the Archipelago, which Pauleologus had seized after the reduction of Constantinople. The Venetians were joined by the king of Sicily and most of the western princes, who combining against Pauleologus, would, in all likelihood, have driven him from the throne, had he not engaged pope Urban IV. to espouse his cause, by promising to submit himself and his dominions to the Latin church, and by that means diverted the storm that threatened him. The pope persuaded Charles count of Anjou and king of Sicily, to conclude a peace with him; and Pauleologus, on his side, did all that lay in his power to bring about an union between the two churches, acknowledging by his embassadors, or in person, as some will have it, the supremacy of the pope in the famous council of Lyons held in the year 1274. This occasioned great disturbances at Constantinople and throughout the empire, Joseph the patriarch, and with him most of the clergy, openly inveighing against these innovations; which provoked Pauleologus to such a degree, that he caused such as appeared most obstinate to be imprisoned and cruelly racked, and banished the rest with the patriarch Joseph, in whose room Vecceus was chosen. However, not long after, Simon of Bive, a native of France, being, by the interest of Charles, king of Sicily, chosen pope, on which occasion he took the name of Martin IV., he solemnly excommunicated Michael for having contributed to the famous massacre of the French
in Sicily, which happened on Easter-day, the thirtieth of March 1282, and is commonly known by the name of the Sicilian vespers. At length the unhappy prince, oppressed with cares, was taken ill as he was marching against the Turks, who had broken into the eastern provinces; and, his distemper increasing daily, he was obliged to halt at a place called Allogium. There he received the embassadors of the Tartars, whom he had invited to his assistance, and soon after died, having lived fifty-eight years, and reigned twenty-four, wanting one month. He was succeeded by his son Andronicus Palæologus, who, thinking he could not begin his reign by a more popular act than by restoring the ceremonies of the Greek church, and refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope, annulled whatever his father had done with respect to the union of the two churches. But such as had received the Latin ceremonies defending them with great obstinacy, and those of the contrary faction, now countenanced by the emperor, returning the evil treatment they had met with in the late reign, the schism was revived, and such animosities raised in the state, as threw the whole empire into a ferment. However, his endeavouring to restore the ancient ceremonies disoblged such only as were addicted to the Latin church; but his conduct towards his brother Constantine estranged from him the minds of both parties. Constantine was the darling of the people; and being sent by the late emperor his father into Asia, to defend the frontiers of the empire, he had there in several battles overthrown the Turks. His great popularity, and the reputation he had gained by his victories, rendering him suspected to the emperor, he was by his orders seized and thrown into prison, with several other persons of great distinction, amongst whom was Michael Strategopulus, son to the celebrated Alexius, who had recovered Constantinople from the Latins. Upon the removal of these two brave officers, the Turks, under the conduct of the famous Othoman, made themselves masters of several places in Phrygia, Caria, and Bithynia, and among the rest of the city of Nice. To put a stop to their conquests, the emperor dispatched into Asia Philanthropenus and Libadarius, two officers of great reputation and experience in war, appointing the latter governor of the cities of Ionia, and committing to the former the defence of the frontiers on the Meander. Philanthropenus gained several advantages over the Turks; but, elated with his

2 Idem l. vi. c. 30. & ultim.
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Alexius Philanthropenus revolt;

his success, he assumed the purple, and causing himself to be proclaimed emperor, marched against Libadarius, who had declared him a public enemy, and set a price upon his head. As the two armies were ready to engage, the Cretans, who served under Philanthropenus, and had been before-hand gained over by Libadarius, seizing their leader, delivered him up to his adversary, who cau ted his eyes to be put out. In the mean time, the Turks, taking advantage of these intestine disturbances, not only extended their dominions in Asia, but conquered most of the islands in the Mediterranean; and, being masters at sea, infested the coasts of the empire, to the utter ruin of trade and commerce. In this distracted state of affairs, the emperor, distrusting his own subjects, took into his pay ten thousand Messagetes or Alans, who, being driven out of their own country by the Tartars, had passed the Danube. These being sent over into Asia, under the conduct of Michael, the emperor's eldest son, whom he had lately declared his colleague in the empire, the Turks, at their approach, retired to the mountains; whence soon after they came suddenly down, and falling upon the Messagetes, while they lay in their camp, without the least apprehension of danger, put them to flight, in spite of all the efforts of the young emperor, who, on that occasion distinguished himself in a most eminent manner, but was in the end obliged to fly with the rest, and take refuge in the strong castle of Magnesia. The Messagetes, abandoning him, marched directly to the Hellespont, ravaging the countries through which they passed, and thence crossed over into Europe. The Turks, pursuing them, made themselves masters of all the strong-holds to the sea-side. As for Michael, having narrowly escaped falling into their hands, he got in the end safe to Constantinople. The emperor, notwithstanding the shameful conduct of the Messagetes, reposing still greater trust in strangers than in his own subjects, of whom he was grown jealous since the rebellion of Philanthropenus, took into his service a body of Catalans, under the command of one Ronzerius or Rouzerius, who had formerly served in the wars between the kings of Sicily and Naples; and, having conferred extraordinary honours upon him, sent him with his troops to the relief of Philadelphia, then closely besieged by the Turks, whom, upon his arrival he obliged to abandon the enterprise and retire. Upon their retreat, he turned his arms against those whom he was sent to protect; and roving about the country, committed every-where unheard-
heard of cruelties, subjecting all to the rage and lust of those dissolute vagabonds. Having plundered the few places that were left to the emperor in Asia, he returned with his Catalans to Europe; and leaving the rest at Callipolis, went with two hundred chosen men to demand of the young emperor Michael, lying then at Oreftias in Thrace, the arrears which he pretended to be due to himself and his men. Michael, justly provoked at his late conduct in Asia, and now incensed against him on account of his insolent carriage, ordered his guards to fall upon him, who accordingly cut him and most of his men in pieces. Those, who escaped, flying to Callipolis, acquainted their countrymen with the death of their general, who thereupon, transported with rage, first put all the citizens to the sword, and then, fortifying themselves in the best manner they could, prepared for a vigorous defence. However, as they distrusted their own strength, they sent for assistance to the Turks dwelling over-against them in Asia, who immediately conveyed over the sttreights five hundred chosen men to reinforce them. These were soon followed by others, who, joining the Catalans, laid waste the neighbouring country; and having, with great expedition, equipped and manned eight galleys, plundered all the merchant-ships in the streights, and would have greatly distressed the imperial city itself, had not their small fleet been encountered and destroyed by the Genoese. On this occasion the Turks came first into Europe; an event which we may deservedly reckon one of the most fatal that ever happened to the empire. The young emperor Michael marched against the Catalans and Turks, with a considerable army, consisting of Greeks, Maffagetes, and other auxiliaries; but the auxiliaries withdrawing, as soon as the signal for battle was given, and standing at a small distance as idle spectators, at whose instigation was never known, the Greeks were so discouraged, that the emperor could neither by threats or promises stop their flight. He performed in person all that could be expected from an experienced officer and valiant soldier; but not being able to encourage his men, either with his words or example, and his horse being killed under him, he was forced to retire, and make his escape to Didymothicum, where his father lay encamped. After this victory, the Catalans and Turks over-ran all Thrace, destroying every thing with fire and sword, till finding it impossible for them to subsist longer there, the Catalans resolved to invade Thessaly; but the Turks, desirous of returning home with their booty,
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booty, separated from them, being then thirteen thousand horse, and eight hundred foot; and bending their march through Macedonia, acquainted the emperor, that they were ready peaceably to depart, provided he would allow them a safe passage through his dominions, and supply them with ships to transport them into Asia. To this the emperor, willing to get rid of such troublesome guests, readily condescended, and accordingly ordered the necessary vessels to be got ready with the utmost expedition. But the Greek officers, observing the immense booty with which they were loaded, began to contrive how they should make themselves masters of it, and in the end resolved to fall upon the Turks in the night; and by cutting them all off, revenge the injuries they had done to the subjects of the empire, and enrich themselves with the booty. The matter was not managed with such secrecy, but the Turks had timely intimation of it. Hereupon, having surprized a strong castle in that neighbourhood, they prepared for a vigorous defence, and at the same time found means to acquaint their countrymen on the other side of the straits with the danger that threatened them, who, enticed with the hopes of booty, hastened to their assistance; and crossing the Hellaspoint, ravaged the adjacent country, making excursions to the very gates of Constantinople. The emperor, awaked at length by the daily complaints of his people, resolved to root them out; and accordingly marched against them with all his forces, the country-people flocking to him from all parts with their spades, mattocks, and other instruments of husbandry, in order to-afflict him in the reduction of the castle. The Turks were greatly alarmed at their approach, and began to look upon themselves as inevitably lost; but afterwards observing, that the Greeks, who had closely besieged the place, confining in their strength and numbers, utterly neglected all discipline, they took courage, and falling out with no more than eight hundred horse, penetrated almost without opposition to the emperor's tent, which struck the undisciplined multitudes with such terror, that they betook themselves to a hasty flight. Their example was followed by the rest of the army, tho' the emperor, and some of the officers, made several bold stands, hoping thereby to stop the flight of the defeated multitude; but the cowardly Greeks could not by any means be prevailed upon to stand before the enemy, who, after having made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives, and taken some of the chief officers
officers prisoners, made themselves masters of the emperor's camp, in which they found a large sum, designed for the payment of the troops, several standards, the imperial crown, enriched with precious stones of an ineffimable value, and all the baggage of the army. After this unexpected victory, the Turks roved up and down Thrace for two years together, without control; which brought unspeakable calamities upon the inhabitants, confined within their walled towns, without daring to stir out to till their ground. At length Philes Palæologus, a person nearly related to the emperor, touched with the calamities of his country, defined leave to march against the enemy, with such officers and soldiers as the emperor should think fit to appoint for that service, not doubting, he said, but, with the assistance of Heaven, he should revenge the injuries done to his country, and return in triumph. As Philes was an utter stranger to the art of war, but remarkable for his piety and the integrity of his life, the emperor, looking upon him as one chosen by providence for the relief of his oppressed country, readily complied with his request. Philes's first care was to establish good discipline among his soldiers, exhorting them to live with temperance and sobriety, encouraging them with frequent donatives, and promising to reward each of them at the end of the war according to his deserts. Having thus modelled his small army according to his desire, he took the field, attended by the prayers and good wishes of the emperor and the whole people. Being informed, soon after his departure from Constantinople, that Chaleb, the Turkish commander, was ravaging the country about Bizia, with one thousand foot and two hundred horse, he marched immediately against him; and encamping the third day in a large plain near a little river called Xerogiolum, he received at midnight certain intelligence, that the enemy with their booty were at hand. Hereupon having drawn up his men in battle-array, and with a pathetic speech, encouraged them to exert themselves in the defence of their country, he waited the enemy's arrival, who began to appear at sun-rising. The Turks, not in the least terrified with the surprise, having formed a strong barricade with their waggons, and secured their prisoners, advanced in good order against the imperial troops, who received them with great resolution and intrepidity. Philes, having first invoked the divine assistance, charged at the head of the right-wing the enemy's cavalry, who began to give way; but his horse being killed under him,
him, he was obliged to withdraw; which somewhat damped the courage of his men. However, he quickly appeared again at the head of the army; and falling with fresh vigour upon the enemy with the most resolute of his men, put their horse to flight; and then dismounting, charged their foot at the head of his infantry with such resolution, that the Turks, no longer able to withstand them, betook themselves to a precipitous flight. Philes pursuèd them with great slaughter to the entrance into the Chersonesus, and there encamped, with a design to cut off their communication with the neighbouring country. The emperor, transported with joy at the news of this victory, dispatched immediately five galleys, which were reinforced with eight more sent by the Genoese of Peræ, to guard the streights, and prevent their receiving any assistance out of Asia. At the same time, Philes’s army was strengthened with two hundred chosen horse, sent him by Crales king of Servia, who had married the emperor’s daughter. The Turks being thus shut up both by sea and land, Philes, advancing with his forces to the castle they had seized, began to batter it with an incredible number of engines; which did great execution. The Turks, now despairing of relief, and weakened by daily skirmishes, resolved to use an utmost effort, and attempt to break through the Greeks sword in hand; but finding them, when they first sallied out, upon their guard and ready to receive them, they returned to their castle; but not so discouraged as not to attempt a few days after to open themselves a way through the Servians; which attempt proving equally unsuccessful, they began utterly to despair. Having therefore cast away their arms, and taken with them their gold and silver, of which they had great plenty, in the dead of the night they made towards the seaside with a design to surrender themselves to the Genoese, who, they hoped, would shew them more mercy than the Greeks, as they had never injured nor provoked them; but the night proving dark, many of them, mistaking the Greek for the Genoese galleys, fell into the hands of their most implacable enemies, by whom they were cut in pieces without compassion. The rest fared not much better; for the Genoese killed such as brought the most money with them, lest in time they should discover it to the Greeks, who would have claimed it. The poorer sort they loaded with chains, sending some of them to the emperor, and keeping the rest.
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for their own slaves. Thus was Europe delivered for the present from the Turks; but the time is drawing near, when we shall see them, through the indolence of the emperors and cowardice of the Greeks, firmly established on this side of the freights, to the utter ruin of the empire.

The unhappy emperor was soon after involved in far greater troubles: Michael, his eldest son and colleague in the empire, had two sons, Andronicus and Manuel, of whom the former was greatly beloved by his grandfather Andronicus, though a youth of a most untractable temper, debauched, dissolute, and abandoned to all manner of wickedness. Being greatly addicted to women, and suspecting he had some rival in the affections of his favourite mistresses, he charged certain ruffians to watch her one night, and dispatch the perfon that should come to visit her. It unluckily happened, that Manuel came that very night, with little or no attendance, to the house, in quest of his brother. The assassins, not knowing him in the dark, mistook him for the prince’s rival, and falling upon him, gave him several mortal wounds, of which he died a few days after. When news of his death was brought to the emperor Michael his father, the good prince was so affected with it, that he died soon after of grief. The grandfather Andronicus, notwithstanding his deep concern for the death of Manuel, still continued to cherish and favour Andronicus, who, answering his kindnesfs with the utmost ingratitude, contracted an intimate friendship with Syrgiannes, John Cantacuzenus, Theodorus Synadenus, and Alexius Apocaus, all perfons disaffected to the emperor, and ready to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered to raise disturbances in the empire. As they were men of uncommon parts and great experience in affairs of state, they soon gained an ascendant over the young prince, and finding him a subject proper for their designs, they inspired him with a thirst after power, and an utter aversion to the aged emperor his grandfather. The court being thus rent into two opposite factions, that of the young prince grew daily more powerful. The emperor did all that lay in his power to reclaim him; but his endeavours proving, to his great grief, unsuccessful, he resolved in the end publicly to reprove him before the patriarch and the chief of the nobility.

Gregor. l. iii. c. 13—17. Cantacuzen. l. iii. Pachym. l. ix. c. 10, 11.
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bility. The prince, receiving timely intimation of his grandfather’s design, went, when sent for, to the palace, attended by a great number of his followers and partizans, with arms under their garments, ready, if any violence was offered to the young prince, to rush upon the aged emperor with their drawn swords, and, dispatching him, proclaim Andronicus emperor in his room. But the emperor, who was passionately fond of him, reproved the youth in a tender and affectionate manner, that, bursting into tears, he fell at the grandfather’s feet, and promised an entire submission for the future. The grandfather, on his side, embracing him with paternal affection, promised to appoint him his heir, and name him for his successor in the empire. Thus they parted, thoroughly reconciled; but this reconciliation was short-lived, for the prince, returning to his favourite counsellors and companions, soon fell from the resolution he had taken, and began to entertain the same ambitious thoughts he had done before. Hereupon the emperor, perceiving he was become irreclaimable, resolved to secure him, and by that means prevent the disturbances, in which he foreflew the state would be otherwise unavoidably involved. This resolution was communicated by the emperor to Gerafimus the patriarch, and by him scandalously betrayed to the prince, who thereupon fled with his accomplices and partizans the very night he was to have been apprehended, and escaped to Adrianople. The emperor, upon the first notice of his flight, caused him to be declared a public enemy, proscribed all his adherents, and obliged the inhabitants of Constantinople, whose fidelity he suspected, to renew their oath of allegiance. On the other hand, the prince, arriving at Adrianople, was there acknowledged for emperor by Syrgiannes, Cantacuzenus, and the other officers, who commanded the troops quartered in Thrace; so that, finding himself in a few days at the head of a considerable army, he detached a strong body of horse and foot to attempt, under the conduct of Syrgiannes, Constantinople itself, before the citizens could put themselves in a posture of defence. The emperor, alarmed at their approach, dispatched Theoleptus, bishop of Philadelphia, with other persons of distinction, to the young prince, then encamped at Orestias, with proposals for an accommodation; which, after a warm and long debate, was concluded on the following terms; that the empire should be divided, and the prince have Thrace, from Christopolis to Rhegium, and the suburbs of Constantinople, for his share; that his followers should enjoy, without
without molestation, the lands and honours he had conferred upon them; and that, on the other hand, the emperor should retain Constantinople, with all the cities and islands in the east, and in the west the whole country lying between Christopolis and Dyrhachium. In the mean time, the Turks, taking advantage of these intestine broils, enlarged their dominions in Asia, and reduced most places on the Meander, and among the rest the strong and important city of Prusa in Bithynia. Othoman had some years before attempted to take it by storm; but being repulsed with great loss, he had built two strong castles at a small distance from the city, and left in them numerous garrisons, under the command of two of his best generals, Acemur and Balabanzuch, who, by cutting off all communication between the place and the neighbouring country, reduced the inhabitants and the garrison to such straights, that great numbers of them dying for want of necessaries, the rest, despairing of relief, were in the end obliged to capitulate, and submit to Orchanes, the son of Othoman, who was then indisposed, on the following terms; that the inhabitants and garrison should be allowed to retire unmolested whither they pleased, and to take with them all the effects they could carry on their backs. These two articles were faithfully observed by Orchanes, who, entering Prusa, took possession of that important place in the year 1327, and, upon the death of his father Othoman, chose it for the seat of the Turkish empire. To return to Andronicus: the agreement between him and his grandson was but short-lived; for Syrgiannes, who had first advised the young prince to revolt, not thinking his services sufficiently rewarded, wrote letters full of submission to the emperor, and, upon promise of impunity, withdrew privately from the army in Thrace, and repaired to Constantinople, where he incensed the emperor against his grandson to such a degree, that the war was renewed on both sides. Constantine, the emperor's son, was sent with a considerable army to Thessalonica, to take upon him there the government of Macedonia, and to invade from thence the territories lately yielded to the prince, while Syrgiannes, at the head of a body of Turks, who had entered into the emperor's service, reduced that part of Thrace, which lay next to Constantinople. Against Syrgiannes the prince dispatched Synadenus, an officer of great reputation in war; but marched in person against his uncle Constantine, being highly provoked against him for having seized on his mother Xenie, and sent her prisoner.

* Greg. & Cantacuz. l. i. c. i — 23.*
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The prince of Constantinople. Constantine gained several advantages over him; which reduced him to great frights: but the prince having caused a report to be spread abroad, that his grandfather was dead, Constantine was so alarmed at that unexpected news, to which he gave entire credit, that he retired in the utmost consternation to Thessalonica. He had not been long in that city, when he was informed, that the emperor was alive; and soon after received letters from him, with orders to apprehend twenty-five of the chief citizens, suspected of maintaining a private correspondence with the prince, and send them in chains to Constantinople. The letters were delivered to Constantine with the utmost secrecy; but the citizens nevertheless, receiving timely intimation of the danger that threatened them, stirred up the populace; who, seizing on Constantine, delivered him up to his nephew, by whom he was kept closely confined as long as he lived. At the same time, the Turks under Syrgiannes, quitting the emperor's service, retired home; which obliged that general to return in great haste to Constantinople. Upon his retreat, Synadenus reduced several places in Thrace, and threatened with a siege the imperial city itself; which so alarmed the emperor, that he released Xene, and sent her to her son, then encamped at Rheidium, with proposals for an accommodation; which were readily embraced by the prince, the emperor promising to take him for his colleague in the empire, and to cause him to be solemnly crowned, with his wife Ann of Savoy, whom he had lately married upon the death of Irene his first wife. The ceremony was accordingly performed in the church of St. Sophia with the utmost magnificence; but the prince, prompted by his ambition, and impatient of a colleague, resolved soon after to remove his aged grandfather, that he might reign without control. With this view he entered into an alliance with Michael prince of Bulgaria, his brother-in-law, who was to make a diversion in Servia, if the prince of that country should move, as it was suspected he would do, to the assistance of the emperor. After this, the prince, withdrawing privately from Constantinople, seized on the public revenue in Thrace; of which the emperor receiving intelligence, refused to admit him on his return into the imperial city, ordering at the same time his lieutenants in Macedon and the neighbouring provinces to act against him, as a public enemy. The prince, in the mean time, by pretending a great readiness to comply in any thing reasonable with the emperor, gained the affections of the people to such a degree, that they could fear be restrained.
restrained in Constantinople itself, from openly declaring in his favour. Hereupon the emperor, to estrange from him the minds of the multitude, having summoned the patriarch and the chief of the clergy, ordered them to declare him unworthy of the empire, and exclude him from the communion of the faithful. To this moit of them consented, and agreed that his name should be omitted in the public prayers of the church; but the patriarch and some others, who privately favoured him, summoning the people together, pronounced sentence of excommunication against such as should presume to omit the name of the young prince in their public prayers; which provoked the emperor to such a degree, that he caused the patriarch to be deposed, and confined him to the monastery of Mangana. The prince, who was then at Rhegium, being informed of what had passed in the metropolis, approached it with thirteen hundred chosen men, and leaving his army at some distance, rode up, with Cantacuzenus and a guard of thirty soldiers, to one of the gates, desiring to be admitted, and allowed to confer with his grandfather. The emperor, acquainted with his demand by Phocas Maroles, who commanded the guards on the walls, sent him by the same officer orders to retire forthwith, without attempting to debauch his subjects, on pain of being treated as a public enemy; nay, some reviled him from the walls with most bitter language: upon which the young prince, after having solemnly declared, that he desired nothing so much as to be reconciled to his grandfather, whom he charged with all the calamities that were to follow, retired to Selymbria, and from thence into Macedonia, where he took, almost without opposition, several castles and strong-holds; and then marched to Thessalonica, being invited thither by his friends, who, at his approach, opened the gates to him, and joined him in reducing the citadel, which made a vigorous resistance, but was in the end obliged to submit, the prince having surprised and cut off a body of three hundred chosen men, sent by the emperor to reinforce the garrison. The emperor, alarmed at the progress of his grandson's arms, applied to the king of Bulgaria for assistance, who immediately dispatched a considerable body of forces to his relief; but the prince, having in the mean time defeated the emperor's army on the banks of the Mates, advanced with long marches to Constantinople. However, three thousand Bulgarian horse reached the imperial city before him, to the great joy of the emperor, who nevertheless, disquitting foreign troops, from whom the empire had already suffered unspeakable calamities, admitted only their com-
mander in chief and a small number of officers into the city, assigning to the rest quarters in the suburbs. As this gave the prince, who arrived soon after, an opportunity of conferring with them, he, by rich presents to their generals, prevailed upon them to return to their own country. The Bulgarians being thus removed, the prince prepared for the siege of Constantinople; but in the mean time, two of the soldiers, who were appointed to guard the walls, coming to the prince in the dead of the night, offered to betray the city into his hands; and accordingly, being encouraged by him with the promise of a reward answerable to that important service, they returned into the city undiscovered; and the following night, while the rest of the guard were intoxicated with wine, with which they had supplied them in great plenty, they drew up by ladders of ropes about eighteen men, who, breaking open that which was called the Roman gate, opened an entrance for the young prince and his whole army. When day appeared, the inhabitants were so far from making any opposition, that, on the contrary, with loud acclamations they saluted young Andronicus emperor Gregoras, tho' greatly biased in favour of the old emperor, and not a little prejudiced against young Andronicus, tells us, that the prince, ascribing the success that had attended his arms ever since the beginning of the war to Heaven, upon his entering the city, issued orders, forbidding on pain of death any of his officers or soldiers to offer the least affront or injury to the emperor his grand-father. The same writer adds, that he went immediately to wait on the emperor in person, and was so affected with the speech, which the unfortunate prince made him, that falling at his feet, he tenderly embraced, and, with words full of duty and respect, endeavoured to comfort the emperor in his greatest distress. After this, he returned solemn thanks to Heaven, for having thus put an end to the war almost without bloodshed; and then, repairing to the monastery of Mangana, he reconducted the patriarch in a kind of triumph to the church, and restored him to his former dignity. Young Andronicus, now master of the imperial city, and universally acknowledged and obeyed as emperor, suffered his grandfather to continue in the palace, and wear the ensigns of majesty; but would not allow him the least share in the administration, which he took entirely into his own hands, governing with an

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a Gregor. l. iv. Cantacuzen. l. i. c. 50.———5. Onuph. &
Geneb in chron.
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an absolute sway, without so much as consulting the aged emperor in what related to public affairs. He allowed him yearly twenty-four thousand pieces of gold for his maintenance, and the imperial palace for his habitation, while he himself resided in that of the depot Demetrius. He granted a general pardon to all those who had adhered to his grandfather, and even preferred some of his chief favourites to the first employments in the state.

In the very beginning of his reign, the king of Bulgaria, entering Thrace at the head of a numerous army, confounding partly of Bulgarians, and partly of Scythians, plundered several cities, and laid waste the whole country. Andronicus, having with incredible expedition drawn together a considerable army, appeared unexpectedly at Byzantium, in the neighbourhood of which city the king of Bulgaria lay encamped. His sudden arrival struck the enemy with such terror, that the following night they decamped, and fled back into their own country, leaving behind them great part of the booty. Andronicus pursued them, and carrying the war into Bulgaria, ravaged the country far and near, destroying all with fire and sword, till the king, not daring to venture an engagement, tho' at the head of a very powerful and numerous army, sent embassadors to sue for a peace; which, after several conferences, was concluded upon terms highly honourable to Andronicus. After this, the two princes had an interview on horseback, when they confirmed the treaty, and renewed their ancient friendship, which they agreed to cultivate by meeting yearly in such places as should be most convenient for both.

The emperor, having nothing to fear from that quarter, turned his arms against the Turks, who, taking the advantage of domestic quarrels among the Greek princes, had greatly enlarged their dominions in Asia. Othoman, whom we may justly style the founder of the Turkish empire, being lately dead, the emperor laid hold of that opportunity to recover several places, which that warlike prince had reduced, and among the rest the famous city of Nice, with a strong castle on the Sangarius, which commanded the passes leading into Bithynia. This castle, however, was soon after retaken by Urchan or Orchanes, son and successor of Othoman, who, having happily settled his affairs at home, raised a formidable army, and entering Bithynia as soon as the emperor had left that country, made himself master of several places there, and at last sat down before Nice. The

* Cauntacuen. l. ii. c. 1. * Idem, l. ii. c. 2. 3.
emperor, who was then at Constantinople, leaving the imperial city, hastened back into Asia; and advancing as far as Philocrene, encamped there at a small distance from the Turks; who, after having harassed his men with frequent skirmishes, and sudden onsets, fell upon him at length with their whole army. Hereupon a battle ensued, in which both sides behaved with great bravery and resolution; but in the end, the emperor being wounded in the foot with an arrow and obliged to withdraw, his troops, no longer animated with his example, retired in the utmost confusion to their camp. As the emperor had removed to Philocrene, to have his wound dressed there, a report was spread in the camp, that he was killed; which so disheartened his men, that they betook themselves to a precipitous flight, leaving their camp, arms, and baggage, to the enemy, who, after having pursued them for some time with great slaughter, seized on the rich booty which they had left, and amongst other things, on all the emperor's plate and furniture. Andronicus, quite despaired of at this misfortune, returned to Constantinople, while the Turks, having now no enemy to contend with, made themselves masters of all the maritime towns in Bithynia, and in the end of Nice itself, by the following stratagem: Andronicus, in leaving Asia, had promised to reinforce the garrison of Nice with a thousand horse; Orchanes, being informed of this, armed the like number of his own men after the Roman manner, and marching with them in person through by-ways into the road leading from Constantinople, dispatched three hundred more, armed like Turks, to ravage the country within view of the city. As he approached the place, he pretended all on a sudden to have discovered the enemy; and leading his men against the foragers, put them to flight, and recovered the booty. As this was done in the sight of the citizens, who from the walls beheld the whole, the pretended Romans, were received with great joy by the inhabitants; but the gates were no sooner opened, than they fell sword in hand upon the guard, and being joined by the three hundred, who were returned from their pretended flight, they cut the garrison in pieces, and made themselves masters of the city. After this, Orchanes, leading his men to the sea-side, laid siege to Abydos; which was betrayed to him by the governor's daughter, while his two sons, Solyman and Amurat, reduced several other important places in Asia, and among the rest the ancient city of Nicomedia. As the emperor was at this time
time seized with a dangerous malady, in which his life was despaired of, the court was in too great a confusion to think of the proper measures for putting a stop to the conquests of the Turks in Asia. Such as had been instrumental in the late revolution could not reflect, without dread and horror, on the condition to which they must inevitably be reduced, if the young emperor should die, and his grandfather be restored to his power and authority. This consideration prompted Cantacuzenus and some others, if Gregoras is to be credited, to resolve on the old emperor’s death; but this resolution being generally disapproved, they all agreed at last to confine him to a monastery, and force him to take the monastic habit, and exchange the name of Andronicus for that of Antony; which was done accordingly. Thus Gregoras says. But Cantacuzenus tells us, that the old emperor, apprehending a more severe usage from his enemies, if his grandson should die, retired to a monastery of his own accord, and, taking the monastic habit, continued there unmolested to his death, which happened two years after, that is, in 1332, he being then in the seventy-second year of his age. Young Andronicus intended, during his malady, to restore the crown to his grandfather; but, upon his recovery, he suffered him to continue in the monastery, retaining the whole power to himself. In the mean time, the Turks pursued their conquests in Asia, and threatened Europe itself with an invasion. As the emperor was no ways in a condition to oppose so powerful and formidable an enemy, he was persuaded by Cantacuzenus to conclude a dishonourable peace with them, in virtue of which they were to hold all the places and countries they had conquered in Asia, and suffer the Romans peaceably to enjoy what they had not yet wrested from them. Not long after the inhabitants of Thessaly revolting, the emperor marched against them in person; but while he was employed in reducing them, the Turks, who observed the peace no longer than it suited their interest, passed over into Europe; and having ravaged the sea-coast, repassed the straights with an immense booty, and a great number of captives. Andronicus died soon after, in the forty-fifth year of his age, the thirteenth of his reign, reckoning from the time he deposed his grandfather, and 1341st of the Christian era. Cantacuzenus, in the history he has left us, endeavours to justify his conduct towards his grandfather. The old emperor designed, as that writer pretends, to have excluded him from

Andronicus the elder confined to a monastery, where he dies.

Andronicus the younger dies.

\[\text{Andronicus the elder confined to a monastery, where he dies.}\]

\[\text{Andronicus the younger dies.}\]

\[\text{Andronicus the elder confined to a monastery, where he dies.}\]
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from the succession, it was no more than the debauched life he then led well deserved. Gregorius, on the other hand, lays the whole blame on young Andronicus, and will not allow that the old emperor gave his grandson the least provocation. All the disorders in the state were owing, according to him, to the unbounded ambition of the youth, and the evil counsels of Cantacuzenus and his favourites. But, after all, we cannot help concluding, that if the grandfather was to blame, the grandson was altogether inexcusable. Andronicus the younger left two sons, John and Manuel, of whom the eldest was, upon his father's death, declared emperor; but as he was then only nine years old, John Cantacuzenus was appointed his guardian, and protector of the empire, during his minority. Cantacuzenus governed with great equity and moderation, took particular care of the education of the young prince and his brother, provided, as far as the weak condition of the empire would allow him, for the security of the provinces; and in short, omitted nothing that could be expected from a faithful, zealous, and disinterested minister. But as he had been declared guardian to the young prince against the will and approbation of John the patriarch, who thought that office belonged to him, and claimed a share in the administration, the ambitious prelate did all that lay in his power to render him suspected to the empress Anne, representing him as one who had nothing left in view than the imperial dignity. As the patriarch was in great credit with the empress, Cantacuzenus, apprehending he might in the end gain the ascendant over her to his utter ruin, was for resigning his charge, and earnestly pressed the empress for leave to retire; but the refusing to comply with his request, and assuring him, that she was fully convinced of his integrity, and consequently determined to shut her ears against the unjust calumnies and malicious informations of his enemies, he was prevailed upon to continue in the administration. However, the patriarch, and his faction at court, which was very powerful, by continually alarming the princes with the dangers she was to apprehend from the protector, and misconstruing all his actions, prevailed upon her at length to take such meafures, as involved the empire in a civil war; for giving entire credit to the malicious insinuations of the patriarch, who conjured her with tears in his eyes to provide for her own safety and that of her children, against the wicked designs of the protector, she began to look upon him as an ene-
my to herself and her family; and having caused some of his friends and relations to be apprehended, while he was absent at Didymothicum, he sent him orders to resign his office forthwith, and retire to a private life; which he refusing to do, till he had an opportunity of justifying his conduct, and convincing the world of his innocence, the empress, at the instigation of the patriarch, declared him a public enemy and traitor. Cantacuzenus, now apprized, that his enemies aimed at nothing less than his utter destruction, thought it high time to provide for his own safety. Being then at the head of a powerful army, which he had raised to oppose the Servians, who, upon the emperor’s death, had broken into the empire, and having with him several persons of the greatest authority in the empire, who all advised him to assume the purple, as the only means of defeating the designs of his enemies, he hearkened to their advice, and suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor at Didymothicum in 1342, the second year of his administration. When news of his revolt was brought to Constantinople, his mother and the rest of his friends and relations in the city were immediately apprehended, and thrown into prison, his estate was confiscated, and troops levied to suppress the rebellion in its birth. Thus Cantacuzenus himself in his history; and with him most other historians agree, laying the whole blame on the patriarch and his faction, who, in a manner, forced the persecuted minister to take arms in his own defence. Having thus assumed the purple, he acquainted the nobility and soldiery in a long speech with the motives that had prompted him to take that step, which, he said, the malice of his enemies had rendered necessary. He then gave leave to all those, whose friends and relations were at Constantinople, to depart, left, by continuing with him, they should occasion the ruin of their innocent friends. The rest of the army declaring themselves ready to stand by him to the last, he advanced to Adrianople, the inhabitants of which city had seized on all those whom they suspected to favour him, and sent them in chains to Constantinople. On his march he was informed, that a numerous body of Bulgarians were advancing to join the imperial troops, and fall upon him with their united forces. This obliged him to lay aside the design he had formed against Adrianople, and retire to the sea-side, that he might with more ease receive supplies from the Turks in Asia, with whom he had entered into an alliance.

\[\text{Cantacuz. I. ii. c. 1 — 27.}\]
upon his first assuming the imperial dignity. Tho' they offered him large supplies, yet he did not think fit to accept them, till he had tried all possible means for bringing about an accommodation. With this view he wrote to the patriarch, exhorting him to peace and concord; but the messenger who brought the letters was seized, and thrown into prison, Cantacuzenus was declared anew a public enemy, and such of his relations, as had not the good luck to make their escape, were treated with the utmost cruelty. His mother was delivered up to Apocaucus, his most inveterate enemy, who treated her with the utmost barbarity, telling her sometimes, that her son was taken prisoner; at others, that he was killed in an engagement, and his head was brought to Constantinople. Her concern and the cruel usage she met with, having thrown her into a violent fever, Apocaucus would suffer no physician to attend her, till the empress, hearing the danger she was in, and pitying her condition, recommended her to her own physicians, who nevertheless were not admitted by the patriarch and Apocaucus to visit her, till they had solemnly sworn not to administer any remedy to her that might relieve her. Being thus destitute of all help, and daily insulted by her enemies, she died soon after, to the great grief of the empress, who, being informed of the unspeakable miseries she had undergone, and on that account highly provoked against the patriarch and Apocaucus, obliged them to send deputies to Cantacuzenus with overtures for an accommodation; but the deputies, who were their creatures, returning, told the empress, that Cantacuzenus would hear no terms; that he was obstinately bent upon war, and determined not to lay down his arms, till he had accomplished the ruin of her two sons and the whole imperial family. A war being therefore resolved on, Andronicus and Thomas Palaeologi were appointed to command the land-forces, which were to march into Thrace, of which country most cities had declared for Cantacuzenus. At the same time a fleet, consisting of sixty galleys, was equipped, to prevent the Turks from supplying the enemy with men or provisions. Of this fleet Apocaucus took upon himself the command; and having driven back the Turks, attempting to cross the strights and succour their ally, reduced Cantacuzenus, who was at the same time warmly pressed by the land-forces under the conduct of the two above-mentioned Palæologi, to such straits, that he was forced to quit Thrace and take refuge in the dominions of Crales, prince of Moesia, who received
received him with the greatest demonstrations of esteem and affection, and sent him back at the head of a powerful army, with which he gained several considerable advantages over the emperor's forces, and made himself master of the greater part of Thrace. Hercupon his enemies, finding they could not suppress him by force, had recourse to treachery, and, with mighty promises, prevailed upon one Monomachus to try whether he could dispatch him with poison. Accordingly Monomachus, repairing to his camp at Selymbria, the better to compass his wicked purpose, owned the errand on which he was come; but pretending to be touched with remorse, he fell down at his feet, and delivered to him the poison, which he was to have administered. Cantacuzenus received him in a most obliging manner, loaded him with presents, and taking him into his favour, reproved so great a trust in him, that the traitor would have soon found an opportunity of putting his design in execution, without incurring the least suspicion, had not Cantacuzenus been privately warned by his friends at Constantinople to be upon his guard. In the mean time Cantacuzenus, having made himself master of all Macedon and Thrace, approached the imperial city, with a design to reduce it, either by force or famine; but he had not been long before it, when several citizens, apprehending the calamities attending a long siege, resolved to prevent them, by admitting him privately into the city. Accordingly, having first acquainted him with their design, they fell in the night upon the guards, and making themselves masters of one of the gates, admitted him and the whole army, saluting him, as he entered, with the title of emperor. They were joined by the generality of the people, who, flocking from all quarters of the city, attended him with loud shouts to the forum. As for the empress, she continued in the palace, which she seemed determined to defend to the last extremity, having a considerable body of troops at her devotion; but the young emperor earnestly entreats her not to expose herself and him to the fury of the incensed multitude, she was in the end prevailed upon to hearken to accommodation, which was happily brought about upon the following terms: viz. that Cantacuzenus should be declared colleague to the young prince, and have the sole administration of affairs for the space of ten years, Palæologus being then but fifteen; that afterwards they should both reign with equal power and authority; and that an act of oblivion should pass on both sides. This agreement being signed and sworn to by Cantacuzenus, Palæologus, and the empress Ann, and crowned emperor.
on the eighth of February 1347, the new emperor was received the same day into the palace, and soon after crowned with the usual solemnity by Isidore, the new patriarch of Constantinople, John his predecessor being deposed, and sent into banishment. That the union between the two princes might be better settled and more lasting, Cantacuzenus gave his daughter Helena in marriage to young Palæologus, and caused her to be likewise crowned, and acknowledged empress by the nobility and people. As Cantacuzenus had been powerfully assisted by Orchanes the Turkish sultan, who had even married his daughter, he could not help entertaining a friendly correspondence with that prince; which gave great offence to the clergy and some zealous christians, who, by exclaiming against the strict an alliance and intimacy between a christian and a Mohammedan prince, estranged the minds of the multitude from Cantacuzenus; which proved very prejudicial to his affairs. However, he governed the empire for the space of ten years with such equity and moderation, that even his most inveterate enemies could lay nothing to his charge. In the sixth year of his administration, the Genoese of Galata, who were become very powerful, provoked at the emperor's refusing them leave to enlarge their city, set fire to several buildings in the suburbs of Constantinople, seized on all the emperor's ships then riding in the harbour, and made open war on the empire, in which they gained several advantages at sea, and made themselves masters of some islands in the Archipelago, which the emperor was obliged to yield to them. When Palæologus came to govern jointly with him, Crales king of the Servians, highly provoked against Cantacuzenus, for having obliged him to restore some cities, which he had seized during the late troubles, gained over with rich presents several persons of distinction, who, by intimating to the young emperor, that Cantacuzenus designed to confine him to a monastery, to usurp the whole power, and transmit the sovereignty to his posterity, raised a difference between the two princes, which soon after broke out into an open war, Palæologus being on one hand assisted by Crales king of Servia and Alexander prince of Bulgaria: and Cantacuzenus on the other hand by Orchanes the Turkish sultan. In a battle which was fought in Thrace, the young emperor's army was utterly defeated, and he himself obliged to take refuge in Constantinople; all the other cities in Thrace having opened

* Cantacuzenus I. ii. c. 96. 120. & l. i. v. c. r. 
ed their gates to the conqueror. However, not long after, a peace was concluded between the two princes; which was no sooner signed, than Cantacuzenus, devesting himself, by a voluntary refiguration, of all his power, retired to the monastery of Mangana, and there took the monastic habit. But his son Matthew, whom he had some time before declared emperor, pursued the war, and seized on several cities in Thrace, and among the rest on Adrianople. Against him Palæologus marched in person; and having utterly defeated his army, tho’ reinforced before the battle with five thousand Turks sent by Orchanes, obliged him to quit the field, and take refuge in one of his strong-holds; whence while he was making his escape at the approach of the emperor’s army, he was besieged by one Boienas, and delivered up to Palæologus, who, upon his renouncing all claim to the empire, restored him to his liberty.

During these civil commotions, the Turks, under the conduct of Solyman, the son, or, as others will have it, the brother of Orchanes, passed the Hellepont, and having seized on a strong castle called Coiridocuftron, marched from thence against Gallipolis, which Solyman took, after having defeated the governor of the place, who came out with the garrison to offer him battle. Thus the Turks, having reduced all Asia, first settled in Europe, where they have continued ever since. This happened in the year 1357, Orchanes dying soon after, Amurath his son and successor pursed the conquests, which Solyman had begun; and having made himself master of several strong-holds in Thrace, laid siege at length to Adrianople, which was forced to submit, the emperor not being in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy. Amurath, having in a short time mastered all Thrace, made Adrianople the seat of his empire in Europe, as the most proper place for the enlarging his dominions, and extending his conquests to Greece and the neighbouring provinces. In the mean time, Andronicus, the emperor’s eldest son, having conspired against his father, was by his orders deprived of his sight, and kept under close confinement. Ducas the historian tells us, that Andronicus and Cantuzes, Amurath’s younger son, having contracted an intimate friendship, conspired the death of their fathers, binding themselves by mutual oaths to live in amity and friendship, when the one should be emperor, and the other sultan. The same writer adds, that the conspiracy being discovered

1 Idem, c. 32—49.
discovered to Amurath, he ordered his own son's eyes to be pulled out, and required the emperor to inflict the same punishment on his son, threatening him with a war, if he refused to comply. The emperor, dreading the power of the sultan, caused the eyes both of his son and grandson, who was yet an infant, to be pulled out, declaring at the same time his second son Manuel his colleague in the empire. Andronicus, however, after two years confinement, made his escape, being favoured therein by the Genoese of Galata, with whose assistance he made war upon his father; and being admitted into Constantinople, he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; and having got his father and two brothers, Manuel and Theodorus, into his power, he confined them to the same prison in which he had been detained; but they having likewise, after two years, made their escape, Andronicus, dreading the calamities of a civil war, while the Turks were ready to fall upon the few countries that were still left to the empire, restored his father and brother to the throne, who thereupon gave him Selymbria, and several other places in that neighbourhood. In the meantime Amurath, the Turkish sultan being treacherously slain, his son Bajazet succeeded him in his dominions; and pursuing the conquests which had been so successfully carried on by his predecessors in Europe, made himself master of Thessaly, Macedon, Phocis, Peloponnesus, Mydia, and Bulgaria, driving out the despots, or petty princes, who held those countries. Elated with his frequent victories, he began to look upon the Greek emperor, to whom nothing was now left but Constantinople and the neighbouring country, as his vassal, and accordingly sent him an arrogant and haughty message, requiring, or rather commanding, him to pay him a yearly tribute, and send him his son Manuel, to attend him in his military expeditions. With this dishonourable demand the emperor was obliged to comply, being no-ways in a condition to oppose so powerful and formidable an enemy. The unhappy prince died soon after, that is, in 1392, the thirty-seventh of his reign, leaving no son behind him but Manuel, the other two, Andronicus and Theodore, being dead some time before. Manuel, who was then in Bajazet's court, hearing of his father's death, hastened to Constantinople, without taking his leave of the sultan, or acquainting him with the motives of his sudden departure; which Bajazet, highly resenting, punished the officers who had suffered him
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to escape with the utmost severity; and passing with great expedition out of Bithynia, where he then was, into Thrace, destroyed by fire and sword the country adjoining to Constantinople, and, after having reduced the neighbouring towns, invested the imperial city itself both by sea and land. In this extremity Manuel had recourse to the western princes, who having raised an army 130,000 strong, sent it to his relief, under the conduct of Sigismund king of Hungary and John count of Nevers. The western troops were at first attended with good success; for entering the countries lately subdued by the sultan, they recovered Widin, and several other places of great importance in Bulgaria, and invested Nicopolis. Hereupon Bajazet, raising the siege of Constantinople, marched, with all the forces he could assemble, to relieve the place. Upon his approach, Sigismund, leaving part of the army to pursue the siege, marched with the rest to meet the enemy. Hereupon an engagement ensued, in which great numbers fell on both sides, and the victory continued long doubtful. At length, the French cavalry having dismounted to fight on foot, the rest of the army observing the horses without their riders, and concluding from thence they were all cut in pieces, began to give ground, and retire to their camp. This gave new courage and vigour to the enemy, who making an utmost effort, and charging the christians in their retreat with incredible fury, broke their ranks, and obliged them to fly in great confusion. The Turks pursued them to their camp, which they took with all their baggage, and an incredible number of prisoners, among whom was the count of Nevers, and three hundred officers of distinction, who were all, except the count himself and five more, put to death in Bajazet’s presence, after having been insulted by him in a most outrageous manner.

As for Sigismund, he had the good luck to make his escape, and crossing the Danube in a small boat, to get safe to his own dominions. This memorable battle, in which 20,000 christians were slain, and a far greater number taken prisoners, was fought in the second year of Manuel’s reign, and 1393d of the christians æra n. After this victory, Bajazet returned to the siege of Constantinople; but finding the citizens determined to defend themselves to the last extremity, he applied to John the son of Andronicus, to whom, as we have observed above, the emperor had yielded the town of Selymbria. With him he entered into a private agreement, in virtue of which

n Idem, c. 14.
which Bajazet was to place him upon the throne, to which he had a just claim, as being the son of Manuel's elder brother. On the other hand, John was to yield the city of Constantinople to Bajazet, and remove the imperial seat to Peloponnese, which the sultan promised to relinquish to him and his posterity. This agreement being privately signed and sworn to by both parties, Bajazet dispatched deputies to the inhabitants of Constantinople, offering to withdraw his army, and abstain from all hostilities, provided they would drive out Manuel, and place his nephew John on the throne, to which he had an unquestionable right. This politic proposal rent the whole city into two factions, some favouring Manuel, and others declaring for his nephew. Of this the emperor being apprized, and apprehensive of the evils attending a civil discord at so critical a conjunction, he acquainted his nephew, then in the Turkish camp, that, to deliver his subjects from the calamities under which they groaned, he was ready to resign the sovereignty to him, on condition he was allowed to depart with his wife and children, and to convey himself by sea to whatever place he should think fit. With this condition John readily complied, and Manuel, having received him into the city, and conducted him to the palace, embarked on board a galley, and set sail for Venice, where he landed, and from thence went to the several courts of the Christian princes, to sollicit aid against the overgrown power of the Turks, now become formidable to all Europe. He was everywhere received with the greatest demonstrations of esteem, and promised large supplies, all Christendom being alarmed at the late conquest of the infidels. In the meantime, John being crowned with the usual solemnity, Bajazet took care to put him in mind of their agreement, and press him to a speedy execution of the main article, which was to yield Constantinople to him, and retire to Peloponnese or Morea; but the citizens refusing, notwithstanding the unspeakable hardships they suffered, to comply with such a scandalous treaty, Bajazet renewed the siege, and assaulted the city with more fury than ever. When he had already reduced it to the utmost extremity, news was brought him, that Tamerlane the victorious Tartar, after having subdued Persia and the more easterly provinces, had turned his arms against him, and was preparing, with a numerous and formidable army, to break into Syria. Hereupon, alarmed at the danger that threatened him, he in great haste raised the siege, and passing the Hellespont, marched with the utmost expedition to Pruth, which he had appointed the place of the general rendezvous, both
both for his eastern and western forces. From Prusa he advanced, at the head of a very numerous and well-disciplined army, to meet Tamerlane, who gave him a total overthrow in the plains of Angoria in Galatia, on the twenty-eighth of July 1401, cut most of his men in pieces, and having taken the sultan himself prisoner, to punish his excessive pride, cruelty, and arrogance, shut him up in an iron cage, against which he is said to have dashed out his brains the year following, tho' some ascribe his death to poison, as we shall relate more at length elsewhere. Manuel was no sooner informed of the overthrow and captivity of his inveterate enemy Bajazet, than he returned to Constantinople, where he was received with loud acclamations by the people, who being highly provoked against John for his servile compliance with the Turks, drove him from the throne, and restored Manuel, by whom he was banished to the island of Lesbos. This great overthrow of the Turks had like to have occasioned the total dissolution of their empire, both in Europe and Asia; for the five sons of Bajazet, taking arms against each other, a civil war was kindled, and continued with great fury for ten years together. Ha-Zelebis, Bajazet's third son, upon his father's death, caused himself to be proclaimed sultan; but was soon driven from the throne by his brother Solyman, as was Solyman by his brother Musa. At length Mohammed, Bajazet's youngest son, having overcome all his competitors, was universally acknowledged sultan, and the sole monarch of the Turks. The emperor Manuel in the mean time, taking advantage of these intestine divisions, and finding sometimes with one of the competitors, and sometimes with another, recovered several provinces, which Mohammed, whom he had assisted against his brother Musa, suffered him peaceably to enjoy till his death, which happened in 1424, the seventy-fifth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his reign. Some authors write, that he resigned the empire to his son John Palæologus five years before his death, and retiring to a monastery, took the monastic habit, with the name of Antony. Be that as it will, he was succeeded by his son John, in whose reign Amurath II. the son and successor of Mohammed, recovered all the provinces which had been seized after the death of Bajazet by the emperor and the other Christian princes. In the beginning of his reign he laid siege to Constantinople, being provoked against the emperor for espousing the cause of an impostor, who, pretending to be Mustapha the son of Bajazet, 

* Ducis. c. 14.  
* idem. c. 28.  

Who is overcome and taken prisoner by Tamerlane. 

Manuel restored. 

Manuel died. 

John Palæologus. 

Constantinople besieged by Amurath II. who is forced to raise it.
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jazet, was acknowledged for sultan in all the provinces of the
Turkish empire in Europe. The citizens defended themselves
with great bravery; but, being harassed with continual at-
faults, must have in the end submitted, had not the emperor
prevailed upon the prince of Caramania to countenance another
Mustapha, Amurath’s younger brother, who, having revolted
in Asia, was, with the supplies sent him by his new ally,
enabled to lay siege to the city of Nice, which he soon reduced.
This obliged Amurath to raise the siege of Constantinople,
and march with all his forces against the usurper, who was
betrayed and delivered up to him by one Itras, in whom he
reposed great confidence. Amurath, having got him into
his power, caused him to be immediately strangled with a
bow-string; and then turning his arms against the prince of
Caramania, obliged him to sue for peace; which the sultan
granted him upon what terms he thought proper to prescribe.
Having now no other enemies to contend with, he entered
Macedon at the head of a powerful army, and having ravaged
the country far and near, laid siege to Thessalonica, which
he took, and plundered with the utmost cruelty, as he did
most of the cities of Aetolia, Phocis, and Boeotia. From
Greece he marched into Servia, which country he soon
reduced; and then breaking into the dominions of the king
of Hungary, besieged the strong city of Belgrade, which
made a vigorous defence, no fewer than fifteen thousand
Turks being slain by the christians in one sally; which obli-
ged Amurath to drop the enterprize, and retire. In his re-
treat he was attacked by the celebrated John Hunniades, who
cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest
to shelter themselves under the walls of Sinderovia. Not long
after he gained a still more signal victory over the enemy in
the plains of Transilvania, with the loss of no more than
three thousand of his own men, whereas twenty thousand
Turks were killed on the spot, and almost an equal number
in the pursuit. Amurath, who was then at Adrianople, sent
another army into Transilvania, far more numerous than the
two former; but they were attended with no better successe,
being cut off almost to a man by the brave Hungarian.
He gained over the Turks several other no less remarkable victo-
ries, and recovered all Bulgaria and Servia; but was in the
end overthrown and put to flight by Amurath, in the memo-
rable battle of Verna, fought in the year 1444, the christi-
ans being disheartened by the death of Uladilas, king of
Hungary, who, while he was attacking the enemy with
more courage than prudence, was by them hemmed in on
all sides, and cut in pieces. However, Hunniades, having had the good luck to make his escape, and being appointed protector of the kingdom during the minority of Ladislaus, who was chosen king of Hungary in the room of Uladislaus, he raised a considerable army, and advancing to Cossowa, engaged Amurath, who lay encamped there. The battle lasted three days, both armies retiring to their respective camps when night approached, and renewing the fight early next morning. The two first days the Christians had the advantage; but the third day, being quite tired out and overpowered with numbers, Amurath charging them with fresh troops, they were, after a long and vigorous resistance, put to flight and utterly routed. In this memorable battle, which was fought in 1448, thirty-four thousand Turks were slain, and eight thousand Christians, with the flower of the Hungarian nobility. As for Hunniades, he made his escape into Servia, and from thence returned into Hungary. In the meantime, John Paleologus, the Greek emperor, fearing the victorious sultan should turn his arms against him, sent ambassadors to Adrianople, where Amurath then resided, with orders to conclude a peace upon any terms. The sultan received them with great arrogance, declaring he would march directly to Constantinople, unless the emperor yielded to him some strong-holds, which he still possessed on the Euxine sea, and engage to pay him a yearly tribute of three hundred thousand ducats. To these shameful terms the unhappy prince was obliged to submit, in order to enjoy the poor remains of the Roman empire, now reduced to the imperial city and the adjoining country. However, as he did not doubt but Amurath, as soon as he had put an end to the war, in which he was then engaged with George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, prince of Epirus, would, under some pretence or other, attempt Constantinople itself, he applied to the western princes; and the more effectually to engage them in his cause, he promised to do all that lay in his power to reconcile the Greek and Latin churches. Accordingly, hearing a council was to be held at Ferrara, he went thither in person, attended by Joseph the patriarch, a great number of prelates and the flower of the Greek nobility, who were all received at Venice, where they landed, and afterwards at Ferrara, with great pomp and magnificence. From Ferrara the council was removed soon after, by reason of a plague which broke out there, to Florence, where the union was affected between

2 Ducas, c. 30—34.
between the two churches, and subscribed to by the patriarch and the other prelates. The patriarch died soon after at Florence; but the emperor and the other prelates, returning by land at the pope's charge to Venice, were conveyed from thence on the galleys of the republic to Constantinople. Upon his return, he found the people highly dissatisfied with his conduct, and that of the bishops, some of whom had refused to subscribe the decrees of the council, till the money was paid down, for which they had before-hand agreed to sign them. The disturbances which this union raised in the church, the death of the empress Despina, and the insupportable arrogance with which the unhappy prince was treated by the sultan, gave him such concern, that, being already broken with age, he sunk under the weight of his calamities and misfortunes in 1448, the twenty-seventh of his reign, leaving the empire, now confined within the walls of Constantinople, to his brother Constantine. Amurath the Turkish sultan, did not long survive him; but dying in the beginning of February 1450, was succeeded by his son Mohammed, who had no sooner taken possession of the throne than he caused all his brothers to be strangled, and ordered his father's lawful wife (for he is said to have been the son of a concubine) to marry a slave, by name Isaac. In the beginning of his reign, he entered into an alliance with Constantine, the Greek emperor, who, upon the first news of his father's death, had sent embassadors to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne. The embassadors were received very graciously, the new sultan declaring, that he had nothing so much at heart as to live in peace and amity with the emperor and the other christian princes. The embassadors of the Walachians, Lesbians, Bulgarians, Rhodians, Servians, &c. were likewise received in a most obliging manner; which encouraged them to celebrate with public rejoicings the accession of Mohammed to the throne, whom they looked upon as a friend to the christians, the more because his mother was of that religion, being, according to the most credible writers, the despot or prince of Servia's daughter. But notwithstanding the friendship and regard he pretended to have for the emperor, he had no sooner put an end to the war with Ibrahim, king of Caramania, who, upon the news of his father's death, had invaded his dominions in Asia, than he began to entertain thoughts of mak-
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ing himself master of Constantinople, and abolishing the very name of the Roman empire. With this view he built on the Europe side of the Bosphorus a strong castle, called by the Turks Genichcar, and by the Greeks Neosaltrum, opposite to another in Asia called Apocaftron, which he caused to be repaired, placing in both strong garrisons. These two castles commanded the strights, and the former, being but five miles from Constantinople, proved a curb upon that city, and kept it in a manner blocked up. Mohammed had no sooner begun the work, than the emperor and the citizens of Constantinople, alarmed at the undertaking, dispatched embassadors to the sultan, with orders to do all that lay in their power to divert him from it. But Mohammed was so far from granting them their request, that tho' the emperor even offered to pay him an annual tribute, provided he put a stop to the work, he threatened, with the utmost arrogance, to cause such as should be sent to him upon the like errand to be fled alive. He added, that nothing beyond the ditches of the city belonged to Constantine, and that he had an unquestionable right to build in his own dominions what castles and forts he pleased. When the fort in the neighbourhood of Constantinople was finished, the garrison left there by the sultan began to ravage the country adjoining to the city, and making excursions to the very gates, returned to their strong-hold loaded with booty. This occasioned several skirmishes between the christians and Turks; in one of which a considerable number of the latter being killed, the sultan, to revenge their death, ordered his men to fall upon the christians, while they were reaping their corn in the open fields, and put them all to the sword, which was done accordingly. Hereupon the emperor, having caused the gates of the city to be shut, ordered all the Turks within the walls to be arrested, but set them at liberty the next day, sending at the same time embassadors to Mohammed, with proposals for concluding a laffing peace between the two crowns. As the sultan seemed averse to an accommodation, and was assembling his forces from all parts, Constantine, well apprised of his design, in the first place took care to fill the public magazines, and supply the city with great plenty of all sorts of provisions; then by his embassadors to the western princes, acquainted them with the designs of the sultan, and the storm that was gathering against the imperial city, the taking of which might prove fatal to all Christen- som. That they might the more readily affist him at fo

N n 2

Inconvenience in vain to the christian princes.
critical a conjunction, he renewed the union of the two churches, and received with extraordinary demonstrations of esteem and respect the pope’s legate, which gave great offence to the ecclesiastics zealously attached to the ceremonies of their ancestors, and occasioned a misunderstanding between the prince and his people. Neither did the emperor’s zeal, in confirming the union, procure him the least assistance from the Latins in the west, who, by a strange infatuation, suffered the city, which they looked upon as the bulwark of Christendom, to fall into the hands of the avowed enemy of the christian name, who, they well knew, would not stop there, but extend his conquests to the neighbouring, and perhaps to the most distant, kingdoms. While Constantinople was soliciting aid from the western princes, Caracia, one of Mohammed’s chief commanders, reduced several places on the Euxine sea, which were still held by the emperor, viz. Mecembria, Acheloun, Bifon, &c. then advancing towards the city, took by assault a strong castle called St. Stephen’s tower, and put the garrison to the sword. Other forts in that neighbourhood submitted at the approach of the enemy; but Schelmoia held out for some time, the inhabitants defending the place with incredible bravery and resolution; but being in the end tired out with repeated assaults, the town was taken, and they all to a man cut in pieces. All the forts, castles, and strong-holds in the neighbourhood of the imperial city being thus reduced, Caracia was ordered to scour the country during the winter, in order to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any supplies of men or provisions; by which means the city was in a manner blocked up by land. But as the Greeks were still masters at sea, their galleys ravaged the coasts of Asia, and returned with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives, who were sold for slaves in Constantinople.

In the mean time, Mohammed, having drawn together from all parts an army of three hundred thousand men, left Adrianople; and bending his march towards the imperial city, encamped before it on the sixth of April 1453, covering with his numerous forces the adjoining plains. His Asiatic troops were posted on the right towards the Bosphorus; those of Europe on the left towards the haven; and he himself, with fifteen thousand janizaries, and other choicest troops, between both, over-against the gate named Karbasi. On the other side of the haven, Zoganus, one of his chief officers.

* Ducis, c. 37.
officers, encamped with a considerable body of troops, in order to cut off all communication between the city and country on that side. At the same time Pantologes, the Turkish admiral, appeared before the haven with a fleet of near three hundred sail; but the emperor had taken care to secure the haven, in which were three large ships, twenty small ones, and a good number of galleys, by means of a chain drawn cross the entrance from the city to Pera. Mohammed having thus assigned to each part of his army their several quarters, and surrounded the city both by sea and land, he began the siege by planting batteries as near the city as he could, and raising mounts in several places as high as the walls themselves; whence the besieged were incessantly galled with showers of arrows. He had in his camp a piece of ordnance of a prodigious size, which carried, according to Ducas, a ball of an hundred pound weight, made of hard black stone brought from the Euxine sea. It had been cast by an Hungarian engineer, who, not meeting with the encouragement he expected from the emperor, had fled over to Mohammed, while he was busied in building the above-mentioned forts. With this vast piece, the enemy made several breaches in the walls, which, however, were with great expedition repaired by the besieged, who behaved with incredible bravery and resolution, being encouraged by the example of the emperor, and directed by John Justiniani, a Genoese adventurer, who arriving before the siege, with two large ships and a considerable number of volunteers on board, had been by the emperor, on account of his extraordinary skill in military affairs, appointed commander in chief of all his forces; and besides, for his farther encouragement, promised the sovereignty of the island of Lesbos, provided he obliged the enemy to raise the siege. That brave commander, animated with the hopes of so great a reward, performed exploits, says our historian, that no-ways biaffed in favour of the Latins, worthy of the most renowned heroes of antiquity. Not satisfied with repulsing the enemy in their frequent assaults, he often sallied out against them at the head of his volunteers, overturned their machines, destroyed their works, and made such a dreadful havoc of their best troops, that his name soon became formidable. But Mohammed, to carry on the siege with more vigour, ordered new levies to be made throughout his extensive dominions; which rein-
forcements arriving daily from all parts, his army was soon encreased to the number of near four hundred thousand men, while the garrison consisted only of nine thousand regular troops, viz. six thousand Greeks, and three thousand Genoese and Venetians. As the enemy continued battering the walls, night and day without intermission, great part of them, with the tower called Baclatina, near the Roman gate, was beaten down; but while the Turks were buffeted in filling up the ditch, in order to give the assault, the breach was repaired, and a new wall built. This threw the tyrant into a rage hardly to be exprest, which was greatly heightened, when he beheld from the shore his whole fleet worsted by five ships, four of which belonged to the Genoese of Galata, and one to the emperor: the latter was fraught with corn from Peloponnesus, and the others with all manner of provisions from the island of Chios, where they had passed the winter. When they first appeared, Mohammed ordered his admiral to take them, if possible, or at least to prevent their entering the harbour and joining the rest of the fleet. Hereupon the whole Turkish navy, weighing anchor, failed out to meet them, covering the streights, as they were in all three hundred sail, from shore to shore. The above-mentioned ships pursued their course; and falling into the midst of the enemy's fleet, sunk some of their galleys, disabled others, and made such a dreadful havock among them, that Mohammed, who beheld the whole from the shore, could not forbear rushing with his horse into the sea, as if he intended to swim to his fleet, and encourage them with his presence. But being soon apprized of the danger, he turned back, and filling the air with loud outcries, and dreadful curses, he tore his hair, and upbraiding his men with cowardice, uttered such menaces against the admiral, and his other officers, as struck all with terror who heard him. But notwithstanding his impotent rage, and the loud shouts of the whole Turkish army, encouraging their mariners to behave more manfully, the five ships opened themselves a way through the midst of the enemy's fleet, and, to the unexpressible joy of the christians, got safe into the harbour. The Turks attempted several times to force the haven, in order to attack the city on that side; but all their efforts proving unsuccessful, Mohammed formed, and, to the great terror and amazement of the besieged, put in execution, one of the boldest designs we find mentioned in history. For, not being able to remove the chain

\footnote{Ducas, c. 38.}
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chain drawn crofs the entrance into the harbour, and the ships within it making a dreadful fire on the Turkish fleet as often as they drew near in order to break it, he commanded a large road to be levelled from the Bosphorus behind Pera to the haven of Constantinople, and then, by means of certain engines, the contrivance of a renegade, conveyed eighty galleys over land for the space of eight miles into the haven, of which he was no sooner master, the ships riding there being either taken or funk, than he caused a bridge, a work no less wonderful and surprising, to be built over it with incredible labour and expedition. By means of this bridge, which reached from the camp of Zoganus at Pera to the walls of Constantinople, the city was laid open to an assault on that side too. And now the place being invested, and battered night and day with incredible fury on all sides, the emperor, well apprised he could not with his small garrison hold out much longer against such a mighty fleet and so numerous an army, sent deputies to Mohammed, offering to acknowledge himself his vaffal, by paying him yearly what tribute he should think proper to impose upon him, provided he raised the siege and withdrew. The tyrant answered, that he was determined at all events to become master of the city; but if the emperor delivered it up forthwith, he would yield to him Peloponnesus, and other provinces to his brothers, which they should peaceably enjoy as his friends and allies, whereas, if he held out to the last extremity, and suffered it to be taken by assault, he would put him and the whole nobility to the sword, abandon the city to be plundered by his soldiers, and carry all the inhabitants, stripped of their wealth and effects, into captivity. The city was already reduced to great straits; but the emperor being determined to perish within, rather than give it up upon any terms whatsoever, the siege was carried on with great vigor till the twenty-fifth of May, when a report being spread in the Turkish camp, that a mighty army was advancing full marches to the relief of the city under the conduct of the celebrated John Hunniades, the common soldiers, feized with a panic, began to mutiny, and press Mohammed in a tumultuous manner to break up the siege; nay, they openly threatened him with death, if he did not immediately abandon the enterprize, and retire from before the city, which they despaired of being able to reduce before the arrival of the supposed succours. Mohammed, tho' hitherto an utter stranger to fear, alarmed at the menaces of the incensed and ungovernable soldiers, was upon the point of yielding to the form, and raising the siege, agreeable to
the advice of the grand vizier Haly who favoured underhand the christians. But Zagan, a Turkish officer of great intrepidity, and an irreconcilable enemy to the christians, having confirmed the sultan in his former resolution, advised him to give, without loss of time, a general assault; to which, he said, the soldiery, however mutinous, would not be averse, provided he solemnly promised to abandon the city to be plundered by them. As this advice befitted the humour of Mohammed, he readily embraced it, and caused a proclamation to be published throughout the camp, declaring, that he gave up to his soldiery all the wealth of that opulent city, requiring nothing for his share but the empty houses. The desire of plunder, and the prospect of an immense booty, soon got the better of the fear, which had seiz'd the army: they all demanded with one voice to be led immediately to the assault. Hereupon the emperor was summoned for the last time to deliver up the city, with a promise of his life and liberty. To this summons the brave emperor answered, that he was unalterably determined either to defend the city, or fall with it. With this answer the messenger returned, and on the evening of the same day, which was Trinity Sunday, the twenty-seventh of May, the Turkish camp and fleet appeared illuminated with an incredible number of lights set up by the sultan's orders on every tent and vessel to admonish the whole army, that a solemn fast was to be observed the next day, to implore the protection of heaven. Constantine, concluding from thence, as he had been privately informed beforehand by his friend Haly, that on the Tuesday following he should be attacked by sea and land, made the necessary preparations for sustaining the assault, his life, liberty, reputation, and whatever else was dear to him lying at stake. He ordered in the first place a general procession, after which, in a pathetic and eloquent speech, he encouraged the nobility and citizens to exert themselves in the defence of the empire and the christian religion. He then retired to the church of St. Sophia, attended by the cardinal Isidor and several other prelates, who had conformed to the ceremonies of the Latins; and there, after assisting with exemplary piety at divine service, he received the holy eucharist. Zygomola, a modern writer, tells us, that Constantine, having first caused the empress and his children to receive the sacrament, ordered immediately after their heads to be struck off, to prevent their falling alive into the enemy's hands. But this we look upon as one of the many fables that are to be found in most of the modern Greek writers, it being manifest...
feet from Ducas and other contemporary writers, that Theodoras, Constantine's first wife, and Catharina Catalula, his second, died long before, without his having children by them; and that the king of Georgia's daughter, who not long before had been betrothed to him, died before the came to Constantinople, or was married to him. From the church Constantine repaired to the great palace, and there, after taking leave of his ministers, as if he were never to see them again, he ordered every man to his post, and, putting on his armour, marched in person at the head of a chosen body to the gate Karisia, where a considerable breach had been made by the piece of ordnance, which we have mentioned above. Here the emperor and Justiniani his lieutenant-general, with 300 Genoese and a select body of Greeks, lay all night on their arms, hearing a great noise in the Turkish camp, and expecting every moment to be attacked. Accordingly, at three in the morning, the attack was begun by such troops as they sultan left valued, and therefore, designing them for slaughter, had ordered them to march the first, with no other view but to tire the christians, who tho' few in number, made a dreadful havock of that disorderly multitude. After the carnage had lasted some hours, the janizaries, and other fresh troops, advanced in good order, and renewed the attack with incredible vigor and fury. The christians, summoning all their courage and resolution, twice repulsed the enemy, but in the end being quite spent, and fresh troops pouring every moment in upon them, they were no longer able to stand their ground; so that the enemy in several places broke into the city. In the mean time, Justinian having received two wounds, one in the thigh and the other in the hand, he was so disheartened at the sight of his blood, that, abandoning his post, he caused himself to be conveyed to Galata, where he died soon after, not of his wounds, but of grief, in reflecting on his cowardly and ignominious conduct. The Genoese and Greeks, who served under him, dismayed at the sudden retreat of their general, quitted their posts, and fled in the utmost confusion. However, the emperor, attended by Theophilus Paleoegus, Francis Comnenus, Demetrius Cantacuzenus, John of Dalmatia, and a few more of the most resolute among the nobility, still kept his post, striving, with an unparallelled courage and intrepidity, to oppose the inundation of the barbarians, who, like a violent storm now broke in on all sides. Being in the end overpowered with numbers, and seeing all his friends lying dead on the ground around him, What! he cried.
cried aloud, is there no christian left alive to strike off my head? He had scarce uttered these words, when one of the enemy, not knowing him, gave him a deep cut cross the face with his sabre: at the same time, another coming behind him, with a blow on the back part of his head, laid him dead on the ground. Thus died, in the forty-ninth year of his age and tenth of his reign, Constantine XV. courageously defending that city which Constantine I. had founded. Some writers relate his death differently, and tell us, that being overpowered with numbers, and no longer able to stand his ground, he fled with the rest, and was slain and pressed to death in the crowd. But we have followed Ducas and Phranzes, of whom the latter was chancellor to Constantine, and in the city when it was taken; the former was in the neighbourhood during the whole time of the siege, and, a few days after the city was taken, learnt both of the Turks and christians the particulars which he relates concerning that unhappy prince's death. Ducas adds, that Mohammed, admiring his courage, commanded all the funeral honours to be paid him, that were due to an emperor. The emperor being thus slain, the few christians, who were left alive, betook themselves to flight, and the Turks, meeting with no further opposition, entered the city, and scouring the streets, filled that once stately metropolis with blood and horror. They gave no quarter, but put all they met to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. But of the unspeakable miseries the inhabitants suffered, during the three days which Mohammed had allowed his soldiers to plunder the city, the reader will find a minute and affecting account in Ducas and other contemporary writers. Many thousands took refuge in the church of St. Sophia, but they were all massacred without pity in their asylum by the enraged barbarians, who, prompted by their natural cruelty, the desire of revenge, and the love of booty, spared no place nor person. Most of the nobility were by the sultan's orders cut off, and the rest reserved for purposes more grievous than death itself. However, many of the inhabitants, amongst whom were some men of great learning, found means to make their escape, while the Turks were busied in plundering the city. These embarking on five ships then in the harbour, arrived safe in Italy, where, with the study of the Greek tongue, they revived the liberal sciences, which had been long neglected in the west. When the three days were expired, Mohammed

Ducas, c. 39.
Mohammed commanded the soldiers, on pain of death, to forbear all further hostilities, and they put an end to the most cruel pillage and massacre mentioned in history. The next day, he made his public and triumphal entry into the city; and chusing it for the seat of his empire, he solemnly promised to take under his protection such of the inhabitants as should continue in it, or, being fled, should return to their antient habitations, and even to allow them the free exercise of the christian religion. The death of the last Roman emperor, the loss of Constantinople, and the final dissolution of the Constantinopolitan Roman empire, happened on the twenty-ninth of May in the year of the Greeks 6961, of the Hegira 857, and of the christian era, according to the most probable opinion, 1453.

The downfall of a state, once so mighty and powerful, was not sudden or unexpected, but brought on by degrees, and after a visible decay of several ages. To what causes that was owing, we have, on proper occasions, pointed out in the course of the present history; and therefore, not to trespass on the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, we shall only beg leave to remind him here, that we have all along confined ourselves to the immediate causes of so great a revolution, such as human policy may account for; not daring to pry into the decrees of Providence, nor ascribe, as some have done, the calamities, that befal a nation, to the sins of those on whom they are inflicted.
The History of the Carthaginians. Book III.

C H A P. XXXVII.

The history of the Carthaginians, to the destruction of Carthage by the Romans.

S E C T. I.

A description of Carthage, and some account of the origin of that city.

Where the materials afforded us by the antients for writing the history of Carthage, in any manner proportioned to the power and opulence of that famous republic, few nations would make a greater figure in this work; but such has been the infelicity of this state, that notwithstanding the immense riches, the extended commerce, the consummate policy and military genius of its inhabitants, rendered it formidable to all its neighbours, and even enabled it to contend with Rome for the empire of the world, yet we have but very short and scanty memorials left us of the great transactions in which it was concerned. Scarce a fragment of any of its own historians has reached us: the principal actions in which it bore a part, that have escaped oblivion, have either been transmitted to posterity by its enemies, or such as were favourably disposed towards them, and consequently many things omitted, which might have contributed towards giving us a juster idea of it. And yet, notwithstanding this, by collecting all the remarkable passages relating to it, scattered in the Greek and Roman authors; by comparing these together, and connecting them in a proper manner; and lastly, by making some observations of our own, in order to illustrate and explain them; we doubt not but to supply the defects of all former historians, and give the most complete, as well as the most entertaining, history of the Carthaginians, that has yet been offered to the public.

Carthage, the metropolis of Africa Propria for several centuries, was, according to Velleius, built sixty-five years before

1 Vell. Patern. hist. Rom. 1. i.
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before Rome, tho' Trogus b and Justin will have it to be seventy-two years older than that mistress of the world. Livy c seems to place its foundation twenty-years higher than these; and Solinus d exceeds him twenty-seven years. Timæus e of Sicily intimates, that Carthage and Rome were founded at the same time, viz. thirty-eight years before the first Olympiad. Lastly, from Menander f the Ephesian, as cited by Josephus (A), and the Tyrian annals, it appears to have preceded the Roman æra an hundred and forty years. We shall not take upon us to determine which of these is in the right, nor whether any of them deserves absolute credit; but only observe, that as Carthage g consisted of different parts, which were supposed to have been built at different times, it is no wonder, that the antients should hand down such a variety of accounts, nor that the moderns should disagree so much amongst themselves in this affair. It is not very material to our present purpose, whether we can hit upon the precise year of this city's foundation, or not; and therefore


(A) Josephus, in his computation from Menander Ephesian (1), seems inconsistent with himself, or at least very inaccurate; but Petavius (2) has endeavoured to correct him, and makes him to fix Dido's arrival in Africa an hundred and forty years before the foundation of Rome. Solinus (3) tallies very well with this account; for he tells us, that Carthage, at its final destruction by Scipio Africanus, had stood seven hundred and thirty-seven years. As therefore this destruction happened in the year of Rome fix hundred and fix, or fix hundred and seven, it is evident, that, according to this author, Carthage was built an hundred and thirty, or an hundred and thirty-one years before Rome; and if, with Sir Isaac Newton (4) and Salmasius, we suppose Solinus intended the encœna or dedication of the city for its beginning, and that it was nine years in building, Dido's arrival in Africa, will be found to have happened an hundred and thirty-nine, or an hundred and forty years before the commencement of the Roman æra; which agreeing so well with Petavius, from whom it differs but two years, a trifle in a point of so remote antiquity, we may justly look upon it as coming pretty near the truth.

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therefore we shall not be over solicitous about it. However, i
may not be amis to refer our curious readers to Petavius b
who has been very particular on this subject. That learn-
man, after considering the jarring opinions of the antien-
twith great attention, endeavours to rectify their mistakes,
and at last, with an appearance of exactness, fixes the time
of Dido's beginning to build Carthage an hundred thirty-
seven years i before the foundation of Rome, if, with Varro,
we place this in the third year of the sixth olympiad, or an
hundred forty-two, if, with archbishop Usher, we prefer the
account of Fabius Pictor k (B), who will have it to be near
the beginning of the eighth olympiad, and, for aught we
know to the contrary, comes as near the truth as any other
chronologer whatsoever.

But whatever disagreement may be found amongst histo-
rians and chronologers as to the exact year of the foundation
of Carthage, yet it is agreed on all hands, that the Phoni-
cians were its founders. The Greek poet Nonnus l, from
some authors, whose works are now lost, assures us, that
Cadmus made a very successful expedition into these parts.
Eusebius m and Procopius are positive, that the Canaanites
who fled from Joshua retired hither; and St. Austin n would
have it believed, that the Carthaginians were descended
from these Canaanites. Philistus o of Syracuse, a writer of good
authority, who lived about three hundred and fifty years be-
fore

b Petav. ubi supra. & de doct. temp. l. xiii. p. 370. edit. Ant-
werp. 1703. & l xii.  i Petav. ration. tempor. l. ii. c. 13.
 k Onuph. Panvin. in ant. urb. imag. Uff. an. p. 87.  l Nom-
in Dionys. l. xiii. m Euseb. in chron. l. i. p 11. Procop. de
bell. Vand l ii. c. 10.  n August in expos. epist. ad Rom. u.
init. o Philist. Syracusan. apud Euseb. in chron. ad ann. 804.

(B) This Fabius Pictor was the most antient of the Roman
historians (5), and a writer of very good authority. He is fol-
lowed herein by Onuphrius Panvinius (6), as well as archbishop
Usher. Several arguments might be offered in support of his
authority, particularly with regard to the point under consid-
eration; but we chuse to refer our readers to archbishop Usher (7),
Vossius, &c. as not having room to recite them here.

Jul. per. 3966. Voss. de hift. Gracc. l. iv. c. 13. &c.  (6) Onup-
tem. 3. p. 315. Petav. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 51.  (7) Usser
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fore Christ, relates, that the first traces of Carthage were owing to Zorus and Charchedon, two Tyrians or Phœnicians, thirty years before the destruction of Troy, according to Eusebius. Appian, who undoubtedly received his notion from Philistus, attributes this event to Zorus and Charchedon, the two said Phœnicians, fifty years before that period; and from him Scaliger corrects Eusebius’s numbers. In confirmation of which opinion, Virgil seems to hint, that Dido was rather the finisher than founder of this city, by giving us to understand, that the ground on which it stood was, before her time, occupied by people who dwelt in huts or cottages, or, in other words, that a town stood upon it. What likewise renders the account of Philistus and Appian not a little probable is, that the Greeks always called this city Charchedon, for which no reason so proper can be assigned, as that the person who first settled with a colony on this spot of ground, was called by that name. Besides, something must have determined Dido to choose this particular place for her Tyrians before any other. Now, no more likely motive can be conceived, than that it had been inhabited for some time by the Phœnicians, who were her countrymen, and from whom therefore she had reason to expect the kindlest and most friendly reception. Add to this, that both the coast of Africa, and the coast of Spain opposite to it were known in very early ages to the Tyrians; since it is remarked by Velleius, that they built the cities of Cadiz in Spain, and Utica in Africa, a little above eighty years after the Trojan war; and Strabo declares, that the Phœnicians were possesed of the best parts of Spain and Africa a considerable time before the age of Homer; all which considerations strongly support the first Phœnician settlement mentioned by Philistus and Appian. But as nothing can be laid down with certainty concerning the transactions of those very remote times, except what is deducible from the inspired writings of the old testament, and as nothing is left to be depended upon, than the relations we have of the origin of many ancient cities, we leave it to our readers to believe as much or as little of this as they please.

However,

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However, if most of the events, mentioned by profane historians as happening before the destruction of Troy, may seem liable to dispute to some persons of a critical exactness, it cannot well be denied, as being the concurrent voice of antiquity, that Elia, called also Dido, sister of Pygmalion, king of Tyre, flying with her brother Barca, in the seventh year of the reign of that prince, from Tyre, fixed her residence at Carthage, and either founded, or much enlarged, this noble city. Were there any beginnings of a town there before, yet it could not have been a place of very great consideration till her arrival. The wealth of her husband, and the Tyrians she brought with her, who, at that time, were the most polite and ingenious people in the world, enabled her to enlarge and beautify the place, if she did not lay the foundations of it; to wall it round, and build a strong citadel in it; to lay the basins of a most flourishing and extensive commerce, for which the Tyrian nation was so renowned; and to introduce a form of government, which seemed, in Aristotle's opinion, by his descending largely upon it, to have been one of the most perfect that ever was known in the world, at least, in his time. Dido's arrival in Africa, as we have observed, was an hundred thirty-seven years before the building of Rome, according to the Varronian account; an hundred forty-two, according to Fabius Pictor; an hundred and fourteen before the first olympiad; eight hundred ninety-two, or eight hundred and ninety, before the birth of Christ, and near three hundred after the destruction of Troy, unless, with Sir Isaac Newton, we will suppose the antient chronologers to have anticipated that destruction near three hundred years. Virgil indeed seems to have allowed this supposition; for notwithstanding what has been advanced by several learned men to excute him on that head, had he been of the common opinion, the monstrous anachronism he makes, by bringing Æneas and Dido together as contemporaries, would have been utterly inexcusable. We shall hereafter give a full and ample account of the occasion and manner of Dido's flight from Tyre, of her putting into the island of Cyprus, and steering afterwards her course.

* Virg. Jutt. &c. ubi supra  
q Kings, c. v. &c.  
ý Arist. de rep. l. ii. c 11.  
& Newt. chron. p. 32, 65, &c.  
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course for the coasts of Africa, where she happily arrived; so that it will be entirely unnecessary, even so much as to touch upon these particulars in this place.

How this city came to be called Carthage, authors are not fully agreed. Solinus tells us, that its true name was Carthad, which, in the Carthaginian language, signified the New City; and herein he is followed by Salmassius, Schindler, Bochart, and others, who deduce it from the two Oriental words, Charta Hadatta, which are of the same import. But, besides that it is too fetched and unnatural, these very authors themselves supply us with arguments to overthrow this etymon; for Schindler derives Carthago from the Oriental word Charta, a city; and the other two allow, that the city was founded long before Dido came into Africa, and that the only built that part of it called Byrsa, or the citadel. Dr. Hyde derives it either from Chadre Hanacha, i.e. The chamber of rest, or place of repose, or from Card Haneca, the New City, as before, because Plautus in his Cænus intimated, that it was called by the natives Chaeedreanech; but these derivations likewise are too forced and unsatisfactory, and are besides overthrown by Bochart. Servius therfore seems to come nearer the truth, when he says, that, according to the Carthaginians themselves, who must be supposed to be the beet acquainted with their own origin, it received its name from Charta, a town not far from Tyre, to which Dido bore a near relation; and this town is called by Cedrenus Chartica, or Chartaca, i.e. Charta Aca, or Charta Aco, the city of Aca or Aco, a celebrated sea-port of Phœnice (C), near Tyre and Sidon, in the territory of the

* Univers. hist. vol. ii. p. 380, 381. d Solin. c. 27.
* Bochart de col. Phœn. i. c. 24, &c. h Schind. ubi supra.
* Salm. & Bochart. ubi supra. j Hyde in not. ad heritfol. p. 44. k Bochart. Chan. i. c. 1.

(C) The place was, according to Cedrenus, a martime city or sea-port, as will appear from a perusal of the passage referred to; which is an additional argument in favour of our notion. We
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the tribe of Apher, tho’ possessed by the Tyrians or Phœnicians. In support of Servius and Cædrenus’s authority, it may be observed, that the Sidonians, Tyrians and Canaanites inhabiting that part of Phœnicie, frequently prefixed the word kiriath, cariath, or charta, i.e. city, to the proper names of towns, as Kiriath, or, according to St. Jerom, Cariath-Arsba, Cariath-Baal, Cariath-Sanna, Cariath-Sepher, &c. tho’ sometimes they stylized them simply Cariath, or Charta, city, and, for the most part in writing, used their proper names alone; so that is no wonder the town under consideration, should be known by the names Charta, Aco, Aco, Chartica, Chartaca, Cartaco, &c. since this was perfectly agreeable to the genius of its inhabitants. Farther, tho’ Dido’s city was constantly called by the Latin writers Carthago, yet its true name amongst the antient Romans, who undoubtedly received it from the Carthaginians themselves, was Cartaco, as is evident from the columna rostrata (D) of Duilius. This, together with what has been observed in the second volume of this history, seems to render the authority above mentioned incontestable.

That


find likewise a city, called Kartah, given to the Levites in this country, taken out of the tribe of Zebulun.

(D) We have before given an English translation (8) of the old Latin inscription upon the basis of the columna rostrata of Duilius; but as it is a most curious and valuable monument of antiquity, we believe our learned and inquisitive readers would think us guilty of a great omission, were not the original itself inserted somewhere in this work; especially as many fine conclusions relating to the Latin language may be drawn from it; and the surprising manner in which that language was polished and refined in less than two centuries, may be from thence discovered. In order therefore to render our history as complete as possible, and convince the point at present in view, we shall here present our readers with the inscription itself, and the chart of it, as supplied by Lilius and Ciacconius, together with a version of it into the Latin of the Augustan age:

(8) Univerf. hist. vol. xii. p. 115. in not.
C. Bilius, M. P. Cos. adversó Cartacinienseis. En. Sicel. ad
rem. Céren. ecset. an. s. coenatós. popli. romaní. artisumad
maximo qua. magistratós. Lucae. doves nos relicteis.
novem. cæstis. efisociet. macellam. moenitam. urbem.
pucnandod. cepet. inque. podem. magistratod. prospere
rem. naves nos. marid. consol. primos. cæset. resmelosque
clasesque. navales. primos. ornavit. praevet que. diebus ex
quam. bis. navibus. clasesis. poenicas. omnis. paratasque.
súmas. copias. Cartacinienseis. presentát. maximod.
dictatóre. olorom. in. altod. marid. pucnandod. vicet
xxxiqu. naves. cepet. cum. societis. septem resmömique. duci
quinresmosque. triresmosque. naves. xx. depreset
auris. captom. numeis. occ.
arcenom. captom. præda numei. eccccc eccccc
ecccc eccccc eccccc eccccc
Caius Duillius Marci filius Consul adversus Carthaginenses in Sicilia rem gerens, Egestanos (socios atque) cognatos populi Romani artifisa obfitione exemit. Legiones (enim) omnes Carthaginensium (qui Egestam obfidebant, & Amilcar) maximus (corum) magitrat us (feftinandi studio) elephantis reliquis novem, calfris effugerunt. Macellam (deinde) munitam (validamque) urbem pugnando cepit. Atque in eodem magiftatru prospere rem navibus mari confil primus gefit: remiges clasfeque navales primus ornavit atque paravit diebus sexaginta, & cum his navibus clafies Punicas omnes, paratas (ornatas) que fummas copias Carthaginensium, praefente (Annibale) maximo dictatore illorum, in alto mari pugnando superavit; trigintaque naves cum fociis (hoc eft cum ipfis hominibus) cepit, & fepulcrem praetorian, quinqueremes (praeterea) ac triremes naves xx depressit. Aurum captum in praefio nummi III. M. DCC. Argentum captum in praefio nummi c. m. AE’s grave captum vicies femel centena millia pondo, atque in triumpho navali praedam (omnem in aerarium) Popul Rom. intuitit,
captivos (etiam) Carthaginenses ingenuos (hoc eft, nobiles aliquam) ante currum duxit:

Hence it is apparent, that, when this naval trophy was erecited, the Carthaginians were called by the Romans CAR'TACINEN'SEIS, and consequently the name of their city, then in uli a.mongst the Romans, was CAR'TACO.

(E) It is plain from scripture (9), that there was a town of this name likewise in Phcenice, or the land of Canaan, not far from

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led from Thebes in Egypt; Pisa in Italy, from Pisa in Peloponnesus; Salamis in Cyprus, from Salamis in Attica, to omit several others that might be mentioned, are sufficient instances of it.

SALMASIUS * will have the Greek name Charchedon to be derived from Solinus's Carthada; because the Sicilians now-and-then used the Greek letter chi for theta. But sure nothing can be more weak than this; besides, were it much more plausible, it could not be admitted, because it clashes with the authority of Philistus (F), Appian, Eusebius, and St. Jerom. Herodotus, Menander Ephesius, Polybius, &c. the most antient Greek authors, mentioning the Carthaginians, likewise disprove it, because they were not Sicilians.

The Carthaginians were called by the Greeks, sometimes Libyans, on account of the country they possessed, and sometimes Phœnicians, on account of the country from whence they were originally descended. The Romans also flyed them Pœni, or Phœnicians, for the same reason; and every thing belonging to them, or their city, Punic or Pœnic, i. e. Phœnician, or belonging to the Phœnicians.

We must not omit observing, that, according to Stephanus * and Eustathius, this city was antiently named, in Punic, Caccabe, from a horse's head, which was found by the Tyrians, whilst they were digging for the foundations of Byrsa. This was looked upon as a happy omen, portending the martial disposition of the inhabitants, and the future greatness of the city. Our readers will find the whole story in Virgil z and Justin, and to these authors we refer them. In the mean time, we shall only remark, that the learned Bochart a has shewn the word Caccabe to have signified, in the

Cacabe the Punic name of Carthage.


from Shechem; so that whether we look upon Cadmus as a Phœnician or an Egyptian, it can scarce be doubted, but that Thebes in Boctia was so denominted from some more antient city.

(P) All these authors are clearly of opinion, that Carthage was built a considerable time before Dido came into Africa; and therefore, if their authority be of any weight, it is highly improbable, that from the citadel Byrsa only, the addition she made to the old city, the place was called Carthada, or the New city; and if this be allowed, it must likewise be admitted, that Salmasius endeavours absurdly to reduce Carchedon from Carthada.
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the Phcenician language, the head of the animal above-mentioned; and that, upon account of this event, the Carthaginians had frequently upon the reverses of their coins, either a horse's head, or the body of a horse dimidiated, or a horse entire, with Victory upon him. Most of these coins have likewise a Punic inscription upon their said reverses, with several other symbols; as is evident from Agostini, Paruta, and others, as well as from the cabinets of the curious.

In order to avoid all future digressions on this head, we shall here give a faithful and particular account of the situation, dimensions, different parts, and power of the city of Carthage, according to the condition it was in at the beginning of the third Punic war, extracted from Polybius, Strabo, Diodorus, Appian, and other antient authors of the best reputation and authority.

Carthage stood at the bottom of a gulf, upon a peninsula three hundred and sixty stadia, or forty-five miles, in circumference, the isthmus joining this peninsula to the continent of Africa, being twenty-five stadia, or three miles and a furlong, in breadth. On the west side there projected from it a long tract of land, in shape resembling a tongue, half a stadium broad; which shooting out into the sea, separated it from a lake or moras, and was strongly fortified on all sides by rocks, and a sledge wall. In the middle of the city stood the fortresses or citadel, erected by Dido, called Byrsa, having on the top of it a temple sacred to Aesculapius, seated on a very high hill, upon rocks, and to which the ascent was by sixty steps. This temple was rich, beautiful, and of a considerable extent; so that when Byrsa was taken by Scipio, towards the close of the last siege of Carthage, nine hundred Roman defectors fortified themselves there. At last Asdrubal's wife setting fire to it, entirely consumed it, together with herself, her children, and the said nine hundred defectors, to avoid falling into the hands of Scipio. On the south side, towards the continent, where Byrsa had its situation, the city was surrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, abstracted from the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal distances, each interval being fourscore fathoms, or four hundred and eighty foot. Every tower had its foundations sunk thirty foot deep, and was four stories high, tho' the walls were but two; they were arched, and in the lower part, corresponding in depth

depth with the foundations above-mentioned, were stalls large enough to hold three hundred elephants, with their fodder &c. Over these were stables for four thousand horses, and lofts for their food. There likewise was room enough to lodge twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse. Such a number of forces and beasts of war were contained within the walls, without in the least incommoding the inhabitants. The walls were weak and low in one part only, and that was an angle, which, from the first building of the city, had been neglected, beginning at the long tract of land advancing into the sea towards the western continent, before taken notice of, and extending as far as the harbours, which were on the same side. Of these there were two, which were disposed in such a manner, as to have a communication with one another, and had one common entrance, seventy foot broad, and shut up with chains. The first was appropriated to the merchants, and included in it a vast number of places of refreshment, and all kinds of accommodations for the seamen. The second, or inner port, was, as well as the island called Cophon in the midst of it, lined with large kays, in which were distinct receptacles for securing and sheltering from the weather two hundred and twenty ships, it being designed chiefly for ships of war. Over these were magazines or store-houses, wherein was lodged whatever is necessary for the arming and equipping of fleets. The entrance into each of these receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars of the Ionic order; so that both the harbour and the island represented on each side two magnificent galleries. Upon the island was the admiral’s palace, from whence orders were given, and proclamations issued out; and as it stood opposite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence discover whatever was doing at sea, tho’ no one there could see what was transacting in the inward part of the harbour; nay, the merchants themselves, when they entered into their port, had no prospect of the men of war, being separated from them by a double wall, and each port having its particular gate that led to the city, without passing through the other.

Hence it is apparent, that the city consisted of three parts, Byrsa, Megara (G) or Magaria, and Cohon. Byrsa, according to the common opinion of many writers, was the chief part of the city. (G) The true name of the exterior part of Carthage, (or that which was, properly speaking, the town) was Megara or Megaria, not Magalia, as we formerly imagined. Appian, Iudor, and Servius put this point beyond dispute (10).

Of how many parts it is divided.

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ding to Servius, was twenty-two stadia, or near three English miles, in circumference; tho’ Eutropius says, it did not much exceed two thousand paces, which is not quite two English miles. It was not so precisely in the middle of the city, but that it inclined to the south, or isthmus that joined Carthage to the continent, as is observed by Appian. The word Byrsa is only a Greek corruption of the true Punic or Phoenician name Burfa, Borfa, or Bottra, (for it may be pronounced all these ways) i.e. a fortress or citadel, as has been demonstrated by Scaliger, Bochart, and others, verified in the oriental languages, and may be inferred from Strabo, Virgil, and Appian, the fable of the ox’s hide having long since been exploded by the learned. This was justly looked upon as the interior part of Carthage, surrounded by the Megara, or Magaria, i.e. the houses, or town, (for that the word imports in the Phoenician tongue) its exterior part, according to Servius; so that together they formed a kind of double town. Strabo calls the small island in the middle of the second harbour, Cothon; tho’ Appian applies this name likewise to that port or harbour itself, which, if this writer is to be credited, was environed by a strong wall, and had one of its parts round, but the other quadrangular. The word Cothon is of oriental extraction, and signifies a port not formed by nature, but the effect of labour and art; so that this seems to have been not a proper, but a common, name among the Carthaginians, who undoubtedly pronounced it Kathum or Kathon; but the Greeks, adopting it into their own language, gave it a Greek termination, and expressing the Phoenician A by their great O, (which may easily be conceived) thence came the name Cothon. The Carthaginians were so extremely active and indefatigable, that when Scipio had blocked up the old port, or Cothon, they, in a very short time, built a new one, the traces of which, scarce an hundred yards square, are still to be seen. This Cothon was perhaps

\[\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\text{ Serv in Æn. i. ver. 320. Eutrop. & Bochart. ubi supra.}
\[\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\text{ Appian. & Bochart. ubi supra.}
\[\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\text{ Scalig. in not ad Felt. Bochart. ubi supra. Salmaf in Solin. &c.}
\[\text{\textsuperscript{d}}\text{ Serv. in Æni & iv. Strab. i. xvii. p. 572.}
\[\text{\textsuperscript{e}}\text{ Felt in voc. cothones. Serv. in Æn. i Bochart. ubi supra.}
\[\text{\textsuperscript{f}}\text{ Buxtorf, in voc. Æni &c.}
\[\text{\textsuperscript{g}}\text{ Liv. i. ii. epit.}
\[\text{\textsuperscript{h}}\text{ Shaw’s geographical observations relating to the kingdom of Tunis, p. 150, 151.}
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perhaps the same that was called the Mandracium in the time of Procopius.

The number of inhabitants this city contained, at the beginning of the third Punic war, was seven hundred thousand; a prodigious number, considering the many terrible blows the Carthaginians had received from the Romans during the course of the first and second Punic wars, as well as from their own mercenaries in the interval betwixt these wars, and the destructive broils they had been engaged in with Masinissa. The forces they could bring into the field, as well as their power by sea, when they had a mind to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner, were very formidable, as appears from the army commanded by Hamilcar in his expedition against Gelon the tyrant of Syracuse, which consisted of three hundred thousand men; and the fleet, forwarding the operations of the land forces, which was composed of more than two thousand ships of war, and above three thousand transports. Their riches were likewise immense, as may be collected from what Scipio carried off at the final destruction of the town, after it had been thoroughly plundered, and, as was imagined, entirely exhausted and consumed, viz. near a million and an half sterling. All which may serve to give us some faint idea of what Carthage was, when in the height of its grandeur and magnificence.

As to the extent of the city, Livy informs us, that it was twenty-three miles round; and if what is related of it above be true, this is not improbable. Pliny intimates, that Carthage, when in the hands of the Phoenicians, was much larger than when it was a Roman colony; and Suidas affirms, that it was the greatest and most powerful city in the world. The dominion of the sea, which it enjoyed for six hundred years, almost without interruption, together with the genius of its citizens for commerce, aggrandized it in a most prodigious manner; to which if we add its excellent form of government, which will be explained more fully hereafter, its extensive trade, the mines of Spain, &c. those inexhaustible sources of wealth; it can be no matter of wonder, that the Carthaginians should have arrived at such an exalted pitch of power. One particular edifice, hitherto omitted in our description of Carthage, it may not be improper to take notice of, viz. the temple of Apollo, standing near the Co-

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P. Procop. l. i. c. 20.  
1 Liv. l. li. epit  
2 Plin. l. v. c. 4.  
Aupian. ubi supra.
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Thon, wherein was a statue of that deity of massive gold, and whose inside was all covered with plates of the same metal, weighing a thousand talents. But this was involved in the common destruction of the city, being pillaged and destroyed by a party of Scipio's men, when the Cothon and adjacent part of the city were taken by that general.

It has been observed by a curious and learned modern traveller, who was himself upon the spot, that the greatest part of Carthage was built upon three hills, somewhat inferior in elevation to those upon which Rome was erected. All the remains of this once famous city are, according to this traveller, the area of a spacious room upon one of those hills, over-looking the south-east shore, with several smaller ones hard by it; the common sewers, which time hath not in the least injured or impaired; and the cisterns, which have very little submitted to the general ruins of the city. The harbour is now stopped up, and, by the north-east winds with the (H) Mejerda, made almost as far distant from the sea as Utica, tho' it is still called El-Mersa, or the port, lying to the north and north-west of the city, and formeth, with the lake of Tunis, the peninsula on which Carthage stood.

Strabo observes, that the Carthaginians possessed three hundred cities in Africa before the beginning of the third Punic war; which may easily be believed, if we consider, that the dominions of this state in Africa before that war, extended from the western confines of Cyrenaica, to the pillars of Hercules, or streights of Gibraltar (I), a tract of land near fifteen

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(I) This river, the Bagrada of the antients, will be described in the next chapter.

(I) The distance betwixt the Philanororum Arcæ and pillars of Hercules, according to Polybius (III), was sixteen thousand fadias, or about two thousand miles. But from Dr. Shaw's most accurate observations, it appears to have been one thousand four hundred and twenty geographical miles, sixty of which make a degree of a great circle. The particulars of this computation may be seen in the following table:

From

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(III) Polyb. 1. III.
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fifteen hundred miles in length. When it was arrived at its last period of perfection, the best part of Spain, even as far as the Pyrenees, of Sicily, and all the islands in the Mediterranean to the west of this latter, were subject to it. How it came to make such large acquisitions, and by what steps it grew so formidable, as to dispute the empire of the world with Rome itself, will appear in the sequel of this history.

From Tingi, or Tangier, to the river Malva, or Mullo

Miles. 200

To the eastern part of the river Chinalaph, or Shel-

diff 220

To the river Ampagara, or city of Cirta 165

To Laribus by Thevelte, or Tiffelt 130

To Carthage 70

To Kairwan, olm Vicus Auguti 75

To Tacape in the Lesser Syrtis 110

To Tripolis 135

To Leptis Magna, or Libda, in the Greater Syrtis 115

To the bottom of the Greater Syrtis, now called the gulf of Seedra, where the Philænorum Are are supposed to have been situated 200

In all 1420

Hence it is evident, that Polybius makes this tract to have been of a greater extent than it really was, tho' considering the largest of the geographical miles above-mentioned, that author does not so much exceed the truth, as may at first sight be imagined.

SECT. II.

A description of Africa Propria, or the territory of Carthage.

HAVING given our readers the best account of the origin and foundation of Carthage that can be drawn from antiquity, as likewise a small sketch of its power, wealth, magnitude, &c. which we shall expati ate more largely upon hereafter; before we proceed directly to the history of the Carthaginians, or describe the religion, government,
government, genius, commerce, manners, arts, sciences, &c. of that people, it will be proper to give a description of the country wherein they were seated, and which was looked upon as the natural territory of their city; for with regard to the other dominions they, at certain intervals, possessed, or got a footing in, they were sometimes of a larger, and sometimes of a narrower, extent; sometimes in their own hands, and sometimes in those of other states, according as success or misfortune attended them in the management of their affairs.

Mela a and Ptolemy will have Africa Propria to have contained all the countries situate between the river Ampsaga and the borders of Cyrenaica, which, Pliny b tells us, were inhabited by twenty-six different nations; but this gives it too great an extent, as making it to include Numidia and the Regio Syrtrica, which are countries distant from the proper territory of Carthage. Its true limits seem c to have been the river Tufca on the west, or side of Numidia; the Mediterranean or African sea on the north; the frontiers of the Garamantes and deserts of Libya Interior on the south; and the Mediterranean, with the Leffer Syrtis, on the east. It d was divided into two provinces, the Regio Zeugitana, and Byzacium, with which the kingdom of Tunis e, under its division into the summer and winter circuits, at present nearly corresponds. According to Dio f, this region was likewise called the old province, and Numidia the new one. Byzacium g, or at least the sea coast of that province, seems to be the Emporia of Livy and Polybius.

Ptolemy h has placed Carthage, and all the neighbouring cities, four degrees too southerly, which is not to be wondered at, considering the inaccuracy of that geographer in ascertaining the latitudes of places. If we admit the position of Africa Propria to have been nearly the same with that of the kingdom of Tunis, as there is great reason to believe i, it must have taken up almost four degrees of north latitude.

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viz. from 33° 30′ N. to 37° 12′ N. and of longitude above
three degrees, since Sbekkah, the most advanced city of the
kingdom of Tunis to the westward, is in 82′, and Clybea,
the farthest to the east, in 11° 20′ E. longitude from London.
The spot of ground on which Carthage stood is, according
to the latest observations, about 10° 40′ east of London,
and in north latitude 36° 40′.

Zeugitana, or the Regio Zeugitana, was separated from Numidia by the river Tusca, and extended as far as Aodrumetum, which Pliny makes to be the first city of Byzacium. The summer circuit of the kingdom of Tunis, including the fruitful country about Kef and Bai-jah, and several other districts, answers at present to this province, which was the Regio Carthaginum of Strabo, and the Africa Propria of Pliny and Solinus. We shall not pretend here to give a minute and particular description of all the cities it contained, as being incongruous with our present design; but only touch upon some of the principal of them, which have been taken the most notice of by those writers who have treated of the Roman and Carthaginian affairs.

The first place in Zeugitana worthy our notice, since Carthage has been already described, is Utica. In rank and dignity this city was next to Carthage itself, and even superior to it in point of antiquity. Aristoțle says it was built, according to the Phœnician historians, two hundred and eighty-seven years before Carthage. Vellius, as has been above related, makes the Tyrians to have founded it a little more than eighty years after the destruction of Troy. Justin intimates, that the Tyrians were settled there a considerable time before Dido came into Africa; nay, that this settlement commenced upon their first arrival in that country: and with these two last authors Mela and Stephanus agree. From this great antiquity, Bochart thinks the Phœnicians gave it the name Utica, the antient, i. e. city, rather, in our opinion, Etuca or Ituca, i. e. the city of long standing, or the great city, the strong city, &c. which appellation it might have gone by amongst the Tyrians, even in Dido’s time; and this notion receives a good degree of probability from Scylax and Polybius, the most antient authors mentioning it, who

\[\text{\textsuperscript{x}}\text{Ibid.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{1}}\text{Plin. ubi sup. & Cellar. ibid} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{Shaw, ubi sup.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{a}}\text{Strab. I. xvi.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{b}}\text{Plin. ubi sup. & Solin. c. 27.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{p}}\text{Aristot de mirabil.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{q}}\text{Vell. Patrec. ubi sup.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{r}}\text{Juli 1. xvii.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{s}}\text{Steph. de urb. & Mela, c. 7.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{t}}\text{Bochart. de col. Phœn. I. i. c. 24.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{u}}\text{Part. Pahul. Vid. Schind. pentag.}
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who call it Ituæ, or Ityce, to whom the other Greek authors, speaking of it, except Dio, who uses the Latin name, may be added. The gulph, on which both this city and Carthage stood, was formed by two promontories, viz. the promontory of Mercurius and that of Apollo, under the left of which Utica was seated. Appian says it was sixty stadia, or seven miles and an half to the westward of Carthage; but, according to the itinerary, these two cities were twenty-seven Roman miles distant from each other x. Utica had a large and commodious harbour, and was famous on many accounts in the Roman history, but on none more than the death of the younger Cato, who was from thence called Cato Uticensis, or Cato of Utica. After Carthage was razed by the Romans, it had a grant made it of all the country lying between Carthage and Hippo, and was for a considerable time the metropolis of Africa. An ingenious modern traveller supposes this place to have stood where Boo-shatter does at present; the traces of buildings of great extent and magnificence still visible there, and the distance from Carthage perfectly agreeing with that of the itinerary, besides other circumstances, giving good grounds for such a supposition.

The next town in the neighbourhood of Carthage, but in a contrary direction to the former, is Tunes, or Tunet, the Tunis of the moderns. This town is undoubtedly of great antiquity, being taken particular notice of by Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, and others; nay, that it was of Phoenician original, the name itself sufficiently implies: for we find in that part of the Lower Egypt, almost contiguous to the borders of Arabia Petraea and Phœnicia, a town called Tanes, from whence the Tanitic name and Tanitic mouth of the Nile took their name. And'tis well known, that this part of Egypt was over-run by the Phœnicians, either in the time of Joshua, or much earlier; and that these same Phœnicians afterwards settled in Africa Propria, Numidia, and Mauritania. In confirmation of which sentiment, we find

w Appian. in Libyc. x Auët. itin. int. Carth. & Utic.
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find a river in Numidia, not far from the Ampsaga, called Tanas; from whence we may infer, since nothing is more common in the oriental languages, than a permutation of vowels, that Tunes is a Phœnician name, and that the city itself is of Phœnician extraction. That it was a town of some note in very early ages, is evident from Livy, Diodorus, and Strabo, who tell us, that there was a hot bath, and a famous quarry, not far from it; that it was fortified both by nature and art, and surrounded with a wall. It was seated on or near the mouth of the river Catada, fifteen Roman miles east of Carthage. The city is more famous now, than it was even amongst the ancients, being the capital of a powerful kingdom. The greatest part of it is situate upon a rising ground, along the western banks of the lake, which goes by the same name, and in a full prospect (as the ancients have described it) of the Gulella, Carthage, and the island Zowa-moor. Tunis some time since was noted for its corsairs, but of late the inhabitants have applied themselves wholly to trade, and are now become the most civilized and polite people in Barbary (A).

Maxula, or, according to Ptolemy, Mazula, is an antient town of the state of Carthage, and, if Pliny may be credited, pretty near the city, in a direction contrary to the promontory of Apollo and Utica. We find on the western banks of the Tigris a city in Arabic, named Mosul, or Mozul; which word is not remote from the Mazula of Ptolemy. 'Tis likewise evident from the authority of Scylax, who mentions it, that Mazula was of some repute in his time, and therefore of great antiquity; from which considerations we may conclude it not improbable, as there is a very great affinity between the Arabic and Phœnician languages.

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(A) Somewhere near this place Adis or Adda is to be looked for, where Regulus gave the Carthaginians a memorable defeat, and forced their camp. It appears from Polybius (1), that this was a town of some importance; but the ancients being silent as to any farther particulars relating to it, have only that it was situated amongst rocks and hills, we shall think it sufficient just to have mentioned it.

(1) Polyb. 1 i.
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languages, that this town was built by the Phœnicians. It stood on the eastern side of the Catada, now the Miliana; and, if the conjecture of the ingenious gentleman above-mentioned be true, viz. that Mo-raifah, two leagues to the north-east of Solyman, be the Maxula, or Mazula, of the antients, this town was about eight leagues, or twenty-four English miles, south-east of Tunes (B).

Carpis.

Carpis, a city of this district, placed by Ptolemy \textsuperscript{k} one third of a degree more northerly than Carthage. Pliny calls it Carpi. Our learned traveller \textsuperscript{1} supposes the spot which this town occupied, to be that which Gurbos, or Hammam-Gurbos, at present stands upon; and that the hot bath near it is the Aqae Calidæ of Livy. Though the position Ptolemy assigns his Carpis does not agree with that of the modern Gurbos, this last lying above a league more southerly than Carthage, yet we doubt not but the gentleman is in the right, this geographer being very inaccurate in his determination of the latitudes of places.

Misua \textsuperscript{m}, or Nifua, a town taken notice of by Pliny and Ptolemy, between Carpis and Clypea. The ruins \textsuperscript{n} of this place are still to be seen at the sanctuary of Seedy Doud, in the kingdom of Tunis, five leagues to the E. N. E. of the promontory of Hercules.

Aquilaria.

The next place that occurs is the Aquilaria of Cæsar, where Curio landed his troops from Sicily. Cæsar tells us, it was a very convenient station in the summer season, and in the neighbourhood of two promontories. Of these, in all probability, that of Mercury (called by the Moors the Rafadder

\textsuperscript{1} Shaw ubi sup. p. 57. \textsuperscript{k} Plin. & Ptol. ubi sup. \textsuperscript{1} Shaw ubi sup. p. 57. \textsuperscript{m} Plin. & Ptol. ubi sup. \textsuperscript{n} Shaw ubi sup.

\textsuperscript{o} Cæf lib. ii civ. bell. c. 23.

(B) We find the Mufulani, a people seated in the western part of Numidia, not far from the Amphaga, taken notice of by Tacitus (\textsuperscript{2}); and a town and promontory of Ethiopia, famous for the cimamon they produced, near the confines of Nubia and Libya interior, named Moiyon or Mouitum, remembered by Pliny (\textsuperscript{3}). Now as a Phœnician colony came very early into Numidia, and the Nubians and Ethiopians were the descendants of the Egyptians and Arabians, as will hereafter be proved, possibly some light may from thence be thrown upon what we have advanced concerning the origin of this town.

\textsuperscript{2} Tacit. ann. ii. c. 52. & l. iv. c. 24. \textsuperscript{3} Plin. l. v. c. 4.

\& l. vi. c. 29.
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adder, and by the Franks cape Bon) was one; since this is about a league to the northward of Lowah-reah, supposed to be the antient Aquilaria. Many fragments\(^p\) of antiquities are still extant here, but among them nothing remarkable.

Clypea, a city built upon the small promontory Ta-phitis, five leagues south-east of the promontory of Mercury, which being in the figure of a shield or hemisphere, gave occasion to the name. It is called by Livy, Mela, and Pliny, Clypea; by Polybius, Appian, and Agathemerus, Aspis; but by Solinus and the itinerary, Clypea. A mile\(^y\) distant from the ground where the old city stood, is a collection of huts or cottages, called by the inhabitants Clypea. Ptolemy is guilty of a great mistake, when he makes Aspis and Clypea two different cities.

CURUBIS, Curubis, and Curabis, a town, according to the itinerary, thirty-two Roman miles distant from the former; but, according to the more accurate observations of the moderns\(^z\), seven leagues, or twenty-one miles, south-west and by west of it. It is styled by Pliny the free city Curubis, and seems to have been a considerable place in former times; though the ruins of a large aqueduct, and of the cisterns which received the water, are the only antiquities it can boast of at present, if the modern Gumba answers to it, as both the name and situation sufficiently intimate.

CANTHELE, a Phœnician city, not far from Curubis, according to Hecateus\(^u\). This town seems to have received its appellation from the pagan deity Saturn; since, according to Sanchoniatho\(^w\) and Damascius, the word el in the Phœnician tongue had a particular relation to that deity. In confirmation of which 'tis observed by Ponticus, in his life of St. Cyprian, that there was a town in that place called by the Romans, vicus Saturni, the street or town of Saturn. 'This was not a place of figure, at least so low as the classic times, so that we take notice of it here purely on account of its antiquity.

NEAPOLIS, a famous and antient emporium of the Carthaginians in the south-east part of Zeugitana, five leagues to the

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\(^p\) Shaw ubi sup. p. 158.  
\(^r\) Shaw ubi sup.  
\(^s\) Shaw ibid.  
\(^t\) Strab. lib. xvii. p. 573.  
\(^u\) Hecateus perieget apud Steph. de ubi.  
\(^v\) Plin. ubi sup.  
\(^w\) Sanchoniatho apud Eutich in præp. evang. l. i. c. 10.  
\(^x\) & Damascius apud Photium in bibliothec. 242.  

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the north-east of Curubis. Thucydides * says, that the place from hence to Sicily was very short, as being performed in two days and a night. Scylax places it not far from the lesser Syrtis, and about a day and a half's journey from the promontory of Mercury. Nabal, a thriving and industrious modern town, is a furlong to the westward of the ancient Neapolis, which appears to have been a large city. Pliny styles this place, as well as Curubis, a free city. Here is a great number of inscriptions upon stones of six foot in length, and three in breadth; but they are either so unfortunately defaced, or filled with rubbish and mortar, that it is a difficult thing to copy them. Strabo and Hirtius agree with Scylax in fixing it pretty near the promontory of Mercury. Nabal stands upon the gulph of Hamonet in N. lat. 36° 8' two leagues from a little opulent town of the same name.

To these may be added Nepheris, a fortress lying a little to the eastward of Carthage. It was a place of good consideration, being built upon a rock, and strongly fenced by nature on all sides. Adruba, with his whole army, was cut off near it by Scipio, who, after a siege of two and twenty days, reduced the town; and this greatly contributed to the conquest of Carthage. Strabo, Appian, and the epitomizer of Livy, take particular notice of it.

The only city remaining in this province that merits any attention is Hippo, towards the north-west borders of it, a fort of frontier town on the side of Numidia. From the navigable lake Hippostitis, on which it was built, and which served it as a natural fortification, it was denominatied Hippo Diarrhytus, and Hippo Zarytus; tho', from the promontory near it the ancients sometimes gave it the denomination of Acra, Hippuacra, and Hippagretta. Scylax calls it simply Hippo, notwithstanding it generally went by the names above-mentioned in the time of Polybius, Diodorus, Pliny, and Appian; and this in order to distinguish it from Hippo Regius in Numidia. Appian * tells us, that it was a great city, had a port, a citadel, and repositories for naval stores. The modern name is Bizerta, which is a corruption of the Hippo Zarytus of the ancients. It is pleasantly situated upon a canal †, eight miles to the south and by west of Cape Blanco, betwixt an extensive lake and the sea. It is at present about a mile in circuit, defended by several castles and batteries, the principal of which are towards the sea.

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*x. Thucyd. i. vii. † Shaw ubi sup. * Appian. in Libye: 

*Appian. in Libya:
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gin of it was Phoenician, as has been fully proved by Bo-
chart, who derives the name of Hippo from the Syriac or
Phœnician Ubbo, or Uppo, a gulph, which perfectly well
answers to the situation of the place. To which by way of
corroboration it may be observed, that the gulph, on which
it was seated, seems, in contradistinction to the city Hippo or
Hippon, to be called Hippos by Ptolemy, when he takes no-
tice of the promontory of Hippos, or of the gulph close by it;
and if so, this was only the Syriac or Phœnician Ubbo (gulph)
with a Greek termination superadded. This gulph is formed
by the Promontorium Candidum and Promontorium Apollini-
is of the antients, the Ras el abeadh and Ras Zibeeb of the
present Tuniscens.

As for the inland towns of Zeugitana, Ulizibirra, Medic-
cara, Tucma, Cerbica, Safura, Clma, Vepillium, Vina,
Valli, Cigia, Mufli, Membrella, Cilio, and others equally
obscure, enumerated by Ptolemy, the itinerary, and Peutin-
ger's table; they were for the most part, if not entirely, mo-
dern in comparison of the Carthaginian times, and never
considerable in any other. We shall therefore conclude
what we have to say of this province with observing, that
there seem to be some traces of Zegis or Zeugitana in the
present name of the city of Zowan or Zagwan, a small flour-
ishing town built upon the north-east extremity of a con-
spicuous mountain of the same name, in the summer circuit of
the kingdom of Tunis. This will appear extremely probable
from what has been advanced by Solinus, compared with the
observations of the learned traveller so often cited. The
Zygantes of Herodotus seem likewise to have been placed in
the neighbourhood of Zagwan, which is an additional argu-
ment in support of this notion.

Byzacium, according to Pliny, was inhabited by the Byzacium.
Libyphœnicians, that is, by a mixture of Aborigines, or na-
tive Africans, and Carthaginians. The same author tells us,
it was about two hundred and fifty Roman miles in circum-
ference, and of so great fertility, that the earth made a re-
turn of an hundred fold. The limits of this province seem
impossible to be precisely defined, because the antients have
passed over the interior part of it bordering upon Libya in a
very slight manner, and greatly mistaken the course, magni-
tude and source of the river Triton; only in general it may
be proper to remark, that it is supposed not to have differed

7 Bochart, de col. Phœn. i. c. 24. 8 Shaw ubi sup c. 3.
9 Plin. ubi sup.
much in extent and situation from the present winter circuit of the Tuniseens. We have neither room nor opportunity to be very particular in our account of the towns it formerly contained, and therefore hope that a brief description of some of the principal of them will suffice.

Adrumetum, or Hadrumetum, the capital of Byzacium, was a city of great antiquity, and of great note in the antient world. It had a variety of names, being called by Strabo and Stephanus, Adryme or Adrumetum, as also Adrumetum; by Plutarch and Ptolemy, Adrumetus or Adrumettus; by Appian, Adrymettus; and by Caeser, Hirtius, and Pliny, Adrumetum; by Mela, Hadrumetum, or according to Vitius, Hadrumetum; and lastly, in Peutinger’s table, we find it named Hadrito. The city was large and spacious, built upon an hemispherical promontory, like Clypea, at the distance of two leagues to the south-east of the moras, the boundary, as hath been supposed, betwixt the Zeugitana and this province. According to the itinerary, it was eighteen Roman miles from Leptis Minor, though Peutinger’s table makes the distance greater. Adjacent to this city was a certain, being either a port or little island, in imitation of that of Carthage so called. The city, according to the judgment that can be formed from the present situation, was something more than a mile in circuit; and from the remaining ruins, seems rather to have been a place of importance than extent. That it was founded by the Phoenicians, is evident from Salus and others; as likewise from the name itself, which Bochart, with a great appearance of truth, derives from two Syriac or Phoenician words, importing, the land or country returning an hundred fold, i.e. of corn or grain. The extraordinary fertility, not only of the province in general, but of Adrumetum, the metropolis of it, in particular, is confirmed by an inscription in Smetius, which gives a sanction to Bochart’s authority, and sufficiently convinces us of the truth of what we find related concerning it by the Latin authors; though at this day it is but a barren and uncultivated tract, being partly of a dry sandy nature, and partly incommode with morasses and thikbahs (C) dispersed over it, especially in the winter season.

\[\text{C}\] The word thikbah signifies in the Arabic language a saltish plat of ground; and denotes a spot generally overflowed in the winter.
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If the Herkla of the Tuniseens, the Heraclea of the lower empire, be Adrumetum, as we see no reason to doubt, it must have been in N. lat. 35° 50', though Ptolemy places it in N. lat. 32° 40'.

Ruspina, a town of Byzacium, betwixt Adrumetum and Leptis Minor, where Cæsar encamped in his wars with Scipio §. The village of Sahaleel, a little above six leagues from Herkla, and a full mile from the sea, has the fairest pretensions to Ruspina; since we are assured by Hirtius k, that the port of Ruspina was not at much greater distance from the town.

Leptis Minor, one of Pliny's free cities, eighteen Roman miles from Adrumetum, of Phœnician extraction. It had the epithet Minor commonly annexed to it, in order to distinguish it from Leptis Major, a city of the Regio Syrtica, which was built either by the Sidonians, as Sallust seems to intimate', or by the Tyrians, according to Pliny k. Bochart deduces the name Leptis from the Phœnician labr or lapt, denoting a port or station for vessels. Strabo and Stephanus say, that Leptethis, a city of Cyprus, was famous for its commodious station, and the same is said of Leptis Minor by Lucan m. The city paid every day a talent to the Carthaginians by way of tribute; and all authors agree, that the circumjacent country was exceeding fruitful, which has induced Bochart to drive Emporia (its name in Livy and Polybius) from two Oriental words, importing "the fruitful "mother." The place is at present called Lempta; but there is nothing left besides a small part of the castle, with a

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ter, but dry all the summer (4). There are great numbers of these in the kingdom of Tunis and Algiers, which appear like so many extensive lakes, and produce a considerable quantity of salt. In the summer they may be taken for bowling greens prepared for the turf. Some of them have a hard and solid bottom, without the least mixture of gritty mould, retaining the salt that lieth crystallized upon them after rain; but others are of a more oozy aborbent nature, seldom preserving any saline incrustations upon the surface. The earth of them all is very pungent to the tongue, and, by a proper solution, would yield, no doubt, a copious portion of salt.

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low shelf of rocks, that probably made the northern mound of the Cothon.

Agar. AGAR, a town taken notice of by Hirtius, a few miles to the westward of Leptis. The situation of this place is very rocky, and here is a great quantity of stones and ruins. The village, at present taking up the spot of ground on which Agar stood, is called by the Arabs, Boo-Hadjar, i.e. "the father of a stone," which agrees in signification pretty well with the old name, and answers to the circumstances above-mentioned.

Thapsus, a maritime town of this province, seated, according to Dio, upon a fort of isthmus, betwixt the sea and a lake. Peutinger's table makes it eight miles distant from Leptis to the south. The inhabitants of Thapsus were famous for their fidelity to Scipio, in his wars with Caesar; but notwithstanding the strength of the place, they were obliged to submit to the latter, after he had defeated the former. Demas, the antient Thapsus, is situated upon a low neck of land, three miles to the E. by S. of To-bulba, within half a league of which is the lake taken notice of by Hirtius. Here is still remaining, in defiance of time and the sea, a great part of the Cothon, built in frames; the composition whereof is made up of small pebbles and mortar, which are so well cemented and knit together, that a solid rock could not be more hard and durable. The walls of Tlemian very much resemble the remaining part of this cothon.

Acholla. ACHOLLA or Acilla, another free city, called by Appian, Cholla. If the site Ptolemy assigns this city be allowed, Elalia, six miles to the northward of She-ah, the antient Ruspe, upon the borders of a fertile plain, undoubtedly answers to it.

Turris Hannibalis, the tower of Hannibal, was a fort, tower, or country seat, belonging to Hannibal, betwixt Thapsus and Acilla, according to Livy. To this place Hannibal fled from Carthage, for fear of the Romans; and immediately, upon his arrival, embarking in a vessel that waited for him, passed over to the island Cercina. Either El-Medea, five miles to the south of Demas, or Saleco, five miles to the S. by W. of El-Medea, in all probability, occupies

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n Hirt. bell. Afric. sec. 68. 79.  o Shaw ubi sup. p. 191.

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cupies the space on which this fort, tower, or country seat, was erected.

Thena or Thenæ, a town on the coast of the lesser Syrtis mentioned by Strabo, known at this time among the Tuniseens by the name Thaïnee. It was built upon a low and rocky piece of ground, near two miles in circuit. The adjacent country is dry and barren, without either fountain or rivulet to refresh it.

Betwixt Thaïne and the mouth of the Triton, or the Macodama, place where it discharges itself into the sea, Ptolemy places his Macodama, with which perhaps Maha-refs, four leagues to the west of Thaïnee, corresponds. 'Tis a village famous for nothing, but several cisterns, with large areas to receive the rain-water.

Uzita, a town of some note near Tifdrus and Leptis Uzita Minor, mentioned by Hirtius, Ptolemy, and Dio. Bochart derives the name from saith or zait, an olive, or place where olives are produced; and, according to Hirtius, the neighbourhood of this city was famous for its production of olives, since Caesar exacted yearly from the inhabitants of Leptis a vast quantity of oil by way of mulct or tribute. This gives great weight to Bochart's opinion, and proves the city to be Phœnician.

Thala, a city of great extent, taken notice of by Sal-luuf, situated, like Capfa, in the midst of mountains and deserts, though there were some fountains without the city. All which particulars agree with the situation of the modern Ferre-anah, in the south-west part of this province.

Twelve leagues to the S. E. by E. of this place is Gaffa, the Capfa of the antients, and one of the strong castles of Jugurtha. It is built upon a rising ground, inclosed, almost in every direction, with mountains; and hath the like melancholy situation with Ferre-anah, only with this difference, that the landscape here is somewhat more gay and verdant by the prospect we have from it of the palm, olive, pitaehio, and other fruit-trees. In the eastern languages the word signifies stroightly environed, and so the place is on every side by solitudes and deserts; which is a good proof that it was originally Phœnician. There seem to have been

1 Strab. I xvii. p. 572, 574. 2 Shaw ubi sup. p. 195. 3 Bochart, ubi sup. 4 Sallust. in Jugurth. 5 Idem ibid. 6 Vid. Bochart, ubi sup. & Cellar. in Geog. ant. p. 875, 913.
been two more cities of this name, the one in Numidia, the other in Libya Interior.

Suffetula, Turzo, Sarsura, Tisdra, or Tisdrus, Caraga, Orbita, and other obscure towns of Byzacium, of which we know nothing but the bare names, either entirely depend upon the faith of Ptolemy, were always inconsiderable in themselves, or built below the classic period of time; and therefore, as they cannot have the least tendency to illustrate any part of the Carthaginian history, or supply us with the least hint or circumstance relative thereto, we shall pass them over in silence, and conclude our geographical remarks upon this country with a concise description of the most celebrated lakes, rivers, and other principal curiosities of it, and a brief enumeration of the African nations, who in the remotest times possessed it.

The chief lakes of this region taken notice of by the antients (besides the lake Hipponitis above-mentioned, and the Palus Sifara joined to it, of no great repute) were the Palus Tritonis or Tritonitis, the Palus Pallas, and the Palus Libya; all which, according to Ptolemy, had a communication with one another, by means of the river Triton, which ran thro' them into the sea. But herein that geographer was greatly deceived. The source of the Triton is nearer the sea than these lakes, which are now known to be different parts or branches of the same lake, whose modern name is, the Shibkah El Lowdeah, or lake of marks, so called from a number of trunks of palm-trees, that are placed at proper distances, to direct the caravans in their marches over it. This lake extends itself near twenty leagues from east to west, and is interspersed with several dry spots, which appear like islands in it. To the eastward especially, in the same meridian with Telemeen, there is one, which, though uninhabited, is very large, and well stocked with date trees. This seems to be the Cheroneus of Diodorus, and the Phla of Herodotus; and the date trees in it, according to a tradition of the Arabs, sprung originally from the stones of those dates which the Egyptians brought with them for provisions, many ages since, when they invaded this part of Africa, and halted here. The Punic name perhaps was Tarit, Terit, or Trit, i. e. paffurage.
pasturage, or pasture-ground; for, if we may believe Scylax and Herodotus, it served as a boundary to the Libyan Nomades, who abounded with flocks and herds, and whose country must of consequence have been of such a nature as the word tarit imports the ground bordering upon the lake and river Triton to have been. Scylax makes the lake to have been in his time about a thousand stadia in circumference, which agrees tolerably well with the best modern description we find given of it. Feftus tells us, that the goddess Minerva first appeared in the neighbourhood of this place.

The most famous river of Africa Propria was the Bagrada, Bagadras, or Bragada, for it went by all those names. On the banks of which, Regulus, in the first Punic war, by the help of his battering engines, killed a serpent of a monstrous size, being an hundred and twenty foot in length, whose skin and jaw-bones were preferred at Rome till the Numantine war. Ptolemy derives this river from mount Mampfurus where he fixes its source, making it bend its course almost directly from north to south; and herein he is followed by the late geographers: but this is a mistake, its stream flowing in a direction almost from west to east. At this day it is called the Me-jerdah, whose first and most affluent branches are the small rivers Hameese and Myfske-anah, in the district of the Hen-neifha; which, with the concurrent streams of the Wed el Boule, Sciliiana, and some other rivulets of the Frig-cah, render it as large as the Isis and Cherwell united. By running through a rich and fertile country, it becomes so well watered with soil, that it is of the fame complexion with the Nile, and appears to have no lefs the property of making encroachments upon the sea. Utica stood upon the western bank of the Bagrada, and Carthage on the other side, but at some distance from it. Bochart will have the Phcenicians to have pronounced the name Bragda or Brattha, i.e. a pond, and produces several authorities, which give a great air of probability to his opinion.

The Catada of Ptolemy, now the Miliana, is famous for nothing but having Tunis seated upon the mouth of it; nor the Triton, now the Gabbs, but on account of the lake of

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of the same name already described. However, it may not be improper to observe, that it has its source only about three or four leagues to the S. S. W. of Gabbs, and becomes at once a considerable stream, near as big as the Cherwell.

Among the principal curiosities of this country are to be ranked the Hammam Leef (D), a noted hot bath, very much resorted to by the citizens of Tunis; the hot bath, with some ruins, at the creek of Gurbos, the Aque Calidæ of Livy; the salt lake near To-bulba, the Stagnum Salinarum of Hirtius; the Jibbel Had-defla, an entire mountain of salt, situated near the eastern extremity of the lake of marks, whose salt is as hard and solid as stone, and of a reddish or purple colour; the lead oars at Jibbel Rif-safa, near Hammam Leef, which are very rich. To which many others might be added, did we not chuse to reserve them for a more proper place (E).


(D) These hammams, or baths, are so called from the Hebrew or Chaldee verb בֵּית, hamam incaluit, their waters being hot, though not all in the same degree; perhaps the words hammams, which we have adopted into our language, of the same import, is to be deduced from the same original.

(E) We shall beg leave in this note just to mention the principal islands on the coast of Africa Propria, taken notice of by the antients, which are the following:

1. Cosyria or Coyrius, a small island in the African sea, which some authors refer to Sicily; but Strabo makes it part of the proper territory of Carthage. According to Ptolemy, it had a city of the same name, which, by reason of its vicinity to Carthage, was doubtless a place of some repute. Scylax tells us it was a day's sail only from the promontory Lilybæum in Sicily; and Strabo places it in the middle of the African sea, at an equal distance from Lilybæum and Clypea, a city of Africa Propria. From some antique coins, exhibited by Paruta and Lucas Holtenius, it appears, that Cosyrius was the name most frequently used. According to Strabo, this island was an hundred and fifty stadia in circumference (5).

2. The Tarichæ of Strabo were certain minute islands very near the coast of Africa Propria, almost opposite to Lebris Minor.

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The most antient inhabitants of this country were, according to Herodotus, the Auecs, situated to the west of the river Triton, whose capital city was doubtlesse Auza or Auzate, said by Menander Ephesius to be built by Eth-baal or Ithobal, king of Tyre; the Maxyes, a Libyan nation; the Machlyes, another Libyan nation near the lake Tritonis; the Zaueces; and the Zygantes, who took a particular delight in bees, and making of honey. These were, in all likelihood, a mixture of old Libyans or Africans and Phoenicians, a more distinct account of whom may be expected from us when we come to treat of the different nations of Libya.

As

w Herodot. l. iv.

nor. They are at present called the Jowries, and lie over-against Lempta and To-bulba. Caesar seems to have looked upon them as posts of some importance, which is all that we have at present to lay of them (6).

3 Lopadusa, opposite to Thapsus above mentioned, and six miles long, if we will believe Pliny. The same author affirms it to have been fifty miles distant from Cercina and Cercinitas, two small islands belonging to the Regio Syrta (7).

4. Æthufa or Ægula, another little island mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, lying a little to the westward of the former (8).

5. The Larunefia, two small islands, according to the Palatine MS. of Ptolemy, that lay above Rufpina (9).

6. The Infula Dracontia of Ptolemy, to the north of Hippo Diarrhytus. Two little flat contiguous islands called the Cani, not far from cape Blanco, seem at this day to bid fair for the same situation that Ptolemy assigns his Infula Dracontia (10).

7. Galata, a little island above Tabraca, three hundred fathoms from the continent of Africa (11).

8. Ægimurus, a small island in the gulph of Carthage, about thirty miles from that capital. Pliny affords us, that there were two rocks near this island called the Ares Ægimuri or Ægimori, which, according to Servius, were the remains of an island, some ages before his time aborpt by the sea. This author likewise informs us, that they were called Ares, because on them the Romans and Carthaginians concluded a treaty, and made them the limits of their respective dominions. The modern Zowa moor, between cape Zibeeb and cape Bon or Rafaddar, the Zimbra of our sea charts is undoubtedly the Ægimurus of the antients (12).

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As for the climate, modern state, and natural history of Africa Propria, both with regard to its animal, vegetable, and subterraneous productions, we shall defer what we have to say on each of those heads, till, according to the method already proposed to ourselves, we come to write the history of the states of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli.

S E C T. III.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, customs, arts, learning, and trade, of the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians being originally Phoenicians, were the descendants of the old Canaanites, and therefore could trace up their antiquity as high as Canaan, the son of Ham, the acknowledged progenitor of that people. All the Greek and Roman writers, that make any mention of their affairs, are clear in this point, without the least variation. And that they themselves were of the same opinion, is evident from a tradition prevailing amongst their posterity to late as St. Austin's days; from the authority of Servius and Procopius; and from the strong attachment they always shewed to the customs and manners of that nation, from which these authors deduce them. One of the Punic names of Carthage, according to Plautus, was Chaedreanech, or Chadre-Anak, which Bochart with great reason imagines to allude to their Canaanith extraction; for Anak and his family, upon account of their extraordinary size of body, and distinguished valour, being esteemed both by sacred and profane writers as the most famous of the Canaanites or Phoenicians, from him the whole nation, or at least that part of it bordering upon the sea-coast near the place of his residence, might probably receive a new denomination (A). This is to be understood of the most early Phoenician

(A) To what has been already observed (1) of the Anakims may


* Plaut. in Pcem. b Boch. Chan. i. i. c. 1.

* Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 203.
Phoenician colonies settled in Africa, and many of their descendents; for it is to be naturally supposed, that some of these may be added, that profane authors themselves, as well as scripture, seem to have had some knowledge of them. Pausanias (2) tells us, that in the island Aetolia near Miletus, the body of the hero Aetolus, from whom the island received its name, was buried; that he was the son of Anax, or Anak, who was the son of the Earth; that his body was ten cubits long; and that the whole territory of the Milesians was antiently called Anaetoria, from his father Anax, or Anak. Euthathius (3) and the epitomizer of Stephanus agree with Pausanias, in relation to the antient name of Miletus, with its districts; and add, that this Anax was the son of Heaven and Earth. We are assured by scripture (4), that the Anakims, when driven out of their own country by Joshua, fled to Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod, and there settled themselves, and it is likewise probable (5) from the Phoenician history, that Gath, the metropolis of these Anakims, was subject to the kings or judges of Tyre, as early as the days of Pygmalon; since it had revolted from the Tyrians some time before the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah. From whence we may conclude, that some of this family might even attend Dido into Africa, though it is at the same time very likely, that many of them, after their chiefs had been cut off by David (6), might likewise retire to their countrymen, who had fixed their abode in Africa ever since the days of Joshua (7). We must not omit, that the Dioscuri (8), who were Phoenician gods, i.e. deified Phoenicians of great distinction, were called Anakes, or Anakims, by the Greeks, on account, no doubt, of their superior stature and majesty. The word anax or anak (9) was a term of great honour amongst the most antient Greeks, being applied only to their kings and heroes. It has been imagined by some, that this is a common name, answering to the Latin Torquatus (10), and that the great men in the east were in the earliest times so called, on account of the rich collar or chain that they usually wore about their necks. Benjamin of Tudela (11) affirms, that he saw a human rib hanging up in a palace at Damascus, which was nine Spanish palms long, and two broad; and that from an inscription upon the tomb-stone, it appeared, that one of the Anakims was buried there, whose name was Abchamaz, and who was said to have reigned over the whole world, i.e. over a good part of the east,

these mixed with the Aborigines, or native Africans, whom they found there upon their arrival, and with them, or a least a considerable body of them, formed one people. And for this reason it is, that the inhabitants of Byzacium, especially of the maritime parts of it, were sometimes called by the Greeks and Romans, Libyphoenicians, as consisting of both nations (B). But a fuller account of the name, as well as a more particular description, of the people with whom the Phoenicians were incorporated, will be found in a proper place.

Dr. Hyde, in his notes upon Peritfol ¹, is of another opinion; but, in order to support it, he has recourse to hypotheses only, and those such as have but a slender foundation.

On east, or all the countries in that neighbourhood. But whether this inscription ought to be looked upon as genuine, or of a late date in comparison of the age of the Anakims, and founded only upon some Oriental tradition, is what we shall not take upon us to determine

(B) The Byzacium of Pliny (12) seems to be the Byzacia of Polybius, if we will give credit to Salmasius's emendation of a passage in Stephanus where he quotes the twelfth book of that historian. A strong presumption in favour of this is, that both Pliny and Polybius's provinces have the same extent, the same situation, and their names are pretty much alike (13). Byzacium, according to the Greek and Roman authors, consisted of two parts, the maritime or exterior, and the mediterranean or interior (14), both which were inhabited by the Libyphoenicians. Bochart derives the name from the oriental word biza (15), a text, and thinks it was so denominated from its surprising fertility, of which that was a symbol amongst most nations. So Virgil,

Terra antiqua potens armis, atq; ubere glebæ. Aen. i.  
Et fertilis ubere campus. Georg. i. ii,

Which, according to the scholiast, signifies a most fertile and beautiful part of the country. 'The Mamma of Procopius (16) in this province, a word of the same import with Biza, greatly strengthens this derivation.

(¹) Hyde, in Peritfol. p 44.  
(12) Vide Salmas. in Steph. sub voc. B:ξ=νξσ.  
(14) Cellar. cог. ant. l. iv. c. 4. Bochart, ubi supra.  
(15) Bochart. ubi supra.  
(16) Procop. de bell. Van. l. ii.
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On the contrary, Bochart \(^k\) proves what he advances by unquestionable authorities, the only solid arguments in points of this nature, of which he produces such a train, as will not easily be overborn.

Some \(^1\) authors have imagined, that the Libyphoenicians, or, as Strabo and most of the other Greek writers call them, the Libophoenicians, were a nation distinct both from the Africans, or Libyans, and Carthaginians, and inhabited a different tract. It is certain the true or Asiatic Phoenicians and Syrians, bordering upon their respective frontiers, were called Syrophoenicians, upon account of their intermixing one with another, and by way of contradistinction from the people inhabiting the opposite parts of those two regions, who were known by their proper names, Syrians and Phoenicians. In conformity to our notion of the people we are here discussing of, Livy \(^m\) styles them mifsum Punicum Afris genus; and Diodorus \(^a\) speaks of them to the same effect.

The first government settled at Carthage \(^o\) was probably monarchical; but this seems to have been but of short continuance, as expiring with Dido herself, or rather in her lifetime, when it was changed into a republic. As to the particular form of this republic, authors differ. Aristotle tells us, that it was partly aristocratical \(^p\), and partly (as he terms it) political, i. e. democratical (C). According to Polybius \(^q\), monarchy,

\(^k\) Bochart ubi supra.  
\(^1\) Vide Bochart. Chan. 1. i. c 25.  
\(^m\) Liv. 1. xxxi.  
\(^a\) Diodor. Sic. 1. xx.  
\(^p\) Arist. de rep. 1. ii. c 11.  
\(^q\) Polyb. 1. vi.

(C) Πολιτικα (polity or policy) taken in a general sense (17), signified, according to Aristotle, any form of government, where the laws had their due force and efficacy. In a more confined sense it was among the ancient Greeks before Aristotle’s time, frequently synonymous to δημοκρατια (18), (democracy) as may be proved from AEschines, and others. But when Aristotle comes to distinguish more subtilly (19), he tells us, that there were two mixed forms of government, each of which was a composition of oligarchy and democracy. That which participated most of oligarchy, was called aristocracy; but that which inclined most to democracy, went by the name of polity or policy. Both of these, in some respects (20), prevailed in the state of Carthage, as we shall

(17) Aristot. de rep. 1. iv.  
(18) Idem ibid c 3.  
(19) Idem ibid. c 7, 8, &c. AEschin. in Ctesiph.  
(20) Aristot. Bid. 1. ii. c 11.
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monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, all centered in it. And lastly, Isocrates makes the civil government to have been oligarchical, and the military monarchical. In the forming of it, the Carthaginians undoubtedly borrowed many things from their ancestors the Tyrians, who, for several ages, made a great figure in the world, and were in high esteem on account of their wisdom, riches, and power. Aristotle intimates, that the Cretan, Lacedaemonian, and Carthaginian republics were the most perfect and best modelled of any in the world; and that these in many particulars agreed; tho' in several respects, he gives the preference to the Carthaginian. The consummate wisdom of those maxims and institutions, upon which this last was formed, appeared to him from hence, that notwithstanding the great sway the people bore in Carthage, there had been no instance, from the foundation of the city to his time, of any popular commotions capable of disturbing the public tranquillity, nor of any tyrant, who had been able, at the expense of liberty, to introduce oppression. This was a plain proof, that the three principal powers, of which the constitution of Carthage was composed, were of such a nature, as to counterpoise one another, and, by their mutual harmony, to preserve and promote the public felicity (D). These were the suffetes, the senate, and the people, who, whilst they kept within their proper bounds, where a check upon one another, and jointly concurred to render their republic of all others the most flourishing; but when, as Polybius observes, but an unaccountable fluctuation of power, the people got the ascendant over the senate, prudence was banished their councils, nothing but cabals and factions took place; and, in consequence of this,

1 Isocrates in Nic. 2 Aristotle. ubi supra. 3 Idem ibid.

shall see hereafter, when we come to consider the defects of it; for which reason Aristotle tells us, it was composed of both. In short, polity or policy regarded men as rich and poor (21), aristocracy as rich, poor, and virtuous; both which considerations had their influence in the Carthaginian commonwealth.

(D) The legislator of the Carthaginians was undoubtedly a person of great political wisdom; yet Aristotle himself finds some defects in his institutions (22), and notwithstanding the beautiful draught he has exhibited of this republic, intimates, that the uninterrupted tranquillity it enjoyed, was, in some measure owing to chance (23).

(21) Idem, l. iv. c. 8. (22) Idem, l. ii. c. 11. (23) Idem ibid. sub. fin.
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this, such precipitate steps were taken, as first rendered this formidable state weak and contemptible, and soon after completed its destruction.

In order to give our readers some idea of the Carthaginian government, though the antients afford us little light on this head, we shall give a brief account of the three principal powers above-mentioned.

The suffetes " were two in number, of equal power and dignity, and the chief magistrates of Carthage *. They answered to the two kings of Lacedæmon, as well as to the Roman consuls; for which reason we find them tryed in different authors both kings and consuls w. However, these did not in all things correspond; for the Spartan kings were perpetual, had an hereditary right of succession y, and the state was supplied with them from two families only z; whereas the Carthaginian suffetes were annually elected out of all the noblest families, and were always such persons as most attracted the public regard by their virtue and great talents, as well as their wealth, which enabled them to support their high station with a becoming grandeur and dignity; for which reason Aristotle prefers the supreme magistrates of Carthage to those of Lacedæmon (E). As for the Roman consuls, they had not only a chief hand in the administration of civil, but likewise in the conducting of military, affairs; whereas it is very probable, that the suffetes were, generally speaking, confined to the former (F). Their province was to


(E) He prefers the suffetes to the Lacedæmonian kings, not because the Carthaginians had some regard to wealth in their election of them (for this he absolutely condemns, as will be elsewhere observed; but because they chose them out of all the best families in Carthage, and esteemed great abilities in them as an essential qualification; which was contrary to the practice of the Lacedæmonians (24).

(F) This appears not only from Livy, Polybius, and other ancient authors, but likewise from the judicious observations of Ubbo Emmius (25). However, it must be allowed, that we have

to assemble the senate, in which they presided \(a\), to propose subjects for deliberation there, to tell the voices, and to preside likewise in all emergent and decisive debates. It does not appear by whose suffrages the suffetes were elected, but most likely \(b\) either by those of the centumvirate, or the people. According to some authors, they had the power of life and death \(c\), and of punishing all crimes whatsoever. Their concurrence in \(d\) all points with the senate was necessary, in order to prevent any debate from coming before the people. It is remarkable, that most, if not all, the cities of note in the Carthaginian dominions \(e\), had their suffetes or chief magistrates, as well as the metropolis.

The senate was a most august assembly, composed of persons venerable for their age and experience, as well as illustrious \(f\) on account of their birth, their riches, and, above all, their merit. They arrived at this honour by election, as we are informed by Aristotle \(g\), when he makes a comparison between the Spartan and Carthaginian senates; but who were their electors, is not known. Their number likewise we are ignorant of, tho’ from Justin \(h\) we may infer, that it greatly exceeded that of either the Spartan or Roman senators; for, according to this author, an hundred were selected from it, and appointed as judges to enquire into the conduct of their generals; and if this number was thought requisite to inspect into this single article, how many must have been deemed necessary to superintend, and, in concert with the suffetes, manage every branch of the administration? Besides, it is natural to suppose, that there was a great affinity between the customs and manners of the Sicilians and those of the Carthaginians, since these last may be justly looked on as deriving from the former.

\(a\) Liv. ubi supra, & I. xxxiv. Polyb. I. iii.  
\(b\) Ubbo Emm. & Hendr. ubi supra.  
\(c\) Liv. I. xxxiii Bochart. Chan. I. i. c.  
\(d\) Ubbo Emm. & Arist. ubi supra. Polyb. I. xv.  
\(e\) Liv. I. xxviii. Selden. de diis Syris in prolegom. c. 2. & Boch. Chan. ubi supra.  
\(f\) Ubbo Emm. Hendr. & Arist. ubi supra.  
\(g\) Arist. ubi supra.  
\(h\) Justin. I. xix.

have several instances of the suffetes commanding Carthaginian armies. Hannibal, who commanded the auxiliaries sent to the relief of the Egyptians, or Segellans; Himilco, who was general in the second expedition against Dionysius; and Mago, under whose conduct many thousand men were transported to Sicily and Italy, set this point beyond dispute \(26\).

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looked upon as some of the antient inhabitants of Sicily. Now, in the time of Agathocles, the senate of Syracuse consisted of six hundred of the principal citizens; no wonder then, if that of Carthage was equal, if not much more numerous. In this grand council, every thing relating to peace and war, to negotiations and alliances, to trade and navigation; in short, to all affairs of consequence, whether foreign or domestic, were debated, and for the most part determined; so that the whole machine of government was animated and kept in motion by it; life and spirit were from thence diffused over all the public deliberations. When the votes of the senate were unanimous, they had the force of laws, and from hence there lay no appeal; but when there was either a division or a disagreement with the suffetes, the affair in question was referred to the people, who, in such a case, had the liberty of offering their sentiments freely, and even of contradicting the other parts of the legislature; and not only so, but what was thus offered passed into a law, the people, in all emergencies of this nature, being the dernier resort of power. However, as Aristotle observes, this was a flaw in the constitution, and was at last attended with fatal effects; for during the second and third Punic wars, the populace at Carthage prevailed over the senate, whilst the senatorial authority at Rome was in its full bloom and vigor; and this, if we may give credit to Polybius, was the principal cause of the rise of the one, and fall of the other. We must not omit, that none but persons of the most distinguished merit were ever elected senators, nor that their office and dignity were perpetual (G).

Q 2

What


(G.) According to Livy (27), there was a council formed of such senators, as were the most venerable and eminent for their wisdom, who were called seniores, senatorum principes, or simply, as Justin (28) intimates, princes. This council was in the highest repute at Carthage, on account of the vast influence it had over

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What sway the people had in Carthage, whilst the different parts of which the constitution was framed were duly proportioned to one another, and each of them enjoyed its natural share of power, does not appear from any antient author, tho' it can scarce be doubted, but so accurate a writer as Polybius must have taken notice of it somewhere in his writings. It is likely they had a vote at the election of magistrates, at the enacting of laws, particularly those in which they were more immediately concerned; and, in short, in every thing that bore any relation to them. In Aristotle's days, the commonwealth seems to have deviated from its original perfection, having too strong a tendency to popular government, which was censured as a defect in it by that philosopher. However, the senate still kept up a good degree of authority, and the power of the people was far from being uncontrollable; but in Hannibal's time, about an hundred years after, there was reason to apprehend a total subversion of the constitution, the senate had little regard or attention paid to it; the people arrogated to themselves almost the whole power, and of course every thing, which might have promoted the public welfare, was obstructed by a few ambitious and implacable demagogues. From this period the most famous and potent state of Carthage began to decline, and, in the course of a few years, lost not only its liberty, but its very being.

Having

* Ub. Emm. & Hendr. ubi supra:  t Arisf. ubi supra.

Polyb. I. vi.

over the senate (29). Recourse was therefore had to it in all cases of an extraordinary nature. It is not improbable, that this council was Aristotle's centumvirate, as being invested with great authority, and consisting of a pretty large number of members. Livy tells us (30) that thirty of these were deputed to wait upon Scipio, and due him in the most submissive terms for a peace with Rome. Polybius likewise makes a distinction between these and the other senators; for he says, that among the prisoners taken at New Carthage by Scipio, there were two [ις τις γερελαίος] belonging to the assembly of old men and fifteen [ις τις αλάκτα] of the senate (31). In other authors, the senate, or at least this most venerable part of it, went by appellations equivalent to the optimates and patres conscripti of the Romans (32).

CHAP. 37. THE HISTORY OF THE CARthagINIANS.

HAVING thus laid down a general sketch or plan of the Carthaginian government, we shall mention some of their principal establishments, civil officers, &c. as taken notice of by the ancients, who, it must be owned, have been extremely deficient in all their memoirs relating to this republic; for which reason the loss of those excellent pieces of Polybius, that, through the injuries of time, have not reached us, is the more to be regretted.

The centumvirate or tribunal of the hundred, consisted of an hundred and four persons, not simply of an hundred, as the name seems to imply, receiving its denomination from the greater number w. According to Aristotle, who is the only author that has given us any description of it x, the power it enjoyed was very extensive, tho' confined chiefly to things of a judicial nature y. Out of this tribunal were selected five judges, whose jurisdiction was superior to that of the rest, to whom we may, with propriety enough, give the name of quinquevirs, or the quinquevirate. They had the power not only of filling up all vacancies in their own body, but likewise of chusing those persons who composed the tribunal of the hundred z; were, under the suffetes, at the head of this tribunal; and had, in a great measure, the lives, fortunes, reputations, &c. of all the citizens depending upon them. Aristotle a informs us, that the Carthaginian centumvirate, answered in several respects to the ephori at Sparta; but, with submission to this philosopher, we think the quinquevirate should be substituted in its room, as having a better title to the comparison: for b with regard to the ephori, first, they were the most despotic magistrates in Sparta, their authority being, in a manner, boundless, and the lives, fortunes, &c. of all the Lacedæmonians almost entirely depending upon their will and pleasure; which may be c said of the quinquevirate in Carthage, with more reason than of the centumvirate. Secondly, the centumvirate was perpetual d; but whether the quinquevirate was so or not, is uncertain. Now, the ephori were elected annually e. Thirdly, the ephori were five in number f, and so were the quinquevirs. Fourthly, an universal administration of justice, with regard to

Q q 3

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to individuals, was the province of the quinquevirate at Carthage, as it was of the ephori at Lacedæmon; whereas the institution of the centumvirate was intended only at first as a curb to the authority of their generals; by calling them to an account for their conduct on their return from the campaign, thò afterwards it extended to many branches of civil affairs. From which considerations it is probable that the council of five in Carthage, rather than the tribunal of the hundred, resembled the Lacedæmonian ephori. The great authority annexed to the quinquevirate, gave the Carthaginian state the appearance of an oligarchy, tho' as the members of this council discharged the duties of their function without any salary or reward, and were elected freely by suffrages, not by lot (H), it had likewise the semblance of an aristocracy. Ubbο Emmius thinks, that the suffetes presided in this council, and the centumvirate, as well as in the senate, being the chief magistrates concerned in the administration of justice. If so, their office was, in all probability, perpetual, till the time of Hannibal, by whose influence a law passed, whereby it was enacted, that all the judges should be chosen annually; with a clause, that none should continue in office beyond that term. This last observation will point out to us the reason why the supreme magistrates at Carthage were called suffetes, and enable us to trace up that institution to its first source (I).
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The principal, if not only, civil officers established at Carthage (besides the suffetes) that have been remembered by

the verb תַּפָּה tzaphah, "he looked from on high, or, he overlooked others;" and so makes it agree in signification with the Greek ἰδων, ἰδωτις, ἰδωκοτις, &c. (35). But this, notwithstanding it has some appearance of truth, is not so easy and grammatical as Bochart's etymon. That learned man, after the great Selden, will have suffetes to be the same word with מַפָּה fophetim, or ofetim, judges, magistrates, &c. which notion is absolutely confirmed, not only by what we have advanced, but likewise by Paulus, Calidius, and Fehtus (36). If this be allowed, it cannot well be denied, that the Carthaginian suffetes reembled very much the old judges of the Israelites, who governed that nation from the death of Joshua to the election of Saul, the first king of Israel. We say this cannot well be denied; for these old judges were called in Hebrew fophetim, or ofetim, for which reason the Hebrews always flyled the book of judges fophetim; and this very government flourished in the neighbourhood of Tyre, the mother of Carthage. We may therefore reasonably presume, that the Carthaginians borrowed their suffetes either from Tyre, or immediately from the Israelites themselves, by whom some of their ancestors the Canaanites were at first expelled their country in the time of Joshua, and others in the time of David, after they had, for a considerable period, been contiguous to them. If the Carthaginians derived this institution from the Tyrians, these last probably received it from the Israelites their neighbours. However this may be, it is certain such magistrates as these were in Tyre after the destruction of the old city by Nebuchadnezzar; for Josephus, in his treatise against Apion, has given us a series of them (37). It ought to be observed, that but one person was invested with the supreme authority amongst the Hebrews during the government of the fophetim, which was likewise the custom at Tyre; and therefore it is natural to suppose, that it was so originally at Carthage also (38). The Romans had very inadequate ideas of the Carthaginian government in general, and of their magistrates in particular; and therefore we cannot absolutely depend upon their accounts of them. Yet even from some of these it seems not improbable, that one of the suffetes, even towards the decline of Carthage, had a greater share of power than the other; which is a sort of proof, that at first the power of the suffetes was lodged in a single hand. Justin calls Hanno the prince, or principal per-

by the antients, were the prætor, the questor, and the cenfor.

The prætor. The great Hannibal, who, by reason of his glorious achievements, as well as noble extraction, was the most illustrious of the Carthaginians, had the prætorship a conferred

a Idem ibid. & Ub. Emm. ubi sup.

Son of Carthage. Cornelius Nepos gives Hannibal the name of prætor; Livy and Gellius of dictator. 'Tis plain Hannibal was by far the greatest man in the city, because he over-ruled all the other magistrates, when he limited the power of the whole bench of judges. Feustus lays the sufetes (or, according to the Carthaginian pronunciation, sufet, as appears from the genitive café sufetis) was the supreme magistrate of Carthage. And lastly, from some inscriptions in Gruter, it is clear, that several cities in Africa had each of them a sufete (39). The old Archontic government, that took place at Athens after the death of Codrus, seems likewise to have been of this form. We find some little variation in the Carthaginian word sufetes from the Hebrew sopherim, which is owing partly to the Latin termination, and partly to the affinity betwixt the Punic language and the Syriac. That ES is a Latin plural termination, needs no proof; and that the Punic language was near akin to the Syriac, though it borrowed most of its words from the Hebrew, is evident, not only from the nature of the thing, but likewise from the authority of St. Jerom, St. Augustin, (40), and Priscian. What therefore the Hebrews wrote sopherim, the Carthaginians in all probability, wrote sufetes, or emphatically sufetēs (םפריט) or E being the emphatical masculine plural termination in Syriac, as igenous was the absolute one. The Hebrew vaucholem, or O, answered to the Syriac and Punic V (41); and though the MSS of Livy and Nepos have sufetes with a double F, yet, from the authority of Feustus, Calidius, and the above-mentioned inscriptions, they ought to be corrected, the true reading being undoubtedly sufetes with a single F. We have been a little more prolix than usual in this note, because we take the subject of it to be of a very curious nature, and such a one as may lead us to farther discoveries both in sacred and profane history.

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red upon him in the fifth year after the conclusion of the second Punic war; from whence it is evident, that this must have been one of the first employments in the state. The person invested with this high dignity had a vast influence, not only in passing, but likewise in repealing of laws, as may be inferred from Hannibal’s impeaching the whole bench of judges, and carrying his point against them, during his continuance in this office. He moreover received the tribute paid by the different nations under the Carthaginian power; collected the yearly taxes and subsidies levied upon the citizens, and had the care of every thing relating to the public revenues. It is remarkable, that a transition from the office of suffetes (after it became annual) to the praetorship, was not uncommon in Carthage; of which Hannibal and Mago, not to mention other instances that might be produced, supply us with abundant proof. Whether there were more praetors than one in this republic, or whether any branches of business, besides those above-mentioned, pertaining to the office, are points that, for want of sufficient light from antiquity, cannot be determined.

The quaestor was an officer belonging to the bench of judges, who, tho’ subordinate to them, had a very considerable degree of power. He likewise collected and managed the public money, under the praetor; which induced Livy to give him the name of quaestor. This officer, in his double capacity, seems to have answered to the old Roman quaestors, who were introduced under the regal government, as well as those who were appointed in the time of the commonwealth. He was sometimes at least, if not of course, admitted into the bench of judges, at the expiration of his office. This, and the other particulars, we learn from Livy and Polybius; but as to any thing further, either concerning him or his function, we are entirely in the dark.

We find another civil officer established at Carthage, whose business it was to inspect into the manners of the citizens; on which account he is styled by Cornelius Nepos, the prefect of manners, or the censor. Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, tho’ the first man in the republic, could not escape this inspection; for the censor took from

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1. xxxiii.  t Idem, l. xxiii.  u Vide Univerf. hist. vol. xi.
P. 394. in not.  w Corn. Nep. in vit. Hamilc.  x Idem.
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from him a beautiful youth, named Afdrubal, on a report that he was more familiar with this youth than was consistent with modesty; from whence we may conclude, that the power of this magistrate extended to every subject of the state, even those of the greatest figure and distinction.

As for the Carthaginian laws, our readers must not expect any regular system of them. The utmost we can pretend to is, to give them a few fragments, or rather traces of an inconsiderable part of these laws. They have all long since been buried in oblivion; nor have even the titles of any of them, but what we here produce, escaped the general wreck of time.

1. There was a law of very long standing amongst the Carthaginians, by which they were enjoined to sacrifice to Saturn only children nobly born. This, not being complied with for a certain period, grew into difuse, the children of slaves and foreigners being substituted in the room of the others. But when Agathocles reduced Carthage almost to the last extremity, it was revived, the inhabitants imputing all their misfortunes to the anger of Saturn, who, as they imagined, was offended at the non-obseriance of this law. However, to atone for this crime, two hundred children of the best families in the city were offered up to that deity.

2. By another law, Ceres and Proserpina were admitted into the number of Carthaginian deities. Magnificent statues were erected in their honour; priests were selected from amongst the most distinguished families of the city for their service; and sacrifices, after the Greek manner, were offered up to them. This happened during the consternation the people of Carthage were thrown into by the African invasion, and the ill success that attended them in their war with Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse. It was done in order to appease the anger of those goddesses, whose farther resentment they feared, because Himilco, the Carthaginian general in Sicily, had plundered their temples in the suburb of Acradina.

3. About this time likewise a law was enacted at Carthage, by which all the inhabitants were prohibited learning either to write or speak the Greek language. It was hoped

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hoped by this means to prevent for the future all treasonable correspondence with the enemy. The law was occasioned by a Carthaginian traitor, who, writing in Greek to Dionysius, had given him intelligence of the motions of the army, and particularly of its departure from the city (K). But this law was afterwards either repealed, or totally neglected; for we find, that the great Hannibal himself understood this language so well, that he composed in it an history of the actions of Manlius Vulso during the time of his proconsulship in Afia, having been taught it by Sofilus the Lacedaemonian (L).

4. It has been lately hinted, that a council was formed at Carthage, consisting of an hundred persons taken out of the senate, whose province it was to enquire into the conduct of their generals at the end of the campaign. Now, it cannot be supposed, that this could any otherwise have been effected, than by a law passed for that purpose. The ends proposed by this law were, to reduce the exorbitant power of Mago's family within proper bounds, which, by ingrossing all the best employments, was become too overgrown for the state; and to secure the republic against the great

(K) This traitor's name was Sunitor, Sunites, or Sunitatur, a professed enemy to Hanno the Carthaginian general, and who, in order to hurt him, did not scruple an attempt to sacrifice his country. He was a citizen of the first rank, and wrote to Dionysius in Greek, giving him advice of the military preparations making against him, as well as the incapacity of Hanno for the post he was in; but his letter being intercepted, he received the punishment due to his crime (42).

(L) This Sofilus, with Philenius or Silenus, another Lacedaemonian, attended Hannibal in all his expeditions. That general spoke Greek with a tolerable fluency, and is said to have written other books in this language, besides the work here mentioned. Sofilus and Silenus undertook to write the history of their hero; but whether or no they executed that design, is not known. If they did, we are never the better for it; since not a fragment of either of their pieces has come to us (43).

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great authority of its generals in all succeeding ages, who, whilst in the field, were quite despotic. It is generally believed, that this council was the same with the centumvirate, or a tribunal of the hundred, which has been already described.

5. A sort of sumptuary law was made by the Carthaginian senate, to restrain all kinds of excheques at marriages. This was occasioned by a design of Hanno, the principal person in the city, to make himself master of the commonwealth upon the day of his daughter’s marriage. In order to this, his intention was to keep open house for the populace that day, and to regale the senate in a most magnificent manner. All the members of this last were to have been taken off by poison at this entertainment, which would have enabled him to seize upon the government without opposition. Hanno, upon account of his great wealth and power, had such an influence in the city, that the senate, upon the discovery of this plot, did not think proper to punish him for it; but contented themselves with passing the law here mentioned.

Before we conclude our account of the political state of Carthage, it may not be amiss to take notice of a few defects in that constitution, as Aristotle himself has pointed them out to us (M).

(M) Since we follow Aristotle here in reciting the defects of this state, it will be but just, by way of contrast, to touch upon two things, which may be considered as excellencies in it.

1. The Carthaginians had public meals or entertainments, which seem to have been appointed at first in imitation of the Lacedaemonian phidia, and in order to serve the same ends. The phidia were one of the most useful institutions of Lycurgus, which, as is imagined, he received from Crete, because they went at first by the Cretan name Andria. They were intended to repress all kinds of luxury; to form the minds of the Lacedaemonian youth, by inspiring them with virtuous sentiments; and to excite a noble emulation amongst them. At these meals young people were instructed by their seniors in the art of conversation, heard the most useful topics frequently discussed, and had always before them shining examples of wisdom and virtue. But it is sufficient just to have hinted this here, since an ample account of the institution itself has been given in its proper place.

2. The

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First, The philosopher looked upon it as an imperfection in this commonwealth, that when the members of the senate were not unanimous in their voices, the power of deciding thereby devolved on the people; for this he intimates to be contrary to the maxims of all well regulated states, as tending too much to popular government.

Secondly, He will have it, that the quinquevirate, or, as he terms it, the pentarchy, enjoyed a degree of power inconsistent with the nature of a true aristocracy, which either originally was, or at least was intended to have been, a principal ingredient in the Carthaginian constitution.

Thirdly, He reckons it an evil, that merit and a conspicuous birth, without riches, were not sufficient qualifications for a man to fill the first posts; for this in his opinion, does not only oftentimes exclude persons of the most exalted merit from having any share in the government, but likewise opens a door to avarice, and all kinds of corruption, which, in the end, must ruin any state. The experience of after-ages shewed this reflection of his not to have been ill-grounded; for the Barcan faction, by the omnipotence of money, carried their point on all occasions for a considerable time; others after them did the like, which at last proved the republic's destruction.

Fourthly, He will by no means allow, that the same person should assume to himself several employments; than which no practice was more common at Carthage. The reasons he assigns for this are, that a man possessed of but one office, is much more capable of acquiring himself well in the execution of it; that public affairs are managed with more spirit and expedition, when the different branches of business are lodged in different hands; that different employments frequently clash with one another;

1 Aristot. ubi supra.

2. The Carthaginians had a laudable custom amongst them, of sending colonies from time to time into different parts of their dominions (46). This procured a decent settlement for several citizens, for whom there was no room in the state; provided for the necessities of the poor, and carried off great numbers of people, who were always prepared for innovations. All which salutary precautions must not a little contribute to the preservation of the public tranquility.

(46) Aristot. ubi supra c. 11. sub. fin.
another; and lastly, that the welfare of every state is highly
promoted by an equal distribution of its places amongst its
members. All which reasons are indisputably just, especially
the last; since nothing more strongly excites an emulation
amongst men of merit, than an impartial disposal of the pre-
ferments in a state amongst them, nor more effectually pre-
vents all those inconveniences which must be the necessary
consequence of one man's monopolizing the whole adminis-
tration.

FIFTHLY, He blames the Carthaginian constitution in ge-
neral, for not having a sufficient provision made in it against
all popular commotions, or acts of violence, that at any time
might happen. Should a majority of the citizens at any time
have taken it into their heads to revolt, or be angry with their
governors, the laws (N), according to him, could not have
afforded a sufficient relief on such an occasion. This con-
stitution, indeed, as we have already observed from him, was
at first excellently calculated to prevent or avoid all inte-
disorders; but it was not so well contrived, at least in his
time, to allay any heats that might break out in it. He there-
fore seems justly to conclude, that the tranquillity and repose
of the subjects of Carthage were not then settled upon a solid
foundation.

(N) In this respect it seems to have been the same form of
government as that introduced by Phaleas Chalcedonius, which
has induced a learned man to believe, that he was the legislator
of the Carthaginians (47). When he lived, Aristotle (48), who
mentions both him and his republic, informs us not; but he
must have been much later than the first formation of the Car-
thaginian republic, for Chalcedon itself was built near three hun-
dred years after Carthage. However, there seems to be some
foundation for the above-mentioned conjecture, as will appear
from comparing Hendreich with Aristotle (49). It is therefore pro-
bable, that the first commonwealth settled at Carthage, which took
place immediately after the abolition of monarchy, was of a dif-
f erent form from that which existed in Aristotle's time. This, in
all likelihood, nearly resembled (if it was not exactly upon the
fame model) the ancient Tyrian or Hebrew republic, wherein
one supreme magistrate presided. What we have advanced in a
former note (50) will strengthen this supposition, and likewise it-
selves receive additional force from it.

(49) Hendr. ubi sup. Arili. ubi. sup. & c. 2. (50) Vid. not. (1)
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The Carthaginians being descended from the Tyrians, their religious worship must of course have agreed in all points at first with that of the Phœnicians, which has been already in some measure described. In process of time, by their intercourse with the Greeks, especially those of Sicily, they came to take a liking to the superflition of that nation, adopted several new deities before to them unknown, and intermixed some of the Greek religious ceremonies with the Tyrian. But in this they copied after their ancestors the Phœnicians, who gradually imbibed many superflitious notions prevailing among the greatest states, by reason of their vicinity to, and correspondence with, them; and afterwards, upon their subjection to those states, had great alterations made in the whole system of their religion. The Carthaginians likewise, by reason of their extended commerce, must have been in some sort acquainted with the different kinds of superflition established in most nations, with which doubtless they tinctured their own; so that from hence, as well as from other considerations, it may appear, that the religion of Carthage, was a very gross and multifarious idolatry.

The knowledge we have of the Carthaginian manner of worship, as well as the objects of that worship, is derived from the Greek and Roman writers, who have affixed the names of their own gods to those of the Carthaginians. This has rendered their accounts and observations on this head more imperfect and less valuable; for though we are well assured, that the Egyptian, Phœnician, Greek, Roman, and Carthaginian deities did in the main agree, yet we are as well assured, that each of those nations had not only some particular modes of worship, but likewise some particular deities peculiar to itself. 'Tis impossible therefore to come to an exact knowledge of the Carthaginian gods from what is delivered of them by the Greek and Roman authors. All that we can do is, to consider their different attributes, and the circumstances attending that adoration their votaries paid them, as given us by the aforesaid authors. By comparing these with what we find related in holy writ of the idols of the Canaanites and neighbouring nations, as well as the religious customs and manners of those nations, we may, perhaps, give our readers a tolerable account of the religion of the Carthaginians.

Diodorus

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Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the Carthaginians, in a particular manner, adored Chronus; who, according to Quintus Curtius, and an infinity of other authors, was the Saturn of the Latins. The sacrifices offered up to him were children of the most distinguished families, as has been above observed. Upon the signal defeat of the Carthaginian army by Agathocles, three hundred citizens voluntarily sacrificed themselves, in order to render him more propitious to their country. Diodorus farther says, that they had a brazen statue or colossus of him, the hands of which were extended in an to receive, and bent downwards in such a manner, as that the child laid thereon immediately dropped into a hollow, where was a fiery furnace.

The same author adds, that this inhuman practice seemed to him to confirm a tradition handed down to the Greeks from very early antiquity, viz. that Chronus devoured his own children. But in this we cannot agree with him; for it can scarce be doubted, but that the fable itself owes its origin to this most execrable superstition, especially as the knowledge of it could not be hid from the antient Greeks, who received both their religion and theology from the Egyptians and Phoenicians (O).

But though the Carthaginian god, to whom human victims were so agreeable, had the name of Chronus given him by Diodorus, yet we cannot certainly infer from hence, that he was the same deity; because his Punic name is unknown, and

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(O) Bishop Cumberland proves from several authors, that human sacrifices were offered to Cabiri, and Sanchoniathon afferts, that Chronus or Saturn sacrificed his son to the manes of his father, whom he had before inhumanly murdered. From which source the learned bishop derives the unnatural practice here mentioned, which prevailed for many ages over a great part both of the eastern and western world. But the fragment of Sanchoniathon, preferred by Philo Byblius and Eusebius, notwithstanding all the learned bishop's endeavours, as well as those of M. Fourmont, to render it intelligible, is so dark and intricate especially in this particular, that we cannot entirely depend upon it.

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and therefore 'tis impossible to determine whether it was of the same import with Chronus, or no. However, we shall endeavour to supply this defect, by offering some reasons, which if they will not absolutely evince the point in view, will yet render it highly probable.

1. In the first place, the Carthaginian custom of giving up their offspring as an expiatory sacrifice to this god, bears a great analogy to the Greek tradition concerning Chronus, viz. that he devoured his own children. This seems to have been a great inducement to Diodorus himself to conclude, that he and Chronus were the same.

2. Both the oblations offered to this Carthaginian deity, and the manner of offering them, as likewise the brazen statue mentioned by Diodorus, plainly enough shew, that he was Moloch u or Milchom, the famous idol of the Ammonites, Canaanites, and neighbouring nations. The description already given of this false divinity, in conjunction with scripture, will remove all doubts as to this point. Now that Moloch or Milchom was the Chronus of Diodorus, seems clear from the following considerations (P).

CHRONUS


(P) Nothing can be more evident, than that Moloch, Milcom, Baal, Bel, Chronus, &c. are all words of the same signification. They denote a king or prince. Chronus, in particular, does so. The word керн or kren properly imports a horn, which was an emblem of power and dominion amongst the eastern nations. From thence undoubtedly our English word crown is to be deduced, or at least the Latin corona, if it should be thought more proper to derive the English word from this. It might likewise, for aught we know to the contrary, antiently have signified a crown, since all the eastern princes were, from the earliest antiquity, adorned with that ensign of royalty; and Tertullian (53) tells us, that Chronus was the first who wore it. Eupolemus, as preferred to us by Alexander Polyhistor in Eusebius, Theophilus Antiochenus, and Damascius, compared with scripture, render it incontrovertibly clear, that Chronus, Moloch, and Baal, were the same person (54). We shall beg leave here to consider a difficult

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Chronus had, for a considerable period, even amongst the old inhabitants of Latium, human victims offered up to him, as Moloch had in Palestine.

A difficult passage of scripture, which is not at all foreign to our present subject (55). In the original it is: "εἰς τὴν θυσίαν τὸν Παλαιστίνην, which being rendered exactly according to the letter, is; but ye have borne the tabernacle of your (god) Moloch, and (ye have likewise borne) Chium your likenesses, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves (56). St. Luke's (or rather the Septuagint) version of this into Greek, is: Καὶ ἀνεβαίνει σεκπανή τὸ Μολὼχ, καὶ τὸ ἀστέρι τὰ Θεία τίμων Ρεμφάν, τοὺς τυφλοὺς ἐποίησατε σπορακεὶν αὐτοῖς. Which ought to be thus rendered; Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch and Remphan the star of your god, (i. e. Moloch) figures which ye made, to worship them. Our readers will observe, that this is different from the common English translation, which has it; Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan, figures which ye made, to worship them. Now surely no one can hesitate a moment in determining which of these is the most eligible. The first, in agreement with the original Hebrew, makes St. Luke to declare, that Remphan is the name of the star, not of the god. The second in contradiction to the Hebrew, will have him to assert, that Remphan or Chium is the name of the god, not of the star; which is itself a sufficient reason for our rejection of it. Besides, the common translation inculcates, that Moloch and Remphan, or Chium, were different deities; whereas, according to ours, they were the same; since it makes Chium and Remphan the names of that star, which the Egyptians and Arabians appropriated to the false deity, called by the Ammonites, Canaanites, &c. by way of eminence, Moloch. And how consonant this is to the general voice of antiquity, may be seen from the plan we are now upon. The sun, moon, and stars were the first objects of false worship; afterwards the deification of dead men took place (57). The Egyptians and Arabians adhered to the

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The Cretans, in antient times, sacrificed children to Chronus, as the Canaanites and Phœnicians did to Moloch.

R v. 2

Moloch

x Ilius in collective, sacrificing & Dan. Clasenius ubi sup.

the former species of false worship longer than the Canaanites and Phœnicians. However, all those nations agreed in this, that, from very early antiquity, they formed a mixed kind of idolatry, made up of the worship of the stars and dead men. In consequence of which they assigned a planet to each of the chief of their deified worthies, thinking this the greatest honour they could do them. The highest and most remote of the planets is known to be Saturn, whom the old Egyptians called either Remphan, Raphan, Ramphan, Rephan, Rompha or Repha; but the Arabs, Civan or Civan, (from whence the Hebrew Chinn) as the Turks, Arabs, and Persians do at this day. The Ammonites, Idumæans, and Canaanites, though they had a knowledge of this planet, and considered him as conjoined with a deified prince, yet they adored this prince under a bodily representation; whereas the Arabians and Egyptians paid divine honours to the star, with which they imagined him conjoined. Hence it came to pass, that the former addressed themselves to an image or statue, and the latter to a star, tho' they all of them intentionally pointed at the same object. Now the Israelites had learned the Egyptian idolatry during their abode in Egypt, and that of the Arabians whilst they were in Arabia Petrea, or at least its neighbourhood, where they worshipped the false god at present under consideration; and as at the same time they were upon the borders of the Canaanites, with whom doubtless they had some kind of intercourse, 'tis natural to suppose, that they were likewise initiated in their form of superstition. This will account for their having with them the Canaanitish image of Moloch, in a small portable temple, or tabernacle, carried either on men's shoulders, or by oxen; and a star painted on the inside of this tabernacle, or upon the idol itself, in compliance with the Egyptian and Arabian custom. Kircher tells us, that the name of Saturn amongst the modern Coptes is Rephan; from whence Bochart infers, that the Septuagint rendered Chinn by Kephan, because they made their version in Egypt, where this word denoted the same planet that Chinn did in Arabia and Phœnica (58). The same author likewise informs us, that Moloch signified in the old Egyptian language Mars (59). But as Moloch was a Phœnician, not an Egyptian, word; as he proves his attention only from a modern Copto-Arabic vocabulary MS. purchased at Alexandria by Sig. Pietro

Moloch was the principal god of the country in which his worship prevailed, as appears from his name, which implies

7 Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 118.

Pietro della Valle in the year 1615, and by affirming, that the Egyptian Mars, Osiris, Typhon, the Perian Mithras, &c. were the same deity, which is a palpable absurdity, we think little regard in this last point is to be paid to him. Some will have the god of the Syrians, called by the Septuagint and the Maforn, Rimmon, according to the Syriac form, Remvan, to have been the Remphan of St. Luke, as well as the Replian of the Septuagint (60). Now Saturn is the highest of the planets, as the name seems to import, and therefore might be Rimmon or Remvan. This god was moreover, without dispute, the Moloch and Baal of the Ammonites, Canaanites, &c. the Bel of the Babylonians, the Chronus of the Greeks, &c. and a deity very well known in the countries where both the Septuagint and St. Luke wrote. Bishop Cumberland imagines Saturn to have been called Replian or Replian, because he was of an healthful constitution, long life, large stature, and great strength, all which the Hebrew word includes in the idea it conveys to us (61). He farther observes, that all his descendants, who resembled him herein, were denominated Replaim; which the Septuagint in some measure confirms, by rendering Replaim, γυναικείς, giants, alluding to the superiority of strength and constitution they enjoyed. We must not omit remarking, that, in conformity to our translation of the Greek passage in the Septuagint and St. Stephen's speech, the Syriac version in Amos, v. 26 makes Moloch and Chiuin to be the same; nor that Jonathan's targum expressly calls Chiuin a star. Some critics have derived Chiuin and Replian or Remvan from two Oriental roots implying the same thing, i.e. the great principle of life and existence; which is not very different from the notion of Saturn to be found in the verses of Orpheus. Others have believed, that before the time of the Mafornites was read Chivan, and that the foot of the initial letter chapi being defaced, it appeared to the LXX. elders like reh, who therefore pronounced it Replian (62). But this is too bold a criticism, especially as St. Luke has so closely followed the aforesaid elders, and as Diodorus Siculus mentions a most opulent king of Egypt named Remphes, who flourished in very early times (63). This last is a full proof, that Remphes or Rempha was an Egyptian proper name of very high antiquity; if not, that this king was

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plies sovereignty in it, from his having such particular notice taken of him in scripture, and from the intimation given in holy writ, that he was the great god of the Ammonites. Now Chronus was the chief object of adoration in Italy, Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, and all other countries where divine honours were paid him (Q.).

Lastly,


the Egyptian Saturn, or at least was worshipped under the form of the planet so called. It likewise proves, that St. Luke's Rempha or Remphan is preferable to the Repha or Rephan of the LXX. as also, that the modern Copts have borrowed their Rephan from the latter, since they have not the true Egyptian name, but one that is a corruption of it, taken from some corrupted copy, which can be no other than one of the LXX. whose original reading, we doubt not, was Rempha or Remphan. Neither is it at all improbable, that the same people have taken the name Moloch (a Phœnician or Hebrew word) from the same passage of this version, and, through ignorance, applied it to the planet Mars. What gives great weight to this conjecture is, that the notion itself is entirely repugnant to the whole dream of antiquity; and that Vettius Valens Antiochenus and Julius Firmicus positively declare, that the Egyptian or Coptic names of the planet Mars were Artes and Pyrois (64).

(Q.) A strong argument in favour of what is here advanced may likewise be drawn from the general homage paid to Saturn, as the principal of the gods in most countries. He seems to have been known to the Gauls, Scythians, Celtes, Africans, and even the most barbarous nations. Human sacrifices were offered up to him wherever his worship took place, tho' this did not continue long amongst the Greeks and Romans, whose natural sentiments of humanity and compassion soon became too strong to permit them to tolerate so infernal a practice. The solemnities observed at the offering up of human victims to the Carthaginian god (whose name we may reasonably suppose was either Baal or Moloch, or both) answered pretty nearly to those observed by the Canaanites on the like dire occasion, as we learn from Plutarch.* This is a further presumption, that the Phœnician Moloch and this deity were the same. 'Tis an ingenious conjecture of Banier (65), that the Ammonites worshipped the seven planets in the idol of Moloch jointly, as well as Saturn, his proper star, and the sun singly.

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Lastly, to omit many other arguments that might be produced, both Moloch and Chronus were indubitably the great Baal, Bel a or Belus of the Sidonians, Babylonians, and Affyrians, and consequently the same individual deity.

3. Baal b, Belus, Bal or Bel, (for he was known by all these names) was the great god of the Carthaginians. As it is therefore apparent from scripture c, that he was delighted with human sacrifices, and as he was the Chronus d of the Greeks, 'tis evident from hence, that the Carthaginian divinity Diodorus had in view must have been really Chronus.

4. From several traces to be found in the proper names of Carthage, we may discover, that the deity under consideration was known there by the two appellations Baal and Moloch, as in the caft. Hanni-bal, Asdru-bal, Maher-bal, &c. point out Baal or Bal; as Hi-milce, Hi-milco, Ha-milcar, Melicu s e, Malchus f, &c. do Moloch or Milcom. These therefore being different names of the same deity, who was the Chronus of the Greeks, it must be allowed, that Chronus or Saturn was not only worshipped, but likewise looked upon as the principal god, at Carthage (R).


(R) It is believed by some, that Saturn or Baal was the sun, Baal is or Astarte the moon, and that these were the only deities of the eastern nations. But this we cannot allow; for notwithstanding the sun and moon were two of the most noted objects of false worship, and possibly the first, yet we think it undeniable, that the Orientals had other false gods, in very ancient times. From scripture we learn, that the nations bordering upon God's people worshipped the sun, moon, and other planets, in very early ages (66). Philip's treaty with the Carthaginians, a copy of which is preferred to us by Polybius (67), renders it indisputable that this people had other deities besides the two luminaries above mentioned, some of which were planets distinct from them. But we shall endeavour to trace up this planetary worship to its first

(66) 2 Kings xxiii. 5. (67) Polyb. l. vii.
first source, or as near it as possible. God created the world, or this system, in six days, and rested the seventh (68). This was the foundation of the Antediluvian as well as the Hebrew week; and seems to be the reason that the number seven was so remarkable both amongst the Antediluvians and the Hebrews. Vengeance seven-fold was denounced against any person that should slay Cain (69); Noah was commanded to take unto him the clean beasts by sevens (70); the fowls of the air also by sevens (71); God foretold to him the beginning of the deluge (72) seven days before it happened; the same patriarch sent a dove out of the ark a second time to explore seven days after the first (73), and a third time seven days after this; Abimelech received seven ewe-lambs of Abraham, as a testimony that a well belonged to him (74); Jacob served Laban for Rachael seven years (75); Pharaoh in his dream saw seven fat and seven lean kine come out of the river, portending (76) so many years of plenty and famine; Elijah sent his servant seven times towards the sea, to discover the cloud that was forming itself for rain (77); his successor Eliahu ordered Naaman the Syrian to wash himself seven times in the river Jordan, in order to be cured of his leprosy (78), &c. Now ’tis observable, that there is a surprizing analogy between the days of the original week, and the system then created. The six primary planets, for the moon is the satellite of the earth, move round the sun, which is fixed, or at rest, and together they are in number seven, this answers exactly to the six days of work or motion, and one of rest, in all seven, of which the original week did consist. Thus the Mosaic account of the creation is a symbolical description of the world or system created; and such descriptions as these were perfectly agreeable to the genius of the Orientals, especially the Egyptians, in the first ages, and particularly in that wherein Moses lived, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner necessary. Hence we have the greatest reason to imagine, that the Antediluvian as well as the Postdiluvian patriarchs, the first Egyptians, Chaldeans, &c, famed for their knowledge in astronomy and astrology, knew the number of the planets, and had names for them. Moses likewise, being learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,
calls her Baaleth theman the queen of heaven, i.e. Juno
Olympia; Megasthenes \(^h\), in Eusebius, Beltis or queen
Beltis;

\(^h\) Megasthenes & Abydenus apud Eueb. in chron.

Egyptians, had undoubtedly a great share of knowledge in the
celestial sciences (79). That the Egyptians had magicians and
wise men, or astrologers, amongst them a considerable, if not
a long, time before Joseph's arrival in Egypt, appears from
scripture, since it was a common practice in that country then to
consult such persons (80) upon any extraordinary occasion; and
the number seven seems likewise to have been symbolical; from
whence we may infer, that none of the planets were unknown to
them, even from the first formation of their monarchy. The
Chaldees or Chaldeans, Syrians, &c. agreed with the family of
Abraham or Heber in the most early ages, in their computation
of time by weeks, or periods of seven days (81), as well as in
sweating regard to the number seven; they were likewise famed for
their early application to the study of the celestial sciences, which is
a good proof that they must have been acquainted with the seven
planets, even from the beginning. According to Iamblichus and
Syncellus, Pythagoras was taken prisoner by Cambyses in
Egypt, in the first year of the sixty-fourth olympiad, i.e. about
five hundred and twenty-four years before the birth of Christ.
Now the learned are universally agreed, that this philosopher
brought with him home from Egypt that antient syltem of the
world which bears his name (82), and is generally believed to be
the true one, and that he received this from the pillars of the antient
Hermes, who was antient as antient as the beginning of the
Egyptian monarchy, and a molt celebrated adept in the know-
ledge of the heavenly bodies. We must therefore allow it probable,
that these bodies, and the true syltem of the world, were
known even from the first origin of things. In order to support
further what is here advanced, it may not be improper to observe,
that from the most early antiquity the planets were imagined to
bear a near relation to the days of the week, since the custom of
calling the latter by the names of the former is so antient, that
the beginning of it cannot be discovered. 'Tis undoubtedly as
antient as the division of the day into twenty-four hours, since
the great regard paid to the planets, from a notion of their influence
over all terrestrial bodies, was the cause of that division,
as that division was of the order in which they succeeded one
another in their government of the days of the week (83), which
does

xxix. 27. (82) Univerf. hist. vol. i. p. 589, &c. (83)
vol. iii. 458, p. note (L).
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Belis; Sanchoniatho 1, in Philo Byblius, Dione and Baaltis; Hesychius 2, Belthes. According to this last author, the

1 Sanchoniath. & Philo Bybl. apud Euseb. de praep. evang. 1. i. 2 Hesych sub voc. Βαλθῆς.
does not agree with their situation in our system. The case therefore seems to have been thus: There was a great analogy between the days of the first, or original, week, and the seven principal parts of the system then created; the former seem to have been a symbolical description of the latter. This occasioned the number seven, common to both of them, to be taken great notice of by all the first inhabitants of the world. The knowledge of the planets, which was coeval with Adam, at first afforded many pleasing speculations to mankind; but afterwards became a snare to them, and insensibly led them on to the worship of those heavenly bodies. After this took place, the same, if not a greater, regard was paid to the number seven, out of the high veneration the planets were held in amongst them. They allotted every particular hour, every particular day of the week, to the government of some one of them; and, in consequence of this, gave the name of the planet governing to the day governed. This we take to be the origin of the custom of denominating the days of the week after the planets, and consequently believe, that it was coeval, or nearly so, with the first origin of idolatry. Alexander Aphrodisiensis affirms, that the number seven is perfect in its own nature, because God governs the earth by the seven planets (84); Pythagoras, according to Apuleius, revered it in an extraordinary manner (85), looking upon it as a number sacred to religion, and pointing (86) out particularly to the seven planets; Apuleius judged it necessary, before he addressed himself to the most powerful god, to beimmered seven times in salt water (87), in conformity, no doubt, to the Pythagorean, i.e. the most ancient Chaldean, Egyptian, &c. superstition; Aristotle innumates, that seven is the number (88) of which the world, i.e. this system, is composed; Photius, Macrobius (89), and others, likewise declare, that seven is a religious number. From which testimonies, as well as an infinite number more that might be produced,

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the word was applied both to Juno and Venus; and indeed in the Phœnecian theology, we scarce find any distinction betwixt these two deities. St. Augustin says, that Carthage was the place where Venus had established her reign; and Virgil informs us, that Juno preferred that spot to all others, even to Samos itself. As therefore both the Greeks and Romans had, generally speaking, one single chief divinity to preside over every particular city, country, and district, this double one must have been owing to the Phœnecian or Punic word above-mentioned, which included both of the afore-said goddesses. Afatereth and Aftarte were synonymous to Urania and Baalitis, and denoted the moon as well as Venus and Juno, who was invoked in great calamities, particularly in droughts to obtain rain. The antient Greeks frequently confound

1 D. Aug., in psal. xciii. m Virg. Æn. i. n Tertul. apolog c 23.

produced, it is abundantly evident, that the esteem the antient pagan world shewed for the number seven was owing originally to the planets, and that these were adored from very remote antiquity.

As infinite power cannot be confined in its productions to any particular part of duration, and as the manner of every one of the divine operations must be calculated to serve some wise end, we may presume, that there was some final cause why the world, or this system, was created in precisely six days, which, in conjunction with a seventh, formed the first period of time. Now it will not be easy to assign a more rational one than we have hinted above, viz. that this was done with a design to point out to the first inhabitants of the earth the principal parts of which the system then created did consist; as likewise to remind them in a particular manner every seventh day, that these seven heavenly bodies were created by God, entirely dependent upon him, and therefore ought not to be esteemed as objects of adoration. The great propensity of mankind in after-ages, particularly the Hebrews, God’s own people, to this species of falso worship, adds no small weight to our hypotheses. That the primitive week, long before the law was in being, consisted of seven days, is clear from scripture (90); as likewise, that every one of those days, in the symbolical language of the most early ages stood for a year (91). We could pursue this point much farther, would the subject we are upon permit; but as it will not, we hope to be able to give our readers a full discussion of it in some future part of this work; and in the mean time shall content ourselves with having suggested a few remarkable hints in this place.

(90) Gen. xxix. 27. (91) Ibid.
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confound Juno, Venus, and Diana, or the moon; which is to be attributed to the Egyptians and Phoenicians, from whom they received their system of religion, who seem in the most antient times to have had but one name for them all. In such a perplexed point as this, we shall expatiate no farther, since it would be both fruitless and unnecessary; besides, it would carry us from our subject. Our readers will find as distinct and particular an account of the goddeses here mentioned, as they can with reason expect, in the second volume of this history. To that part therefore, we refer them (S).

Besides the first Belus already taken notice of, there were several others of a later date in great repute amongst the Phoenicians, particularly those of Tyre, and of course amongst the Carthaginians. Jupiter, Mars, Bacchus, Apollo, or the sun, &c. were all of them so styled, according to the most celebrated authors who have treated of this subject. That Jupiter was worshipped by this people under the denomination of Belus or Baal, is notorious from Polybius, Menander Ephesius, and Dius. To him they addressed their oaths, and placed him, as there is reason to believe, for the most part, at the head of their treaties. For which reason some have not scrupled to affirm, that he was the Baal Berith of Phœnecia; but we are rather inclined to suppose, with bishop Cumberland, that this deity was Chronus. Mars, according to the chronicon Alexandrinum, compared with Homer and Heftiaus, an antient author cited by Eusebius, was dignified with the title of Belus by the Persians, Assyrians, and doubtless by the Carthaginians also, since he was a favourite divinity in their state, especially amongst their generals. Bacchus was called Belus by the Poet Nonnus, and


(S) Urania, Baaltis, Aflatte, &c. is by some taken to be the Isis (92) of the Egyptians; as Baal, Belus, &c. their Oifiris. The Carthaginian

(92) Bishop Cumberland on Sanchoniath. & in orig. gent. ant. See also the first vol. of this hist. p. 549, &c. and vol. ii. p. 340, &c.
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and no wonder, since he is often taken to be the same with Jupiter (T). The nation we are discoursing of had, in all probability, some knowledge of him *. Apollo, or the sun, went

* Compare Nonnum, Seld. & Bochart, with Sir Iface Newton in his chronol. p. 23, 24, 97, 98, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, &c.

Carthaginian Juno, according to Virgil(93), had armour and a chariot, though of what form he tells us not. Servius says (94) she had a buckler as well as a chariot, and was invoked by the name of Juno Curulis. Plutarch seems to give her a spear, since he calls her Juno Curitis, curis in the Sabine language signifying that weapon. Some are of opinion, that her chariot was a small portable tabernacle, in which her image was carried either from place to place, or in procession. 'Tis certain such tabernacles as these were in use amongst the Carthaginians. As for the eunom of Ashtaroth, Ashtoreth, or Ashtarte, we must refer our readers to the Phoenician history (95). According to Scaliger (96), Juno was represented at Carthage sitting upon a lion, with thunder in her right hand, and a scepter in her left. No wonder she should have been so much revered by the Carthaginians, since she was in a particular manner the goddess of the Sidonians, their ancestors (97).

(T) In a former part of this work we observed, that Pezron derived Jupiter from the Celtic Jou, young, because the deity so called was supposed to have been the youngest son of Saturn (98). But the regard we bear to truth obliges us now to declare, that we differ from that learned man in this particular, as well as in all the points depending upon it. We are fully satisfied, that this name is formed of the word pater, father, in conjunction with the Tetragrammaton or Jehovah, as will most evidently appear from the following observations.

1. There can scarce be found in all antiquity of any prince's receiving his true and proper name from so slight a circumstance as that mentioned by Pezron. That Jupiter therefore, who was so potent a prince, or rather so celebrated a deity; that he who was so frequently styled by the most ancient writers

writers the father of gods and men, should be so called; because he was his father's youngest son, is utterly improbable (99). We may therefore, after the best writers, venture to assert, that the ancient Latins either took Jupiter to be a term equivalent to Baal, Deus, &c. i.e. God, Lord, &c. as Neptune was the sea Jupiter, Pluto the infernal Jupiter, &c. or by it understand the great governor of the universe himself, as the wisest of them most certainly did (100). In either of which cases it can satisfactorily be derived from no other source than the Tetragrammaton.

2. Diodorus Siculus, a very good author, where he does not too closely copy after Ctesias, as he cannot in the point before us, calls the God of Moses, the legislator of the Jews, Iao (1). This is a clear proof, that the God of Moses, or Jehovah, was known to the Greeks by the name Iao, which was its pronunciation, though a corrupt one, of the Tetragrammaton. Add to this pater or father, a word which both the Greeks and Latins affixed to Zeus and Jovis (2), and it becomes Iao-pater, which is evidently the Jupiter of the Latins. As therefore the Iao of Diodorus cannot be derived from the Celtic word Jov, so neither can Iao-pater, Iao-piter or Jupiter as Pezron thinks; being made up of pater and Iao, that is, of pater and the Tetragrammaton.

3. We are told by Macrobius (3), that the oracle of Apollo at Clarus affirmed Iao to be the greatest of the gods, or rather the supreme God. Now this oracle was of a very high antiquity, as we learn from Strabo (4), who makes Mopsus, a famous footstayer in the time of the Trojan war, to have lived within the verge of it. Nay, it may be collected from Macrobius (5), that it was superior in point of antiquity to Orpheus himself, which will carry us a vast way back into the mythic period of time. Aeschylus also intimates, that there was a Zeus (6), or Jupiter Clarus, which must undoubtedly have been the great God Iao above-mentioned. Since therefore Zeus and Iao are terms synonymous, as we have before proved Iao and Jupiter to be; this is a further argument, that these all must have had the same original, and consequently that Jupiter is not of Celtic extraction.

4. In

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sometimes the people of Carthage reposed great confidence in him, yet we find their ancestors, the Tyrians, in a case of

4. In a fragment of Philo Byblius taken from Sanchoniatho, and handed down to us by Eusebius (7), mention is made of the God Io, and of his priest Jerombalus, which can have no manner of relation to the Celtic Io, because Sanchoniatho was a Phœnician. Irenæus, Clemens of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Epiphanius, also evince, that the Tetragrammaton of Jehovah was written in Greek Iao or Iau (8). Drufix moreover remarks from Porphyry, that Io, of Sanchoniatho was Iao or Jehovah (9). From all which authors it appears, that the Greeks, in all probability, received this great name from the Phœnicians. As therefore the Phœnician Io, the Greek Zeus, the Latin Jupiter, were at the same time Iao, that is, the Tetragrammaton, it can by no means be admitted, that the name Jupiter is to be deduced from the Celtic.

But it is urged in defence of this notion, that Thursday, or the Day of Jove, is called in the remains of the Celtic language Diz-Jov. (10). Be it so; yet this will not come up to the point. For Diz-Jov is so very near the Latin Dies Jovis, that every one will be apt to believe the former to have been taken from the latter, and not the latter from the former. And why may not this be the case? If the Romans made it a maxim to propagate their language wherever they came, and even incurred with it the languages of most countries they obliged to submit to their arms, why should it appear incredible, that several, nay many, Roman terms should have been transplanted into the old British and Armoricans tongues, since the Romans were masters of the countries where they were used for several centuries; and some of their emperors were either born, reared, or died in these parts of their dominion? This is by no means improbable; especially as the word Jov in Diz-Jov bears not the least resemblance to the name of that day in the Hibernian dialect of the Celtic (11), which was unknown to the Romans. The argument therefore would have been but of little force, even supposing the opposite opinion had been supported by no reasons at all; but as the reverse is true, as moreover we find not the least intimation of any divinity going by the name Jov in any of those authors who have treated of the Druidical religion, which prevailed amongst the Celts, it scarce deserves to be mentioned. But to proceed:

5. According

5. According to Plato, the Greek name Zeus imported properly the same thing that Jehovah did, i.e. the Being of Beings, the principal of life and existence (12). This is a farther proof, not a most strong presumption, that these two names were originally applied to the same being.

6. Gellius affirms, that the antient Latin name of Jupiter was Jovis (13), which, supposing it to be a Latin termination, as it really is, comes very near the Tetragrammaton. This will appear to be exactly true from what follows.

7. The old Etruscans (14), who were the descendents of the most antient Pelasgi, Phenicians, and Lydians (15), called Jupiter Juve or Jove. All the earliest literary monuments of this nation now remaining have their letters drawn from the right-hand to the left, after the Oriental manner (16), which is a convincing evidence of their high antiquity. Every thing considered, we look upon this as a decisive argument in favour of our opinion; and not only so, but are fully persuaded, that the true pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton is hereby discovered. The Maioretical pronunciation indeed differs something from it; but undoubtedly the Etruscan Juve or Jove is many centuries older than the very being of the Maiorettes. Besides, as the Phenician U answered to the Hebrew O, and the Maioretical scheva is a vowel of a most rapid pronunciation, we may take for granted, that Juve or Jove, and Jehovah, are the same.

8. Seneca affirms us, that the Etruscan Juve or Jove was the cause of causes, the great governor and director of the world, the principle of life and motion, and, in short, the Deity himself (17); and that the Etruscans themselves considered him in all their views. After this, what can be offered further in support of what we advance? or indeed, what can be required of us further to offer?

But notwithstanding Jupiter was the same with the Etruscan Juve or Jehovah, and even at first, as the word (18) itself implies, the name of the supreme God in most nations; yet we pretend

pretend not to deny that there was a king of Crete, who being, by reason of his heroic actions, deified after his death, received this name as a title the most illustrious of any that could be conferred upon him. This notion and what we have advanced are by no means incompatible. But still we must insist, that it ought to be considered as a title only, and not as his proper name, of which we are entirely ignorant. 'Tis evident to all persons who have made any researches into antiquity, that the neighbouring idolatrous nations did not only imitate the Hebrews in these rites which were originally of divine institution, but likewise gave several appellations to their fictitious deities, which the Hebrews, and even they themselves, whilst they remained in the true religion, appropriated to the true God. Of this El, Baal, Adonai, and even Jehovah itself, are pregnant instances. One of their false gods the Greeks called Zeus, and the Latins Jupiter, whose worship was established at Carthage by Dido herself, as Justin relates (19); for which end she carried one of his priests with her from Cyprus to Africa. Under what form the Carthaginians exhibited Saturn and Jupiter to public adoration, is no-where said; but the manner in which Baal was represented in the east, has been already touched upon (20).

Mars, called by the Sabines Mammers, was the god of war, and, according to Vossius (21), of Oriental extraction. Sir Isaac Newton says mavors (22) or ma-fors was a Phrygian word, signifying valiant. It appears from Silius, that the Carthaginians (23) addressed their oaths to Mars as well as to Jupiter. Hannibal sacrificed to this god with great solemnity, before he set out upon the Italian expedition (24); from whence we may infer, that he was greatly revered by the Carthaginian generals.

Bacchus was undoubtedly in Africa, and, without question, known in Carthage; but as he was more famous in Libya, we shall defer what we have to say of him, till we come to the history of that country.

Bochart seems to think, that Apollo was originally an African deity (25). He takes him to have been the Phut of Mofes, known among the Greeks by the name Pythus. The Carthaginians, when they took the city of Gela in Sicily, found a statue of Apollo of an extraordinary size (26), which they sent to their mother city Tyre;

(19) Justin l. xviii. (20) Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 343, not (E).
(21) Vossius in theol. gent. (22) Sir Isaac Newton. chronol.
(23) Sili. Italic 1. i. (24) Idem ibid. (25)
(26) Boch. Phal. l. i. q. 2.
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Neptune was likewise one of the Dii majorum gentium, or gods of the first class, of the Carthaginians. It cannot well


Tyre; and this was the statue which the Tyrians fastened with golden chains to the altar of Hercules, when they were under an apprehension, that he was going over to Alexander, then besieging their city. Besides this, there was another at Carthage of an immense value, taken by Scipio at the conclusion of the last siege, and, as Plutarch (27) intimates, sent to Rome. The temple of Apollo, as described by Appian, was the richest and most superb edifice at Carthage, of which we have given an account above. It was placed in the forum. Valerius Maximus relates, that the hand of one who came to strip him of his golden garments was found among the pieces of gold cut off from him, which he mentions as an instance of his resenting sacrilege in a high manner (28). If we consider him as the sun, he was the Osiris of the Egyptians, and the Mithras of the Persians (29), and consequently the great god of all the east. The Apollo Libycus (30) will be fully considered in a proper place.

Neptune some take to have been Japhet, the king of the Isles (31), as they think appears not only from the office antiquity assigned him, but likewise from his name. He presided over earthquakes, plagues, and inundations (32), and, in order to render him propitious, the Carthaginians threw victims into the sea as offerings to him. Of this we have a remarkable instance during Hannibal's siege of Agrigentum (33), when a number of priests were in this manner offered. The ancients attributed to him every thing that related to the management of horses, and from the rock out of which the first horse is supposed to have sprung, he had the denomination of Scyphus given him (34) scyph in Punic signifying a rock or stone. Bochart makes his name Poseidon to be a Punic term, importing broad or expanded (35). His name Neptune shall be accounted for, when we come to visit Libya; for, according to Herodotus, he was originally a Libyan (36).

Our readers will not be surprised, that we have paied over in silence the Carthaginian images or representations of these four last deities, since we are entirely in the dark as to the manner in which they were figured at Carthage. Possibly in the main the Carthaginians,

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well be doubted, but that he was the Baal of Sidon, called Thalaffus, or the Sea Baal, taken notice of in a former part of this history *.

THE word Baal, in itself an appellative, at first served to denote the true God, amongst those who adhered to the true religion; though afterwards, when it became common amongst the idolatrous nations, and they, as well as his own people, applied it to their respective idols, he rejected it b. The false god to whom they first appropriated it, was Chronus or Saturn, as intimated above. In process of time it became a title, or mark of distinction, prefixed to the names of many others. Hence the Baal-Peor, Baal-Zebub, Baal-Molech, &c. of the Syrians and Phcenicians c. The term imported god or lord amongst the Orientals, as zeus did amongst the Greeks d. The plural Baalim in scripture signifies gods, lords, masters, sovereigns, &c. correspondent to the semle of Bel in the Chaldee tongue. According to Servius e, who is followed by Vossius herein, Bal in the Punic language had two significations; it either specified Saturn, or was equivalent to the Latin deus, or god. Xenophon f intimates, that, in the earliest times, every head of one of the most illustrious families in all countries was called Chronus or Saturn; every first-born son or daughter of such families Jupiter or Juno; and the most valiant of their offspring Hercules. Theodoret seems to apply this to the Phoenicians in particular g; adding, that such noble personages were deified, on account of some signal service they did to their country. As we have made Baal, and Zeus or Jupiter, words of the same import in different languages, we may say of the former what Varro in Tertullian says of the latter, viz. that the number of those so styled amounted to three hundred. Notwithstanding which, some will have it, that there were originally but two gods of the Phoenicians, and consequent upon the Carthaginians, or, what is the same thing, that all the other

* Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 342  b Seld. de diis Syr. c. 1. sub init. & Hof. ii. 16, 17.  c Seld ubi supra.  d Idem ibid.  e Serv. in Æn. i. Vossi theol gent. i. ii. c. 4.  f Xenoph. in equiv.  g Theodoret. de Graec. affect. i. iii.

Carthaginians might agree with the Greeks and Romans in this particular; and if so, no piece so proper can be recommended to the perusal of the curious, as that of Albricus upon this subject (37).

(37) Albrect de deor. imag. Baf 1570.
other deities were resolvable into those two, viz. Baal and Astarte, or Belus and Astarte.

BAAL SAMEN, or, as the Hebrews would have written it, The fun Baal-Themaim, i.e. the lord of heaven, seems to have been worshipped the sun, as Belisama, or the queen of heaven, above-mentioned, the moon. According to St. Auffin, he had religious honours paid him by the Carthaginians. It is probable they had no representation of him at all, because they could not forbear beholding him daily in all his glory. Damascus calls him El, Bolathes, &c. and makes him to have been the same with Saturn.

The Carthaginians introduced Ceres and Proserpina as Greek deities, when ill success attended their arms in the war with Dionysius of Syracuse. This Diodorus tells us. But Virgil affirms, that Dido herself sacrificed to Ceres. The poet here, we think, ought to give way to the historian; for it is much more probable, that the Carthaginians should receive a Greek or Roman deity from the Greeks or Romans, than from the Phoenicians. The statues of these two goddesses stood in the temple of Dido, who was likewise deified by those idolaters, together with her sister Anna. We find on the reverses of several Carthaginian coins an ear or ears of corn, either in allusion to the goddess Ceres, or as a symbol of the fruitfulness of the country.

As the Carthaginians were a people who supported themselves chiefly by commerce, it cannot be supposed that they neglected the worship of the god of genius, industry, and traffic. Mercury the antients allotted this province to; and accordingly we find the Carthaginians paid divine honours to him under the name of Assumes or Assumes (U).

S 1 2

NOTHING


(U) Mercury was the minister of the gods, and presided over the roads or highway; as well as traffic and commerce. The old Etruscans named him Caminus, Camillus, or Cadmus, i.e. a servant or minister of the gods; and the Carthaginians, Assumes or Assumes, which imports a servant.
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Nothing is more celebrated in ancient history than the Tyrian Hercules, whose worship was brought to Carthage by Dido, and diffused itself afterwards over all the coasts of Africa, and as far as Gades or Cadiz, where he had a magnificent temple. The reason of his name Melcarthus has been already assigned. The Tyrians and Carthaginians supposed him to preside over gold, silver, and all sorts of treasures; on which account he was held in high veneration in the island of Thasus, where a Phoenician colony being planted discovered some gold mines. The Thasians adored him with the same solemnity as the people of Tyre, and had a brazen statue of him ten cubits high, with a club in the right hand, and a bow in the left; in which manner they undoubtedly represented him both at Tyre and Carthage. The Pelasги, originally Phoenicians, vowed him the tenth of every thing they had, on account of a great scarcity of grain they once laboured under. The Carthaginians for a considerable time never failed sending to Tyre the first fruits of their revenues, nor the tithe of the spoils taken from their enemies; as offerings to Hercules, the protector of Tyre and Carthage. Public diversions were instituted in honour of him at Tyre, which they celebrated every four years. At Carthage, no doubt, the same custom prevailed, as likewise of offering annually

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(40) Bochart thinks he was Canaan, because that word properly denotes a merchant, and in some respect answers to the name Mercury (41); which conjecture he farther confirms by observing, that, in conformity to Mercury’s office, Noah predicted, that Canaan should serve his brethren (42). His pilicus and caducus being winged, seem to allude to the sails of ships, and remotely to the long voyages the Phoenicians made, and the farthest parts of the world they were acquainted with, as doth likewise his government of the highways above-mentioned. Bochart and Volusius set this in a very clear light (43).

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annually human victims up to him. Varro mentions forty-five heroes who bore this appellation; but the oldest of them seems to have been the Tyrian or Carthaginian Hercules (W).

Iolaus comes next to Hercules, as being either related to him, or one that introduced some of his relations into the island.

(W) We cannot help being of opinion, that the Phoenician or Tyrian Hercules was the same with the Egyptian. It appears from Philostratus (44), that the Egyptian Hercules, as well as the Theban, i.e. the Phoenician, were worshipped in the same temple at Gadira or Gades; that there were no statues erected to either of them there; that the temple was adorned with the twelve labours of Hercules finely wrought; which must naturally have pointed at both of them; that the golden olive of Pygmalion king of Tyre (a Phoenician) bearing imaragdine fruit, of wondrous workmanship, was kept in this temple. Bishop Cumberland proves (45), that the Phoenician Hercules was a Phoenician king in Egypt; that he found out the purple dye, which is of Phoenician extraction; and that he built the temple on the island near the Straights, to which he gave the Phoenician name Gadira. Lastly, Sir Isaac Newton makes it evident (49), that the Hercules called Melcarth, who was king of Carteia, had the temple of Gades consecrated to him, as Philostratus intimates the Egyptian Hercules had (47); and that this Hercules was a Phoenician. From whence it may rationally be supposed, that the Phoenician Hercules and that of Egypt were the same.

The word itself is to be sought for from the salt; undoubtedly yercal or ercol, figifying swift and finewy, or strong, was the original. This Hercules was likewise upon the coast of Africa, and, according to Orosius, built Capsa there (48). Bishop Cumberland imagines him to have been called Affis or Aziz, i.e. the strong, as well as Ercol or Hercules (49). Africanus and Eusebius give him the name of Acheles (50). It is probable he was elected king or general of the Phoenicians, on account of the great glory he had acquired (51). Some believe, that he, in a manner, traversed the then known world; but the relations given us of his achievements are so interlarded with fable, that we know not well what to make of them.

island of Sardinia. The natives of that island, at his arrival, were Tyrrenians or Etruscans. Tho' people inhabiting the mountainous parts of Sardinia, received from him the appellation of Iolaeneces; and even the most fruitful provinces had the name of campi Iolei, the Iolean or Iolaen fields. Hercules and Iolaus, according to Vossius, had jointly divine honours paid them here, either because he was Hercules’s near relation, or asisted him in destroying the Hydra, which he did by drying up the gore with a red hot iron, when any of the heads was cut off, to prevent others from sprouting out in its room. Ovid pretends, that, at the intercession of Hercules, Hebe restored him to his youth, when he was grown extremely decrepit. As the Carthaginians had this island in possession a considerable time, it is supposed they borrowed him from the Sardi; for that he was one of their principal deities, we are given to understand by Polybius. The rites and ceremonies observed at his public worship are fully described by Vossius out of Paufantas.

Hendreich intimates, that the Dea Syria, or Syrian goddess, was a deity of the Carthaginians; but who she was, authors are not agreed. By the description of her temple already given, and the statue in it, the most either have been Juno, or a group of all the goddesses; which last opinion seems most probable. The curious may find further satisfaction on this head, by consulting Tertullian and Lippius, as well as the first volume of this history.

The people of Carthage likewise addressed themselves to Asculapius, whom Servius calls Pænigena, because he supposed his mother to have been a Carthaginian. The place more particularly sacred to him was Byrsa, or rather the top of that fortress, famous for his spacious temple there situated. We have already observed, that Asdrubal’s wife, at the final destruction of Carthage, burnt this edifice, together with her self, her family, and nine hundred Roman deserters. Considerable quantities of vervain, an herb sacred to him, were preferred in this place. The best authors take him to have been originally a Maclenian, or an Egyptian; yet, according to Vossius, the Carthaginians received him immediately from the

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*x* Strab. 1 v.  
*y* Idem ibid.  
*z* Diod. Sic & Strab. ubi supra.  
*a* Voil theol gent i c. 40.  
*b* Ovid. met. ix.  
*c* Polyb. i viii.  
*d* Voil ubi supra.  
*e* Hendr. I ii. sect. i. c. 4.  
*f* Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 289, 292, &c.  
*g* Tertul. apol. c. 24.  
*h* ibid. sect. i. ii. c. 21. epist. quaest. i. ii. c. 22. & Univ. hist. ubi supra.  
*i* Serv. in Æn. 7.  
*j* Appian. in Libye.
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the Tyrians, to whom either the Syro-Macedonians or Egyptians * communicated him. Alexander took Tyre in the first year of the hundred and twelfth Olympiad; and Carthage was finally destroyed by Scipio in the third year of the hundred and fifty-eighth; in the interval betwixt which two periods the worship of Æsculapius passed from the Syro-Macedonians or Egyptians to the Tyrians, and from them to the Carthaginians. Toforthus, or Seforethus, a king of Memphis, and the second of the third dynasty of Manetho, for his great skill in the art of phylisc, is generally allowed to have been the first Æsculapius. He preceded many ages the Melfenian §.

Herebus, another Carthaginian deity mentioned by Silius and Polybius, seems to have been Pluto, or Dis. We know nothing farther of him, than that he was invoked as the god of hell, and represented under an human shape, with long loofe hair. Vossius and Hendrich both take notice of him m.

Triton, the sea god, had a place amongst the deities of Carthage, as we learn from the treaty concluded betwixt Philip the son of Demetrius king of Macedon, and the Carthaginians n. Some authors have told us, that he was so called from Τритος, a Greek word, signifying a wave o. It appears from Virgil, that the province of Triton and Cymothoë was to release or heave off vessels run aground, and to clear them from the rocks. The antient mythologists make the nymph Cymothoë to have been the daughter of Nereus and Doris; but Triton the son of Neptune and Amphitrite p.

Mopsus, a famous augur or soothsayer, after his death, became a sort of oracle q at Carthage. The memory of this deified sage has been transmitted down to posterity by Lucatius Placidus and Apuleius r. Strabo takes notice of one Mopsus the son of Manto the daughter s of Tiresias. But, according to Vossius, this was the son of Ampycus an Argonaut, mentioned by Apollonius and Valerius Flaccus t. All that can be added concerning him is, that temples were erected to him by this nation, from whence responses were given, as from so many oracles.

k Voss. ubi supra, 1. i. c. 32. l Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 581.
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Rivers, meads, waters, &c. or rather the supposed germs of all these inanimate parts of the creation, were esteemed as objects of adoration. This humour likewise prevailed amongst the Greeks, Romans, and most other nations, from very antient times. No one has handled this subject better than Voëlius, whose writings our learned readers will peruse with great pleasure. Some maintain, that the worship of the elements was prior to all others in the pagan world; but we must beg leave to dissent from their opinion.

Scaliger, the elder acquaints us, that the old Africans paid a religious homage to fire, which was perhaps likewise the custum at Carthage. This sentiment he seems to have taken from Leo Africanus, an author whom we shall have occasion to consult hereafter.

With this the air and winds also shared divine honours, which was probably derived from the Assyrrians. The air to this nation appeared to be superior to the other elements, and to have them, as it were, under its government and direction; for which reason it was honoured with adoration. We read in Sanchoniatho, that Usus consecrated two rude stones or pillars to fire and wind; to which we may add, that the worship of the air and winds was not unknown to the Greeks and Persians.

The Carthaginians sometimes swore by the Manes of Dido, as Silius relates. Anna her sister passed for a goddess, under the name of Anna Perenna, according to some. It is imagined, tho' with no great appearance of truth, that the lived with Aeneas, and was drowned by Lavinia in the river Numicus; from whence she was called Nymphia Numicia. It is certain the Romans, as well as the Carthaginians, paid her divine honours. Ceres and Proserpina were ranked with Dido, as being all in the same temple. Ceres was either aeclefts, i. e. the moon, or subeclefts, i. e. the fruitful earth. She answered to the Egyptian Isis. These two last are amply treated of by various authors.

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\[a\] Sil. Ital. i. i. Voëll. ubi supra, c. 67. \[b\] Voss. ibid p. 67, 74. \[x\] Jul. Cass. Scalig. exercit. 258. \[y\] Joan. Leo African. de prisc. Afr. f.d. & relig. i. i. \[z\] Jul. Firmic. profan. relig. lib. \[a\] Hendr. ubi supra. \[b\] Sanchoniath. apud Euseb. prep. evang. l. i. \[c\] Hendr. ubi supra. \[d\] Sil. Ital. i. i. \[e\] Hendr. ubi supra. \[f\] Ovid. fast. l. iii. Sil. Ital. l. viii. Voëll. theol. gent. i. i. c. 12. & instit. orat. l. i. c. 6. sect. 8. Vide etiam Volater. l. xxviii. \[g\] Ovid. ubi supra. \[h\] Sil. Ital. l. i. \[i\] Voëll. ubi sup. l. ii. c. 59. \[j\] Lippus de cruc. l. i. c. 5. Pompon. Sabin. in Æn. 4. Varro apud Voëll. ubi sup. P. Nennius. in misc. l. vii. c. 10, aliquie multi.
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The honour that Dido herself received from the people of Carthage after her death, she, according to Ovid, had in her life-time conferred upon her husband Sichæus.

Tellus, or the Earth, was worshipped by the Carthaginians, as appears from the treaty of peace with Philip, mentioned by Polybius. For a further account of this deity, our readers may have recourse to Vossius.

"Hamilcar," says Herodotus, by his father's side a Carthaginian, but by his mother's a Syracusan, was, by reason of his virtue and superior abilities, elected king of the Carthaginians. The same day that the battle of Salamis was fought, being defeated by Gelon and (his father-in-law) Theron near Himera, he vanished, and could never after be found, tho' Gelon caused the strictest search to be made for him. The Carthaginians, who have his image in high veneration, say, that during the engagement between the barbarians and the Greeks, which continued from morning till evening without intermission, Hamilcar laid in the camp sacrificing, and throwing entire victims upon a flaming pile; but that seeing his troops put to the rout, he himself rushed into the fire, and, being consumed, was never more seen. Whether he disappeared in the manner as related by the Phœnicians, or as the Carthaginians affirm, it is certain, that they offer sacrifices to him, and have erected monuments to his memory in all the cities they have founded, tho' the most memorable are in Carthage." So far Herodotus. It is not unlikely that the Carthaginians adopted other favourite generals into the number of their gods; nay, we are assured by Silius, that, notwithstanding the infamous treatment he met with from his countrymen at laft, Hannibal was adored in his lifetime.

These deities seem to have been of the same kind with the dii indigetes of the Latins.

The Carthaginians also ranked among the gods the two Philæni. These brothers, having been sent by their countrymen to accommodate some differences with the Cyreæans, and, in conjunction with the commissaries appointed by that people, to settle the limits of their respective dominions, by fraud extended their own frontiers, to the prejudice of the others. The Cyreæans, incensed at this, would not cede the tract demanded, unless the Philæni would suffer themselves to be buried alive in the place which they had pitched upon.

1 Ovid, heroïd. 7.  
2 Polyb. I. vii.  
3 Voss. ubi sup. c. 9. 51, &c.  
4 Herod. I. ii.  
6 in advers. p. 801.
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upon for their boundary. To this they instantly agreed, and had afterwards two altars erected there to their memory; which served as a land-mark or limit to the Carthaginian territories on the site of Cyrenaica for many succeeding ages. Sallust, Mela, and Valerius Maximus, give all the particulars of this story.

St. Austin tells us, that some of the Carthaginian divinities had the name of Abaddires, and their priests that of Eucaddires. The class in all probability, was derived from the stone which Jacob anointed with oil, after it had served him for a pillow the night he had his vision; for in the morning he called the name of the place where he lay Bethel. Now, it is no wonder this should have been esteemed as sacred, since God himself says he was "the God of Bethel, "the place where Jacob anointed the pillar." From Bethel came the Baetylus of Damascius, which we find called Abaddir by Priscian. This Abaddir is the Phœnician Aban- Dir, i.e. the spherical stone, exactly answering to the description of the Baetylus given us by Damascius, and others. The case seems to have been this: The Canaanites of the neighbourhood first worshipped the individual stone itself, upon which Jacob had poured oil; afterwards they consecrated others of that form, and worshipped them; which false worship was perpetuated even to the time of St. Austin. Abaddir may likewise be understood to mean Ab-Addir, i.e. the magnificent father, a title given to the true God himself; but afterwards applied to those, who by nature were no gods. That Addir was an epithet joined to the names of false gods in the east, may in some measure, appear from Addir-Dag, the magnificent fifth, i.e. Adergatis, Atergatis, &c. Abaddires therefore was an appellation belonging to some Punic deities, as Eucaddires, i.e. Eucaddires, persons initiated in the sacred mysteries of the Ab-
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dires or Abaddires, was a term appropriated to their priests (X).

We must not omit, that the Carthaginians carried about with them some small images representing certain gods, in covered chariots. Eustathius calls these κατὰς θεοὺς ἐπιστήμων ἱλαρόν, portable temples, or temples carried by oxen. They were a sort of oracles, and their responses were understood by the motions impressed upon the vehicle. This was likewise an Egyptian and Libyan custom. The ancient Germans also had something like it, as we learn from Tacitus. Philo Byblius relates, that Agrotes, or, at least his image, was carried about in procession in this manner. The tabernacle of Melchior above mentioned, we take to have been a machine of this kind.

It is remarkable, that, in the treaty of Philip so often The Genius cited, mention is made of the Daemon or Genius of Carthage. Who

(X) The Eathyli were stones that were believed to be animated, and were consulted by some fanatics as oracles. These stones were round, and of such a size, that some of them might be carried about by their votaries, either by hanging at the neck, or in some other way (52).

Ifidorus tells us, they were of different sorts; and that some of them were consecrated to Saturn, others to Jupiter, others to the Sun, &c. (53)

Their origin was very ancient, if any credit may be given to Sanchoniatho, who makes Ouranus the inventor of them. Bochart proves, that Philo Byblius has wrongly translated Sanchoniatho's words animated stones; and that it ought to have been anointed stones (54).

The ancient Greeks and Latins, who have taken any notice of the Eathyli, hardly afford any other notion of them, but as the stone which Saturn swallowed in the place of Jupiter (55). The scholium upon Hesiod relates, upon the authority of Agathocles, a Babylonian author, that Rhea had taken that stone from the island of Proconia; and Stephanus adds, that Saturn swallowed it upon mount Thaumastus. M. Falconet has published a dissertation upon this subject, which, together with what M. Fourmont has offered, will, according to the abbe Banier, abundantly satisfy the curious (56).

Who this might be, we shall not take upon us to determine; but only in general observe, that the pagan world looked upon these Demons as intelligences of a middle nature betwixt the gods and men, as beings who had, in a great measure, the administration of the world committed to them. Hence it is no wonder they should have received religious honours; for when once mankind were poffessed with the opinion, that they were the ministers of the gods, and trusted with the dispensation of their favours, as well as the infliction of their punishment, it is natural to suppose, that they would be defirous of making their addresses to them. We hope to give our readers a full and particular account of these inferior deities, when we come to the Arabic history.

So full an account has already been given of the Cabiri, that there is neither room nor occasion to be prolix here. To what has been already said we shall, however, add, that the Pelasgi introduced the worship of these gods into Samothrace, Greece, and all other countries where they seated themselves; that men and all animals, without distinction, nay, even all kinds of inanimate sacrifices, were offered up to them; that they had at first no proper names, but were worshipped under the general denomination of gods; that the word Cabiri either signified certain anonymous divinities, or their priests, known by the name Corybantes; that from an antient inscription mentioned by Aftorius, it is manifest the Cabiri were likewise called Diofcuri; that the Phenicians first paid them divine honours, afterwards the Egyptians, who built them a magnificent temple at Memphis in the earliest ages, which continued to the time of Achilles Tatius; that the Syrians, Egyptians, Greeks, Cypriots, Phrygians, Etruscans, Latins, Carthaginians, and almost all the antient pagans, had the most profound reverence for the Cabiric or Samothracian mysteries; that the vulgar believed all initiated into these mysteries could not fail of being happy, both here and hereafter; that, according to Sanchoniathe, the Dilii Cabiri were eight in number, being the sons of Sydik; that the inhabitants of Samothrace, sacrificed dogs to Hecate in the cave Zerinthus, sacred to the Cabiri; that the Pelasgi, Samothracians, &c. celebrated the Cabiric mysteries in the night-time, with great indecency; and that this was the principal motive with the antients not to transmit them down in writing to posterity. Bishop Cumberland, the abbe Banier, and Aftorius, have, in a manner, exhausted this subject. A catalogue of the authors who have supplied them
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them with materials, our readers will find here inferred, to whom they may have recourse at their leisure (Y).

The Anaces, Anaëtes, or Diodurci, are by some thought to have been the same with the Cabiri, by others different from

(Y) Reland, who has favoured the learned world with a dissertation upon the Cabiri, concludes, that they were the gods of the dead; that Ceres was the earth which received them; Pluto and Proserpina the infernal regions where they came to dwell; and Camillus or Mercury the god who conducted them thither (57).

The mysterious names Axieres, Axiokeria, Axiokeros, and Catinilos, Bochart has happily interpreted, and proved, that, in the Phænecian language, they denote Ceres, Proserpina, Pluto, and Mercury. Princes, and persons of the first distinction, were ambitious of being initiated into the awful mysteries of these great gods, upon account of the high reputation they were in. Voluit thinks, that we are to understand by the name Cabiri only the ministers of the gods, as the Curetes and Dactyli of Crete, and the Corybantes of Phrygia; but this, as running counter to all antiquity, can by no means be admitted (58).

Arnobius affirms, that, in the celebration of those mysteries, they flew one of the initiated, and is followed therein by Firmicus; but this seems rather to refer to an accident that once happened, than to prove, that such a practice was authorized by custom (59).

The priests of the Cabiri, according to Hefychius were called Coes, a word manifestly derived from the Hebrew cohen, i.e. a priest; a further proof this, that the old obsolete language used by the priests in their ceremonies, was the Hebrew or Phænician (60).

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from them. However this may be, they were undoubtedly descended from the Anakims of Moses. It can scarce be questioned but Inachus himself was of this race, as his name plainly imports. Some believe, that the word Anaetes was a title given to those princes of Inachus's line, who had distinguished themselves by their heroic actions; which evidently alludes to the name of that family, so eminent in scripture for its gigantic stature; and we own ourselves inclinable to fall in with this sentiment. Paufanias, Pliny, Philostratus, and Julius Pollux, not to mention many other authors that occur, render it probable, that in ancient times were not wanting instances of persons of a monstrous size of body. However, many of these relations, particularly those of Phlegon, Abydenus, Solinus and others, must be allowed to be fabulous (Z).


(Z) Vossius is of opinion, that the name of the gods Anaetes was originally from Phœnec; but he thinks it had been brought into the west by Cadmus, or by the Canaanites, whom Joshua, by his conquests, had obliged to quit Phœnic, and who had retired into Greece. He farther thinks, that the Spartans, who called themselves allies of Israel, as we learn from Josephus, were a colony of the Canaanites, who were most likely descended from Abraham by Hagar and Keturah; and this is the reason why the most famous of the Greek Anaetes were Cafer and Polux, natives of Sparta, the Lacedæmonians having given them that name to honour the memory of Anek's descendants, of whom they had heard so many wonderful stories. We shall only add, that it was a common thing with the Greeks to call those persons the sons of the Earth, who were so ancient, that they had but a very imperfect account of their original; for this reason they called Anax or Anak the son of the Earth, as we have observed above from Paufanias.

Paufanias intimates, that the Dioscuri were to be distinguished from the Cabiri; but that the Anaetes, were the same with them (61). His words are to this effect: "With regard to the Anaetes, men are divided in their sentiments about them; some will have them to be the same with the Dioscuri; others with the Curetes; but the most intelligent persons take them to be the Cabiri." Suidas intimates, that the word was applied

(61) Paufan in Phocic.
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To what has been observed of the Pataici, or Pataeci, in the second volume of this history, we shall only subjoin, that the statues of these gods, of the Cabiri, and of the Egyptian Vulcan, had a great resemblance to one another; that therefore, since Vulcan was esteemed the most antient of the gods, the Pataeci must have been of great antiquity; that in after-ages, the Penates had the same respect paid them by the Romans, as these received from their votaries the Phoenicians and Carthaginians; and lastly, that the word, according to Scaliger, is to be deduced from the Hebrew patach, he engraved, or, as Bochart will have it, from batach, he confided in; either of which etymologies very well quadrates with the use the Phoenicians, and after them the Greeks, made of the gods Pataeci k.

As the Palici were Sicilian deities l, of eastern extraction, it is reasonable to suppose, that they owed their origin in Sicily to the Carthaginians, who got a footing in that island in very antient times, and therefore may justly be looked upon as some of its most antient inhabitants. This we say, is probable; but as there is not the express testimony of any good author to support it, we shall drop all further particulars concerning them; and conclude here what we have to say of the gods of the Carthaginians.

The barbarous custom of offering up human sacrifices did not expire with the city of Carthage, but continued amongst the Africans, even till the time of Tiberius. That prince, tho' none of the most humane and compassionate, was so shocked at the unnatural practice of offering up children to Saturn, that in his proconsulship, according to Tertullian m, he ordered the priests concerned in that horrid impiety


applied both to kings and gods (62). Pindar, Cicero, and Tzetzes all take particular notice of them (63).

The account published by Sir Hans Sloane in the philosophical transactions, of the fœtid teeth and the bones of elephants, which falls in with this subject, is very well worth the perusal of our curious readers (64).

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piety to be hanged, and committed the care of the execution
to the African militia. This practice had been retained,
with little or no intermission, from the foundation of the
city; for notwithstanding the Carthaginians, to avoid draw-
ing upon themselves the indignation of Darius Hyflaspi,
might, for a few years, suspend it, or at least pretend so to
do, yet it is certain, that, in his successor Xerxes's time,
they had resumed it. This appears from history; for Gelon,
after he had vanquished them in the reign of that prince,
concluded a treaty of peace with them, of which this was one
article, that no more human sacrifices should be offered to
Saturn; nay, to such a pitch of frenzy, or rather savage
barbarity, were they come, that mothers, who are naturally
the most susceptible of tender impressions, made it a merit
to view their own offspring thrown into the devouring flames,
without so much as a groan. They even, by kisses and
embraces, hushed the cries of their children, before they
were cast into the flaming statue of Saturn above-mentioned,
imagining the efficacy of the sacrifice would have been en-
tirely lost, if any thing that might have been interpreted as
a mark of the least reluctance or regret had been shewn. They
used a drum or a tabret, among other instruments, to
drown the shrieks and outcries of the unhappy victims. Some
authors believe, that the Phoenicians, from whom the
Carthaginians derived this detestable custom, contented them-
theselves with making their children pass through the fire, with-
out burning them; but Selden and others evince this to be a
mistake. Plutarch tells us, that the mothers were, in
some measure, obliged to stand by as unconcerned specia-
tors; since a groan or tear falling from them would have
been punished by a fine, and still the child must have been
sacrificed. In times of pestilence, or other public calamities,
the Carthaginians endeavoured to appease their offended
gods by vast numbers of such oblations; of which we have
given an instance or two above (A).

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(A) Those perfons who are not disposed to give over-much
credit to the fragments of Sanchioniatho's history still extant,
think human sacrifices can be traced up no higher than Abraham.
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From many authors it appears, that the Carthaginians were extremely addicted to superstitition. They had, however, in general, some good notions: they addressed themselves to the gods, before they attempted to put in execution any enterprise by them formed; and after any advantage gained, they were not slack in making proper returns to the powers above for it. Temples very magnificent they abounded with at Carthage, and took care to have no deficiency of them in any part of the Carthaginian dominions. One famous temple, sacred to Baal or Balis, in a city of that name on the borders of Cyrenaica, we find taken notice of by Stephanus, who intimates, that the city received its appellation from that deity. There is great reason to believe, that El, II, Bel, Bal, Baal, Belus, Balis, Helius, &c. were different names of the same pagan divinity.

We have already described the manner in which the Babylonian women prostituted themselves to strangers at the temple of Mylitta, as likewise the same custom prevailing amongst the Phoenicians, whose women, for this end, repaired to the great temple of Astarte at Byblus. We have now to add, that the same thing, in all respects, was practised at Carthage; excepting that the money got by this infamous commerce amongst the Babylonians and Phoenicians was presented to Mylitta or Astarte, i.e. Venus, whereas the Carthaginian women applied the wages of their prostitution to their own use. This indeed favoured something more


The Canaanites and Phoenicians (65), in whose country that patriarch attempted to offer up his son Isaac, in obedience to the divine command, imitated the Jews in many particulars, and derived many of their institutions from those of that nation, which were of divine origin, as has been before observed. It is probable therefore, that they might reason with themselves after this manner: "If God was so highly pleased with Abraham's bare intention of offering up his son Isaac, that he showered down blessings upon his posterity in a most extraordinary manner, what marks of the divine favour may not those persons expect"

(65) Vide Bochart. in Phal. & Chan. Hyde de relig. vet. Perf. alciq; scriptor. quam plurim.
more of the common harlot than the other; but all these nations were arrived at such an height of infatuation and impiety, on account of their gross idolatry, and variety of pollutions attending it, that it is hard to say which of them was the worst (B).

A very learned author of our own nation imagines, that some traces of the Succoth Benoth b, mentioned in scripture, may be found in Sicca Venera, the name of a city in Numidia, not far from the borders of Africa Propria. The name itself bears a near allusion to the obscene custom above taken notice of, and seems to have been transported from Phoenice. This cannot well be disputed, when we consider, that in this very city there was a temple, where c women were obliged to purchase their marriage-money by the prostitution of their bodies. The author of the itinerary sometimes

b Selden. de diis Syr. syntag. ii. c. 6. c Val. Max. l. ii. Univ. hist. vol. iv. p. 327.

"expect, who actually do sacrifice their children?" Thus the highest instance of obedience upon record might, through the depraved imaginations, and blind understandings, of a great part of mankind, together with the suggestions of their grand enemy, become the accidental cause of one of the most enormous and unnatural kinds of wickedness that could be committed.

(B) Canaan's poorness were a most profligate and abandoned race of men, addicted to all, even the most unnatural, kinds of lust, as the scripture gives us good reason to apprehend. Now, it is worthy admiration, that Noah cursed Canaan only of Ham's sons (66), on account of Ham's breach of modesty in exposing his father's nakedness, which was both unholy and unnatural. This is a strong intimation, that Canaan only was an accomplice of his father Ham in this wickedness, which was an evident token of a most dissolute and vicious turn of mind. This vile disposition exerted itself in his poorness, and vauntly contributed towards drawing down those heavy divine judgments, which, in process of time, fell upon them. Hence it appears, that in conformity to the patriarch's prediction, Canaan's descendents were subject to the poorness of Shem, i.e. the Jews; and that this very judgment was, in a great measure, occasioned by the effects of that vile disposition inherent in them, which so eminently displayed itself in Ham, and, as is probable, in Canaan also, and which immediately drew upon them all the curse of their great ancestor Noah. So true is that observation of the psalmist, Righteous art thou, O Lord, and upright are thy judgments (67).

times calls it simply Sicca, and Solinus Venerea. Sicca signifies a tabernacle, as well as Succa; and therefore probably this was what it imported in the Punic tongue. Procopius, Victor Uticensis, and others, in conjunction with our author, render this opinion almost incontestable.

If any points of consequence relating to the worship of the people at present under consideration should have hitherto escaped us, they will be occasionally touched upon hereafter, as they offer themselves in the course of this history.

The Hebrew and Phœnician languages were in a manner the same, as has been observed in several places of this history, and is apparent, not only from the nature of the thing, but from the concurrent testimony of learned men, who, generally speaking, agree in this particular. The Phœni or Carthaginians therefore having been originally Phœnicians, 'tis undeniable, that their language must at first have been the Phœnician. However Scaliger believes, that the Punic, (he must mean that of after-ages) in some respects, deviated from the Hebrew and Phœnician, which, considering how distant the Carthaginians were from their mother-country, Phœnice, and the people they were incorporated with, is not to be wondered at. 'Tis much more wonderful, that they should have retained so much, nay, in a manner the whole, of their original tongue; for that they did so, after what has been advanced by Scaliger, Petit, Bochart, and others, will scarce admit of a dispute.

Our great Selden, next to Scaliger, seems to have been the first who endeavoured in earnest to settle this point; which, from the authority of St. Jerom, St. Austin, and many other writers, he likewise seems to have done effectually. He has moreover given us a specimen of an interpretation of the remains of the Punic language to be found in Plautus. Petit and Bochart have been much more copious on this head; but what they have advanced has not met with universal applause, which the least of these seems to have been beforehand apprehensive of; in short, there is room enough left for any learned man to exercise his wit and talents on this subject.

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Bochart has produced a vast collection of Punic words from different authors, and traced them all up to the Hebrew or Phoenician; all which will serve as so many proofs, that the Carthaginian language agreed in the main with these; that, notwithstanding the small variations from them discernible in it, it ever continued to be the same in substance with them.

From what has been offered in the first section of the history we are now upon, it appears, that the word Carthago or Cartaco itself was of Hebrew or Phoenician extraction. As therefore an affinity of proper names implies an affinity of the languages to which they belong, the following short catalogue of Hebrew or Phoenician and Punic proper names, by demonstrating the harmony betwixt these languages, will not a little contribute to confirm the sentiment which we, in common with so many others, have espoused.

**Hebrew or Phoenician.**

- Zachæus
- Michæus.
- Amalec.
- Melchior.
- Jefche, or Jeffe.
- Hinnon, or Hanun, or Hanon.
- Hanabaal, or Baal-Hanan.
- Ezra, or Ezdras-Baal.
- Barac.
- Elizabeth.
- Milca.
- Magog.
- Meßiah.
- Adoni.

**Punic.**

- Sichæus.
- Machæus.
- Amilco, or Himilco.
- Amilecar.
- Gifgo, or Gesco.
- Hanno.
- Hanibal.
- Astdrubal.
- Barca.
- Elifa.
- Imilce.
- Mago.
- Meffe.
- Doni.

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1 Bochart. in Phal. & Chan. passim. 2 See before, sect. 1.
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Some of these names we have been supplied with by Reineccius; but the following we remember not to have seen compared by any author whatsoever.

**Hebrew or Phoenician.**

- Anna, or
- Hannah.
- Jachin, or
- Jecon-Jah.
- Adar, or
- Ader-Baal.
- Baal.
- Mathan, or
- Matham-Baal.
- Mehir, or
- Mehir-Baal.
- Saph,
- Saphat,
- Sapham,
- Saphan, or
- Saphon.

**Punic.**

- Α
- Anna.
- Χ
- Jachon.
- ά
- Adherbal.
- Βαλ
- Bal.
- Μυθμβλ
- Muthumbal.
- Μαθβλ
- Maheral,
- Σφφο
- Sappho.

We have chosen to compare the Punic proper names in this place with the Hebrew or Phoenician, to which they undoubtedly answer, rather than produce their etymons, as Bochart does; since in our opinion this more clearly exhibits the very great agreement betwixt them, and renders the near relation they bore to one another obvious to all capacities.

The Punic tongue had likewise a tincture of the Chaldee and Syriac, as we learn from Priscian and St. Austin. But as this is chiefly to be understood of it in the latter ages, when it was in its decline, particularly those that immediately preceded St. Austin, or even that in which he lived; and as the Chaldee and Syriac languages themselves were, in all probability, nearly allied to the Hebrew, nay, almost the same with it, in early times, we shall infer nothing from this observation, but leave it to our readers to make what use of it they please.

According

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$^{1505}$


$^1$ tom. iv
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According to Salmius † there have been some persons who have believed, that the Punic language and the old Egyptian were the same; but as neither arguments nor sufficient authorities are produced to support this hypothesis, we shall make no scruple to reject it.

M. Maius, professor of the Greek and Oriental languages in the Ludovician university of Gießen, ‡ published a small piece in the year 1718, wherein he proves, that the present language of the Maltese contains a great deal of the old Punic in it. The materials of which this tract consists, he was supplied with by one father James Stanislaus John Baptift Ribier de Gattis, a missionary Jesuit, and native of Malta, who very well understood the language (C) of the Maltese, having resided many years amongst them. This piece is very curious, containing proofs that this island was, for a considerable period of time, subject to the Carthaginians; and that the Punic tongue was planted and continued in it, as likewise a large collection of Maltese words more remote from the Arabic than from the Phoenician, Chaldee, or Syrian. We cannot pretend to transfer the whole treatise, though it is but a short one; but as the Maltese names of the cardinal numbers differ pretty much from those of other living languages, except the Arabic; as they come nearer the terms expressing those numbers in the Phoenician or Chaldee, than any other tongue; and consequently furnish us with a strong argument, that the Maltese tongue has much of the old Punic in it; and at the same time improve our idea of this idle; we think we cannot do our curious readers a greater pleasure than by inferring them.

Maltese


(C) One of the authors of this history was very well acquainted with this Father Ribier, or, as he called himself, Riviere, at Oxford, where he died in the year 1736. He confirmed this person by word of mouth every particular he had communicated to M. Maius, and added some others; viz. that he had carefully examined most of the Oriental words in the Maltese tongue, and found they approached much nearer the Hebrew and Chaldee than the Arabic; that the natives had a sort of tradition, that they were descended from the Carthaginians, &c. He was a very good Orientalist, and had his education, as he related, in the Jesuits' college at Ingoldstät in Bavaria. Some small MSS. pieces he left in the hands of the person above-mentioned.
1. Our readers will at first sight discover, that the Maltese words in general here are almost the same with the Chaldee; which seems to be a confirmation of what Priscian and St. Austin assert, viz. that about their time the Punic language, notwithstanding it agreed in the main with the Hebrew, was tinged with the Chaldee.

2. It ought to be observed, that, tnei, two, borrows נ tau from the Chaldee, and י from the Hebrew; that huehet, one, and elf, a thousand, are the Hebrew י and מלח; that the numerals from

Priscian, & D. August. ubi sup.
ten to twenty end in as, like the Greek μεν δεκα τρια ρετεις and that the rest are Punic or Phoenician (D).

3. From the numerals ending in "in" from twenty to an hundred, and those ending in "a" from two to eleven, it is evident, that the language of Malta even till follows the Chaldean and Syriac form; and that the Punic did so in St. Austin's time, and much higher, is plain from several Punic words that might be produced, though 'tis probable, that in very early times it nearly resembled the Hebrew or Phoenician.

4. In support of what has been advanced by Maius, it may be further considered, that Joannes Quintiniius Hadus, an author who lived in Malta about the middle of the sixteenth century, was of the same opinion, affirming that the island of Malta was formerly subject to the Carthaginians; that the African, i.e. Punic, tongue was spoken there in his time; that there were then extant some pillars in the island, that had Punic inscriptions upon them; and that the Punic words to be found in Plautus, Avicenna, &c. were perfectly understood by the Maltese; which he urges as an argument, that the old Punic tongue was not even then much corrupted. All which is confirmed by Fazellus in his curious history of Sicily; and this gives a great sanction to the other's authority.

5. According to Father Ribier de Gattis, the Maltese have the following proverb amongst them at this day: Il fist isfittiech peft; tnel attieh, li iehdeo inkella, i.e. "The " plagew wants a piece of money; give it two, if it will " withdraw itself from you." Now this very proverb was a Punic one in St. Austin's days, as he himself affires us. This greatly contributes to evidence what M. Maius had in view.

From the whole we may conclude, that Poetellus, Schiader, and Druisius, have not that foundation for maintaining the Arabic and Punic tongues to have been the same, as Selden, Scaliger, Bochart, Reineuilius, and others, have for supposing


(D) And so are those that end in as, which is evidently the first syllable of the Hebrew numerals; if so, the numbers from ten to twenty are nearer to the Hebrew than the Chaldee. Perhaps the Greek words here mentioned ending in as, derive that termination from the same original.
supposing that the Hebrew, Chaldee, Phœnician, and Punic, were always most nearly related, and even originally the same (E). The Punic letters, as well as language, at first must certainly have been the Phœnician, for the reason above assigned; and though they were considerably altered by length of time, yet 'tis certain they always retained a great similitude to their originals, as will appear from a nice inspection into the characters upon the most elegant Phœnician and Punic coins. The character, however, upon the Punic coins is various, many of those found in Spain, as well as Sicily, having letters entirely rude and barbarous, whilst the better fort

(E) In Arnobius's time the Punic language (4) was still spoken in that part of the country bordering upon the Garamantes; but more northerly the Latin tongue was used; besides these, in the Mediterranean parts, no less than twenty-languages, or rather dialects, prevailed. Bochart thinks (5), that the first Latin verses of the unknown language in Plautus were Libyan, because they were entirely different from the other. 'Tis certain the Carthaginians spoke both Punic and Libyan; for which reason they were called Mgidilybes, Bilingues, and Bisulcilingues (6).

Laftanofa (7), a curious Spanish author, affirms many of those coins, that Aldrete and others took to be Carthaginian, to have been old Spanish medals. He affirms further, that the character on these coins is different from the Carthaginian. This he in some measure proves by observing, that the characters on the pieces dug up about Cadiz and in Andalusia, with which parts the Carthaginians had a more immediate communication, were very different from those found on others discovered in places not so well known to that people. 'Tis certain one of the Spanish medals given us by Aldret (8), as well as the greatest part of those collected by this author, has characters upon it bearing little or no resemblance to the Punic. This author's work was printed at Huesca in 1645, and contains a handiome collection of Spanish medals, which we may possibly have occasion to consider more fully when we come to the history of Spain. Aldrete and others believe many Punic pieces had Libyan letters upon them; which may possibly be true; but that it really is so, we must not presume to affert.

(4) Arnob. in Pfal. civ. (5) Bochart. t. ii. c. 6. (6) Plaut. in Pan. Virg. Æn. i. Sîl Italic. i. ii. 16. (7) Don Vincencio Juan de Laftanofa en Museo de las Medallas desconocidas Españolas, p. 15, 16. This piece was dedicated to Don Bern. Fernandez de Velasco, constable of Castile, and is now extremely scarce, tho' very curious. (8) Bern. Aldret. varias antiguedad de Espana, i. ii. c. 1. in Ambr. 1614.
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fort exhibit a character resembling the Phænician, and even the Assyrian or Hebrew letters. Two questions here arise, which we shall beg leave to consider.

First, whether the Samaritan character, which is by many persons believed, be the same with the antient Phœnician? And

Secondly, whether the Samaritan or the Assyrian, commonly called the square letters, were the antient character of the Hebrews?

As to the first, in order to determine the point couched in it, we must diligently compare the letters of the Samaritan Pentateuch with those of the legends found upon the Samaritan and Phœnician coins. This has been done with the utmost accuracy by Reland and Loescher; from whom it appears, that there is a very considerable discrepancy betwixt them; almost, if not entirely, as considerable as that betwixt the old Assyrian, or Hebrew alphabet, and the character found on these coins. This is rendered evident beyond dispute by the two learned men aforesaid, who have obliged the world with an exact and just delineation of all the principal Samaritan and Phœnician coins. From whence we cannot but infer, that the antient Phœnician character was different from the present Samaritan.

With regard to the second question, it must be owned, that the greatest part of the learned world, for above a century, have held it in the affirmative. But it must likewise be owned, that no number of great names can give a sanction to error, and that this point has not been considered thoroughly till of late. The main argument all along insistently upon in defence of this opinion has been taken from the legends found upon some coins, said to have been dug up in Judæa; wherein are discovered these words, Jerusalem the holy, and the shekel of Israel. The letters of these legends are ascertained to be the Samaritan; and since neither the Samaritans, by reason of their known aversion to the Jews, nor the ten tribes after their separation from the other two, because from that period they had nothing to do at Jerusalem, could possibly have struck these pieces, 'tis from hence inferred, that they must have belonged to the Jews before the captivity, or even to the Israelites, before the separation of the

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the ten tribes; and consequently, that the Samaritan letters, supposed to be the same with those on these coins, were the Hebrew character in the most early times, and that in which the sacred books of the old testament were originally written.

This is the argument which has all along been deemed sufficient to overthrow all the facts, reasonings, and authorities, that can be produced on the other side of the question; and which the learned Dr. Prideaux has not scrupled to pronounce unanswerable. But whether or no it really is so, we shall be the better able to judge, when we have maturely weighed the following considerations:

1. M. Ottius, who applied himself closely to the study of those coins, intimates, that those which are genuine, if any such there be, bear a small proportion to the number of the counterfeits; and that he found it a difficult matter to meet with any of them. How then can we be assured, that those mentioned by bishop Walton and Dr. Prideaux are genuine? 'Tis not sufficient to say, there were some of them in Rabbi Mofes Ben Nachman's days, above five hundred years ago; for how can we be assured, that any of those now extant were then in being? or if we could, what is this to the purpose, since his age is modern, in comparison of the supposed antiquity of those coins? But, (F).

2. Admitting them all to be genuine, yet the letters on them are most certainly not the same with those of the Samaritan Pentateuch. This clearly appears from Reland and Loeschcher above-mentioned, who have given us an accurate plate of all these pieces, as well as a complete alphabet of the letters they exhibit. Nay, 'tis evident from them, that these letters resemble the old Assyrian or Hebrew almost as much as they do the Samaritan.

Sup-


(F) There is great reason to believe, that not one of the Samaritan coins is genuine, at least not one of them is indisputably so. Reland and Ottius as good as confess it; and from what Spanheim has declared on this head, we may find, that he was in a very great doubt about it (9).

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3. SUPPOSING the character on these shekels had been the Samaritan, yet nothing could have been from thence collected in favour of so remote an antiquity of this character as they are brought to prove. For 'tis now universally received amongst the learned, and the dates on the pieces themselves clearly evince it, that the oldest of these coins, with legend upon them, do not precede the settlement of the high-priesthood in the Afinonean family, which happened not much above an hundred and fifty years before the Christian era, and some of them are much later. This single observation, which is supported by the strongest proofs, seems to render all conclusions, drawn from the supposed high antiquity of these coins, perfectly chimerical.

The main difficulty being thus removed, the arguments offered in favour of the contrary opinion cannot fail of having great weight with all persons of penetration and impartiality. The principal of them are the following:

1. There cannot be conceived a greater antipathy between any two nations, than that which subsisted between the Jews and Chaldæans or Babylonians, especially after the captivity. The former had the latter, and every thing belonging to them, in the utmost abhorrence and detestation. 'Tis morally impossible therefore, that they should have forsaken their own character, after their return from Babylon, to adopt that of the others.

2. The Phœnicians received their alphabet from the Assyrians; of course, therefore, the Assyrian letters must have been prior to the Phœnician. If, therefore, the Assyrian and Phœnician alphabets were different, the square or Chaldee letters are prior to the Phœnician; if the same, as we are inclined to believe, the square or Chaldee letters are the true old Hebrew character, and the original letters of the east.

3. From a diligent comparison of the Phœnician, Samaritan, Syriac, old Arabic or Cophic, &c. with the ancient Assyrian or Hebrew letters, it will appear that all the others were derived from the Assyrian. The ducts of these letters are plain, easy, and simple, such as 'tis natural to suppose the first letters were; the letters on the Phœnician coins are the next to these in plainness, ease, and simplicity, and bear a great analogy to them; and lastly, the Samaritan letters are the others, with some additional strokes and lines intermixed, which,

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c Idem ilid. Fz. Spanheim. de us. & præf. num. ant. differt.
d Plin. l. vii. c. 56.
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which, at first sight, carry with them the air of novelty in respect of the Assyrian. This has been set in so strong a light by two or three eminent hands, that it will be a great pleasure to our learned readers to consult them.

4. The Septuagint version is of higher antiquity than any of those coins, which are supposed to have the Samaritan character upon them. Now 'tis certain the authors of this version have frequently differed from the Hebrew, by their mistaking one similiar Assyrian letter for another. This is an undeniable argument, that the individual Hebrew copy they translated was written, not in the Samaritan, but the Assyrian character; and consequently, that the Hebrew text of the old testament was written in that character, before any of those shekels brought to prove the antiquity of the Samaritan letters were in being.

5. The Samaritan Pentateuch itself differs in several places from the Hebrew. Many of these differences arise from a confusion of similar letters, not Samaritan, but Assyrian; as namely, the ב with the ב, the י with the י, the ג with the ג, the פ with the פ, the נ with the נ, and. This must be owned to be the strongest proof imaginable, that the Samaritan was posterior to, and even taken from, the Pentateuch written in the Assyrian character; and of course bids fair to put an end to this famous dispute (G).


(G) The learned baron Spanheim, Dr. Allix. Conringius, and others, have entirely overthrown the common opinion of the antiquity of the Samaritan letters, from several topics not mentioned by us here. But this is the most effectually done by the famous Dr. Carpzou of Leipfick, in his defence of the Hebrew text of the old testament against Mr. Whifton. In relation to the last argument here offered, no further satisfaction can be either given or required by the most curious reader, than what may be met with from him (10).

Father

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We cannot recollect, that any person has hitherto tried to explain the legends on any of the Punic coins, notwithstanding the letters on many of them seem to be nearly related, partly to the Hebrew, partly to the Syriac, and partly to the Phoenician.

However, in order to excite others, who have more leisure and greater abilities, to some attempts of this kind, we shall here endeavour at an explanation of those upon two Siculo-Punic medals; hoping that our readers will consider the subject as it really is, dark and intricate, and therefore make all favourable allowances for whatever mistakes may be discovered in our conjectures.

I. The first which is here exhibited is taken from Paruta, who ranks it amongst the coins belonging to the city of Panormus, now known by the name of Palermo. Upon the reverse is a horse in full speed, with these two Punic letters £, which we think ought to be read hhet or hhit, and in our opinion, stands for hhittim or hhitte, i. e. of the Carthaginians. That the two letters are hhet and tau, appears from Spanheim, Reland, Loescher, and others; and that the names of cities, or rather their inhabitants, especially Greek cities, are frequently found upon the reverses of coins belonging to them, is too obvious to need any proof. Panormus therefore being the metropolis of the Carthaginian part of Sicily, and in the neighbourhood of the Greeks, if not itself filled with them, 'tis no wonder the Carthaginians there should in this respect imitate the people with whom they lived. What may serve to confirm this is, that we find several Greek coins of the Panormitanis, done in the manner above-


Father Sonciet indeed intimates, that the Samaritan character was restored by Simon. But first, this is a direct begging of the question; for it ought to be proved, that it was antiently in use as to sacred matters amongst the Hebrews, before it should be asserted, that it was restored by Simon. And secondly, supposing this fact, which there is great reason to presume it is not, that the old testament was ordered to be written in the Samaritan character, either by Simon, or any other of the Aofimean family, is an assertion utterly destitute of the least shadow of reason or authority, either Jewish or christian, to support it (11).

(11) E. Souciet recueil de difierat. critiq. sur les endroit. & sur de matier qui ont rapporta l'ecriture.
The Fashion of the aqueduct near old Carthage
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above-mentioned, of as high antiquity as these; and there are even instances of Sicilian coins 1 with both the Greek and Punic characters upon them. That the Carthaginians should be called Hittin or Hhitte, i. e. Hittites, we are not to think strange; since Anak 2 and his family, from whom Carthage was called Chaedre-Anach or Chaedre-Anak, were Hittites, and consequently that people were the most eminent of the Phoenicians, from whom the Carthaginians deduced their original. As for the name being abbreviated, this is no uncommon thing. The word ΣΤΠΑ for ΣΤΠΑΚΟΞΙΩΝ is frequently found on the medals of the Syracuans 3, not to mention many other instances which might easily be produced. For a farther illustration of this point, see the following note (H).

II. The

2 Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 36.  

(H) The Hittites (12) were the primary nation of Canaan, and seem to have been more famous than any of the others. They were not entirely reduced till the time of Solomon, being intermixed with the Israelites, and living in the neighbourhood of the Sidonians and Tyrians. Hence we may conclude, that not only great numbers of them settled in Africa after their expulsion by Joshua, but likewise, that even some of their descendants might attend Dido into the same country. They were so formidable to their neighbours, that from the word מִּיתָה hittah seems to have signified fear, and a sudden confirmation (31). That this Punic word is to be read and interpreted in the manner we propose, will farther appear from hence, that the letter מ is found upon the reverse of several other Panormitan (14) coins, which evidently allude to the state of Carthage, and must have been struck when the Carthaginians were masters of that place (15). 'Tis also worthy observation, that the Greek mark or abbreviation on the reverses of these medals, peculiar to the Panormitans, considered as Greeks, was נא, נא or נא, i. e. ΠΑΝ for (16) ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΑΝ. We may therefore reasonably

(13) Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 36. sub init.  
(14) Parut. ubi sup. tab. 14 num. 134. & tab 17 num. 166, &c.  
(15) This appears from the symbols upon them, and from their being found near this metropolis of the Carthaginians in Sicily.  
(16) Vide num. Panorm. apud Parut. ubi sup. pas.
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II. The second coin we are supplyed with by Haym, who, following other antiquaries, supposes the hero there represented to be Hannibal. The Punic legend is ﬀﬡﬡﬡ, every one of which letters we shall endeavour to decipher.

The first ﬀ is evidently the same with the old Oriental aleph given us by Loescher, as well as the Syriac olaph. It likewise in figure approaches near the Phoenician aleph or alpha, (א) as found on coins, wanting only the transverse line at the top, which by length of time, might easily have grown into diffuse amongst the Carthaginians. We may therefore esteem it as equivalent to A ב.

The second ﬡ is apparently the Phoenician ﬕ, which letter we see upon several Phoenician coins in Spanheim. The Etruscan ﬊ likewise comes near it. We may therefore assert ﬡ ﬕ to be NN ט.


Sonably imagine, that the Carthaginians had likewise an abbreviation in their own language and character, viz. ₵ or ﬡ, i.e. hhit for hhittin, or emphatically hhitte. That these letters were an abbreviation, is so apparent, that Havercamp (17) pronounces them the mark of Panormus; though he absurdly confounds them with the Greek ﬠ, whereas they are entirely different from it, and indisputably the Phoenician lheth and tau. It must be owned indeed Havercamp will not allow these coins to be Punic (18); but the Carthaginian horie on ours, as well as the palm-tree and horie on the others, together with the authority of the learned Inveges (19), and the Punic characters on them all, not only refute what he has said, but obviate every thing else that can be offered to the contrary.

That this is a Punic abbreviation, in imitation of the Greek manner, is also probable, because every thing on this medal is either Greek workmanship, or an imitation of it. Other Panormitan coins have on their reverses II Albums (20), which greatly strengthens what has been advanced. If we suppose the horie here to be of the same organ with koph, as it sometimes is, being by some pronounced cheth, then this abbreviation may be chat or chart, i.e. of the Carthaginians. Perhaps this conjecture will please some of our readers better than the other.

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The third letter is the Phœnician $\backslash$ inverted $\Lambda$. The inversion of letters is a thing that frequently happens; but at present we shall content ourselves with naming one instance only. From the Phœnician $\backslash$ is formed the Greek $\Gamma$ or $\Sigma$. The Punic $\Psi$ is therefore of the same power with I.

The last letter $\Upsilon$ is a more rude and simple kind of beth; for it differs only from the Phœnician $\mathfrak{A}$ and Hebrew $\mathfrak{B}$ beth in this, that it is destitute of the transverse line at the bottom, and has the vertical angle more acute than that of the Hebrew, and the line parallel to the transverse one at the bottom of the Phœnician beth defaced. In fine, as there is no other letter of the Phœnician alphabet, to which this approaches so near as it does to beth, we may conclude, that they were the same; and therefore we must look upon $\Upsilon$ as B.

Thus we find, that $\Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon$ expressed in Latin letters is ANNIB, in conformity to the sentiments of Haym, and other antiquaries. And we can assure our readers, that the Punic characters here do not differ so much from the Phœnician, with which we have compared them, as the various forms of the same Phœnician letters found on different medals do from one another.

It has been observed above, that the suffetes of Carthage were called kings by the Greeks; that one of these, at least, was possessed of a vast degree of power, that Hannibal was, some time, the supreme magistrate of Carthage; that he acted in that city, in a manner without control; and, in fine, that he was deified there in his life-time. After this, who can be surprised, that he should have had his name and effigies upon coins? For our part, we think nothing more probable, and without the additional proof of this medal, should not have scrupled to have affirmed it (I).

\begin{flushright}
As Hannibal's effigies on a Carthaginian coin.
\end{flushright}


(1) Havercamp affirms, that the Carthaginian struck medals in honour of their generals, with their effigies upon them; this
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As to the progress of the liberal arts and sciences amongst the Carthaginians, and the degree of perfection they arrived at in them, we have not much to say. If Carthage could ever have boasted of any famous productions of this kind, they are all now lost; though for our parts we are inclined to believe, that this people gave themselves up so entirely to commerce, that they paid little or no regard to any branch of literature. Military skill some of their generals were most eminently famous for, though even in this they seem to have been very deficient, till put into a right method by Xanthippus the Lacedaemonian; but philosophy, we have reason to apprehend, was always at a low ebb amongst them. As they undoubtedly therefore applied themselves chiefly to trade and navigation, as also to the military art, that they might be the better enabled thereby to enjoy in security their immense wealth and possessions, their arts and learning will not be a very copious topic; and even this we must for a moment suspend, in order to give our readers a short sketch of some of their principal customs.

They suffered no private injury, offered by any person whatsoever to another, to go unpunished. This maxim of equity they received from their first ancestors, and were very strict on all occasions in the observance of it w.

No one was permitted to carry the news of any near relation's death to another, but some person convicted of a capital crime, for which he was soon to suffer. They thought the messengers of such tragical events ought soon to die, or at least never more to appear before the persons to whom they brought the melancholy advice x.

If any remarkable misfortune happened to the city, the walls were all hung with black. This was done after the destruction of their fleet by Agathocles; after the loss of their army under Himilco's conduct in Sicily by the plague, and upon other such dismal occasions, as we are informed by various authors y.

They used dog's flesh for food till the time of Darius Hystaspis; but upon that prince's conceiving some disgust at this


is likewise allowed by that learned Sicilian antiquary Inverges (21).

(21) Integ. & Havercamp. ubi sup. p. 84.)
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this practice; they left it off, at least for a certain period of
time a.

The soldiers were prohibited, under the severest punishment, whilst in the field, to taste wine; a laudable instance this of their temperance and sobriety a.

Every soldier, at least every officer, wore a number of rings answering to the number of campaigns he had made. This doubtless was intended to excite a noble spirit of emulation amongst them, inspire them with a thirst after military glory, and consequently lead them on to the greatest achievements b.

Their generals, tho' perfectly innocent, upon any dis-
aster, were frequently put to death. This probably was de-
gigned to oblige them to make use of all their skill, address, and vigilance; tho' after all, it was a most barbarous and imprudent custom. This wild maxim prevails amongst the Turks, who are justly looked upon as barbarians for it, at this day c.

The populace and the senators had distinct baths appoint-

ted them. This in general we are told by Valerius Maximus; but what gave occasion to this, he says not, nor gives us any further particulars concerning it d.

It was usual with many of them to have statues or busts of their lovers or intimate friends in their bed-chambers, that they might, in some measure, see and converse with them when absent. This appears from Silius, in his account of Dido after Æneas's departure from her e.

Dignity and power in this state could not screen any great offender from condign punishment. Of which Machæus, Hanno, Bemilear, and others, that we shall meet with in the course of this history, are pregnant instances f.

Their anniversary festivals were observed with great solemnity, particularly the day on which the Tyrians, under the conduct of Dido, began to lay the foundations of Carthage. This, according to Silius, seems to have been celebrated yearly, even till the destruction of the city, with the utmost splendor and magnificence g.

There were no public ins amongst them. They en-
tertained strangers as friends in their own private houses.

U 2 This

a Juv. hist. l. xix. a Plat. de legib. & Hendr. ubi supra.


&c. g Sil. Ital. & Hendr. ubi sup.
This was likewise a custom amongst other nations, particularly the Greeks and Romans. Hence it came to pass, that the same word frequently signified friendship and hospitality. The manner of receiving guests or strangers was thus: A dye or token was divided into two parts; one of these was given to the guest, and upon his producing it to the master of the house, he was received by him, and ever afterwards entertained as a friend. This token was transmitted down to posterity, and kept in the family as a mark of friendship with the person or his family to whom it related. Hence those who violated the laws of hospitality were said to fellarum hospitalem frangere. The deity profiting over these laws was invoked by the name of Jupiter Xenius, as the god of friendship was called Jupiter Philius, and that of society or good-fellowship Jupiter Hetaerius.

It was a custom with the Carthaginians to consult their augurs and dates upon all emergencies, and before any enterprise of importance was undertaken. Thus Hamilcar, at the siege of Syracuse, consulting one of his vates, was told by him, that the next night he should sup in that city; and, to wade all other instances, Pygmalion, upon his intention to pursue his sister Dido, was assured by the inspired college of vates, that he should feel the resentment of the gods, if he offered, in any manner, to obstruct the great design he was gone upon; nay, according to St. Austin, these vates were in great repute about these parts long after the destruction of Carthage, since one of them, named Albicerius, was very famous there in his time for the responses he gave.

The magistrates, during the exercise of their power, were obliged to abstain from wine, though that this institution was observed always to the expiration of the commonwealth, we cannot positively affirm.

The Phoenicians are said to have represented their gods as carrying large bags or sacks full of money; because gold amongst them was the emblem of power, and symbol of dominion. Perhaps the Carthaginians represented theirs in the same manner, which, together with the vast quantities of treasure continually rolling into their coffers, and the great variety

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variety of the most precious commodities brought from all parts of the world in their ships, might occasion that infatiable avarice they were so famous for.

Several other customs might here be mentioned; but as they may be more properly referred to the manners and disposition of the Carthaginians in general, we shall comprise them all in the following short character of that people.

Their minds were entirely set upon amassing wealth, being mean-spirited, groveling and for did to an incredible degree. In order to this, they stuck at no low, not to say infamous, arts. This must be understood of the Carthaginian in the later periods, and towards the decline of their state; for it is not to be questioned, but that they were of a better turn of mind in the earliest ages, and that, even to the last, they had many generous and heroic souls amongst them. The arder and public spirit the women themselves showed just before the last siege of Carthage, as well as during that siege, sufficiently prove this. In short, we find such a contrast of good and bad qualities in this people, that it is almost impossible to determine which of them were predominant. It must only be observed, that the nearer we approach the destruction of their city, the worse we find them. However, as the characters we have of the Carthaginians come handed down to us chiefly from the Romans, their implacable enemies, we must not pay too great a regard to them. The Romans took care to destroy, not only their archives, which, by the way, shews, that that nation ought to be reckoned amongst those where barbarism prevailed, but almost every thing they wrote, that had any appearance of literature or true history.

Polybius makes it his complaint, that both Phillinus and Fabius Pictor, the Carthaginian and Roman historians, were so partial in their relations, that no great credit could be given to either of them, when treating of the Carthaginian affairs. Of their perfidiousness and black ingratitude, history supplies us with abundant proof, which will hereafter be produced. According to Plutarch, they were of a morose, saturnine and savage disposition (K), utterly averse to every thing


(K) The great Hannibal was an exception to this general character of the Carthaginians given by Plutarch. Though that renowned
thing that had but the least appearance of wit or raillery, not being able to bear a joke, in which they were diametrically opposite to the genius of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians. Some of them were likewise acted by an intolerable spirit of arrogance, and most vicious ambition, by which they were prompted to desire divine honours. Of this Hanno affords us a flagrant instance *, who, as we are told by Aelian, taught birds to say, Hanno is a god; though this did not answer his end, since, after their flight from him, they returned to their former notes again (L).

**Commerce**

* Aelian var hist. l. xiv. c. 30.

renowned general was, for many years, so much employed in military labours, he yet found means to cultivate the muses. Some of his repartees, that have been transmitted down to us, plainly shew, that he had a great fund of natural wit. This he improved by the most polite education that could be bestowed at that time, and in such a republic as Carthage. Tho' several smart turns, that have been attributed to him by the ancients, might be produced, yet we shall content ourselves here with one out of Macrobius (22): Antiochus, valuing himself upon the rich armour and splendid accoutrements of his troops, asked Hannibal at a review, Whether he thought they were sufficient for the Romans, meaning to cope with them? Hannibal, far from being dazzled with the pompous appearance they made, replied, That the Romans were indeed very avaricious; but that however, he thought, these were abundantly sufficient for them, i. e. that the plunder accruing to the Romans from them was enough to satisfy that rapacious people. This was a proper re-buke to Antiochus for his preposterous notion of military bravery, and at the same time a specimen of brilliant and flowing wit in Hannibal.

(L) The Carthaginians were extremely addicted to corruption, to which their constitution itself had a natural tendency, as Aristotle (23) has rightly observed. Their chiefs frequently made use of this with good success, when all other expedients failed them. The Barchine faction supported themselves a long time by the venality of their fellow citizens; and others after them pursu’d the same method of acting, which ended in the total ruin of the commonwealth. In consequence of this mean disposition, in prosperity they were elevated to a pitch inconsistent with the maxims of prudence and moderation, and in adversity as much depressed. Of this we shall meet with various examples hereafter (24).

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Commerce, the army, and the marine, were the principal, if not sole, objects of publick attention at Carthage. These so entirely engrossed the minds of all people there, that they had no inclination to pursue, nor indeed any great taste for, the liberal arts and sciences. However, they must have known something at least of the rudiments of astronomy, since, without this, they could not have been tolerably versed in the art of navigation. Besides, the Edomites and Phœnicians were famous for being the greatest adepts, with the Egyptians, in the celestial sciences, of all other nations. The Carthaginians therefore, their descendents could not have been void of a competent knowledge herein. That they had some notion likewise of sculpture and painting, tho' the degree of perfection they arrived at in them we cannot pretend to ascertain, is plain from the Dii Patres, they carried along with them in their voyages, as likewise from the pictures with which their ships of war, and other vessels, were adorned. As a sea-faring and mercantile people are always ingenious in contriving a variety of commodities to supply the necessities or luxury of other nations with, it is also probable, that they were very well acquainted with the

At their weddings they entertained their friends with the tunny fish; another remarkable custom that deserves mentioning.

The Carthaginians paid the greatest deference to their nobility, who held a most distinguished rank amongst them. Some persons were reputed nobles, or at least upon a level with them, on account of their riches; for Aristotle intimates, that wealth had a vast influence at Carthage, as well as nobility of birth; and that great regard was had to both in filling the high posts of the state, when vacant. Others received the title of nobles, as a mark of distinction due to them for their superior virtue and merit. And lastly, others derived their nobility from a long train of noble ancestors. These were the proper nobility; of whose families in order to render this history the more complete, we shall beg leave to present our readers with the following genealogical table, though it must be owned to be a very imperfect one:

1. The family of Machæus.

Machæus.

Carthalo.
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inferior mechanical arts. The Sidonians and Tyrians were certainly celebrated above other nations for their mechanical skill

2. The Family of Mago I.

Mago.

Afdrubal. Hamilcar.

Hannibal, Afdrubal, Sappho. Hamilco, Hanno, Gisco.

Gisco. Hanno.


Hannibal, surnamed the Senior. Hanno.

3. The family of Mago II.

Mago II.

Mago.

4. The family of Bomilcar the tyrant. Brothers

Hamilcar. An anonymous one.

Bomilcar.

5. The family of Hanno.

Hanno.

Afdrubal.

6. Th
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skill in very early ages, as we learn from scripture; consequently the Carthaginians, one branch of their posterity, must have been so likewise. But the superb temples, magnificent

6. The family of Hamilcar.

Hamilcar.

Hannibal. Hanno.

7. The family of Himilco.

Himilco.

Maheralbal.

8. The family of Gisco.

Gisco.

Hamilcar. Asdrubal.

Hanno. Sophonisba, the wife of king Syphax.

9. The family of Bomilcar, the king ortitre.

Bomilcar.

Hanno.

Hanno the Great.

10. The
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The Barchine or Barcan family.

Barca, the brother of Dido foundress of Carthage.

Nineteen generations.

Hannibal

Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas, or Barca:


1. The family of Hamilcar II.

Hamilcar.

† Himilco, surnamed Pharnaces.
† Gisco.
† Asdrubal, the last king or suzer of Carthage.

For a more particular account of these families, our readers may consult Rhenecius, Ubbo Emmius, and Christopher Hendrich, so often quoted, at their leisure (24).

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of arms, &c. in Carthage, put this point beyond dispute (M).

After what has been said, our readers will not expect to meet with many persons of erudition amongst the Carthaginians, though, without doubt, they had more than their enemies have informed us of. The Romans, as has been just observed, made great havoc both amongst their public and private writings, and this out of a principle of envy and malice prepenfe. However, the names of some of their writers have been transmitted down to posterity, the principal of which are the following:

HANNIBAL, the most renowned general Carthage ever produced, was well versed in the Greek language. According to Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch, he wrote several pieces in it, particularly the history of Manlius Vulso’s proconsulship in Asia 9.

MAGO, another celebrated general of the Carthaginians, acquired as much glory to his country by his writings, as his military achievements. He wrote twenty-eight volumes upon husbandry, which the Roman senate had in such esteem, that, after the taking of Carthage, when they presented the African princes with the libraries founded there, they ordered these books to be translated into Latin, though Cato had before written copiously on that subject. The libraries above-mentioned are a further proof, that learning was not entirely banished Carthage 9.

PHILINUS, though a Sicilian, being born at Agrigentum, is esteemed by Polybius as a Carthaginian historian. He wrote a history of the wars betwixt the Romans and the state of Carthage; but disguised facts so palpably in favour of the latter,

9 Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Plut. in Scip. 9 Cic. l. i. de orat. n. 249. Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

(M) So famous was Carthage for its artificers, that any singular invention or exquisite piece of workmanship seems to have been called, even by the Romans, their implacable enemies, Punic. Thus the Punic beds or couches, the Punic windows, the Punic wine-presses, the Punic lanterns, &c. were of all others esteemed the most neat and elegant for their workmanship by that people. This is an undeniable proof, that the Carthaginians had not only good mechanical heads and hands, but likewise excelled all other nations, their original ancestors excepted, in every thing of that kind (25).
latter, that, were his performance still extant, it would not
be held in any great repute, especially after the stigma Poly-
bius has fixed upon it. Fabius Pictor, though in the main a
good historian, yet, in most points relating to the Carthag-
nians, was guilty of an as great partiality on the Roman side.
This we learn from Polybius, who, in order to arrive at
truth, has steer'd the middle course betwixt them both 7.

**Himilco**, a sea officer, was sent by the senate of Carthage
to discover the western shores and ports of Europe. This
he did, and wrote a journal of his voyage, together with an
account of his discoveries, which were inserted in the Punic
annals. Featus Avienus 8 has entirely followed this author in
his description of the western coasts of the world; and inti-
mates, that he saw the original journal itself in the annals
foretold. Nay, from Featus it appears, that the Carthag-
nians were acquainted with the Britannic islands, which he
calls Oestrymides.

**Hanno**, another Carthaginian general, by order of the
senate, failed with a considerable fleet 1 round Africa. He
entered the ocean by the straits of Gibraltar, made many
important discoveries, and had continued his navigation, if
provisions had not failed him. He wrote a relation of his
voyage, an extract from, or rather a fragment of a Greek
version of which, is still remaining. He is said to have hung
up in Juno's temple some skins of several savage women,
whom he ordered to be slain. Isaia Vossius, in opposition to
his father, supposes him to have been older than either Ho-
mer or Hesiod; but the great Mr. Dodwell solidly and learn-
edly refutes this notion. If Pliny be to be credited, Hanno
and Himilco above-mentioned were contemporaries. It is
certain there were two Carthaginian generals of these names
in the time of Agathocles. Whilst Himilco steer'd towards
the west, in order to discover new countries, Hanno took
his course from Gades or Cadiz to the farthest parts of Ara-
bia. Mr. Dodwell thinks, that the piece going now under
the name of Hanno's periplus, is not his, but was written
by a Sicilian Greek. However, it cannot be denied, that
he penned a relation of his voyage, since this is often quoted
by the antients. This most learned gentleman has, with the
greatest appearance of truth, fixed his time somewhere be-
twixt

* Polyb. i. i. 8 Featus Avienus in or. marit. p. 292. Vide &
Bochart. Chan. i. i. c. 35, 39, &c. 7 Plin. i. ii. c. 67. & L. v.
c. 1. Athen. de ipnoto. i. iii. p. 83. Pomp. Mel. i. iii. c. 9. P.
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The twixt the ninety-second and the hundred and twenty-ninth olympiad.

Silanus was an historian, who wrote of the Carthaginian affairs in the Greek language; from whence it should appear, that he was a Greek. Some authors take him to have been the same with Philinus above-mentioned; but of this we have no sufficient proof, and therefore we must look upon them as two distinct writers.

Clitomachus, called in the Punic language Asdrubal, was a great philosopher. He succeeded the famous Carneades, whose disciple he had been, and maintained in Athens the honour of the academic sect. Cicero says, that he was a more sensible man, and fonder of study, than the Carthaginians generally were. He composed several books, in one of which he drew a piece to console the unhappy citizens of Carthage, who, by the ruin of the city, were reduced to slavery. By this it is manifest, that he lived after the destruction of that city by Scipio.

Now we are upon the arts and learning of the Carthaginians, it will not be foreign to our subject to mention what Pliny tells us of Hanno, viz. that he was the first man who dared to touch, and could tame, a lion. The same author adds, that he was condemned, which must either imply in death or banishment, upon account of this art; since his countrymen could not be perjured, but that he who had the power of softening the fiercest of beasts, must likewise be capable of influencing the minds of his fellow-citizens in such a manner, as to become master of their freedom. This is related to us by Pliny, and it is either an argument of their extreme weakness, or his extreme credulity. Some believe this person to have been the writer Hanno above-mentioned.

AMONGST

*(N)*: In one respect we may rank the celebrated Terence amongst the writers of this city, since, according to Donatus, he was born at Carthage (26). Being taken captive when very young, either by Scipio at the conclusion of the second Punic war, as some

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Amongst other inventions this nation was famous for, we must not forget that of the quadriremes, or four-oared galleys.

Some will have it, or, as others say, by the Numidians, in one of their incursions into the Carthaginian territories; some time after that war, he became the property of Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator. Terentius, being much taken with the fine disposition of his slave, not only gave him an excellent education, but likewise enfranchised him; and called him after his own name, as was the prevailing custom of those times. In the consulship of T. Manlius Torquatus and Cn. Octavius Nepos, this famous dramatic poet was in his highest reputation (27). Tho’ an African born, yet his diction is most pure, elegant, and polite; in so much, that some have not scrupled to affirm, that he received considerable affinitie in the comedies ascribed to him from Scipio and his friend Lælius. It is certain, that either to please thee great men, who were not unwilling to be thought concerned with him in those performances, or because it was true, he himself countenanced this notion (28). Six of those comedies only are now extant, all of which were highly esteemed at Rome, and meet with prodigious applause when acted there: Fenestella makes him to have been older than (29) Scipio and Lælius; but Cornelius Nepos is more to be credited, who affirms them all to have been contemporaries. Suetonius says (30), that, in his return from Greece, he lost an hundred and eight comedies translated from Menander, of whom he was a great admirer, and could not survive an accident which afflicted him in a most sensible manner. However this be, he died in the consulship of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius, aged thirty-five years. He is said to have been of a middle stature, flender, and of a swarthy complection. He had a daughter who survived him, and was married to a Roman knight.

Under this note we shall likewise beg leave to observe, that it is intimated by Plutarch (31), that this Hanno made use of lions as beasts of burden; which is confirmed by Ovid and Silius (32). If we will believe Ælian (33), there were lions in the temple of Adonis of Tyre, that they fawned upon per ons at their entering in, came to the table there when called, and, after taking what was given them, modestly retired. The same author tells us, that the Indians (34) had fo tamed their lions, that with them they hunted bulls, wild asses, and all other savage animals. John II. king of Portugal is reported to have had a lion always following

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galleys, which the antients attributed to the Carthaginians. It is moreover probable, that they were the first who made cable-ropes for large vessels of the shrub spartum, which was a sort of broom; at least, that they were the first who communicated this invention to the Romans. But this perhaps more properly belongs to the navigation and trade of the Carthaginians, which we shall now endeavour to give our readers a succinct idea of.

With regard to trade and navigation, (for we shall consider them jointly) no nation was ever more famous for these, nor enjoyed them in a larger extent, than they did. The Mediterranean, and all the ports in it, they were perfectly acquainted with. In the eastern parts they pushed their discoveries and commerce as far as any nation whatsoever, and to the westward, in all probability, farther. Britain and the Canaries were known to them; nay, according to some, America itself; but this seems to be a conjecture without sufficient foundation. The formidable fleets they fitted out on many occasions, the vast quantity of shipping they kept in continual employ, the honour they had for a long period of time of being almost universally acknowledged as masters of the sea, to omit many others, are most glaring proofs of the flourishing of their trade and navigation. Neither is this without the best authority to support it; for, to wave many other authors of unquestionable reputation that occur, it appears from Herodotus and Thucydides, that scarce any people made so great a figure by sea as the Carthaginians, which was the natural effect not only of their genius for naval affairs, but also of the flourishing and extensive commerce they


following him like a dog (35); and, according to Paulus Jovius, the king of France gave such a one as this to the cardinal de Medicis. What has been said of the Indians, Paulus Venetus likewise relates of the Tartars (36).

Silenus was an historian mentioned by Cicero, and, as is probable, by Nepos (37). The former of these affurres us, that he wrote a history in Greek, with great care and accuracy, of Hannibal’s expeditions; and that Cælius in some points followed him.

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they were in possession of. The basis of this felicity was owing to the Tyrians, from whom they brought the disposition they were so eminent for into Africa. But in process of time they eclipsed the glory of even their ancestors themselves; insomuch, that Pliny derives the origin of trade, not from the Phoenicians, but the Pæni or Carthaginians. The natural fertility of its soil, the surprising skill of its artificers, together with its happy situation, rendered Carthage the center of traffic, the great mart, not only of the Mediterranean, but even of the most remote nations a.

The commodities they supplied other countries with, in great abundance, seem to have been corn and fruits of all kinds; divers sorts of provisions, and high saucées; wax, honey, oil, the skins of wild beasts, &c. all the natural produce of their own territories. Their staple manufactures were utensils, toys, cables, all kinds of naval stores, and the colour from them called Punic, the preparation of which seems to have been peculiar to them. From Egypt they fetched fine flax, paper, &c. From the coasts of the Red Sea, spices, frankincense, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious stones. From Tyre and Phœnicia, purple, scarlet, rich stuffs, tapestry, costly furniture, &c. From the western parts of the world, in return for the commodities carried thither, they brought back iron, tin, lead, copper, &c. In fine, they purchased the superfluities of all nations at an easy price; and by knowing the necessities of them all, and the particular branch of trade adapted to each of them, they sold these at their own rates; which brought immense treasure daily to Carthage, rendered this republic terrible to all her neighbours, and even enabled her to contend so long with Rome for the empire of the world itself b.


The history of the Carthaginians.

Having thus given our readers a general idea of the extensive trade this mighty republic was mistress of, which was the great source of all her wealth and power; we must now beg leave to remark in particular, that no branch of their commerce seems to have been more beneficial to the Carthaginians, than that they carried on with the Persians, Garamantes, and Ethiopians. These remote nations, besides other rich commodities, brought with them carbuncles, of almost insubstantial value, to Carthage; to which place they yearly resort i, as is most likely, in caravans. These gems, from the plenty of them at Carthage, were called by the ancients Charchedonian or Carthaginian, as Pliny relates. From Polybius it appears probable, that the Carthaginian merchants, at the sale of their wares, had a crier and secretary, or clerk, to attend them. No profession was reckoned more honourable than that of the merchant in the dominions of this state; which is not to be wondered at, considering the vast advantage accruing from thence to all orders and degrees of men therein. After this, it will be needless to observe, that the most considerable personages of the city were not ashamed to apply themselves to it e.

We shall close this section with taking notice of a remarkable custom observed by the Carthaginians, and the Libyans bordering on the sea-coasts, in their trafficking with each other, as Herodotus himself has related it d.

"The Carthaginians, says this historian, failing beyond the freight, or pillars of Hercules, traded with the Libyans of those parts in the following manner: After they had got into some creek, they landed their goods; and leaving them exposed on some point of land, returned again on board their ships. They then caused a great smock to be raised, at the sight of which the Libyans immediately came to the place where the wares had been left; and laying down a certain quantity of gold, retired at a good distance from them. Upon this the Carthaginians went on shore a second time; and if upon viewing the gold it appeared to them sufficient, they carried it off, and failed without delay; if not, they left it, and continued quiet on board for some time. The Libyans finding this, made an addition to what they had before deposited; and if this proved insufficient, they continued improving the original

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"original quantity of gold till the Carthaginians were fatigued, and the bargain made. Neither of these nations offered the least injustice to the other. The Carthaginian did not so much as touch the Libyan gold till it was of equal value with their wares, nor the Libyans the Carthaginian merchandise, till the gold they offered as an equivalent was accepted and taken away."

S F C T. III.

The chronology of the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginian chronology was at first the Phœnician, already by us considered, and, in all probability, ever afterwards, as to its form and manner, agreed with it. That the Carthaginians kept records in the same manner as their ancestors the Tyrians did, cannot well be doubted; especially, if we consider, how closely they adhered to the customs and maxims of those ancestors. Sir Isaac Newton seems to imagine, that the artificial chronology of Emathines did not absolutely prevail among the Romans even in the Augustan age, but thinks that Virgil might have taken some of his historical facts from the records of Carthage, which evidently supposes, that these records might have existed. Servius seems to intimate, that they, or at least some part of them, were in being when he wrote; for he tells us, that, according to the Carthaginians themselves, Dido came from a town called Cherta. But, however this may be, "tis certain, from Solinus and others, that annals, and an epoch, at the destruction of their city, the Carthaginians must have had; otherwise the Romans could never have known how many years had elapsed from the foundation to the destruction of that metropolis, as we find they did. But this is so apparent, that we shall insist no further upon it.

The method of computing time from the building of cities was in use throughout a good part of the east in very early ages, though it was of a later date at Rome, particularly among the Lydians, Syrians, and Phœncians, as it was likewise amongst their descendants the old Etruscans and Carthaginians. This is evident beyond contradiction from Pliny, Suetonius, Censorinus, Scaliger, and a famous inscription, whose epoch is the foundation of Interamna in Umbria.

* Newton's chronol. p. 64, 93, &c. Serv. in Aen. i. & Aen. iv. Solin. c. 20.
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Umbria, which Gruter and Jussus Fontaninus, in his antiquities of Horta, have given us. The ancient year of the Phoenicians, as well as that of the other eastern nations, was most certainly luni-solar, i.e. it consisted of twelve lunar months, containing thirty days each, with intercalary months to make up what the twelve lunar months wanted of the solar year. At length the Egyptians of Thebes, according to Diodorus and Strabo, introduced the solar year, i.e. they added five days annually to the twelve lunar months, in order to make them agree with the course of the sun. Now as the computation by the solar years did not take place even in Egypt till the time of Amenophis, (tho' the difference betwixt the solar and calendar years was discovered in the reign of Ammon the father of Seso) i.e. about an hundred and thirty-seven years before the era of Nabonassar; nor amongst the Chaldeans or Babylonians till the commencement of that era; and as Dido's departure from Tyre was at least coeval with, if it did not precede, the former of these events, the luni-solar year was, without dispute, observed then by the Phoenicians, and consequently afterwards by the Carthaginians.

In confirmation of which we must not omit remarking, that Simplicius, in his commentary on the first of Aristotle's physical acrostics, affirms the Damascenes and Arabians, who were either neighbours to the poerity of the old Phoenicians, or intermixed with them, to have had the luni-solar year in use amongst them so late as his time; from whence it is not a little probable, that this was always the Phoenician and Carthaginian year.

We have nothing very material to offer farther on this head, the Carthaginian annals having for a long series of ages been destroyed. As therefore we cannot pretend to give any tolerable particular account, much less a methodical system, of the Carthaginian chronology, all that can be done, in order to satisfy our readers, is, to exhibit to their view a chronological table of some few of the principal transactions in which that famous republic was concerned, including a list of several of its great men, in order of time, as they lived.

The

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The Monarchy of Carthage.

Year of Carthage. Christ.

Dido, the daughter of Mettinus, king of Tyre, founded Carthage. How long she reigned there, history informs us not. 890 or 892

The Republic of Carthage.

After Dido's death, there is a chasm in the history of Carthage for above three hundred years. Only from Justin we learn, that this state was much agitated by intestine commotions during part of that period. The Carthaginians plant a colony in the island Eubulus or Erefus, on the coast of Spain, according to Diodorus. The Tyrrhenian and Carthaginian united fleets are, according to Herodotus, after a bloody engagement, put to flight by the Phocæans, in the sea of Sardinia. 160 739

Which action is likewise mentioned by Thucydides, who relates that the city of Massilia, at present Marseilles, built by the said Phocæans, was then in its infancy (A). 347 543

Machæus, a famous general, gains some considerable advantages over the Africans, with whom the Carthaginians are now engaged in a war. This happened.

(A) That this most ancient naval engagement happened not far from the year, in which our most learned archbishop Usher has placed it, is, in some measure, evident from a circumstance taken notice of by Thucydides in his first book, where he mentions it. That author informs us, that this event happened not long after the foundation of Massilia, or Marseilles, which was built by the Phocæans. Now 'tis asserted by Timæus Siculus, that Massilia was founded by the Phocæans an hundred and twenty years before the battle of Salamis, which falls in with the first year of the forty-fifth olympiad, and consequently the foundation of Massilia preceded the action under consideration fifty-seven years. It might then therefore very justly be said, as Thucydides relates, to have been in its infancy. That Massilia
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happened, as appears probable from comparing Justin with Orosius, towards the conclusion of Cyrus's reign, or that of his uncle Cyaxares II. and therefore we may place it about the year.

He reduces part of Sicily to the obedience of the Carthaginians.

A plague makes great havoc at Carthage about this time, when the Carthaginians endeavour to appease the gods by sacrificing children.

After a long and successful war in Sicily, the Carthaginian army, under the command of Machæus, thinks proper to retire from that island.

The same army afterwards invading Sardinia, is entirely defeated by the Sardi, and the greatest part of it cut off.

The remaining part, upon their return home, are banished by their countrymen, together with Machæus the general. Incensed at this barbarous treatment, they attack Carthage, carry the city, and, after putting ten senators to death, settle the republic upon its former footing.

Machæus crucifies his son about the same time.

Some time after this the same general, being accused of a design to make himself absolute, is punished with death.

was built by the Phocæans about the time mentioned by Timæus is confirmed by Aristotle, Harpocrates, Scymnus Chius, Justin, Athenæus, and other authors. Both Thucydides and Herodotus likewise seem to relate some events after this, as happening in the time of Cambyses; which may be looked upon as an additional argument in defence of our learned primeur's notion, which he has taken from Eusebius (1).

death, and succeeded by Mago in the command of the army. 367 523

An alliance formed between the Carthaginians and the Romans the year after the regnificus, in the consulship of Brutus and Valerius. 382 528

Mago, after the introduction of military discipline amongst the Carthaginians, dies, leaving their forces in an excellent condition. If Justin is to be credited, this seems to have happened some years before Darius Hythipis died; and therefore we may look upon it to fall justly enough with the year. 401 489

Soon after Mago's death, his two sons Adrubic and Hamilcar attempt the conquest of Sardinia, as likewise to free their country from the annual tribute imposed upon them by the Africans. 401 489

Darius sends embassadors to Carthage to demand a body of auxiliaries against their common enemy the Greeks, for a war with whom he was then making very great preparations. 402 488

At first Adrubic and Hamilcar seem to have had great success in Sardinia, by the number of triumphs Justin assigns Adrubic; but, towards the conclusion of this war, Adrubic is mortally wounded, and the entire command of the army thereby devolves upon his brother Hamilcar. 404 489

A treaty of peace is concluded between the Africans and Carthaginians about this period, by which the annual tribute of the latter is continued. 405 485

The Sicilians implore the assistance of Leonidas, to enable them to shake off the Carthaginian yoke. 405 485

Not long after this Hamilcar is killed in Sicily, leaving behind him three sons, Hamilco or Hamilco, Hanno, and Gisco. 410 489

After the death of Hamilcar, and the to-
The total defeat of the Carthaginian army by Gelon, a peace is made, and Gisco, the son of Hamilcar, banished.

The Carthaginians engage at once in a war with the Moors, Numidians, and other Africans; the result of which is, that they are excused the annual tribute before exacted of them.

Some time after this period the two brothers Philani sacrificed themselves for the honour, as they apprehended, of their country.

The centumvirate instituted, somewhere in this interval, to reduce the exorbitant power of Mago’s family within proper bounds, and be a curb upon their generals, according to Justin.

Hannibal, the son of Gisco, makes an expedition into Sicily, and takes and razes Selinus and Himera.

The same general, in conjunction with Imlilcar, makes another campaign in Sicily; but dies of the plague in his camp before Agrigentum, of which distemper a great part of his army likewise perishes.

Imlilcar, Hannibal’s colleague, takes Agrigentum.

He likewise reduces Gela.

He puts an end to this war by a treaty concluded with Dionysius.

Dionysius takes Motya from the Carthaginians.

Himilco retakes Motya by storm, reduces Messana, and razes it. Mago, the Carthaginian admiral, likewise defeats the Sicilian fleet under Leptines. Himilco advances with his army, drawn up in order of battle, to the very walls of Syracuse, and plunders the temples of Ceres and Proserpina in the suburb of Acerdina; but the plague carrying off a great part of his troops, he is obliged to withdraw.
The Africans, to the number of two hundred thousand, seize upon Tunis, and threaten Carthage itself. But famine and divisions oblige them at last to disperse. Himilco, not being able to survive his misfortunes, puts an end to them by a voluntary death.

Mago, the Carthaginian general, is routed by Dionysius at Abacenum.

A second peace concluded between Dionysius and the Carthaginians.

Dionysius routs the Carthaginians at Cabala in Sicily, but is beaten by them at Cronion, upon which a peace ensues.

A plague breaks out in Carthage, which sweeps away an infinite number of people. The Africans and Sardi rise up in arms, and endeavour to render themselves independent of the Carthaginian flote. A particular species of madness seizes many of the inhabitants of Carthage, and produces dismal effects there.

Dionysius advances, with an army of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse into the Carthaginian territories. With this force he soon takes Selinus and Entella, and plunders all the adjacent country. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, enter the port of Eryx with two hundred sail, and carry off most of the best Syracusan galleys laid up in that harbour.

Dionysius II, succeeding his father, comes to an accommodation with the Carthaginians.

Paralus, the Carthaginian governor of Minoa, permits Dion to land five thousand arms there, and supplies him with carriages to convey them to Syracuse; by which means that prince is enabled to proceed in his expedition against Dionysius II.
Timoleon brings succours from Corinth to the Syracusans, and lands his forces in Sicily by a stratagem.

He defeats Ictes at Adranum, and possesses himself of Syracuse and Mel fitting, according to Diodorus.

A second treaty concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans, in which the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica are comprehended.

Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the Carthaginian forces under Mago, upon the banks of the river Crimium.

And concludes a peace with that nation.

About this time, in all probability, Hanno forms a design at Carthage to assume the sovereignty to himself, by destroying the whole body of the senate. He receives but a slight punishment for the first attempt; but upon his having recourse afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to support himself in his rebellion by an alliance with the African princes, he is made an example of the utmost rigor and severity.

Alexander forms the siege of Tyre, upon which the Tyrians send their wives and children to Carthage, where they are kindly received.

The Carthaginians send Hamilcar, surnamed Rhodanus, as their minister to Alexander at his camp before Tyre; and put him to death on his return home.

The Cyrenians apply to the Carthaginians for succours against a body of Greek mercenaries, that invaded them, but in vain.

The Carthaginians send some troops to the assistance of Sofistratus, and the Syracusan exiles, against Agathocles.

They oblige Agathocles to restore the cattle of Mylae to the Messenians.
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580 310

Hamilcar routs Agathocles at Himera, according to Diodorus Siculus.

Agathocles invades Africa, and gives a memorable defeat there to Hanno and Bomilcar, the Carthaginian generals, according to Diodorus.

581 309

Hamilcar is taken by the Syracusans, and has his head struck off, which is sent to Agathocles in Africa.

582 308

Agathocles prevails upon Ophellas, prince of the Cyrenians, to march to his assistance, and then cuts him off by treachery.

583 307

Bomilcar crucified for forming a design to make himself tyrant of Carthage.

583 307

Agathocles receives a great defeat from the Carthaginians, and is forced to abandon Africa, which produces a peace between the two powers.

584 306

The articles of the peace signed.

585 305

A third treaty concluded between the Romans and the Carthaginians about the time of Pyrrhus's arrival in Italy.

610 280

The Carthaginians offer the Romans assistance in their war with Pyrrhus, and for that purpose send a fleet of an hundred and twenty sail under the command of Mago; tho' the Romans decline accepting it.

610 280

The Carthaginians besiege Syracuse, with an army of fifty thousand men and a fleet of an hundred sail.

612 278

Pyrrhus makes a descent in Sicily, reduces all the Carthaginian towns in that island, except Lilybaem, almost as soon as he appears before them; and losses them again with the same rapidity to the Carthaginians.

613 277

614 276

Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, sends a detachment to reinforce the Mamertine garrison of Messana, and thereby prevents Hiero from posses-

625 265

The
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The first Punic war begins. • • • 626 264
The Romans, after a siege of seven months, take Agrigentum, and gain a victory over the Carthaginian forces, under Hanno, sent to its relief. 628 262
The consul C. Duilius gains a complete victory over the Carthaginians by sea, their admiral Hannibal escaping with much difficulty. The other consul Cn. Cornelius Scipio, being surprized, surrenders himself to the enemy under Boodes. 630 260
A drawn naval engagement between the Carthaginians and the Romans. 633 257
The Carthaginians receive a great blow by sea from the Romans; above thirty of their ships being sunk, and sixty-three taken. Hanno, who had behaved so ill at Agrigentum, and Hamilcar are their admirals at the time of this disaster. Regulus also lands this year in Africa, reduces Adis, a strong fortress, and many other places. He gives the Carthaginian army, command by Hanno, Bostar, and Hamilcar, a most memorable defeat. 634 256
The Roman army under Regulus overthrown by Xantippus the Lacedaemonian, who, at the desire of the Carthaginian senate, takes upon him the command of their forces. Regulus himself is taken prisoner in this action. 635 255
The Carthaginians become once more masters of the sea. 638 252
Lilybaeum, a Punic town in Sicily, besieged by the Romans. 640 250
The great Hannibal born. 642 248
Hamilcar behaves himself with great bravery for three years together in Sicily. 645 245
The Carthaginians under Hanno are routed by the Romans near the island Ægula or Ægates. 648 242
Hamilcar.
Hamilcar, having received full powers from the Carthaginian Senate for that purpose, concludes a peace with the Romans. This puts a period to the first Punic war, after it had lasted four-and-twenty years.

After various turns of fortune, the African or Libyan war is brought to a happy conclusion by Hamilcar, though the Carthaginians were reduced to the last extremity through the incapacity of Hanno, and Hannibal, by his indolence, had given a great advantage to the enemy.

Hamilcar, being sent by the Carthaginians as their general into Spain, partly by persuasion, subdues nine different nations; but exposing himself too much in a battle with some of the most warlike Spaniards as yet unconquered, he is slain, and succeeded in his post by Asdrubal.

Asdrubal dies, and is succeeded by Hannibal. That general takes Althea, the capital of the Oicodes; conquers that nation, the Vaceae, Carpetani, &c. The Saguntines apprise the Romans of these proceedings.

The Romans, by their ambassadors, demand Hannibal for taking of Saguntum. That general, having settled matters in Spain, makes preparations for a war with the Romans.

This year the second Punic war commences, according to Polybius. Hannibal crosses the Alps, and defeats Scipio near the Ticinus, now called the Teline, after taking Turin, and routing the Gauls, who disputed the passage of the Rhone.

The same general overthrows Sempronius on the banks of the Ticinum.

Hanno is defeated in Spain by Scipio.
who extends his conquests as far as
the Iberus.

C. Flaminius is overthrown by Hanni-
bal at the lake of Thrasymene, now
the Lago di Perugia, with the
slaughter of fifteen thousand men.
He likewise gives a terrible repulse to
Minucius; but is checked in his pro-
gress by Fabius. Cn. Scipio defeats
Hanno at the town of Cissa in Spain.

The Roman army commanded by Te-
rentius Varro and Aemilius Paulus, is
totally defeated at Cannæ upon the
Auspices in Apulia. This was the
greatest blow the Romans ever re-
ceived. The Carthaginians in Spain
under Astdubal, are overcome by the
Romans.

Philip king of Macedon, by his minister
Xenophanes, concludes a treaty with
Hannibal.

Hannibal takes Tarentum.

Capua besieged by the Romans. The
two Scipios, with their armies, de-
stroyed in Spain by the Carthaginians
and their allies.

Hannibal, in order to raise the siege of
Capua, bends his march towards
Rome, and advances within five
miles of that capital.

Tarentum retaken by Fabius.

Hannibal by a stratagem circumventing
M. Claudius Marcellus, and T.
Quintius Crispinus, cuts off Marcel-
lus, and other Romans of distinction.

Edeco, Indibilis, Mandonius, &c. pet-
ty kings or reguli of Spain, join Scipio.
By the accession of their forces
he is enabled to vanquish Astdubal,
the brother of Hannibal, at Bactula,
and to drive him out of Spain.

Astdubal, coming with a powerful army
into Italy to join Hannibal, is over-
thrown, and his army ruined.

Scipio in Spain vanquishes Astdubal the
son of Gisco, Mago, and Indibilis;
draws
draws off Mafinifia from the Carthaginian interest; reduces all Spain; and is then recalled to Rome.

Scipio lands in Africa; besieges Utica; burns the camps of Syphax and Ad-drubal; overthrows the Carthaginian, Numidian, and Celtiberian forces; and takes Tunis. Hannibal is obliged to quit Italy, and return to Africa.

An interview between Scipio and Hannibal. The latter of these is entirely defeated at the battle of Zama; which produces a peace, and terminates the second Punic war.

Hannibal, being obliged to leave his native country, lands at Tyre, and afterwards seeks an asylum at the court of Antiochus.

Hannibal dies, according to Livy and Cornelius Nepos.

Mafinifia, depending on his friendship with Rome, makes an irruption into the province of Tysca, and invades the Carthaginian territories.

An embassy is sent from Rome, at the head of which is Cato, to dispose both parties to an accommodation, and determine all differences between them on the spot. But the Carthaginians reject the mediation of the Romans, tho' they had before admitted it; which occasions the third Punic war.

A bloody war breaks out between Carthage and Mafinifia.

The Carthaginians, after the Romans had most perfidiously and inhumanly deprived them of all means of defence, are commanded to abandon their city; which they not complying with, it is totally destroyed by Aemilianus, and levelled with the ground.
Appian tells us in round numbers, that Carthage stood seven hundred years; but Solinus, with great accuracy, determines its duration to have been seven hundred and thirty-seven years, i.e. either so many complete years precisely, or so many complete years, with part of another elapsed, which was not reckoned in the computation. Now, if, with Sir Isaac Newton and Salmantius, we suppose this term to have commenced at the encenologia of dedication of the city, which they have proved, fell upon the sixteenth year of Pygmalion’s reign at Tyre, the beginning of the foundation of Carthage must be placed nine years higher, since Dido came to Africa in the seventh year of that prince’s reign; and consequently this happened seven hundred and forty-six years before the final destruction of that city by Æmilius. Since therefore Josephus, from Menander of Ephesus, or, according to Tatian, Menander of Pergamus, as he is corrected by Petavius, intimates, that Carthage preceded Rome an hundred and forty years, which almost exactly corresponds with Sir Isaac Newton and Salmantius; and since the era of Petavius, which we have followed, does not differ from that of Solinus as stated by the two great men above-mentioned, above two years, a trifle in a point of so remote antiquity, we may look upon these eras as the same. This is a strong presumption, that both of them approach very near the truth; and therefore we may venture to assure our readers, that they cannot greatly err, chuse which of them they please. The chronological synopsis here inserted, gives our readers the whole plan of the affairs of Carthage at one view, and, by enabling them to form a general idea of all the principal events that happened to this republic at once, prepares them for the perusal of the following history with double advantage (B).

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(B) We doubt not but the whole learned world will entirely concur with us in our notion of the incomparable archbishop Usher; and, to shew our regard to the memory of so profound a chronologer, we shall endeavour to clear up a point, which he has left a little confused. That most learned prelate fixes the foundation of Rome, with Fabian Pictor, towards the close of the seventh, or beginning of the eighth Olympiad; and yet he will have the year of Rome fix hundred and seven (in which Carthage was finally destroyed) to have preceded the Christian æra an hundred and forty-six years. This seems to render him a little inconsistent with himself; for an hundred forty-six years, added to fix hundred and seven, makes seven hundred and fifty-three.
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It may not be improper to inform readers, that the first part of this synopsis depends chiefly upon the authority of Justin and Orosius, compared with Diodorus Siculus, as the latter does upon that of Diodorus Siculus and Polybius, in conjunction with archbishop Usher. The times of the first transactions of this state it is impossible to determine to any tolerable degree of exactness, yet, we hope, our determination of them is not very remote from the truth. In ascertaining the years of those of a later date, we have paid no regard to the sentiments of those writers who differ from Diodorus Siculus and Polybius, as being in point of authority vastly inferior to them.


three years, which, he appears to intimate, was the age of Rome at the birth of Christ. But this seeming inconsistency will vanish, when we consider, that he all along follows Fabius Pictor, who places the foundation of Rome five years lower than Varro, whom Pliny, Solinus, and most of the Roman authors, follow. This observation will obviate all difficulties that might otherwise occur in some material points, from comparing archbishop Usher with the generality of the Roman chronologers, and thereby prevent confusion. The year of Rome, in which the destruction of Carthage happened, according to Fabius Pictor, must have been the six hundred and second, to which add an hundred and forty-six, and it corresponds, as well as the other, with the Christian era. This is a demonstration of the truth of archbishop Usher’s computation in this particular; and nothing further can be added to it. We think it proper to inform our readers here, that, from the commencement of the olympiads, our numbers perfectly agree with them, and consequently are not repugnant either to the Varonian or Fabian account; the with archbishop Usher, we are of opinion, that the latter points out of the true epoch of Rome. It must not be forgot, that we were mistaken in the Roman history, vol. xi. p. 290, & 291, when we made archbishop Usher to prefer Varro’s opinion to that of Fabius; and yet at the same time observed, that the archbishop places the birth of Christ seven hundred and forty-eight years distant from the foundation of Rome, in direct agreement with Fabius. What led us to that mistake, was a passage in him, wherein he seems to follow Varro; but, upon a second perusal of that passage, we are fully convinced, that he there only gives us what, he conceived, was Pliny’s opinion.


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VOL. XVII.

DUBLIN:


M.DCC.XLV.
AN UNIVERSAL HISTORY, FROM THE Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

CHAP. XXXVII.

SECT. V.
The History of the Carthaginians, from the foundation of their city to the first Punic war.

ELISA, known also by the name of Dido, fled from Tyre in the seventh year of the reign of Pygmalion king of that city. Her flight is said to have been occasioned by the cruel and insatiable avarice of Pygmalion, who was her brother. This prince, in order to secure to himself the immense treasures of his uncle Sichæus, who had married his sister Dido, was the priest of Hercules, and, by virtue of that post, the second person in the kingdom, found means to destroy him. The manner in which this was effected, is differently related: Virgil will have it, that Pygmalion barbarously murdered his uncle at the altar; but Einflathius and Cedrenus intimate that he dispatched him at an hunting match, and then throwing him down a precipice, gave out, that the fall had been the occasion of his death. However, as Sichæus was well acquainted with the
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the fordid and avaricious temper of his nephew, he had, by way of precaution, buried his riches under ground; which, with the prudent and artful conduct of Elifa, rendered abortive the tyrant’s design. Sichæus, appearing to his disconsolate widow in a dream, apprised her of his tragical exit, and advised her to fly immediately, in order to avoid the same fate. Upon this she determined to make her escape, and carry off those treasures, which had prompted her brother to so inhuman an action; but, in order to this, she judged it proper for some time to amuse him; which she did by dissembling her resentment, and keeping up the appearance of an affection for him, till an opportunity offered of assembling her friends, andconcerting with them the proper measures for speedily abandoning Tyre. The principal of these were her brother Barca, and several senators, who, hating Pygmalion, and apprehending themselves every moment in danger of being sacrificed by a prince, who had broken through all the ties of nature and humanity, engaged to follow her at all adventures. To execute the design she had formed the more effectually, she applied to the king for vessels to carry her, Barca, and their effects, to Chartica or Chartaca, a maritime town in his dominions, under the pretext of residing there. To this Pygmalion readily agreed, as imagining, that by such a step he should become master of what had so long been the object of his most ardent desires. Elifa, being thus supplied with men and ships, weighed anchor; and being got into the ocean at a proper distance from Tyre, commanded her men to throw into the sea some bags filled with sand, which, she told them, contained the wealth of her husband Sichæus, and, in a doleful tone, entreated his menaces to accept of those riches as an oblation, which had been the cause of his destruction. Then, addressing herself to her companions, she gave them to understand, that there was nothing terrible they might not fear from the tyrant’s resentment, for being instrumental in defeating his avaricious purposes, if ever they fell into his hands; by which means having fixed them more firmly in her interest, she pursued her voyage, and got out of her brother’s reach, before he was apprised of her resolution.

Pygmalion,

*Justin. I. xviii. Tacit. annal. xvi. Tertul. in Pal. Sil. Ital. i. i.
Dionys.
Chap. 37 The History of the Carthaginians.

Pygmalion, finding all his hopes thus defeated by his sister's subtility, and being grieved, that those treasures should be snatched from him in a moment, which he thought him-<br>self to be sure of, and which he had so long enjoyed in imagination, gave orders to fit out a fleet with all possible<br>expedition, in order to pursue the fugitives; but he was<br>diverted from this design by the entreaties of his mother, and<br>the menaces of the inspired college of vates, who threaten<br>him with the indignation of the gods, if he offered to obstruct in any manner the grand project Elisa was gone upon b.<br><br>The first place our heroine touched at was some port in the isle of Cyprus, possibly Salamis, which was then first at<br>Cyprus, in its infancy; since, according to Virgil and Servius, in<br>conjunction with the Arundelian marbles, Teucer and Mettinus, Elisa's father, seized upon Cyprus, or at least a part of it, not very long before, when the former of these built Salamis. Here she met with a priest of Jupiter, who offere<br>red to attend her with his whole family, and partake of her<br>future fortune; which the readily accepted of. As this motion of the priest proceeded from an impulse, or rather com<br>mand, of the deity himself, she looked upon it as a good omen, and settled the priesthood of Jupiter in that family c.<br><br>It was a prevailing custom in this isle at the time of Elisa's arrival, for the maids to go on certain stated days, be<br>fore marriage, to the sea-side, there to look for strangers that might possibly arrive on their coasts, in order to pro-<br>stitute themselves for gain, and thereby acquire a dowry. Out of these the Tyrians selected a certain number, Justin<br>says eighty; and carrying them on board, found them very subervient to their design of planting a new colony d.<br><br>A 3

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From hence they steered their course for the coasts of Africa, and at last happily landed in the province called afterwards Africa Propria, not far from Utica, a Tyrian colony, and city of great antiquity; which we have already described. The inhabitants received their countrymen with all possible demonstrations of joy, and giving them a most kind reception, advised them to build a city upon that spot, to which the fates had conducted them.

It was Elisa's first care, upon her arrival, to cultivate a good understanding with the natives, to which they were by no means, for any considerable time, averse, on account of the advantages they perceived would naturally flow to them from an established commerce and harmony betwixt the two nations. She then purchased a tract of land of them, for her and her wearied Tyrians to settle upon. Justin, Appian, Virgil, Eustathius, Themistius, &c. intimate, that the Phœnicians imposed upon the Africans, when a bargain was made betwixt them, in the following manner: They desired for their intended settlement only so much ground as an ox's hide would encompas. This request the Africans at first laughed at; but were surprized, when, upon their granting it, they found Elisa cut the hide into the smallest threads, and with them surrounded a large extent of territory, on which she built a citadel, from this incident called Brysa. The learned, however, unanimously agree in exploding this fable, which seems to owe its origin either to the envy and malice of the Romans, or the vanity of the Greeks, who ridiculously affected to deduce every thing that favoured of high antiquity from their own nation or language, though never so remote from them. Appian seems to intimate, that at first Elisa met with some opposition from the natives; which may possibly be true, since it is certain an annual tribute for the ground the Tyrians possessed was, by their first agreement with the Africans, exacted from them, which they were obliged to pay for many years after.

The neighbouring people, at first invited by the prospect of lucrè, and with this view repairing to the Phœnici-
an settlement to sell these foreigners the necessaries of life, in a short time incorporated themselves with them. These inhabitants soon growing very numerous, Elisa followed the advice of the Utican embassadors, who were sent to congratulate her upon her happy arrival in the name of their state; and built a new city, or at least much enlarged the old one, which could make no very considerable figure before. As the natives of the country, or Aborigines, were of the same sentiments with the Uticans in this particular, and, as may reasonably be presumed, gave the Tyrians all necessary assistance, both in the building of their city, and peopling it afterwards, Carthage soon became a place of great fame and demanded the respect of all its neighbours.

We are told by Juftin, that, in digging for the foundations of the city, the workmen first found an ox’s head, which was indeed a symbol of fertility of soil, but at the same time prefaged continual toil and perpetual servitude to the city. Upon this they removed to another spot, where, in digging, they discovered an horse’s head, which they interpreted as a happier omen, portending the future martial genius of the inhabitants. Eufathius adds, that the horse’s head had a palm tree, or at least a branch of palm, discovered with it; which they considered, without doubt, as an emblem of victory. This determined Elisa to fix upon that spot for the situation of her city; and in allusion to this it was, that the Carthaginians had, in after-ages, an horse’s head, or an horse and a palm-tree, so frequently upon the reverses of their coins.

The principal names of Carthage have already been given in the first section of the history we are now upon. However, it may not be improper to remark, that the Carthaginians are sometimes called Sidonians, and their city Tyre.

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(C) Some of these coins, particularly of the silver and gold ones, are of exquisite workmanship, nothing at all inferior to any of the Greek or Roman. They are found in the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers, in those parts of Spain the Carthaginians first possessed, and in Sicily. Numbers of them may be seen in Aldro, Paruta, Haym, and the cabinets of the curious.
by antient authors. Eusebius seems to affirm, that its most antient name was Origo; but as Carthage and its foundres are both mentioned in that passage; and as her name, Elisa (D) or Elissa, imports the same thing in Hebrew or Phænician as Virago in Latin, Bochart takes the word 'Origo' or Origo to be a corruption of 'Ouiaγων' or Virago; and consequentely supposes it to refer not to Carthage, but to Elisa or Dido. As Servilius afferts, though fallly, Dido in Punic to have answered to Virago in Latin, and it is very possible Eusebius might have been imposed upon by this mistake, we cannot help declaring ours-selves entirely of Bochart's opinion. It is likewise denominated by Stephanus Oenuia, or Oenuia; by Eustathius, Cadmea; and by Suidas, Aphrice. According to some, the name Tarshith in scripture sometimes denotes Carthage; in one passage particulary this word seems so plainly to point at that city, that it is rendered by the vulgate version Carthago. Theodoret and others countenance this notion.

Every thing thus conspiring with Elisa's views, and succeeding according to her desire, by the coalition of difference nations, the new city, in a short time, grew wealthy and flourishing; which agreeable situation tempted Iarbas, a neighbouring prince, to endeavour at making himself master of it without any effusion of blood. In order to which he desired


(D) According to the author of the etymologicon magnum, Elisa or Elissa was the first name of this prince, which, as Bochart shews, may either be interpreted divina virgo, or, with the Arabic article prefixed, virago, νατινυς. Phavorinus, in conjunction with the author of the etymologicon aforesaid, will have the name Dido to have been given her after her arrival in Africa, as importing the traveller, or wanderer, to which Bochart agrees. Eustathius absurdly says, Dido signifies a murderer of an husband; whereas Elisa or Elissa will admit of such an interpretation: and Servius, with as much impropriety, translates Dido virago, the undoubted signification of Elisa or Elissa. Many more conjectures about these words may be seen in Bochart and Vossius, which it is not worth while to recite (3).

defired, that an embassy of ten of the most noble Carthaginians might be sent him; which having obtained, he proposed to them a marriage with Elisa or Dido, for that, in all probability, was the name she went by after her departure from her native country, threatening them with a war, in case of refusal. The embassadors, being afraid to deliver the message, told their sovereign with Punic subtlety, that Iarbas desired some person might be sent him, who was capable of civilizing and polishing himself and his Africans; but that there was no possibility of finding any of her subjects, who would leave his relations for the conversation of barbarians, who were as savage as the wildest beasts. Here being reprimanded by the queen, she asked them, if they were not ashamed to refuse living in any manner, which might be beneficial to their country, to which they owed their very lives? They then opened to her the king's commands, adding, that, according to her own decision of the point, and to let her subjects a good example, she ought to sacrifice herself to her country's welfare. Being thus ensnared, she called upon her husband Sichæus with tears and lamentations, and at last answered, that she would go where her own fate and that of her city called her. In the mean time, she caused a pile to be erected in the farthest part of the city; and at the expiration of three months, which time she required for the execution of her design, killing many victims, as tho' she intended to sacrifice to, and appease the manes of, her husband before her second marriage, she ascended it. Then looking all around her upon the spectators, she told them, she was going to her husband, as they had ordered her: and immediately, with a dagger she had taken with her for that purpose, put a period to her days.

This is Justin's account of the death of that princess, which, we need not tell our readers, is different from Virgil's. Cedrenus and Sir Isaac Newton favour Virgil's notion, though they do not in all points agree with him. The former of these relates, that Aeneas the Phrygian, after the destruction of Troy, came to Africa, and resided sometime with Dido there; but perceiving Iarbas, king of the Numidians, the Mauritanians, the Mafllyli or the Gætulians, to take umbrage at this, he thought proper to retire, as dreading the effects of his power and resentment. This

k Justin, ubi sup.
This passage of Cedrenus, whom we take to have been a very good compiler and collector of antient history, seems greatly to support Sir Isaac Newton's opinion, in relation to Æneas and Dido's being cotemporaries, and likewise to evince a most material point, viz. that Virgil and Troglus, whom Jufian epitomized, agree in their chronology. What Sir Isaac Newton advances concerning Dido's father Mettillus and Teucer's reigning upon Cyprus, about the time of the Trojan war, renders Virgil's chronology likewise more probable, than the generality of learned men are willing to allow. But this we shall just touch upon immediately ¹.

How long Dido reigned at Carthage, or when she came to the violent death above-mentioned, we cannot take upon us to determine. What seems to be the best supported by antient history is, that her brother Barca and sister Anna attended her from Tyre to Africa; and that, by their commiting every thing to her management and direction, it should seem she was a woman of an uncommon genius. This likewise appears from the artful manner in which she imposed upon her brother Pygmalion before her departure from Tyre, when under the pretence of diverting her melancholy on account of her husband's death, which she insinuated, Carthage could not fail of perpetuating, she had the address to persuade him, that her intention really was to retire to, and reside at, Chartaca. The secrecy and prudence with which her grand enterprize was conducted, as well as the cunning device by which she fixed even Pygmalion's men in her interest, above-recited, indisputably evince the same thing; that she was a lady of most attractive charms, as well as a rare pattern of chastity, is attested by the best authors ².

Macrobius tells us, that Virgil's relation of Dido's amours with Æneas, and of her laying violent hands on herself at his departure from Africa, after he had debauched her, was universally esteemed as fabulous in his age. This indeed we disbelieve, but not upon Macrobius's authority; for that author is inconsistent with himself in respect to Dido's character. In one place he celebrates her temperance and chastity, which is exactly agreeable to the faith of history; whereas in another he makes her guilty of the greatest incontinence.

¹ Cedren. ubi supra. Newton's chronol. p. 65, 66, &c
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Perance, luxury, and profusion at her entertainments; which, in our opinion, deserves no credit at all, as being not only contrary to the general character of our princes, but likewise to the Carthaginian genius, as has been above observed. Virgil, as a Roman, we believe, in this particular did not pay the greatest regard to truth, the antipathy betwixt his nation and the Carthaginians not permitting it; but notwithstanding this, we cannot help imagining his chronology to be something nearer the truth than is generally supposed, and that for the reasons hinted above, as well as for the following one, which to us seems something cogent, and which therefore we beg leave to transcribe from the excellent Sir Isaac Newton. "The Phoenicians, after the death of Melcartus, says this incomparable author, built a temple to him in the island Gades, and adorned it with the sculptures of the labours of Hercules, and of his hydra, and the horses, to whom he threw Diomedes, king of the Bistones in Thrace, to be devoured. In this temple was the golden belt of Teucer, and the golden olive of Pygmalion, bearing smaragdine fruit; and by these consecrated gifts of Teucer and Pygmalion you may know, that it was built in their days." If these facts, and the reasoning built upon them, be admitted, it will follow, that Teucer and Pygmalion were cotemporaries, and consequently that Aeneas and Dido might be so. Now, though we cannot pretend to assert, that this argument is demonstrative, because there is no absolute necessity to suppose, that all these ornaments were brought into the temple at once, yet, considering what we have before offered from Sir Isaac Newton, Apollodorus, Servius, and the marbles, in proof of Teucer and Mettinus's being jointly concerned in the conquest of Cyprus, we cannot look upon it as void of a tolerable degree of probability.

How long monarchical government prevailed at Carthage, or what accidents befell this state in its infancy, or even what transactions it was concerned in for several ages at first, we cannot inform our readers, since there is a chain in the Carthaginian history for above three hundred years after the tragical end of Dido. In general Juvtin, and he alone, gives us to understand, that Carthage was much agitated by civil

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civil diffusions, and harassed with the plague during part of this period. It likewise appears from Diodorus Siculus and Polybius, that this republic had got a strong footing in Sicily and Sardinia, and made considerable acquisitions elsewhere, before the date of any of those transactions it bore a part in, the knowledge of which has reached us. Thucydides and Herodotus moreover put it beyond dispute, that it was very formidable by sea even in the time of Cyrus and Cambyses, and that it must have performed many brave exploits upon that element even before the reigns of those puissant monarchs. But this is not to be wondered at, it not being possible for any nation endowed with such a genius, and possessed of so much power as the Carthaginians must have been famous for in very early ages, to have long remained in a state of inaction, either by land or sea. A flourishing state of commerce naturally begets riches, and riches power; and, considering that ambition is a darling passion in the minds of great men, and almost inseparable from power, and that war, for the most part, is the effect of ambition, it cannot well be doubted, but that our republic made many expeditions against, and incursions into, the territories of its neighbours, long before the beginning of, what may be termed with respect to us, the Carthaginian historical period of time. Had the writings of Philistus Syracusanus, Ephorus, Timaeus Siculus, Aratus, Trogus Pompeius, the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth books of Diodorus Siculus, or any of the Punic historians, been now extant, we might have received sufficient light from them in many material points relating to the first ages of Carthage; but all these have, for a long series of generations, been no more. The Punic archives would also most certainly have set us right in all particulars of moment relating to the history we are now upon, had they been in being; but thefe the Roman virtue, generosity, greatness of soul, and love of truth, thought proper to deny poverty, left they should have given their minds a wrong bias, and been prejudicial to the cause of truth. We are therefore obliged, tho' with great regret, to pass over the transactions of the Carthaginian state during the chasm aforesaid, as buried in oblivion, and proceed to continue this work in the best manner we can from those pieces and fragments of antiquity that, through the injuries of time, have been handed down to us.

We have just hinted, that the Carthaginians were very powerful by sea in the time of Cyrus and his son Cambyses, not
not to say much easier. This appears from several considera-
tions, particularly from a naval engagement that hap-
pened between the united fleets of the Carthaginians and
Etruscans and that of the Phocæans, one of the most for-
midable nations in the world by sea in Cyrus's reign, wherein
the Phocæans got the victory, yet their whole fleet was de-
eated in a sea-
either sunk or disabled; insomuch, that they durst not ven-
ture a second engagement, but abandoned the island of Cy-
nus, now Corsica, to the Carthaginians and Etruscans. The
Phocæans retired to Rhegium, and soon after to OEnotria,
now Ponza, a small island in the Tyrrenian or Etruscan sea,
over-against Velia in Lucania, which their ancestors had first
peopled; and the Carthaginians, with the Etruscans, took
quiet possession of Cyurus. Herodotus and Thucydides both
take notice of this sea-fight, as one of the most antient to
be met with in history. The Carthaginian and Etruscan
united fleets consisted of an hundred and twenty sail, the
most active part of which, we may suppose, was the Car-
thaginian, since the Etruscans at that time did not make so
great a figure by sea; and the Phocæan of sixty. Herodo-
tus seems to sneer the Phocæans upon their victory, as being
in a manner ruined by it. According to Thucydides, the
Phocæans built Maffilia, now Marseilles, some time near
this period.

Towards the conclusion of Cyrus's reign, or that of his un-
cle Cyaxares the second, as we have stated it, the Carthaginians
carried on a war with the neighbouring African princes,
wherein they obtained great advantages, which, according
to Justin, were chiefly owing to the conduct and bravery of
their general Macheus (E). Soon after the conclusion of
this war, they sent a great body of forces, with a powerfull
fleet, to Sicily, under the command of the fame general,
who reduced a good part of that island to their obedience.
But notwithstanding the happy situation of their affairs abroad

* Herodot. l. i. Thucyd. i. sub init.

(E) This general's name, in some manuscripts of Justin, is Ma-
leurs, in others Macheus or Macheus. Orosius calls him Mazeus;
and Grævius, Maleus. Voelius likewise seems to prefer the last
to the others; but offers no solid argument for this preference.
We beg leave therefore to follow Reineccius, Ubbio Emmius, and
Hendreich, who chuse Macheus, notwithstanding many of our
late editions of Justin have Maleus.
They reduce a good part of the island of Sicily.

In consequence of which, according to Justin's observation, their arms were attended afterwards with ill success, though they had before been so fortunate in Sicily, (which, by the way, proves their settlement in that island to have been coeval with, if not prior to, the beginning of the Persian empire) for, immediately after the conclusion of the Sicilian war, transporting their forces into the island of Sardinia, they intended nothing less than making an absolute conquest of it; but the displeasure of the gods now pursuing them, they received a notable defeat here from the Sardi, in which above half of their army was cut off. Enraged at so many disasters, instead of endeavouring to discover the true cause of them, they banished their general Machæus, with the remainder of the army under his command. That commander, covered with glory and victory before the last unhappy expedition to Sardinia, could not but highly resent such ungrateful, as well as inhuman, treatment, especially as by his conduct and bravery, he had reduced a great part of the island of Sicily to the obedience of the Carthaginians, and greatly extended their frontiers in Africa. First therefore he sends to Carthage in an amicable manner, begging the senate not to impute to him and the troops the misfortunes that had befallen them, but to permit them to return home quietly; adding withal, that, in case of refusal, they would do themselves justice by force of arms. But neither this friendly remonstrance, nor the menace annexed to it, making any impression on the senate, after waiting in vain some days for an answer, they went on board their ships, and advanced with great expedition towards the city. As soon as they had invected it, they appealed to the gods above for the purity of their intentions, and declared in the presence of gods and men, that their design was not to hurt their fellow-citizens,
zens, but only to demonstrate to them what wrong sentiments they had entertained of their valour, when they attributed the loss above-mentioned to a want of bravery in the troops; whereas it ought to be ascribed to the caprice of fortune. This not availing, after they had cut off all communication betwixt the city and the continent, they besieged it in form, and soon reduced it to the last extremity for want of provisions. The Carthaginians, involved in these deplorable circumstances, began now to reflect upon their past folly and ingratitude; but how to extricate themselves out of their present difficulties, was the grand question. In the mean time, Cartalo, the general's son, arrived in the city from Tyre, and, had matters taken a right turn, might have had a conference with his father, and possibly have disposed him to an accommodation. This Cartalo had been sent by his countrymen to Tyre, with the tenths of an immense quantity of plunder taken by his father in Sicily, intended as a donation or offering to the Tyrian Hercules; and passing by the camp in his return home, was ordered by his father to come to him immediately; but this command, for the present, he refused complying with, under pretence, that he must perform the public offices of religion, before he could give an instance of filial duty. Machæus was far from being pleased with this answer; however, for the present he took care to conceal his resentment, as not daring to do anything that might look like the least violence offered to religion. Soon after this incident, having obtained leave for that purpose, he came out of the city to the camp, dressed in his pontifical robes; for he was, as it should seem, the priest of Hercules. His father, far from being struck with such a pompous appearance, taking him in private, addressed himself to him in the following terms: "Haft thou the assurance, most abandoned wretch, to appear in this rich and splendid habit before so many miserable citizens, and a camp overwhelmed with woe? What mean these ensigns of peace and felicity at this juncture, but to insult all of us? Was there no other place for thee to display thy pride and haughtiness in, but this spot of ground, which is the scene of thy father's misery and disgrace? How came you so lately to despise, with such an insolent air, the command, I will not lay of your father, but of your general? And what are these gorgeous robes but the fruit of my victories? Since therefore you have considered me not as a father, but an exile, I, in return, will behave to you not as a father, but a general."
And crucifies his son Cartalo. The city surrenders.

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"general." And he was as good as his word; for immediately ordering a high crofs to be erected, he had him crucified thereon in his sacred vestments, in the sight of all the citizens. Some days after, the city surrendered; when convening the senate and people, he complained of the injury and indignity offered him, and excused the hostile manner in which he had behaved towards them, as not being the effect of choice, but necessity. He, for the present, made no alterations in the established form of government; but contented himself with putting to death ten of the senators, by whose advice the late violent resolutions against him and the army had been taken ° (F).

ALBD

- Juytin. & Orof. ubi supi.

(F) In this note we shall endeavour to give some account of crucifixion, which was a capital punishment used among the Syrians, Egyptians, Persians, Jews, Africans, Greeks, and Romans. According to Pagius, it was not at first in use among the Jews; and indeed this appears from the law of Moses itself. The learned Cafaubon concurs with him herein, though Baronius and Lipsius maintain the contrary opinion. Signonius confounds this with hanging or suspension, as does father Calmet in many instances, particularly those of the worshipers of Baal-peor, and the king of Ai, who were hung up alive. The Talmudists refer it to stoning or lapidation. There were three different sorts of crosses erected for the execution of malefactors. The first was the crux decussata, in the form of the letter X, as St. Andrew's cross is pictured. The second the crux commissa, like the letter T. The third the crux immissa, when one piece of wood was transfixedly fastened to another in such a manner, as to cut it at right angles at some distance from the top, so †. Such, according to antient medals, and the tradition of the christian church in all ages, was our blessed Saviour's cross. Crucifixion was the punishment appointed for slaves and the &cum of the people, when guilty of the most enormous crimes; and was therefore called fervile supplicium; the freemen, or persons of distinction, in such cases, falling by the ax or sword. The criminals, before execution, were taken either from home or the praetorium amongst the Romans, and scourged in a most cruel manner. Sometimes they were tied to the cross, as we find our blessed Saviour was, and always obliged to carry it, or part of it. When they arrived at the place of execution, they were stripped naked, and nailed to the cross, either lying on the ground, or erect. Their hands and feet were first tied to it with cords, and afterwards nailed with three or four nails, as the executioner pleased, beginning with the right hand or
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All things in Carthage being thus set upon the antient foot, the republic enjoyed some repose. But this was not of

or foot, and proceeding from thence to the left. Upon the piece of wood rising above the arms of the cross, an inscription was posted, specifying the crime for which the malefactors suffered, though sometimes, instead of this the crier proclaimed it to the spectators attending the execution. In Judaea, the thighs of the malefactors were broken, in case they were not dead by suffocation; because the Jews, by their law, were obliged to take them from the cross at that time, which the Romans, their governors, permitted them to do. By the Roman laws, the bodies remained on the cross, till they were entirely consumed, as our notorious offenders do now upon gibbets; nevertheless the judge, or supreme magistrate, had the power of giving the bodies to friends or relations, in order to be interred. On the emperor’s birth-day, or such like festivals, they were frequently taken down from the cross, and buried without the intercession of friends. The Jews constantly buried the bodies of crucified malefactors, in conformity to their law, though the pagans left them exposed on the cross as aforesaid. According to some authors, the patibulum, or gallows, and the antient cross, were the same, though Isidorus makes them different. He calls the transverse piece of wood patibulum, and the erect one stipes and crux. Afterwards patibulum and furca, the gallows, were the same, and the punishment on them was looked upon as much milder and less ignominious, than that on the cross; for on the gallows the criminals soon expired, whereas on the cross they continued a long time in torture. Sometimes offenders suffered death on the cross with their heads downwards, as St. Peter; and sometimes with their thighs as well as arms expanded, in like manner as St. Andrew is supposed to have been crucified. The crosses were made of the hardest wood, frequently of oak, as some believe our Saviour's was. The places of execution were either near the public roads and highways, or on the top of some mountain or eminence, that the bodies might be seen by all people, and thereby a terror struck into them. If the crux and patibulum were originally the same, crucifixion prevailed at Rome in the time of the kings. The persons condemned to be crucified, or deserving it, were called by the Romans cruciarii. To be crucified was a mark of great infamy to soldiers, officers, and men of quality. This punishment was so common amongst the Romans in the times of the republic, and afterwards, that pains, afflictions, troubles, and unpromising affairs, were called crosses, and the verb cruciari frequently denoted the infliction of all sorts of chastisements, and pains of body and mind.

Friends
Friends and relations generally attended the execution, in order to beg the bodies of the supreme magistrate or commanding officer, at least in Judæa. When this did not happen, parties of soldiers were posted near them, to prevent their being carried off. Constantine abolished crucifixion, thinking enormous villains, and persons guilty of the most flagrant crimes, unworthy of suffering death in the same manner our blessed Saviour did, and introduced hanging in its stead. The Jews did not permit the relations of the persons executed to place their kinsmen in the tombs belonging to their families, till their flesh had been first consumed in the public sepulchres; then they were allowed to remove their bones into private sepulchres. It was perhaps for this reason that Joseph of Arimathæa desired leave from Pilate to lodge the body of Jesus in his own tomb, that he might not be thrown into the public burying place appointed for criminals (6).

The Carthaginians, contrary to the practice of other nations, crucified their nobility, suffetes, and even the generals of their armies themselves, however absolute they might be in the field, if their enterprises were not attended with success. The croffes of malefactors amongst them seem to have been higher or lower, in proportion to the quality of the person suffering, and the heinousness of the crime for which they suffered. If any notorious offender of distinction escaped justice in his life-time, his body after death, was exposed on a crofs, in order to deter others from committing the same crime, especially when it merited the most severe and ignominious punishment. Of this Hanno, in Just. not to mention others, is a pregnant instance (7). We must not omit observing, that the Greek word καρφων, which signifies a cross, is put often for a piece of wood only fixed in the ground, by the Latins called palus or vallum. Our readers will find a fuller account of this punishment in the authors referred to in this note.


(7) Hendr. in repub. Carthag. l. ii. sect. i. c. 5. & Just. i. xxi. c. 24.
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situation, and introduce arbitrary power. But his pernicious views being happily discovered, his scheme was defeated, and he received the punishment due to so great a crime; upon which event Juvenal makes this reflection: 'He was justly rewarded for the cruelty he had been guilty of both to his son and his country.'

We are told by Herodotus, that Cambyces, in the sixth year of his reign, resolved upon an expedition against the Carthaginians; but that he was forced to drop his project, by reason the Phoenicians, without whose help he could not carry on that war, refused to assist him therein, because the Carthaginians were their descendants. This is a plain proof, Cambyces that the whole naval power of the Persian empire at that time, without the assistance of the Tyrians, was not able to cope with the Carthaginians.

In the year after the refuge, the Carthaginians sent embassadors to Rome, and concluded a treaty with the Romans. The Phoenicians refuse to assist them; and, in the meantime, while they were the first nation the Romans were acquainted with, out of Italy, and with whom they entered into an alliance. This treaty chiefly related to navigation and commerce, and was to be seen, in Polybius's time, on the base of a column, in the ancient Roman language, which, as that writer tells us, was so different from what was spoken in his time, that those who were most conversant in the Latin tongue, could not, without much study and labour, understand it. As in our eleventh volume we have inserted this treaty as transmitted to us by the Greek historian, it will be entirely unnecessary to repeat it here. However, we shall beg leave to make four or five short observations upon it.

First, This treaty was signed twenty-eight years before some obser-

Xerxes invaded Greece, and gives us to understand, that the whole island of Sardinia, and part of that of Sicily, were then subject to the Carthaginians.

Secondly, It appears, that the Carthaginians were very well acquainted with the coasts of Italy, had visited several of the petty nations seated there, and even made some attempts upon them, before this period.

Thirdly, It is evident, that this nation was tolerably versed in the art of fortification, and made it a common practice to build forts or castles upon their making a descent.

9 Juft. ubi. supra. 9 Herodot. 1. iii. 1 Polyb. l. iii. p. 245, 246, 247. edit. Gronov.
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Scent in any country; since they are prohibited by one article of this treaty to erect any forts whatsoever in the country of Latium, even in case they at any time invaded it in an hostile manner.

Fourthly, This treaty makes it manifest, that the Carthaginians were particularly careful to exclude the Romans from all the territories subject to them, as well as from the knowledge of what was transacted in them; as though, even at that time, they took umbrage at the growing power of the Romans. They seemed, even in these early times, to harbour in their bosoms the secret seeds of the jealousy and diffidence, which were one day to burst out in long and cruel wars, and which nothing could extinguish but the ruin of one of these two most potent republics.

Fifthly, The Carthaginians, according to Polybius, would not allow the Romans to sail beyond the promontory called the Fair promontory, lying to the north of Carthage, lest they should discover the fruitfulness of the land, and the happy situation of the cities, and consequently should be tempted to make a settlement there. This, it must be owned, was a wise precaution, and shewed, that the Carthaginians were not only a people of foresight, but likewise acquainted with the enterprising genius of the Romans, long before they came to blows with them.

The republic being delivered from the imminent danger that threatened it in the manner above related, chose Mago to succeed Machæus in all the high posts he filled. If we may judge of Mago's capacity from the good effects of his administration, he was a person of most consummate merit and abilities. Justin tells us, that he was the first who introduced military discipline amongst the Carthaginian soldiery; that in his time the dominions of Carthage were much enlarged, its commerce rendered more extensive, its riches encreased, its military glory raised to a high pitch, virtue alone countenanced both in the army and state; in short, that he left his country in a most flourishing condition. His two sons, Afdrubal and Hamilcar, succeeded him in all his high employments 1.

Asdrubal

1 Justin I. xix. sub. init.
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Asdrubal and Hamilcar being adorned with the same virtues that rendered their father so conspicuous, the people of Carthage thought they could not do better than confer upon them the command of the army that was to act against Sardinia; which island, it seems, had then revolted from them. Accordingly they landed their forces here, and for some time carried on a war against the Sardi; but with what success, is not said: only we are told, that towards the close of it Asdrubal was mortally wounded, by which melancholy accident the entire command of the forces devolved upon his brother. The Carthaginians made great lamentation for this general, as indeed they had good reason; for he had been eleven times one of the suffetes, and discharged the duties of that high function with great applause, and in his military capacity had triumphed no less than four times; nay, the enemy themselves looked upon his death as a blow given the Carthaginians equivalent to the cutting off of their whole army.

Somewhere near this period, the Carthaginians had a mind to shake off the African yoke, that is, to discontinue the tribute, which, by their original contract with that people, they were obliged to pay; in order to which they declared war against them. The Africans having justice on their side, success attended their arms; and notwithstanding the power of their enemies, a peace was concluded to their advantage, the principle article of the treaty being, that the tribute at first imposed upon them, for the ground on which their city stood, should be continued.

About this time, Darius Hyphasis, king of Persia, sent an embassy to Carthage, requiring the people of that city to abstain from human sacrifices, and eating dogs flesh; to burn their dead, and not bury them, as had always been the practice in their territories; and lastly, to furnish him with a body of auxiliary forces to serve in the war he was going to declare against Greece, for which he was then making vast preparations. Every thing was complied with, at least in appearance, for some time, till all apprehensions of feeling his resentment were vanished, except the last article, which the Carthaginians desired to be excused from paying regard to, because all their troops were then otherwise employed. Justin infinuates, that this monarch laid his commands upon the Carthaginians on this occasion; but this we can scarce believe, since it does not appear from history, that Carthage was

1 Idem ibid. 2 Idem ibid.
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was ever subject, or even tributary, to the Persians; besides, this author, from whom the particulars here mentioned are drawn, affirms Darius to have sent embassadors to Carthage; which is a plain intimation, that the people of that city were not his subjects. That the Carthaginians, and consequently the Phœnicians, buried their dead antiently, may be collected from hence; but this is so clear from scripture, that it stands in no need of any other testimony to support it. Justin likewise here observes, that the Carthaginians at this juncture were much embroiled with their neighbours; which seems to suggest, that either the war with the Sardi and Africans above-mentioned, or some other, was then carried on. It is no wonder Darius should apply to the people of Carthage for assurance against the Greeks, since both the Persians and Carthaginians looked upon that nation as their common enemy.

Some few years afterwards, the Greeks of Sicily, being extremely harassed by the Carthaginians, solicited Leonidas to send some Lacedæmonian forces to their relief*. From Herodotus it appears, that they could not obtain their request; but that, however, Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, was so happy as to preserve his own dominions, and even to enlarge them. From the prodigious forces with which the Carthaginians invaded Sicily almost immediately after, it is probable they did not sustain any very considerable losses in that war. It cannot be inferred from Herodotus, as we formerly imagined, that the Carthaginians were driven out of Sicily by Gelon at this time; but only that the tyrant gained some advantages over them, extended his frontiers, and supported himself without the assistance of the Greeks, as the passage referred to implies. It is rather probable from thence, that both parties in the main kept what they were in possession of before the beginning of the war, though the Carthaginians might lose some particular districts, especially since, according to Justin, there was no considerable, much less decisive, action in it. The excellent character Herodotus has given us of Hamilcar, and the high encomium he has passed upon that general's conduct, seem likewise to determine in favour of our present opinion*

Notwithstanding the Carthaginians, by reason of the various wars they were then engaged in, could not supply Darius with any succours against the Greeks, as has been just observed;

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* Herodot. l. vii.  
* Herodot. l. vii.  
Justin. l. xix.
observed; yet it appears extremely probable from history, that an offensive and defensive league was made betwixt these two powers towards the close of that prince’s reign. At least it is most certain, that an alliance was formed between Darius’s successor Xerxes and the state of Carthage, not many years after the Persian embassy above-mentioned was sent to that city. By the treaty concluded with Xerxes, the Carthaginians were to invade Sicily with all their forces, and endeavour to drive the Greeks from thence, as well as the continent of Italy, whilst that prince should march in person with the whole strength of the Persian empire against Greece itself. But of this more hereafter.

Before we enter directly upon the transactions of the Carthaginians in Sicily, we shall beg leave to give a short account of the first footing this nation got in Spain. We are nowhere told in history precisely when this happened; nevertheless there is good reason to believe, from Diodorus Siculus and Justin, that it was very early, and before the times we are now speaking of. The former of these authors affirms, that the great nerve of the Carthaginian power were the mines of Spain; that by them they were enabled to equip such powerful fleets, and bring such formidable armies into the field; nay, that by their assistance they made such great conquests in Sicily and Africa. Hence it is apparent, that the first Carthaginian settlement in Spain must have long preceded, not only the reigns of Xerxes and Darius, but even that of Cyrus himself. But this is still rendered more evident by Justin, who intimates, that this happened when the city of Gades, now Cadiz, was but of late standing, or even in its infancy. The neighbouring Spaniards, finding this new city beginning to flourish, attacked it with all their forces; insomuch that the inhabitants were obliged to call in the Carthaginians to their aid. Both of them being originally colonies from Tyre, the Carthaginians readily granted their request; and furnishing them with powerful succours, not only repulsed the Spaniards, but likewise made themselves masters of almost the whole province in which the new city stood.

This happy beginning made that ambitious nation entertain thoughts of subduing the whole country, to which they were also strongly excited by the rich mines above-mentioned.

A Justin. I. xix.  
B 4 Diodor. Sic. I. xi. c. i, 2.  
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'Tis probable they could not push their conquests far at first, because they had there to do with very warlike nations, who defended themselves with great courage and resolution. It appears from the accounts of Livy and Polybius, that the greatest part of Spain remained unsubdued till the wars of Hamilcar, Asdrubal, and Hannibal. Nay, 'tis very probable the Carthaginians could never have entirely reduced so many provinces there, as Strabo observes, had all the Spaniards formed but one state, or mutually assisted one another. But as every canton, every people, were entirely detached from their neighbours, and had not the least correspondence with them, they all by degrees fell a prey to the common enemy.

We are told by Diodorus Siculus, as has been taken notice of in the chronological table, that the Carthaginians planted a colony in the island Ebusus or Eresus, now Yvica, on the coast of Spain, an hundred and sixty years after the foundation of their city. The city Eresus, the capital of the island, built by this colony, was surrounded by a good wall, and had a commodious harbour for ships. The houses in it were for the most part built in an elegant taste, and inhabited by a variety of barbarous nations, as Diodorus calls them; but the most numerous of these were the Phœcicians or Carthaginians. 'Tis highly probable therefore, that about this time the Balearic islands, at present known by the names of Majorca and Minorca, were likewise either planted or reduced by the same people. This can scarce be doubted, if we consider, that the name itself is Phœcician or Punic; that Ebusus is but seven hundred stadia, i. e. not an hundred miles, distant from the Balearic islands; that the Carthaginians possessed these islands from so remote an antiquity, that their first arrival here is prior to everything related of them by any historian now extant, except their peopling the island Ebusus; and that, according to Vitruvius, Ebusus was reckoned to belong to the Balearic islands, which 'tis very natural to suppose. Now as we learn from Justin, that the first expedition the Carthaginians made to Spain was in order to assist the new city of Gades (A) above-mentioned; and as the Carthaginian fleet

(A) It appears from the word Gadir or Gaddir, the true Phœcician or Punic name of Cadiz, that the city received its name from the island on which it was seated, and therefore that the Tyrians
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fleet sailing from Carthage to Gades easily might, nay, almost naturally would, take Ebusus and the other Balearic islands, in its way, there is pretty good reason to believe, that Gades was succoured, and Ebusus, with the other Balearic islands, planted or reduced much about the same time. The particular periods likewise, in which Justin and Diodorus have related these events to have happened, seem nearly to correspond; which in some measure confirms our opinion. Let this be admitted, and it will follow, that the Carthaginians made their first descent in Spain about an hundred and sixty years after the building of their city, which we apprehend to be one of the most early foreign transactions they were concerned in. Farther, since Carthage was so potent when Gades was in its infancy, we must suppose the former to have been at least eighty or an hundred years older than the latter; and if so, Dido might have founded her city not far from the time of the Trojan war, since, according to Velleius, Gades was built by the Tyrians about that number of years after the destruction of Troy. This is an additional argument in favour of what

rians were in possession of it some time before they built the city. For Gadir properly signifies an inclosure, or spot of ground separated from all other tracts, as this island was by the sea. It likewise denotes a fence or mound, as this island was doubtless considered by the Phoenicians, after their long and fatiguing voyages, against the rage and fury of the sea. According to Strabo, the Tyrians first failed to this island a considerable time after Hercules was deified; and made several fruitless expeditions, at considerable distances of time, before they could settle upon it; which, in conjunction with what has been advanced by Philostratus, renders it highly probable, that the city was, at least, of as late a foundation as we have supposed. The author of the etymology indeed infinuates it to have been built by Archaleus, the son of Phoenix, which will carry it back to a very remote antiquity; but this favours so much of fable, that but little credit is to be given to it. We shall only at present farther observe, that Cadiz and Tartessus were frequently mistaken for one another. A particular description and history of this city may be expected from us, when we come to the history of Spain (1).

what Sir Isaac Newton has advanced as to the time of that destruction, and seems to carry with it an air of probability. As to Velleius's assertion, that Gades was more antient than Carthage, he is plainly refuted by Diodorus and Justin, and the reason of the thing; neither had he asserted this, had it not been in consequence of an hypothesis. The Romans in his time generally followed the technical chronology of Eratosthenes, supposing it to be true: Velleius finding therefore in some good author, that Gades was absolutely affirmed to be built by the Tyrians eighty or an hundred years after the Trojan war; and by the Punic records, that Carthage was betwixt two and three hundred years later than that war, according to the artificial chronology of Eratosthenes, which he took for granted was true; he thence concluded, that Gades was older than Carthage. But that Eratosthenean chronology is now by some very learned men believed to have placed the destruction of Troy near three hundred years too high; and if so, no great stress is to be laid upon it. Velleius's authority therefore, when he asserts the city of Gades to have been built about eighty or an hundred years after the Trojan war, depends upon some good author, as is plain from Justin compared with Virgil, Servius, Apollodorus, and the marbles; but when he makes it older than Carthage, upon the chronology of Eratosthenes, which cannot be entirely relied upon, particularly in the point before us, as appears from Justin, Diodorus, and others; in the first case therefore it is pretty widely different from what it is in the other. Justin clearly intimates, that the inhabitants of the island of Gades had a temple there sacred to Hercules, before the city was built; so that nothing can be inferred from that temple's being erected either about or immediately after the time of the Trojan war, in prejudice of what has been advanced; which yet we are far from positively insisting upon as matter of fact, but only propose it to our readers as a point deserving farther consideration. On this occasion it may not be improper to remind our readers, that, according to the common computation, Troy was taken the twenty-fourth day of the month Thargelion, or April, 1184 years before Christ; whereas Sir Isaac Newton places it 904 years only before the commencement of the christian era.

Another

Another motive to the Carthaginians to make themselves masters of Spain, was the great number of brave recruits found in that country. The Spaniards were valiant, easily disciplined, and capable of enduring all kinds of labour and fatigue. With such immense treasure therefore as they annually drew from thence, and such bodies of the best soldiers as were continually formed there for their service, 'tis no wonder the Carthaginians should make such prodigious efforts, as we learn from history they did, to enslave all their neighbours.

As Diodorus Siculus has given us a description of Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic islands, Corsica, &c. in the same chapter, we think this authorizes us to speak a word or two here concerning the first Carthaginian settlement in the island last-mentioned. Sardinia, as has been intimated above, was in the hands of the Carthaginians, and had been so for some time, when the first treaty was concluded between them and the Romans. Corsica likewise, we have reason to imagine, was possessed by them either wholly, or in part, in very antient times. This island, called by the Greeks Cyarus, by the Romans and natives Corsica, had a beautiful large harbour, according to Diodorus, named Syracusium, together with two considerable cities, Calaris, or Aleria, built by the Phocæans, and Nicæa by the Etruscans. Notwithstanding the defeat of the Carthaginian and Etruscan fleets by the Phocæans, in the reign of Cyclus abovementioned, the victory cost the latter so dear, that they were obliged to abandon Cyarus to the former. And we are farther informed by Herodotus, that the Cynrians, i.e. the Corsicans, were one of those nations, out of which the Carthaginians formed that vast army, with which they invaded Sicily in the days of Gelon. These, to omit many others, that might easily be produced, are sufficient proofs, that the state of Carthage had a footing, at least, in Corsica in very remote times.

The small islands of Melita and Gaulos, now Malta and Gozo or Gozzo, being conveniently situated for trade, and having commodious ports, were indisputably in subject like the other Carthaginians. It appears from Diodorus, that these islands were at first peopled either by the Carthaginians, or their ancestors the Phœcicians.

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* Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 2.  
* Diod. Sic. ubi sup. c. 1.  
* Herodot. l. vii.  
* Diod. Sic. ubi sup.
When the Carthaginians first carried their arms into Sicily unknown.

We have above observed, that part of the isle of Sicily was subject to the state of Carthage before the beginning of the Persian empire; but when the Carthaginians first carried their arms thither, for want of sufficient light from history, we cannot take upon us to determine. M. Rollin affirms Xerxes to have been the first who prompted that people to attempt conquering the island at present under consideration, which is contrary to the faith of history; and immediately after, almost in the same breath, declares the period, in which the Carthaginians first landed there in an hostile manner, not to be exactly known. This is a plain inconsistency, but not the only one in his system of antient history. As we have already given so particular a description of Sicily, as well as those heroic achievements and great transactions, of which it was for so many ages the theatre, we shall have occasion to refer our readers frequently to some of the preceding parts of this work; though after all, in order to preserve and continue the thread of our history, we shall find repetitions in many places unavoidable.

However, in order to render these the more tolerable, whenever we are obliged to them, we shall endeavour to diversify the narration with several fresh incidents, not mentioned in any of our former volumes, as not so immediately relating to the histories of the countries we were then upon, drawn either from the historians quoted by us there, or others which at that time had escaped us.

After the conclusion of the treaty with Xerxes, the Carthaginians, in pursuance of their engagements, made vast preparations for a war with the Greeks of Sicily, both by sea and land. The Carthaginians at this time were the most powerful people of all the west; and while the Persians invaded Greece, they were to fall upon the Greek colonies, both in Sicily and Magna Graecia, as above, that thereby the Greeks, of all countries and denominations, might be diverted from helping one another. The preparations for this war were so prodigious, that it was three years before they were completed, notwithstanding Xerxes sent them vast sums of money from Persia for that purpose. With these they hired great numbers of mercenaries in Spain, Gaul, Liguria, Corfica, &c. and raised what forces

h M. Rollin. in hist. antient des Carthag. p. 2. c. 1. sub init.
forces they could in Africa. All things at last being in readiness, they set sail from Carthage with an army of three hundred thousand men, composed of different nations, and a fleet of above two thousand ships of war, with three thousand transports, not doubting but to make an entire conquest of Sicily the first campaign 1.

The general who commanded in this expedition was Hamilcar, the son of Hanno, according to Herodotus, or of Mago, as Juffin will have it, a person of great authority both in the army and the city, who had behaved himself with uncommon conduct and bravery on many occasions in the service of his country. In his passage from Carthage to Sicily, his horses and chariots, with the vessels they were on board, perished in a storm, which the Carthaginians doubted, being extremely addicted to superstitition, looked upon as ominous. However the general himself, upon his arrival at Panormus, now Palermo, endeavoured to dissipate all gloomy apprehensions, by declaring, that since they were happily arrived in Sicily, he looked upon the war as concluded, and that all the pain the late storm gave him was a fear of the Sicilians escaping the danger that threatened them 2.

After he had landed his troops, he halted three days to refresh them, and repair the damage his fleet had sustained in the late storm; and then marching to Himera, a city in the neighbourhood of Panormus, immediately caused it to be invested. To give some idea of the capacity of this general, Diodorus tells us, that, upon his sitting down before Himera, he disposed his army in two camps, the one defined for the land forces, the other for the ships and marines. He took care to secure his long ships or galleys, by drawing them on shore, surrounding them with an entrenchment, and placing all his marines there for their defence. The land forces were encamped in front, opposite to the city, extending themselves from the lines of the other camp to the hills overlooking the town. The place being thus blocked up on the west side, he unladed the ships of burden of their provisions, and sent away what vessels he had left to Africa and Sardinia for a further supply. After this he advanced with the flower of his army to the very walls of the city, routed a party of the garrison

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Gelon defeats the Carthaginian foragers.

Gelon finds an opportunity of surprising the Carthaginians.

Gelon in a sally they made upon him, and thereby struck a great terror into the besieged.

Theron, tyrant of the Agrigentines, at that time commanded in the place, who, though his garrison was very strong, being intimidated by the late disaster, as well as the numerous forces of the enemy, dispatched an express to Gelon at Syracuse, with all possible expedition, for immediate relief. Gelon having got his troops in readines to march at an hour's warning, upon advice of what had befallen the Himeraeans, advanced to their city without delay, with an army of fifty thousand foot and five thousand horse. He first encamped near the city, and afterwards fortified his camp in such a manner as to put it out of danger of being insulted by the enemy. By this means he infused new life and vigour into the garrison, and freed them from all apprehensions of the Carthaginian power. He sent his horse in quest of the enemy, who were dispersed in small parties all over the country, in order to forage. These, meeting with the Carthaginians straggling about the country, without any discipline or order, fell upon them, took above ten thousand prisoners, and brought them triumphantly into the town. By this action Gelon's glory was raised to a very high pitch, and the Himeraeans inspired with a contempt of the enemy.

To demonstrate to the Carthaginians the high contempt he had them in, he caused the gates Theron had before built to secure him from their approaches, to be pulled down, and built others, more essential to the defence of the place, in their room. In fine, Gelon being an able warrior, and excelling in stratagems, set his head to work to find out some method of destroying the Carthaginian forces without any danger to himself or his army, which in strength was so much inferior to the enemy. Fortune favoured the project he was upon by the following accident, which brought on a battle, and occasioned the death of Hamilcar, and the total overthrow of his army.

A courier was brought to Gelon, having been intercepted by a party of his horse, carrying letters from the inhabitants of Selinus, confederates of the Carthaginians, to Hamilcar; whereby he understood, that Hamilcar was to offer the next morning in the camp of the marines a solemn sacrifice to Neptune, and that he had appointed the Selinuntine cavalry to join

1. Diod. Sic. ubi sup.  
2. Idem ibid.
join him the same day in the said camp. Gelon, taking advantage of this intelligence, drew out an equal number of his own horse, ordering them to advance to the enemy’s camp about the time agreed on, as if they were the Selinuntines. Upon receiving these orders, by favour of the night, they conveyed themselves privately to certain posts close by the Carthaginian camp, of which they took immediate possession; and the next morning, approaching the said camp, were admitted into it about sun-rising, without the least suspicion. Hamilcar was then busy in sacrificing, and the greater part of the soldiery attending him without arms, according to Diodorus. But Herodotus intimates, that this general stayed in the camp during the whole time of the engagement, which continued from morning till the dusk of the evening, without intermission. Diodorus adds, that the Syracusans, without the least opposition, making up to Hamilcar, killed him, purfuant to their general’s orders, cut in pieces most of his marines, and set fire to the ships. Herodotus, on the contrary, gives us to understand, that Hamilcar was employed the whole day in throwing heaps of victims upon a flaming pile; but that seeing his troops put to the rout, he himself rushed into the fire, and was entirely consumed. Upon the firing of the ships, Gelon, who had notice of the success by a signal given him from the top of a neighbouring hill, drew out his army, and attacked the other camp. The Carthaginians at first made a gallant resistance; but when news was brought them of their general’s death, and at the same time seeing all their fleet in a blaze, they had no longer courage to stand their ground, but betook themselves to a precipitate flight; and then the slaughter was dreadful. As Gelon’s orders were, that no quarter should be given during the heat of the engagement, no less than an hundred and fifty thousand men were slain in the battle and the pursuit. The rest retired to an eminence, where they for some time defended themselves; but at last, for want of water, were obliged to surrender at discretion. This was the greatest blow the Carthaginians had ever received before that time; for they did not only lose their general Hamilcar, who was himself by his mother’s side a Syracusan, but had their whole army in such a manner cut off, or taken prisoners, that not a single man of it escaped to Carthage, to carry thither the news of this unparalleled defeat a.

a Herodot. & Diod. Sic. ubi sup.
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Polyænus, in his account of the Carthaginian general’s death, differs something both from Diodorus Siculus and Herodotus. According to this author, Gelon, finding himself not strong enough to attack the enemy, sent Pediarchus, the captain of his archers, who much resembled him, dressed in royal robes, out of the camp, with orders to offer sacrifice upon some altars near the spot of ground on which Hamilcar used daily to sacrifice. Pediarchus was attended by a party of his archers, cloathed in white garments, with large sprigs of myrtle in their hands, as an evident sign of their going to perform so solemn an act of devotion. Under the myrtle each of them had concealed his bow, with several arrows, which were to let fly at the general as soon as he came within some distance. Hamilcar, suspecting nothing of violence, came as usual, with his attendants, to address himself to the Gods, and was immediately slain. However this may be, the Carthaginians and Syracusians, both of them ambitious of claiming so great a man to themselves, gave out, that Hamilcar, upon the defeat of his troops, vanished, and was never afterwards seen. The former, notwithstanding his misfortune, and their immediate resentment of it, in after-ages paid him divine honours, both in their capital city, and every other place where their colonies seated themselves.

We must not here omit observing, that Terillus, the son of Cricinippus, invited the Carthaginians at this time into Sicily, and therefore was, in some respect, as well as Xerxes, the occasion of this fatal war. Terillus was tyrant of Himera; but being driven from thence by Theron, the son of Æneas in the Cuthus, tyrant of Agrigentum, he meditated revenge. To gratify which, at the instigation of Anaxilaus, the son of Critineus, tyrant of Rhegium, who married his daughter Cylippe, he had recourse to the Carthaginians being well assured they would not let slip so favourable an opportunity of enlarging their dominions in the island of Sicily. Hamilcar, in order to secure his fidelity, obliged him to send his sons to him for hostages. This account Herodotus tells us he received from the Sicilian writers of his time, who made no mention, as far as we can find, of the alliance between the Persians and the Carthaginians

* Herodot. & Diod. Sic. ubi sup. i. c. 27 ex. 2. Herodot. ubi sup.
* Polyæn. strat.
* Idem ibid.
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Herodotus farther informs us, that the battle of Himera was fought the same day with that of Salamis: but Diodorus Siculus will have the Carthaginians to have been defeated the same day that Leonidas, with his brave body of Spartans, perished at Thermopylae. Upon which he makes this reflection: "The gods on purpose seemed to have designed the Greeks at the same time a glorious victory in one place, and a most honourable death in another."

The first thing after the battle Gelon did was, amply to reward all those who had signalized themselves in the action, especially the body of horse to whom the victory was chiefly owing. The greatest part of the spoils, which were of an immense value, he offered to the gods, adorning with them the temples of Syracuse and Himera; what remained, together with the captives, he distributed amongst his soldiers, in proportion to the degree of bravery and valour they had shewn. Many of the last, to whatever city’s share they fell, were employed in public works for the common good; and so many were taken, that all Africa seemed to have been transplanted into Sicily. Some of the citizens of Agrigentum, in particular, who had distinguished themselves above the rest, had five hundred a-piece. The fugitives, upon the defeat of their army, being in the utmost consternation, fled into the inland provinces of Sicily, especially the territory of Agrigantum, where being taken alive, that city was in a manner filled with prisoners. The greatest part of them were put in irons, and set apart for the public service. The work they were chiefly employed in at first was, cutting and hewing of stone; of which afterwards they built the largest of the temples at Agrigentum, and made those conduits or aqueducts to convey water from the city, which were so much admired by the ancients, and called Pheaces, from one Pheax, who was the overseer of the work. The Agrigentines likewise, by their labour, sunk a fish-pond at great expense, seven stadia in circumference and twenty cubits deep. (B).

By


(B) This famous pond, the effect of Carthaginian labour, was supplied with water both from fountains and rivers, and excellently well stocked with fish of all kinds, serving both for

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By the late victory, which was complete both in itself and its consequences, Gelon acquired great glory, and was justly celebrated by foreigners as well as his own subjects, as one of the most renowned and experienced generals any age or nation ever produced. The stratagem by which the Carthaginian army was overthrown he himself contrived, and conducted throughout, being the life and soul of the army in the execution of it. Some authors have not scrupled to prefer him to Themistocles, and the advantage accruing to the Greek nation in general from this action to that gained by the battle of Platea. However this may be, it is certain we find no account in history of any engagement, wherein the like carnage was made, and such a number of prisoners taken. Neither did the Carthaginian fleet, consisting of that vast number of ships of war and transports above-mentioned, meet with a much better fate than their land-forces had done. Only twenty long ships or galleys, which Hamilcar had occasionally drawn out for necessary services, happened to be out at sea, when the camp of the marines was taken, and consequently escaped the general conflagration. These failed directly for Carthage; but meeting with contrary winds and tempests, before they reached that place, they were all cast away, a few men only being saved in a small boat. These arriving at Carthage brought the dismal news of the entire defeat of their army, and the loss of their fleet. The Carthaginians, little expecting to hear of such a signal disaster, but on the contrary pleasing themselves with the imagination of reducing the whole island of Sicily almost without striking a stroke, were most strangely shocked at receiving this melancholy advice. As in all great reverses of fortune the nation we are discouraging of ever lost their courage, and abandoned themselves to despair, so in the present case they gave every thing up for lost. Nothing but outcries and lamentations were to be heard throughout the whole city; the enemy was already imagined to be at their gates, and all orders and for food and pleasure. Great numbers of swans likewise rested upon it, which afforded a most pleasant prospect to the eye. By the negligence of succeeding ages, it was gradually filled up with mud, and at last became wholly dry ground. The soil was so rich in Diodorus's time, that the Agrigentines planted vines and all kinds of trees there, which brought them in a very considerable revenue (1).

(1) Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.
and degrees of people amongst them were overwhelmed with inexpressible grief, despondency, and consternation.

In this deplorable situation, the Carthaginians thought they could have recourse to nothing but Gelon’s clemency; and therefore immediately dispatched embassadors to him for a Sicily, enjoining them to strike up a peace with him upon any terms.

Upon the arrival of these embassadors at Syracuse, Gelon afforded them an instance of great moderation and humanity. Notwithstanding by the late victory he was become the arbiter of peace and war, and had the Carthaginians entirely at his mercy, he received these ministers in a most affable and courteous manner. His prosperity had not in the least elated him, nor rendered him at all haughty or untractable. On the other hand, tho’ this deputation consisted of persons the most famed of any in Carthage for their merit and abilities, yet they behaved in a most mean and abrupt manner. They threw themselves at Gelon’s feet, with tears begged him to receive their city into favour, and grant them a peace upon what conditions he should think proper to prescribe. This plainly shews how void the Carthaginians then were of that true resolution and magnanimity, which supported the old Romans in all adversity, and carried them through all dangers; that resolution and magnanimity, which enabled them to lay the foundations of an almost universal empire, and even to destroy the dangerous rival of theirs we are now writing the history of; though it must be owned this heroic virtue and greatness of soul was much tarnished in their posterity, to say no worse, by some actions they were guilty of towards the decline of the Carthaginian state.

Gelon, like a good-natured prince, being touched with compassion for the miseries of the Carthaginians, granted them a peace upon the following easy conditions: First, that they should pay two thousand talents of silver towards defraying the expences of the war. Secondly, that they should build two temples, where this treaty of peace should be deposited, and at all times be exposed to public view. Thirdly, that for the future they should abstain from offering human sacrifices. This last article shews the great humanity of Gelon’s temper, and is a proof, that the people of Carthage were obliged a second time to abolish that barbarous practice for a certain period, at least in appearance; for it cannot be doubted, but they

C 2
ratified this treaty, it being so advantageous to them, at a juncture when they were upon the very brink of destruction.

The Carthaginians, having recovered their spirits, by the happy turn their affairs had taken, through the conqueror’s great clemency and moderation, thought proper now to shew their gratitude to Damaretia, Gelon’s wife, who had forwarded an accommodation betwixt the two powers, and been chiefly instrumental in bringing it to an happy conclusion. They therefore, immediately after the peace, sent her a crown of gold, valued at an hundred talents of that metal. This crown Gelon turned into money, and coined pieces, called from his wife’s name Damaretia, each of them being worth ten Attic drachmas. The Sicilians gave them the name of Pentecontalitra, from their being fifty pounds in weight * (C).

We must not omit one circumstance, which may serve as a further instance of Gelon’s military capacity. Upon his first approach to Himera, to succour the besieged, a detachment of his forces defeated many of the Carthaginian parties sent to forage in different parts of the island. Besides what they killed, they took ten thousand prisoners, as above related. These probably were the worst troops in the


(C) These pieces seem to have been rather medals struck on occasion of Gelon’s victory over the Carthaginians, than common coins. The size of them supplies us with an argument in favour of this notion. The brae’s litra of Sicily was at first a pound weight, as the libra or As was amongst the Romans; and sixty such litrae made a talent. According to Pollux, Damaretia and the other Syracusan ladies of distinction brought all their silver utensils to the mint, and the coin formed from thence was called ψυ-χίσμα Δαμαρέτου. But Diodorus’s relation is more probable; since, if Gelon had been in great want of money, he would undoubtedly have stamped it in the smallest species, and not in pieces of such a magnitude, which seemed to allude to the great victory obtained over the Carthaginians, as well as the immense booty found in their camp (2).

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the Carthaginian army; and therefore a stratagem Frontinus relates Gelon to have been the author of seems to bid fair for this particular period of time. This prince, having a large number of prisoners, picked out the weakest of them, who were auxiliaries, mostly tawny, and of a very despicable appearance; and exposed them quite naked before his soldiers, that they might have the most contemptible notion of the enemy. Something like this happened, if we mistake not, in the late war between the Turks and the Russians, when the former, to give their people at Constantinople the meaner opinion of the latter, led the most miserable of the captives they had taken from that nation in triumph through their capital.

Besides the public works above-mentioned, the Carthaginian spoils enabled Gelon to build two noble temples, the one to Ceres, and the other to Proserpina. A tripod of gold likewise, of sixteen talents, he caused to be made out of them, and sent it as a donation to the temple of Apollo at Delphi, as an acknowledgment of his gratitude to that deity. If an inscription given us by the scholiast on Pindar may be depended upon as genuine, there were more tripods than one sent thither on this occasion in the name of Gelon and his brothers, who had all of them a great share in the successes they gave thanks for (D).

C 3

1 Frontin. 1. i. c. 11, 18.

(D) We are further assured by Paufanias, that Gelon sent several valuable presents to the temple of Jupiter Olympus at Olympia, as a grateful return to that pagan divinity for the good success that attended his arms, with which he was furnished from the booty found in the Carthaginian camp. Among the rest there were three curious vestments of fine Carthaginian linen, each of them representing a coat of mail, which undoubtedly were looked upon as something particularly rare, since Xenophon intimates the Carthaginian flax to have been of a very fine nature. A statue of Jupiter also, of a prodigious size, was sent to the same place in the name of Gelon and the Syracusans, when they were full of the most grateful sentiments for the signal victory obtained over the Carthaginians both by sea and land. The cell or apartment, in which these donations were deposited, was of exquisite workmanship, being made by those celebrated artificers Pothæus, Antiphilus, and Megacles, at Gelon's order. Besides the golden tripod above-mentioned, Gelon sent a golden statue of Victory to Delphi,
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The Carthaginians, incensed at Hamilcar, as imputing the late disaster entirely to his conduct, notwithstanding the great services he had done the state on other occasions, resolved, that his family should feel the effects of their resentment; and therefore banished his son Gisco, who, being thus obliged to leave his native country, retired to Selinus, where he died for want of necessaries. The Sicilian cities, that sided with the Carthaginians, upon their first application to Gelon, were received into favour, and had a confirmation of all their antient privileges granted them, though the conqueror, with a very good grace, might have treated them in a far different manner.

From this time for full seventy years, that is to say, till towards the close of the ninety-second, or the beginning of the ninety-third olympiad, we scarce find any mention of the Carthaginians, or their affairs, in the Sicilian history. The last blow they received in Sicily was so terrible, that a peace of some duration was absolutely necessary for the re-establishment of their affairs; and it is natural to suppose, that, of all places in the world, Sicily would be the last they would, for a considerable period of time, chuse for the scene of action. However, a fair opportunity offering at the time above-mentioned, moved by their ambition, they embarked in another war there, which, though pretty bloody and expensive, ended with much better success to them than the former.

However, in some part of this interval, several remarkable incidents, mentioned by Justin, Sallust, and Valerius Maximus, seem to have happened. The Carthaginians carried their arms against the Moors, Numidians, and other African nations, and greatly extended their frontiers in Delphi, which seems to have been the third offering of that metal ever brought thither. This we learn from Phanias Eresius and Theopompos, as cited by Athenæus, who inform us, that before the days of Gyges and Crefus, kings of Lydia, all the votive gifts sent to Delphi consisted of brats, and these not statues, but chaldrons and tripods. As this observation seemed to us curious, we could not prevail upon ourselves to omit it.

Diod. Sic. l. xiii. Ælian. var. hist. l. vi. c. 11.

in Africa. They likewise shook off the tribute, which, for a long time, had given them so much uneasiness, and rendered themselves absolutely independent.

They had warm disputes with the people of Cyrene, a Mediterranean city, the capital of Cyrenaica, built by the Theræans under Battus, who were a colony of the Lacedæmonians, which arose from the want of a regulation of limits between the two states. As the Cyrenæans were very powerful, much blood was shed on this occasion; but at last the two nations, after having almost exhausted each other by a long and expensive war, accommodated their differences in the following manner:

Being so weakened, that they were both afraid of becoming a prey to some foreign invader, they consented first to a cessation of arms, in order to a pacification. Afterwards it was agreed, that each city should appoint two commissaries, who should set out from their respective towns upon the same day, and that the spot they met upon should be the common boundary to both states. Upon this, two brothers, called Philæni, were dispatched from Carthage, who advanced with great celerity, whilst the Cyrenæans proceeded more slowly. Whether this was to be imputed to the laziest of the latter, or to some accident intervening, is not certain. However, the last is not improbable, since in those sandy regions, at certain seasons of the year, there are as violent storms and tempests as upon the sea; which is not to be wondered at, considering that, in such countries, which are open and level, and have not so much as a shrub to break the force of the wind, sometimes boisterous weather must almost necessarily happen; and then the sand, being put into a violent commotion, is blown up into the air in great quantities, fills the eyes, mouths, nostrils, &c. of travellers, and by that means greatly retards at least, if it does not put an entire stop to, their journey. Valerius Maximus intimates, that the Philæni acted perfidiously, by setting out before the appointed time, and thereby imposed upon the others. Be this as it will, the Cyrenæans, finding themselves too tardy, and fearing to be called to an account for their conduct at their return home, accused the Carthaginians of breach of faith, by beginning their journey before the stipulated time; insisted, that the convention agreed upon

between

* Sal. Jug. c. 79.
between their principals was broken; and declared they would suffer all extremities, rather than submit to such a base and ignominious treatment. On the other hand, the Philæni, with much seeming calmness and moderation, desired the Cyreneans not to talk in so lofty a strain, but themselves to propose some expedient whereby their differences might be terminated, promising at the same time to submit to it, whatever it might be. The latter then proposed to them, either to retire from the place they had fixed upon for the limit of their dominions, or suffer themselves to be buried alive there, not in the least imagining they would comply with so hard a condition. But herein they were disappointed; for the Carthaginian brothers without hesitation, consented to it, laid down their lives, and gained a large extent of territory by that means to their country. The Carthaginians ever afterwards celebrated this as a most brave and heroic action, paid them divine honours, and endeavoured to immortalize their names, by erecting there two altars, with suitable inscriptions upon them. Strabo informs us, that no traces of these were to be seen in his days, though the place still retained the name of the altars of the Philæni. However 'tis not to be doubted, but the state of Carthage, as long as it existed, kept them up, this being ever their boundary on the side of Cyrenaica. Sallust relates, that there was a handy tract of ground betwixt the territories of Carthage and Cyrene, without hill, river, or spot in it, whereby to ascertain the borders of the two nations; so that they were obliged to have recourse to the method aforesaid. The love of one's country is certainly a most amiable virtue; but that any civilized nation should carry this so far, as to allow the building of it upon fraud, perfidy, and a violation of public faith, is very strange; yet this the Carthaginians did, if Valerius Maximus may be credited, by paying so high a regard to the memory of the Philæni. That author, however, runs out into a wild and frantic encomium upon them, and thereby discovers much of the Punic disposition. In short, this piece of history gives us a lively idea of the Carthaginian notion of bravery and heroism, as do several other incidents to be found in the course of this history.

"Idem ibid. Strab. i. iii. Pomp. Mel. i. i. c. 7. Valer. Max. i. v. c. 6. Vide & Cellar. geogr. ant. i. iv. c. 3."
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The Egestines, allies of the Athenians, after the conclusion of the Syracusan war, of which they had been the principal occasion, by inviting the Athenians into Sicily, entertained strong apprehensions of being called to an account by the Syracusans for all the acts of hostility they had committed against them. About this time also the Egestines had some disputes with the Selinuntines about a regulation of limits, which at last broke out into an open rupture betwixt the two states; but the former dreading the resentment of the Syracusans, and believing they would affright their enemy with a large body of forces, clapped up a peace with the latter upon their own terms. Though by this peace the Egestines gave up all the points in dispute, the Selinuntines, not contented herewith, made farther encroachments upon them; which greatly irritating the Egestines, they had recourse to the Carthaginians, imploring their protection, both against the Selinuntines, and their confederates the Syracusans. The affair meeting with great difficulties, it was for some time debated at Carthage what course it would be proper to take. On the one hand, the Carthaginians were very desirous to possess themselves of Egesta, a city which lay so convenient for them, and which would much facilitate the reduction of the whole island of Sicily, the favourite project that state always had in view. On the other, they dreaded the power and forces of Syracuse, which had so lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the Athenians, and was become, by so shining a victory more formidable than ever. At last their thirst after empire prevailed, and through the desire of getting the city into their hands, they promised the Egestines succours.

The general appointed to command in this war, if matters came to the last extremity, was Hannibal, the grandson of Hamilcar, killed at the battle of Himera, and son of Gisco, the exile above-mentioned. He was at this time invested with the highest dignity of the state, being one of the suffetes, and a person of very great consideration. As he bore a natural hatred to the Greeks, and was desirous to wipe off, by his own valour, the disgrace of that defeat, which he considered as a stain upon his family, he fought, by all means possible, to distinguish himself on this occasion for the service of his country. He was indefatigable, all that summer and the ensuing winter, in raising forces, not only in Africa, but in Spain and Italy, and making
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making the other necessary preparations; insomuch that, in the beginning of the spring, he had an incredible number of soldiers of different nations lifted under his standard. But, before he came to an open rupture with the Selinuntines, he had recourse to Punic policy, endeavouring, by a trick of his, to over-reach both them and the Syracusans their allies. Being apprised, that the Selinuntines were not satisfied with the tract of land ceded them by the Egestines in the last treaty of peace, but laid further claim to a great part of their territories, he desired the Syracusans to act as mediators in this affair, and endeavour to accommodate the differences betwixt the contending parties in an amicable manner. His view in this was, to sow the seeds of dissension betwixt the Syracusans and the Selinuntines, imagining, that if the latter should reject the mediation of the former, the confederacy betwixt them would of course be dissolved, and consequently that each of them would more easily fall a prey to the Carthaginians. But his scheme proved abortive; for though the Syracusans interposed their good offices, in order to bring about an accommodation betwixt the Selinuntines and Egestines, yet finding these ineffectual, they did not think proper to make use of any compellive methods, nor to renounce the alliance they had entered into with the former. The Carthaginians, finding their artifices thus eluded, upon the return of their embassadors, openly espoused the cause of the Egestines, and sent a supply of five thousand Africans, and eight hundred Campanians, to their assistance. The latter had been hired by the Chalcidians to assist the Athenians against the Syracusans; but, after their overthrow, failing back into Campania, laid there, in hopes that some state might soon stand in need of their assistance. Accordingly, the Carthaginians took them into their service, bought them horses, and placed them in garrison at Egefta; which place, at all events, they were determined to make themselves masters of. Notwithstanding this powerful body of Carthaginian auxiliaries, the Selinuntines, being both rich and numerous, held the Egestines in great contempt.

The Selinuntines, having drawn together a strong body of regular troops, ravaged all the country about Egefta, and despising the enemy, who were far inferior to them in number,

* Diod. Sic. ubi sup.
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ber, dispersed themselves in parties, without order or discipline, all over the territory of the Egestines, for the sake of plunder. The Carthaginians and Campanians in garri-
on, observing this, took the first opportunity that offered, in conjunction with the Egestines, of surprising them, which they did so effectually, that they put them to flight, killed a thousand on the spot, and carried off all their bag-
gage. Immediately after this action, both cities dispatched embassadors to solicit succours from their respective confe-
derates, the Selinuntines from the Syracusans, and the E-
gestines from the Carthaginians; which being readily a-
reed to on both sides, a most dreadful war broke out be-
tween the Egestines and Carthaginians on one hand, and the Selinuntines and Syracusans on the other.

The Carthaginians, before they directly engaged in this war took care to make an estimate of the prodigious sums necessary to support it, and the numerous body of forces requisite to carry it on with vigour; and having impower-
ed their general Hannibal to raise an army equal to the undertaking, as above-mentioned, and to equip a suitable fleet, they appropriated certain funds to the defraying all the expences of the war, intending to attack the island of Sicily with their whole power the beginning of the follow-
ing spring.

Hannibal, at the time appointed, put his army on board sixty long galleys, and fifteen hundred transports, to-
gether with an immense quantity of provisions he had amal-
ged for their subsistence, military engines, arms, and all else necessary for a siege. Setting sail with these as soon as the season would permit, he crossed the African sea, and arrived at Lilybæum, a promontory of Sicily, op-
polite to the coast of Africa. Before he landed his troops, he was discovered by a party of Selinuntine horse who posted away with great expedition, to give their country-
men intelligence of the approach of the enemy. Upon this the Selinuntines dispatched couriers to Syracuse for im-
mediate relief. Hannibal in the mean time, landing his army, marked out a camp, beginning at a place called The well of Lilybæum, where the city of Lilybæum was afterwards built. Here he staid a short time to refresh his troops, before he entered upon the operations of the cam-
paign.

According
According to Ephorus the historian (E), the Carthaginian army consisted of two hundred thousand foot, and four

(E) Ephorus, an orator and historian, was born in the city (1) of Cumæ or Cyme in Æolia, and one of Isocrates's (2) scholars. His history contained chiefly the transactions of his countrymen the Greeks for the space of seven hundred and fifty years; that is, from the return of the Heraclide, to the twentieth year of Philip king of Macedon (3), in which year he besieged Perinthus. Plutarch intimates (4), that he wrote a particular history of Cumæ. He was a writer of flow parts, according to Tully, and much inferior, in point of genius (5), to his school-fellow Theopompus. Seneca says (6), he had little regard to veracity; which seems confirmed by most of the passages taken from him by Diodorus. His ignorance in geography is very apparent, from his making all the Iberians inhabitants of the same city; from whence Josephus rightly infers (7), that the knowledge of the western parts of the world came very late to the Greeks. Notwithstanding what has been said, Diodorus informs us (8), that he wrote with great accuracy, and in an elegant style; tho' in the last article he is contradicted by Duris Samius (9) and Dion Chrysostomus, whose testimony is of great weight in this particular. His grand history he divided into thirty books (10), to each of which he added a preface. Besides the performances above-mentioned, he composed a treatise de rebus inventis, of which Strabo (11) takes notice; another de bonis & malis, divided (12) into twenty-four books; another de rebus passim admirabilibus (13), divided into fifteen books; another de civitatibus Thraciae, of which Harpocrates quotes (14) the fourth book. Father Harduin ascribes to him a particular treatise (15) of the origin of cities, and another of the encrease of the Nile; but, according to M. Bayle (16), the authors alluded by him prove no such thing; and indeed this he makes out very clearly. Ephorus is complimented (17) by Polybius,

four thousand horse, though Timæus Siculus (F) will not allow them to have been much above an hundred thousand. Hannibal, after landing his forces, caused all his ships to be drawn

bius and Strabo; but notwithstanding Diodorus seems so fond of him, yet, in another passage, that writer tells us, he related so many falties (18) of Egypt, that we must not expect to meet with any thing of truth in him. Dionysius Halicarnasseus (19), as well as Diodorus, speaks favourably of his style. The two other historians this last author ranks with him, are Theopompus (20) and Callithenes. We find a valuable fragment of Porphyry preferred by Eusebius, from which it appears, that Ephorus was accused of being a plagiarist; nay, of stealing three thousand lines (21), word for word, from Daimachus, Anaximenes, and Callithenes. Lyfimachus is said to have written a piece, containing all his plagiarisms; and Alceus, (22) a satyrical poet, is affirmed by Porphyry likewise to have exposed them. He is ridiculed by Strabo (23) for the mention he makes of his native country. A son, called Demophilus, survived him, who, (24) being a scholar, was thought by some to have put the finishing hand to what his father left imperfect. A fuller account of him may be seen in Vossius (25) and M. Bayle, to whom we refer our readers.

(F) Timæus Siculus a Greek historian of good note (26), the son of Andromachus, a noble Sicilian, who, according to Diodorus (27), assembling the fugitives of Naxus, settled with them on a hill called Taurus, to which settlement the city of Tauromium owed its origin. Timæus flourished in the time of Agathocles, and Ptolemy Philadelphus. Sidues and Hefychius will not allow him to have been a judicious compiler of history; and Polybius accuses him of betraying too great credulity, a want of judgment, and a trifling genius, on several occasions (28). He was a person of violent passions, as appeared both from his shameful calumnies, and impious flattery, which prejudiced many writers, and some of these even too much, against him. Because he was banished by Agathocles, he gave that tyrant no quarter after his death

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drawn ashore, for fear of giving umbrage to the Syracusans,
and then, being joined by the Egeleans, marched to Selinus,
death, not only describing his crimes and ill qualities in the black-
est manner, but loading him with fabulous calumnies. He was
acted so much by a spirit of revenge on this occasion, that he
contradicted himself in a most flagrant manner; for which (29)
reason the five last books of his history, which treated of the
actions of Agathocles, were undoubtedly very deficient in point
of veracity. On the other hand, if we may believe Suidas, he
exalted his hero Timoleon (30) to a superiority above the highest
divinities; to which that author adds, that for this he deserved a
greater punishment than Callisthenes, who suffered death for de-
signing to deify Alexander, a prince infinitely more illustrious
than Timoleon. He composed several pieces; one consisting of
three books, de Syria, & ejus urbibus regibusque; another di-
vided into sixty-eight books, de argumentis rhetoricae; another
intitled olympionicae, seu acta chronicae; two more, whose titles
were, Ἰταλικὰ καὶ Σικελικὰ, consisting of eight books; and Ἐλλη-
nικὰ καὶ Σικελικὰ, whose number of books is not known. In the
former of these two last works he wrote the history of Sicily, as
far as it was coincident with the Roman history; and in the other
he gave an account of the Sicilian transactions, as they were in-
termixed with those of the Greeks. His history of Pyrrhus
was a distinct piece, as we are informed by Dionysius Halicarnassus
and Cicero (31). Diogenes Laertius quoted no book of his history
beyond the eighteenth, though Athenaeus (32) cited the twenty-
eighth; which is a proof, that those authors paid no great regard
to the division of his Greek, Roman, and Sicilian history, as gi-
ven us by Vossius. Notwithstanding what has been offered by
Suidas to invalidate the authority of Timæus in the five last books
of his history, yet this author himself allows (33), that, in all
other parts of it, he adhered strictly to truth; and even according
to Polybius, though he blames our historian in several respects,
particularly for truining too much to the reports of others, he laid
it down as a maxim (34), that truth was the life and soul of his-
try. However he might be imposed upon in what related to
Africa, Corsica, and other countries that he was a stranger to, as
Polybius intimates he was (35), yet we cannot help being of op-
inion, that he was an excellent and most faithful historian as to the
Sicilian affairs, except when he discharges all the impetuous tor-
rents

(29) Suid. ubi supra. (30) Idem ibid. & Voss. de hist. Grec
p. 82. Vide & Antigon. ή ταξιν. hist. i. & Parthen. erot. xxix
(31) Dionys. Halicar l. i. c. 6. Cic. epist. l. v. 22. ad Luc
ceum. (32) Diog. Laert. in Empedocl. l. viii. n. 60. Athen
in deipnosoph. l. xi. p. 471. (33) Suid. ubi supra. (34) Po
us, which city he immediately caused to be invested, and began to batter the walls with incredible fury. In his way he rents of his rage against Agathocles, which indeed could never be vindicated. In most of those passages of Diodorus, wherein Timæus and Ephorus are cited as differing in their relations, the former has apparently a much greater degree of probability on his side, of which we shall at present only give one instance, not having time to produce all the rest: Ephorus informs us, that the Carthaginian army, which reduced Selinus, consisted of two hundred thousand foot and four thousand horse; but, according to Timæus, it could not well have consisted of above an hundred and ten or an hundred and twenty thousand men. Now, it is evident from Diodorus, that upon Hannibal's marching to Himera, immediately after the reduction of Selinus, his army consisted but of an hundred thousand men; for he was joined by twenty thousand Sicani on his march, and, upon his arrival before Himera, his army, including both camps, amounted but to an hundred and twenty thousand men. Since therefore we cannot well suppose the Carthaginians to have lost above ten or twenty thousand men before Selinus, because the siege of that place was a very short one, it will follow, that when Hannibal first invested Selinus, his army, in all probability, consisted of about an hundred and ten or an hundred and twenty thousand men, nearly as Timæus related. It is certain Diodorus very well agrees with this historian; for that author tells us, Hannibal's army, upon his laying siege to Himera, amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand men, as above-mentioned. However therefore in words he may have extolled Ephorus, and depreciated Timæus, yet, in fact and reality, he, in this place, as well as several others that might be recited, preferred the latter to the former. Both Diodorus and Cicero (36) celebrated his learning and eloquence, the last of which was of the Asiatic kind. Plutarch (37) entertained different sentiments of his style; and Longinus censures him for his affectation and puellity therein, as well as the eager desire he shews to comprehend the vices of others, while he is blind to his own. However, Mr. Bayle has plainly proved, that the instances (38) produced by Longinus, in support of his criticism, do not come up to the point, and that he deserved censure in this particular, rather than Timæus. Longinus owned, that sometimes he came up to the lofty and sublime style, had a great share of knowledge, and expressed himself very judiciously; but still he seems to us to have been so much prejudiced against our historian, on

he took Emporium, a town seated on the river Mazara (G), by storm; and having closely begirt Selinus with his army, which he divided into two parts, he formed the siege of that city. In order to push this on with the greater vigour, he erected six high towers, and brought as many battering-rams to the town. His flingers and darters likewise greatly annoyed on account of the numerous instances of ill-nature visible in the latter part of his work, that he had rather too strong a disposition to discover blemishes in him; which made him copy after Cæcilius in finding imaginary faults, and thereby fall into the very same crime he condemned Timeæus for. He lived to a very old age (39); some say, ninety-six years. According to Polybius (40), he lived a sedentary life, which, in the opinion of that historian, must have disapproved him for writing history. Plutarch informs us (41), that he fell into the follies of Xenarchus in several parts of his works, in drawing good or bad omens from the most minute, and even ridiculous, circumstances. Cicero (42) puts him on a level with Herodotus, Thucydides, Philistus, Theopompus, Ephorus, Xenophon, and Callithenes. That he was superior, in point of authority, to Ephorus, when he treated of the affairs of Sicily, we think pretty evident from what we have just advanced, which we remember not to have seen taken notice of by any other author.

(G) Rhodomanus, in his Latin version of Diodorus, calls this river Mazarus; but we choose rather to follow Ptolemy, Pliny, and Diodorus himself, who give it a feminine termination. Some believe the word emporium here not to be a proper, but a common, name; and we are inclined to come into this opinion. The name of this town, we believe, was Mazara; for Stephanus tells us, Mazzara was a castle or fortres of the Selinuntines. Nothing was more common than to give rivers, and the fortresses seated on them, the same names, and that even in Sicily itself. To wave all other instances at present, it may be sufficient to observe, that Gela, a city of great note in this island, had a river of the same name running close by its walls. On or near this spot there is a fine city, called Mazara, at this day, but no monuments of antiquity, according to Fazellus, are found near it. However, as it retains the old name of the river, and of Stephanus's Selinuntine castle, it seems to point out the true name of the town Hannibal took by storm on his march to Selinus.

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noyed the besieged, by forcing them from many fortified posts. The Selinuntines, little expecting such a visit from the Carthaginians, as having been the only people of Sicily who sided with them against Gelon, and having long been diffused to sieges, were struck with great terror at the approach of so formidable an army, and the resolution with which they carried on their attacks. However, as they had good reason to expect, that the Syracusans and their other confederates would send them speedy succours, they defended themselves with great bravery. They all joined together as one man in their efforts to repel so barbarous and ungrateful an enemy; even the men worn out with age, women and children, regardless of danger, appeared on the ramparts, ready to sacrifice their lives in the defence of their country.

In order to inspire his troops with courage, Hannibal promised them the plunder of the place, by which they were greatly animated. The walls being incessantly battered day and night by the rams and other warlike engines, a breach was soon made, and the first who entered it were the Car-panians, out of an ambition of distinguishing themselves above the rest; but they were repulsed with great loss, as were the Africans and Spaniards, whom Hannibal sent to support them. The fight lasted from noon to night, when Hannibal founded the retreat. In the mean time the Selinuntines sent express to Agrigentum, Gela, and Syracuse, acquainting them, that, without speedy assistance, it would be impossible for the garrison of Selinus to defend itself against so numerous an army, provided with such a train of battering engines. The Agrigentines and Geleans held themselves in readines to march; but, however, thought it proper to wait for the Syracusan auxiliaries, that they might more successfully fall upon the enemy with their united forces. The Syracusans also, having certain advice, that Selinus was besieged, immediately struck up a peace with the Chalcideans, with whom they were then at war, and drew together what forces they could; but as they did not think them sufficient to relieve effectually the besieged, whom they apprehended to be in no imminent danger, they put off their march for some days, till they had got together a stronger force. In the mean time, the Carthaginians press-

x Ephorus & Timæus Siculus apud Diod. Sic. l. xiii.
ed the siege with the utmost vigour. Hannibal, as soon as it was light, renewing the assault, possessed himself of the breach which had been made the day before, and of another, which his rams had opened near it; and, after removing the rubbish, with the flower of his troops charged the Selinuntines with such fury, that he obliged them to give ground; but could not put them in disorder, nor enter the city, they fighting like men in despair. Many fell on both sides; but the Carthaginians were constantly supplied with fresh men; whereas the Selinuntines had none to reinforce them, being all employed at once in defending the breaches. Thus the assault was daily renewed for the space of nine days with great courage and resolution, and with incredible slaughter on both sides. At length the besieged being quite tired out, the Iberians, after a sharp dispute, lodged themselves on the ramparts, and from thence advanced into the body of the town; upon which the women from the tops of the houses filled all places with cries and lamentations. The Selinuntines, now giving up everything for loft, barricaded all the streets and passages, being determined to defend themselves to the last drop of blood; which occasioned a long and bloody contest. The women also, notwithstanding their first panic, sorely galled the Carthaginians with showers of tiles and stones thrown by them from the tops of the houses, which kept the fate of this city for some time in suspense; but the Carthaginians returning to the charge with inexpressible ardor, and continually pouring fresh men into the town, the poor Selinuntines were at length forced to give way, and having abandoned the narrow streets, were pursued by the conquerors into the market-place, where making a stand, they were all to a man cut in pieces.

An instance of the Carthaginian barbarity.

Selinus being thus taken by storm, and the plunder of it given up to the soldiers, it is impossible to express the misery to which the poor inhabitants were reduced, and the cruelties exercised upon them by the Carthaginians, who, it must be owned, on such melancholy occasions as these, generally shewed themselves to be most savage barbarians. They raged in all parts of the town without restraint, rifled the houses and then set fire to them, and either threw into the flames the women and children they found in them, or dragging them into the streets, put them all, without distinction, to the sword.
Neither did their inhumanity rest here; they carried it so far as to mangle in a barbarous manner even the dead bodies, some of them carrying about with them numbers of hands tied round their girdles, and others, out of ostentation, bearing the heads of the slain on the points of their swords and spears. The women indeed, who fled with their children to the temples, escaped the common destruction; but this was owing to the avarice, not compassion, of the victors; for believing that these poor wretches would, if excluded all hopes of mercy, set fire to the temples, and by that means consume all the treasure and valuable effects they expected to find in those places, they did not judge it proper to drive them to a state of desperation. The ravages in the city continued most part of the night, insomuch, that every place was full of blood, horror, and confusion. The surviving matrons had the mortification to see their daughters forced to be subservient to the brutal lust of the barbarians, which, with a sense of the dismal servitude prepared for them in Africa, made them with they had not survived their friends and relations. In fine, after sixteen thousand miserable wretches had been cruelly maffacred, and two thousand six hundred escaped to Agrigentum, the city was razed, two hundred and fifty years after its foundation. The women and children, about five thousand in number, who outlived this fatal day, were carried away captives.

The body of Selinuntines that retired to Agrigentum, made their escape by the favour of the night, having found an opportunity of abandoning the city, before the enemy had forced the narrow passages. Upon their arrival at Agrigentum, they were received with great humanity and tenderness; corn was distributed to them out of the public stores; and every private person, out of his own generous disposition, liberally supplied them with all kinds of necessaries for their subsistence.

A few days after the city was taken, three thousand Syracusans arrived at Agrigentum, on their march to Selinus; but understanding that the city was taken, they sent embassadors to Hannibal, to treat of the redemption of the captives, and to beg of him, that he would at least spare the temples. Hannibal returned answer, that since the Selinuntines

\[v\] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.
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untines had not been able to defend their own liberty, they
deferved to be treated like slaves; and that the gods, pro-
voked at their wickedness, had forsaken both the city and the
temples; whence it would be no sacrilege to strip them of
their ornaments. This answer is a clear demonstration of
the Punic genius at that time, and exactly corresponds with
what Diodorus has related of the Carthaginians in this par-
ticular: "These barbarians" says that author, "exceed
all men in impiety; for whereas other nations spare those
who fly into temples, out of a principle of religion, not
daring to be guilty of any act of violence there, left they
should offend the deity; the Carthaginians, on the con-
trary, moderate their cruelty to these persons, that they
may have a better opportunity of pillaging the temples
themselves." The Syracusans however, not acquiescing
in this answer, sent an other embassay, and at the head of it
one Empediones, a Selinunte, who had always been in the
interest of the Carthaginians, and even advized his country-
men to open their gates to Hannibal at his first appearing
before the town. The Carthaginian general received him with
great demonstrations of kindness, restored to him his estate,
pardoned all the prisoners related to him, and even permit-
ted the Selinuntines, who had fled to Agrigentum, to rebuild
and repople their city, and manure their lands, upon pay-
ing an annual tribute to the Carthaginians.

After the reduction of Selinus, Hannibal marched

Hannibal at
tack of Hime-
na.

AFTER the reduction of Selinus, Hannibal marched
with his army to attack Himera, which above all things he
desired, in order to revenge the death of his grandfather Ha-
milcar, who had been slain there by Gelon, with above an
hundred and fifty thousand Carthaginians, and almost as many
taken prisoners. Besides, as he had already punished the Selin-
untines for the insults they had offered his father Gisco in his
banishment, he now resolved to take vengeance of the Hi-
mereans, for being the occasion of that banishment. On
his march he was joined by twenty thousand Siculi and Sicani,
whom he sent, with the main body of the army, to lay
siege to the city, while he, with a body of forty thousand
men, encamped on a rising ground at a small distance from
it. His troops being flushed with their late success, he pushed
on the siege with the utmost vigor, battering the wall with
his engines in several places at once; but finding this not fully

z Idem ibid.
to answer his intention, he undermined it, and by supporting it with large pieces of timber, which were afterwards set on fire, laid great part of it flat on the ground. Upon this a warm dispute ensued, the Carthaginians making all possible efforts to enter the town; and the Himereans, having the fate of the Selinuntines always before their eyes, their parents, children, country, and every thing dear to them, to defend, and being moreover reinforced by four thousand Syracusan auxiliaries, with some troops from their other allies under the command of Diocles, distinguished themselves on this occasion in a most extraordinary manner; and repulsing the enemy with great bravery, immediately repaired the wall. In fine, the Carthaginians, having been constantly repulsed in their attacks for several days successively, were obliged for the present to desist from all further attempts to storm the town; which mortified them extremely, especially as they had not hitherto been able to gain an inch of ground.

The Himereans, animated by this advantage, resolved not to be any longer cooped up in the city, as the Selinuntines had been, but to endeavour, by one strenuous effort, entirely to dislodge the enemy. Having therefore posted detachments of their garrison at proper distances on the wall, to repel any assault that might be given, they made a sally on the besiegers with their whole remaining force, consisting of ten thousand men. The Carthaginians, little dreaming that the besieged were capable of such an attempt, at first imagined, that the confederates of the Himereans had drawn together all their forces, to oblige them to raise the siege; which throwing them into a very great panic, the Himereans for some time easily bore down all that opposed them; and tho' the Carthaginians afterwards not only rallied, but collected their whole force before the town, to make head against them, yet their great number, an impediment to them at the present juncture, throwing them into disorder, they incommode one another more than the enemy. The besieged, taking advantage of this, and being moreover inspired with fresh courage at the sight of their parents, children, and friends, who, for this purpose, exposed themselves on the ramparts, charged them with such intrepidity, that they put their whole army to flight, pursuing them to the very hill where Hannibal was encamped. That general, seeing his army

\* Idem ibid.
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army in confusion, hastened to their relief; upon which the battle was begun anew, and continued for some hours, victory inclining to neither side. At length the Himereans being overpowered with numbers, gave ground; but three thousand of them kept their posts, and covered the retreat of their companions, sustaining the shock of the whole Carthaginian army, till they all died upon the spot.

The Carthaginian army, though victorious, was yet rudely handled, the Himerean troops being much more active, and better disciplined (H), and, by reason of the cruel treatment they expected from the enemies, if conquered, inspired with a much greater degree of resolution. Ephorus says, the Carthaginians lost twenty thousand men in the first action, before they were pursued to Hannibal’s camp; though Timeæus Siculus reduces this number to six thousand. As there was a very sharp engagement afterwards betwixt the Himereans and Hannibal, many more must undoubtedly have perished, though the precise number of them is not given us by any historian. According to Diodorus Siculus, the Carthaginian army, that laid siege to the town, exclusive of Hannibal’s camp, consisted of eighty thousand effective men.

After this action, five-and-twenty galleys, which had been sent by the Sicii some time before to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, and were now returning home, appeared

b Diod. Sic. ubi supra.  c Idem ibid.

(H) Though the native Carthaginians were well armed and good troops, yet the Africans and Numidians were, for the most part, a disorderly rabble, very little acquainted with military discipline. These last troops always made up a considerable part of the Carthaginian armies, and frequently permitted themselves to be surprised by the enemy; which sometimes produced dismal effects. Plutarch, in his life of Timolcon, shews us how they were posted, and the order they observed, when the Carthaginian forces were in full motion to attack the enemy, and even when they engaged them. It is probable, a great part of the army besieging Himera, consisted of these troops, whilst that under the command of Hannibal, which covered the siege, was composed of the national forces (20).

ed off of Himera; upon which a report was spread all over the city, and the enemy’s camp, that the Syracusans, with all their forces and allies, were coming to the relief of the city. This was so far from discouraging the Carthaginians, that it put Hannibal upon a new enterprise; for imagining that the Syracusans had sent all their strength to support their confederates, he doubted not but the city must be left in a manner defenceless; and therefore, immediately embarking with the flower of his troops in the galleys which lay at Motya, prepared to sail for Syracuse, in order to surprize that city. In the mean time, Diocles, commander in chief of the Syracusan troops in Himera, a man of great foresight and penetration, advised the captains of the Sicilian vessels to fail with all possible expedition to Syracuse, lest Hannibal should make an attempt upon it; and this he was the more strongly induced to, since, in another action the besiegers should cut off the best of his men, he plainly perceived, that their own city must of course fall a prey to the Carthaginians. He therefore thought it advicible to leave Himera for a while, and with one half of his forces to return to Syracuse on board the galleys, leaving the other half behind him, which he thought sufficient to hold out, till he, after putting his own city in a state of defence, should return. This the besieged took very ill; but not being able to prevail upon Diocles to alter his measures, the greatest part of their wives, children, and other effects, they took care to send on board the galleys by night, in order to have them transported to Messana.

As Diocles and his men embarked in a great hurry, they were obliged to leave the bodies of their companions slain in the siege uninterred. However, they carried off with them many of the Himereans, with their wives and children, who could not find room in the other vessels. Upon his departure, the Carthaginians redoubled their attacks, and battered the walls night and day without intermission. On the other hand, the besieged, believing the ships would return speedily, were indefatigable in defending the walls, repairing the breaches, and repulsing the enemy. Thus they held out against the repeated assaults and utmost efforts of above an hundred thousand men, till the very day the fleet appeared, when the Carthaginians, summoning all their courage and resolution, gave a general assault, and with their numbers bearing down all before them, drove the garrison from the ramparts, and, in spite

Idem ibid.
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...spite of their utmost efforts, entered the city sword in hand. The Iberians signalled themselves greatly on this occasion, being the first that forced the besieged from the walls, and entered with them pell-mell into the town. There is no sort of cruelty which the barbarous Carthaginians and Iberians did not practise on their carrying the place; all they met, without regard to sex or age, were inhumanly butchered, till the general himself put a stop to the slaughter. The houses were plundered, the temples pillaged and burnt, after they had taken out of them those wretches who had fled thither for refuge; and the city itself levelled with the ground. Hannibal caused the women and children, that survived the first fury of the soldiers, to be preserved; neither durst any one offer the least injury to them; but the men, to the number of three thousand, he commanded to be carried to an eminence near the city, where his grandfather Hamilcar had been defeated and killed by Gelon’s cavalry, and there first exposed them to the insults of his barbarians, and then caused them to be cruelly massacred.

Thus ended this campaign, one of the most prosperous the Carthaginians had ever met with in Sicily; after which Hannibal, dismissing the Siculi and confederates, and disbanding the Campanians, embarqued with the rest of his forces, and set sail for Africa. The Siculi, upon their dismissal, went home, as did likewise the Campanians; but the latter complained bitterly of the Carthaginians, because they looked upon themselves as flighted by that nation, tho’ they had remarkably distinguished themselves in their service at the siege of Selinus, and indeed through the whole course of the campaign. Himera had stood, at the time it was razed by Hannibal, two hundred and forty years c.

HANNIBAL, upon his quitting Sicily, left a small body of troops with his confederates, that they might not be too much exposed to the resentment or ambition of their neighbours. After a short passage, he arrived safe at Carthage, loaded with the plunder he had carried off from Selinus and Himera. The whole city went out to meet him on his arrival, and received him with loud and joyful acclamations, as a general that had performed greater things, in so short a time, than any ever before him f.

ANIMATED by the late success in Sicily, the Carthaginians resolved now in earnest to pursue the design which they

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c Diod. Sic. ubi sup.  
f Idem ibid.
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they had ever entertained of reducing the whole island. With this view they began to make new preparations, and raise another army, committing the whole management of the war to the same Hannibal. But as by reason of his great age he endeavoured to get himself excused from taking up on him the command in this new expedition, they joined in commissio with him Imilcar the son of Hanno, one of the same family. These two generals being plentifully supplied with money, and empowered to raise what forces they thought necessary for so great an undertaking, not only made great levies at home, but sent officers with large sums into Spain, Libya, Sardinia (1), and the Balearic islands, to hire numerous bodies of mercenaries. They received likewise large succours from the princes and states with whom they were in alliance, viz. from the Mauritanians, Numidians, and even the nations bordering on Cyrenaica. Besides all which, they took a body of Campanians out of Italy into their pay, which by experience they had found to be good troops, and such as they could entirely depend upon, especially when intermixed with those of other nations. When all their forces were mustered at Carthage, the army was found to consist of three hundred thousand effective men, as Ephorus informs us; but Timeaus Siculus, with more probability, says, that

(I) Livy tells us, that the Carthaginian armies were generally made up of a great variety of barbarous nations, of different habits, different laws, different religions, and different languages, inomuch, that they did not understand one another. As the Carthaginians applied themselves wholly to naval affairs, they employed most of their own hands on board their ships; and the most opulent citizens did not care to expose their persons in the wars, but contented themselves with enabling the state to hire foreigners in their room. They might likewise have some political views in this conduct; for by it they might imagine their state to be rendered more secure, than if their armies consisted wholly of Carthaginian citizens, since these could not be so entirely trusted, on account of the different powerful factions prevailing at Carthage; besides, such an army as we have mentioned could not easily mutiny, or revolt, since 'tis impossible so many different nations should act in concert, or form any dangerous scheme against their principals. However, Polybius condemns this practice, and not without reason, since it not a little contributed to the decline of the Carthaginian state, and once brought it to the very brink of destruction (2).

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that they did not much exceed an hundred and twenty thousand: a force, however, sufficient, as it should seem, to ever-run Sicily in one campaign.

The Carthaginians, in the interval betwixt the first beginning of their preparations and their embarking for the Sicilian expedition, drew together, out of Carthage and other cities in Africa, all persons who were willing to transplant themselves, and with them peopled a new city they had built near the hot-baths in Sicily, which was from thence called by the Greeks Therma.

Before the grand fleet, which was composed of a thousand transports, beides a numerous squadron of galleys, with the forces on board, set sail for Sicily, Hannibal sent forty galleys to reconnoitre the coasts, and get intelligence of the enemy. These fell in with a Syracusan squadron of equal force off of Eryx, and immediately engaged them. The dispute was long and obstinate, but at last victory inclined to the Syracusans. Of the Carthaginian galleys, fifteen were sunk, and the rest, by the favour of the night, made their escape. When the news of this unexpected defeat reached Carthage, Hannibal failed immediately with fifty galleys, designing both to prevent any ill consequences from thence to the Carthaginians, and to secure the passage and landing of the army.

Upon Hannibal's arrival, the whole island was alarmed, and every city of consequence, having been before apprised of the great preparations of the Carthaginians, expected to be attacked first. Soon after, the whole fleet arriving safe in Sicily, the troops landed on the coast of Agrigentum, and marched strait to that city.

The Syracusans, and their confederates, had sent embassadors to Carthage to complain of the late hostilities practised upon them by Hannibal, and persuade the senate to forbear sending any more troops into Sicily. But the Carthaginians returning a doubtful answer to this embassay, the Syracusans had put themselves in a posture of defence, and were prepared to give the enemy a warm reception. They had sent to the Greeks of Italy and the Lacedæmonians to solicit succours, and dispatched express to all the Sicilian cities in their interest, desiring them to unite their forces in defence of the common cause. But of all the people of Sicily, none

Diod. Sic. ubi sup. atq; Ephorus & Timæus Siculus apud eund. ibid.
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none were under such apprehensions as the Agrigentines; they seemed fully satisfied, that this great storm would first discharge itself upon them, and had therefore carefully provided all things necessary for the sustaining of a long siege, following therein the directions of Dexippus the Lacedæmonian, an officer of great courage and experience. The Carthaginians, upon their investing Agrigentum, divided their army into two bodies, one of which, consisting of forty thousand Africans and Iberians, encamped on certain eminences at some distance from the town; the other carried on the siege, and fortified their camp with a wall and an intrenchment, that they might be the better enabled to repulse the fallies of the besieged. When they first set down before the town, they invited the Agrigentines either to join them or stand neutral, declaring they were well satisfied with either point of conduct, and forbore all hostilities, if they only agreed to a treaty of amity and friendship. Both proposals being rejected, they attacked the town in form, expecting to meet with a vigorous resistance. And this indeed was not without reason; for the Agrigentines had obliged all who were capable of bearing arms, to assist in the defence of the place, and had moreover received a reinforcement of five hundred men from Gela, under the conduct of Dexippus the Lacedæmonian, who was in high esteem at that time, on account of his country, according to Timæus Siculus. Eight hundred Campanians also, who had formerly served under Imilcar, were taken into the service of the Agrigentines, and defended the hill Athenæum, which commanded the city, and was therefore a post of the utmost consequence. But notwithstanding these precautions, Imilcar and Hannibal, after having viewed the walls, and found a place, where they thought it would be no hard matter to make a breach, began to batter them with incredible fury. The machines chiefly made use of on this occasion were of surprising force; and two towers (K) were brought against the city of a monstrous

(K) Soon after the Carthaginians had invested a town, they raised a mount of equal height with the walls, if not superior to them; and thereon erected moveable towers, which overtopped the highest battlements and towers of stone, either upon the walls or within the town. These moved upon wheels, and with them the besiegers gradually made their approaches towards the body of the place. They were very large, and capable of containing...
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The first day out of these they made an assault; and after having cut off many of the besieged, founded a retreat. However, the next night the Agrigentines made a sally, burnt the engines, destroyed the towers raised against them, and, after having made a great slaughter, retired in good order into the town. Hereupon Hannibal, intending to form the place in different parts at once, commanded all the tombs and stately monuments, standing round the city to be demolished, and mounts to be raised with the rubbish as high as the walls. But whilst they were executing the general’s orders, a religious panic seized the army, occasioned by Theron’s monument being destroyed by a thunderbolt, which, by the advice of theoothayers present, put a stop to the design. Soon after, the plague broke out in the army, and in a short time carried off a great number of the soldiers, and the general Hannibal himself. The Carthaginian toothayers above mentioned interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods in revenge of the injuries done to the dead. Nay, some of the soldiers upon guard affirmed, that they saw in the night-time the ghosts of the deceased. Wherefore Imilcar, in whom the whole power was now vested, ordered supplications to be made, according to the practice of Carthage, and the demolition of the tombs to be entirely discontinued. A boy was also sacrificed to Saturn, in compliance with a custom which had from remote antiquity prevailed amongst the Carthaginians: by his orders Neptune likewise was appeased, and several priests thrown into the sea, as the most pleasing victims to that deity. Imilcar having, as he imagined, by these cruelties atoned for the sacrileges of Hannibal, and pacified the gods, renewed the assaults with more vigour than ever, filled the river with rubbish close to the walls, by which means he brought up his engines nearer the place, and played with them considerable numbers of men, and some of the smaller engines of battery, whereby the besieged were greatly annoyed. From these towers they made their assaults, and frequently stormed towns, or at least opened breaches in the walls, in order to facilitate that operation. Juftus Lipfius gives us a minute and particular account of them (3).

(3) Juft. Lipf. polior. l. ii. c. 3, 4, &c. Vide etiam Diod. Sic. l. xiii. Sil. Ital. i. i. & Chr, Hendr. l. ii. sect. 2. memb. i. c. 9.
them upon the town in such a manner as reduced the besieged to great frights.

In the mean time, the Syracusans taking into consideration the deplorable condition of Agrigentum, and fearing it would undergo the same fate that Himera and Selinus had done, began to think in earnest of marching to its relief. Having therefore drawn together the forces of their confederates from Italy and Messana, and being joined by the Carthaginians, Geleons, and others out of the heart of the country, upon a review of their troops, they found them to amount to above thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse. These judging sufficient for their purpose, they gave orders to Daphneus, their general, to advance at the head of them immediately into the territory of the Agrigentines, a fleet of thirty galleys, which sailed close by the shore, at the same time keeping pace with him. Imilcar, upon intelligence of their approach, detached all the Iberians and Campanians, with forty thousand Carthaginians, enjoining them to engage the enemy in the plains of the river Himera. Pursuant to his orders, the Syracusans were attacked a few hours after they had passed the river, as they were advancing in good order towards Agrigentum. The dispute was sharp and the victory a long time doubtful, the enemy being far superior in number to the Syracusans. But at length the latter carried the day, and pursued the Carthaginians to the very walls of Agrigentum. Daphneus fearing, left Imilcar should take advantage of the confusion his troops were thrown into by their eagerness in the pursuit, and thereby wrested the victory out of his hands, as had formerly happened to the Himerians on the like occasion, rallied them, and marched after the fugitives in good order to the spot they were before encamped upon, which he took immediate possession of. The Carthaginians lost six thousand men in this action. (L).

The Syracusans fend an army to oblige him to raise the siege.

Which assaulted by the Carthaginians, but defeats them.

(L) We are told by Polyænus, that Daphneus defeated the Carthaginians by the following stratagem: The armies being engaged, the general heard a great noise in the left wing, where the Italian forces were posted; and hastening thither, he found them almost defeated; upon which immediately repairing to the right wing, composed of Syracusans, he told them, that the Italians had routed.
The Carthaginians escaped a total defeat, either through the fear or corruption, as it should seem, of the Agrigentine commanders. For the besieged, seeing them fly to that part of their camp that lay next to the town in the utmost confusion, immediately concluded, that they were routed; and therefore pressed their officers to fall out upon them without loss of time, that they might complete their ruin. They were, however, deaf to these solicitations, and would not permit a man to fall out of the town. To what motive such an unaccountable procedure was to be attributed, is hard to say; however, the fugitives were hereby saved, and arrived safe in their other camp. This fatal step could never afterwards be retrieved, but was followed by the loss of the city.

Upon Daphneus’s arrival, a great part of the garrison, with Dexippus at the head of them, waited upon him, and a council of war was immediately held. Every one here shewed himself highly dissatisfied, that so fair an opportunity had been lost of taking a full revenge of the enemy, and destroying so many myriads of them. Hereupon great disputes arose, in so much, that four of the Agrigentine commanders, at the instigation of one Menes, a Camarinaean, were stoned by the enraged multitude, and a fifth, called Argaeus, only by reason of his youth, escaped. Dexippus himself was highly reflected upon, and lost much of the reputation he had before acquired, by concurring with the rest. After the council broke up, Daphneus formed a design to attack Imilcar's camp; but finding it strongly fortified, he altered his resolution. However, he guarded all the avenues leading to it with his cavalry, intending by that means either to oblige the enemy to perish with famine, or come out of their lines and venture an engagement. Accordingly, all the passageways being blocked up, and the convoys intercepted, that numerous army was soon brought to such straits, that the Cam-

* Idem ibid.

routed the enemy; and therefore, to render the victory complete, entreated them to exert themselves on the present occasion. Animated by this good news, they immediately cried out, Let us fall upon the enemy with the utmost fury. Upon which, charging them with incredible bravery, they soon put them to flight (4).

(4) Polyæn. strat. l. v. c. 7.
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Campanians and other mercenaries began to mutiny; and going in a body to Imilcar's tent, threatened to join the enemy, if they had not their usual allowance of bread. The general, with much ado, prevailed upon them to bear patiently their present want for a few days, assuring them they should be very soon plentifully supplied with all sorts of provisions, and in the mean time pawned to them the drinking vessels of the Carthaginian soldiers. He had been informed, that the Syracusans were then loading many ships with corn, to be sent to Agrigentum, and did not in the least doubt but he should intercept the convoy; the Syracusans not suspecting, that he would attempt any thing by sea. Accordingly, he dispatched messengers to Panormus and Motya, where his fleet lay, enjoining the commanders to man the galleys with all possible expedition, and lie in wait, at an appointed place, for the ships that were to bring the provisions. His orders were put in execution; and forty galleys being speedily equipped, the Syracusan fleet, consisting of three score transports, laden with corn and all sorts of provisions, was intercepted. Of their convoy, eight ships were sunk, and the rest driven on shore. This changed the face of affairs on both sides; for as such an unexpeeted relief gave the Carthaginians fresh courage, so it greatly disheartened the Agrigentines, who, having already held out for the space of eight months, were in great want of all things, and without hopes of being relieved so quickly as their present necessity required. Besides, at the beginning of the siege, when bad success attended the Carthaginians, they had squandered away their corn and other provisions in a very profuse manner, by which they were now reduced to the greater distress. The Campanians in the service of the Agrigentines, observing the desperate condition the city was in, upon receiving fifteen talents from Imilcar, went all over in a body to the Carthaginians. Dexippus the Lacadæmonian also, according to Diodorus, was said to have been bribed with the same sum; for he on a sudden advised the Italian commanders to withdraw their troops out of the town, insinuating, that they were likely to be starved there, without the least prospect of rendering any service to those who had hired them: whereas, by returing in time, they might carry on the war to greater advan-tage.
tage in some other part: with which advice complying, they left the Agrigentines to shift for themselves (M).

The mercenaries thus falling off, and the inhabitants desponding for want of necessaries, a council of war was summoned, when it was judged absolutely impossible to hold out any longer, there not being provisions enough in the public stores to support the soldiery and people two days. It was therefore resolved, that the city should be abandoned, and the inhabitants conveyed to some place of safety; and the following night was fixed upon for their departure. The people, being apprised of this resolution, were thereby thrown into the utmost consternation. Lamentable outcryes were heard in every house; and the grief and dread they were all seized with in seeing themselves obliged to abandon their native country, their goods and estates, or else expose themselves to the fury of a merciless enemy, were inexpressible. However, though their riches were immense, yet they esteemed life still more valuable; and therefore, as they expected no mercy from such cruel barbarians, the greatest part of them gave way to unavoidable necessity. We shall not here expatiate upon the scene of horror now before us, Diodorus Siculus having done this in a most affecting manner, but only observe, that the place appointed for these miserable wretches to retire to was Gela, where, when they arrived, they were received with great kindness and humanity;

1 Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

(M) Polyænus tells us, that Imilcar (whom he calls Himilco) gave private orders to his men to fly before the besieged whenever they made a sally, in order to draw them into an ambuscade. There happened to be a wood just before the town, in which he posted a detachment of his troops, with orders to set this on fire as soon as the enemy were got a considerable distance from the town. This stratagem had the desired effect; for the Agrigentines pursued the Carthaginians with great ardor for some time; but at last looking back towards the city, they perceived the wood all in a blaze; which they imagined was a fire issuing out of the city itself. Upon this they retired with great precipitation towards the town; but falling into the ambuscade, and being hotly pursued by the party that drew them out, they were all either killed or taken prisoners (3).

(3) Polyæn. stratagem. l. v. c. 10. ex. 4. Vid. & Frontin. strat. l. iii. c. 10. ex. 5.
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humanity, and plentifully supplied with all necessaries at the expense of the public. What happened to them afterwards may be seen in a former part of this history m.

The garrison was no sooner withdrawn, and the Syracusan army retired, but Imilcar, marching out of his trenches, entered the city, not without some fear and jealousy, and put all those he found in it to the sword, not sparing even such as had fled to the temples. Among these was Gellias (M), a citizen famous for his wealth and integrity, who, seeing that the Carthaginians, without respecting the gods, plundered their temples, and murdered those who had taken sanctuary in them, set fire to the temple of Minerva, and con-


(M) The munificence of Gellias may be learned not only from Diodorus Siculus, but Valerius Maximus and Athenæus (1). He entertained the people with spectacles and feasts, and, during a famine, prevented the citizens of Agrigentum from perishing with hunger. He gave portions to poor maidens, and rescued the unfortunate from want and despair. He had built houses in the city and country, purposely for the accommodation of strangers, whom he usually dispensed with handomely presents. In short, Gillias’s riches, immense as they were, were surpassed by his greatness of soul, his treasures being, as it were, to use Valerius Maximus’s phrase, the patrimony of the public. No wonder then that the inhabitants of Agrigentum, and all the neighbouring provinces, should so ardently pray for his health and prosperity. No greater loss could have happened to that part of Sicily than the fatal end of so excellent a person, but the death and destruction of all those poor wretches, who should have regretted him. Athenæus, in all the present MSS. calls him Tellias; but Nicolaus Sturio has discovered this to be a fault of the transcribers, though it must have been a very antient one, since Eustathius oftener than once calls him likewise Tellias. What Athenæus has concerning him is taken almost word for word out of the eleventh book of Timæus’s history, and possibly Diodorus’s may have been deduced from the same source. The great resemblance between the capital tau (T) and gamma (γ) might possibly occasion the mistake above-mentioned; for that it is a mistake, the printed copies and MSS. of Diodorus Siculus and Valerius Maximus sufficiently evince.

(1) Valer. Max. l. iv. c. ult. Athen. deipnosoph. l. i. Vide & If. Casaub. animadvers. in Athen. l. i. p. 12.
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consumed in the flames both himself and the immense riches of that stately edifice. Gellias, according to Diodorus, was induced to this action in order to prevent three evils: first, the impiety of the enemy to the gods; secondly, the sacrilegious carrying off of the vast treasure lodged there; and, thirdly, the abuse of his own body.\(^a\)

Imilcar having pillaged every part of the city, both sacred and profane, found himself master of an immense treasure. Nothing less could be expected from the spoils of a city, which was one of the most opulent in Sicily, containing two hundred thousand inhabitants, and had never before been plundered, or even besieged. An infinite number of pictures, vases, and statues, done by the greatest masters of those times, fell into the enemies hands, the Agrigentines having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. To give our readers some idea of Agrigentum, it will be sufficient to observe, that the very sepulchral monuments shewed the luxury and magnificence of this city, they being adorned with statues of birds and horses, famous for their elegance. Empedocles, the philosopher, born in Agrigentum, has a memorable saying concerning his fellow-citizens; "That the Agrigentines squandered away their money so excessively every day, as if they expected it could never be exhausted; and built with such solidity and magnificence, as if they thought they should live for ever." The most valuable part of the plunder Imilcar sent to Carthage; every thing else he caused to be sold under the spear. Among other curiosities, the famous bull of Phalaris was sent to Carthage.\(^b\)

The people of Syracuse, being prodigiously alarmed at the reduction of Agrigentum, had a decree passed for the raising a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, who with a mighty army hovered over the frontiers. Imilcar, having gained the city, after eight months siege, a little before the winter solstice, did not presently raze it, but there took up his winter-quarters, to give his army the necessary refreshment. The Sicilians in general, as well as the inhabitants of Syracuse were struck with terror at the Carthaginian conquests, and many of them fled to Syracuse for protection, whilst others transported themselves, with all their effects, to the continent of Italy.

\(^a\) Idem ibid. See also univ. hist. ibid. not. (X).

\(^b\) Diod Sic. ubi sup. & Cic. l. iv. in Ver. c. 33.
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Those who took sanctuary in Syracuse, were treated with extraordinary kindness, and the chief men among them made free of the city. Among them were many Agrigentines, who filled the city with their complaints against the Syracusan commanders, as if they had betrayed Agrigentum into the enemies hands. This raised such disturbances in Syracuse as at last gave Dionysius an opportunity of seizing upon the sovereign power. Imlcar, after laying it entirely in ruins, towards the beginning of the spring, left Agrigentum p.

The Geleans, receiving intelligence that the Carthaginians intended to open the campaign with the siege of their city, and in the mean time falling out among themselves, implored the protection of Syracuse; upon which Dionysius immediately marched to their assistance with two thousand foot and four hundred horse. The Geleans were so well satisfied with his conduct, that they treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and even sent embassadors to Syracuse to return their thanks for the important services that city had done them in sending him thither. Soon after, he was appointed generalissimo of the Syracusan forces, and those of their allies, against the Carthaginians. This enabled him to give many proofs of his great capacity both in civil and military affairs, as has been already shewn, and will further appear in the sequel of this history.

The Carthaginian forces under the command of Imlcar, having, on the return of the spring, razed the city of Agrigentum, made an incursion into the territories of Gela and Camarina; and, after having ravaged them in a dreadful manner, carried off such an immense quantity of plunder from thence as filled their camp. Imlcar, then marching with his whole army against Gela, took post on the banks of the river Gela, and ordering his men to cut down all the trees about the town, fortified his camp with a ditch and a wall (N), not doubting, but Dionysius would come to the relief of Gela.

p Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

(N) It will be proper in this note to mention some particulars relating to the Carthaginian camps. which we have hitherto not had an opportunity of doing. When the Carthaginians were apprehensive, that the enemy would attempt to raise the siege of any place they had formed, they fortified their camp with a ditch and
relief of the besieged with a powerful army. The Geleans, in the beginning of the siege, were determined to send away their wives and children to Syracuse, as a place of greater safety; but they all, running to the altars in the forum, could not be prevailed upon to retire, but protested that they would undergo the same fate as their husbands and parents. This resolution encouraged the Geleans to exert themselves in the defence of persons so dear to them, and to whom they were so dear. They made several fallies with good success, cutting great numbers of the enemy in pieces, and bringing many of them prisoners into the town. No sooner was a breach opened in the wall by the Carthaginian rams (O), but the

and a wall, as we learn here from Diodorus. Their camps seem to have been formed in a regular manner, resembling a town, and had gates to them. The Numidian camp was always separated from the Carthaginian; the reasons of which seem to have been, that the Carthaginians were generally foot, but the Numidians horse, and that the latter could not permit themselves to be confined to the rules of military discipline so easily as the former. The general’s tent was, for the most part, fixed on an eminence in the middle of the camp, being much more magnificent and superb than the others. Hither the officers repaired to receive their respective orders; and a strong guard, Polybius intimates a thousand horse and as many foot, were generally posted before it. Near this stood the sacred tabernacle, and the altar, where the general, and officers of distinction, performed their devotions. The Carthaginian tents seem to have been raised in a regular manner of wood, faucines, &c. resembling so many cottages; but the Numidian were the reverse, consisting only of reeds, straw, stubble, and other such-like light materials (2).

(O) The ram was a battering engine used in sieges by the ancients. Pliny tells us it was found out by Epeus, a Greek, at the siege of Troy; but this is not very probable, because we find no mention made of it in Homer, who, if such a wonderful machine had been then known, could not possibly have omitted taking notice of it. ’Tis therefore much more likely, that the Carthaginians invented it, as Vitruvius and Tertullian believe, with whom Lipsius agrees. The ram was a large beam, equal to the mast of a ship,

the citizens repaired it, being indefatigable night and day on
the ramparts, where their wives and children cheerfully shared
with them the labour and danger. The young men were
continually in arms, and engaged with the enemy, and the
reft employed in working and other necessary services. In
fine, they defended themselves with such courage and refo-
lution, that, though their city was but very indifferently for-
tified, they held out a long time against a most formidable
army,

a ship, with an head of solid iron, resembling that of a ram, from
whence it derived its name. This was fastened in the middle to
another beam, supported by a large piece of amber on each side,
by ropes, in such a manner as to be pendulous like a balance.
This being drawn backwards by a great number of hands as far
as possible, was then pushed forwards with as great an impetus as
they could give it, so that the iron head beating against the walls
of a city with inconceivable force, easily shook them; neither
was there any wall or tower but what this, by repeated blows,
capable of battering down. As these blows, in some respect,
resembled the butttings of a ram, this was a further reason for giv-
ing the machine the name of that animal. Appian relates, that
the Romans battered the walls of Carthage with two rams of an
immense size, one of which was played by a body of six thousand
foot, and the other by a vast number of rowers, which may serve
to give us some idea of this terrible engine. 'Tis mentioned by
the prophet Ezekiel in two passages, and Nebuchadnezzar made
use of it at the siege of Jerusalem. Whether the Carthaginians,
or their ancestors the Tyrians, (for both sometimes went by the
same name) first discovered it, cannot be certainly determined,
nor at what time the discovery was made; but we take Ezekiel
to be the earliest author in whom any mention of it is to be
seen. Our learned readers will find a particular and full de-
scription of the various kinds of this machine in Vitruvius and Lipsius,
whom at their leisure they may consult (2).

Now we are upon this subject, we shall here, once for all, give
a short account of the catapulta and the balista, two other engines
frequently taken notice of by the ancient historians. The cat-
apulta was a machine out of which the Carthaginians, and other
nations, sent volleys of darts and large arrows, made on purpose,
upon the enemy, particularly upon those parties of garrisons posted

in poliorc. l. iii. dial. 1. & alib. Appian, in Libyc. Vitruv. l. x.
ubi sup. p. 468—475.
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army, without receiving the least assistance from their allies.

In the mean time Dionysius, by the junction of his mercenaries, and succours from Magna Graecia with the Syracusans, almost every one of whom capable of bearing arms he obliged to lift under his standard, formed an army of fifty thousand foot, according to some, though Timæus Siculus makes them only thirty thousand, and a thousand horse; with which, and fifty sail of ships, he advanced to the relief of Gela. Upon his arrival before the city, he encamped near the sea, that his fleet and army might act in concert. With his light-armed troops he proposed to prevent the enemy from foraging, whilst his horse and shipping should intercept all provisions coming to their camp from any part of the Carthaginian dominions; which he doubted not would greatly distress them. However, for twenty days he effected nothing; which much chagrining him, he resolved to attack the enemy’s camp, and, in order to this, made the following disposition of his forces: The Sicilian foot had orders

on the ramparts, to prevent the enemy entering the breaches made by the rams. Diodorus intimates, that this engine was but of late invention at the siege of Motya. Some authors confound this with the baliitha, which was an engine out of which stones of a vast weight were discharged; for Diodorus writes, that the Carthaginians filled Lilybaeum with catapults, out of which they threw stones; and Appian relates the fame of the Roman catapults. But Lipius (and he has reason on his side) makes them different machines, though he allows, that the catapult discharged both stones and arrows. That author says, there were two sorts of catapults, the majores catapultae, and the minores; the first sent forth showers of darts and arrows of three cubits long, the other of half that length. At the taking of new Carthage in Spain, an hundred and twenty large catapults were found there, and two hundred and eighty one of the smaller size. The Carthaginians always abounded with these engines: when Pyrrhus attacked Lilybaeum, there was such an abundance of them at that place, that the walls would scarce contain them; and, a little before the destruction of their city, they delivered up to the Romans two thousand of them, according to Appian, or, as Strabo will have it, three thousand. The baliitha, as just hinted, was an engine out of which the antients threw stones of a prodigious magnitude:

* Idem ibid.
ders to move towards the left, and attack the enemy's trenches; the troops of the confederates were to file off to the right, and marching to the shore, attempt the camp in the weakest place; the mercenaries, under his conduct, were to advance through the town, to the spot where the Carthaginian engines were placed, in order to destroy them; the horse he commanded to pass the Gela, upon a signal given by the foot, to join them, if superior to the enemy, or, if repulsed, to support them; and lastly, the sea-officers received orders to approach as near the enemy's camp as possible with the ships, when the Italian troops came up. As Imilcar had sent a strong detachment towards the shore, to oppose the enemy's landing, and defend that part of the camp which lay most exposed, the Italian auxiliaries met with great resistance. However, they behaved with such bravery, that they routed this body of troops, cut a great number of them in pieces, and advanced to the Carthaginian camp in good order, which they attacked with incredible fury. Had they been duly supported, they must have carried it, and thereby totally ruined the enemy. But Dionysius, at the head of the mercenaries, not finding himself able to advance with sufficient expedition through the streets of the city to their relief, the Siculi being too remote to afford them timely succour, and the garrison: this was also used at sieges, and in many respects answered to the battering cannon of the moderns, only the balista, if we may depend upon the relations of the antients, seems to have been a machine of much greater force. According to Lippius, the balista likewise was either major or minor; the major threw stones of three hundred and sixty pound weight, and the minor those of an hundred. Hegesippus relates several surprising effects of this engine, which we have not time to take notice of. Livy tells us, that the Romans found at Carthage twenty-two of the larger balistae, and of the smaller fifty-two. Ammianus Marcellinus, as explained and illustrated by Lippius, gives an accurate account of the antiquity, use, form, and, in short, of every thing relating to these terrible engines, to which authors, for their further satisfaction, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers (3).  

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Rison not daring to make an effectual sally by way of diversion, left they should leave the walls too naked; the Carthaginians resuming their courage, and being relieved by a powerful supply of fresh troops, soon broke them, killed a thousand on the spot, and forced the rest into a narrow pass within the lines. Here they must all have been inevitably cut off, had not a shower of darts, and other missive weapons from the fleet, favoured their retreat. The Sicilian foot, in the mean time, charged a large body of Africans with such resolution, that they put them to flight, and pursued them to their very trenches with great slaughter; but these Africans being soon reinforced by the Campanians, Iberians, and Carthaginians, who had routed the Italians, and thereby were at liberty to march this way, returned to the charge with greater fury than ever, and overpowering the Siculi, drove them back to the town, with the loss of fix hundred men. The horse finding the foot not able to withstand the efforts of the enemy, and seeing thefe advance on all sides in order to surround them, retired likewise to the city with precipitation. Dionysius, with his mercenaries, perceiving the greatest part of his army thus rudely handled, thought proper also to retreat, and take shelter within the walls. After this unsuccessful attempt he summoned a council of war, consisting of his particular friends, the result of whose deliberations was that, since the enemy was so much superior to them in strength, it would be highly imprudent to put all to the issue of a battle; and therefore, that the inhabitants should be persuaded to abandon their country, as the only means to save their lives. In consequence of this, a trumpet was sent to Imilcar, to desire a cessation of arms till the next day, in order as was pretended, to bury the dead, but in reality to give the people of Gela an opportunity of making their escape. Towards the beginning of the night, the bulk of the citizens left the place, and he himself, with the army, followed them about midnight. To amuse the enemy, he left two thousand men of his light-armed troops behind him, commanding them to make fires all night, and set up loud shouts, as though the army remained still in the town. At day-break, these took the same rout as their companions, and pursued their march with great celerity. By these stratagems, Dionysius preserved the inhabitants of Gela from all insults, and secured the retreat of his army.

Imil-

* Idem ibid.
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Imilcar finding the city deforeted by the greatest part of the citizens, the garrison, and Syracusan army, immediately entered it, and either put to the sword or crucified all he met with in it. He likewise thoroughly plundered it in the same manner as Agrigentum, and then moved with his forces towards Camarina. Dionysius had before drawn off the Carthaginians with their wives and children to Syracuse, by apprising them of Imilcar’s speedy approach. Their city underwent the same fate with that of Gela. The manner in which it was abandoned, Diodorus Siculus describes in a most moving manner, but this, as well as what happened to Dionysius hereupon, may be seen at large in a former part of this history.

Imilcar, in the mean time, finding his army extremely weakened, partly by the casualties of war, and partly by a plague broken out in it, and not thinking himself in a condition to continue the war, sent an herald to Syracuse to offer terms of peace to the conqueror. His unexpected arrival was very acceptable to Dionysius, and a treaty of peace was immediately concluded with the Carthaginians. The articles of it were; that the Carthaginians, besides their ancient acquisitions in Sicily, should still possess the countries of the Sicania the Selinunites, the Himeranes, and Agrigentines; that the people of Gela and Camarina should be permitted to reside in their respective cities, which yet should be dismantled, upon their paying an annual tribute to the Carthaginians; that the Leontini, Messanians, and all the other Sicilians, should live according to their own laws, and preserve their own liberty and independency, except the Syracusans, who should continue in subjection to Dionysius. These articles being ratified by both parties, Imilcar returned to Carthage, having lost above half of his army. The plague afterwards made dreadful havoc in Africa, carrying off vast numbers both of the Carthaginians and their allies.

Before the Carthaginian army retired from Sicily, Imilcar separated the Campanians from the other troops, and left them to defend his conquests in that island. It happened soon after, that Dionysius was reduced to such extremities by his subjects the Syracusans, that he was advised by his more intimate friends either to kill himself, or by one desperate effort to regain the sovereignty of Syracuse.

The History of the Carthaginians. Book III.

fort force his way through the enemy's camp, and escape to those places which were subject to the Carthaginians. But Philillus (E) the historian, who, for a considerable time had support-

(E) This Philillus was, according to Suidas (1), the son of Archonides, or, as Paufanias calls him, Archomenidas, and scholar to the elegiac poet Euenus. He was particularly intimate with Dionysius, and above any other person instrumental in establishing that tyrant's power at Syracuse; for which reason he obtained the government of the citadel there. It is suggested by some, that he enjoyed too great a degree of familiarity with Dionysius's mother, tho' with his privy. However this may be, upon his marrying the daughter of Leptine, brother to Dionysius, without imparting his design to that prince, he was banished by him, and retired to Adria. He was not permitted to return as long as the tyrant lived; but in the time of Dionysius the younger, those who opposed Dion had him recalled; for they were afraid, left Plato, by his eloquence and philosophy, should change the tyrant's mind, which they believed (2) so learned a man as Philillus would be able to prevent, especially as he was perfectly well acquainted with the manner of adapting himself to the tyrant's disposition. He answered their expectations; for, as soon as he was in favour, he opposed Plato, and persuaded Dionysius to expel Dion. Soon after, Dion made war upon Dionysius, and besieged him in the castle of Syracuse. Philillus hastened to his assistance from Iapygia, with a strong squadron of (3) galleys, but had the misfortune to be defeated. Euphorus says, he fell by his own hands, and is followed herein by Diodorus Siculus. But Timonides, who lived with Dion from the beginning of these commotions, informs us, that he was taken prisoner, and put to death; with whom Timæus Siculus in the main agrees. Diodorus Siculus says, he was denied burial. He may justly be esteemed to have been a man of merit, if we consider his wit, his learning, his writings, and even his bravery, which will, in some measure, appear from the account of him in the history of Syracuse. Suidas (4) ascribes to him a treatise concerning oratory; Αἰγυπτιακα, or the history of Egypt, in twelve books; res Siculae, or the Sicilian history, in eleven books; some orations, and one amongst the rest against Tricaranus, concerning the city of Naucratis; the history of Dionysius the tyrant; three books about the theology of the Egyptians; and a treatise concerning Libya and Syria. Cicero (5) highly celebrates his learning and diligence. His Sicilian his-


rati. I. i.
supported Dionysius, opposed this advice, telling him, that he ought to resume his courage, and either maintain himself on the throne, or die in the attempt. The tyrant, falling in with the sentiments of Philistus, resolved to part with his life, ra-

story was the work in greatest esteem, of which, according to Diodorus Siculus (6), there were two parts. The first consisted of seven books, including the transactions of eight hundred years, and concluding with the third year of the ninety-third olympiad, when the Carthaginians took Agrigentum. The other begins where the first left off; that is, at the time when Dionysius the elder began his reign over the Syracusans, which was the year after the taking of Agrigentum. According to Cicero (7), he took great pleasure in imitating Thucydides; and, if Quintilian (8) may be credited, exceeded him in perspicuity. Dionysius Halicarnasaeus (9) made him too much inferior to Thucydides. However, all are agreed, that he much resembled him in the conciseness of his style. He affected this so much, that, if Theon (10) may be believed, he avoided digressions to an excess. Timaeus abused him; but Ephorus extolled him up to the skies; for which they are both cenured by Plutarch (11). His works, as well as those of Ephorus and Timaeus Siculus, are all entirely lost. Had Philistus's Sicilian history, and his treatise concerning Libya, been extant, we should undoubtedly have met with many curious particulars relating to the building of Carthage, the first formation, growth, and decay of the Carthaginian state; in short, of all the principal transactions in which it was concerned, from its earliest ages to his time. This is not only probable from the titles of those pieces, but likewise from an hint given us by (12) Eusebius and Appian. Notwithstanding he wrote an history during his banishment, he did not shew any resentment against Dionysius in it, but, on the contrary, flattered him, and concealed his vices. This conduct Pausanias (13) endeavours to excuse, or at least to palliate, by saying, that the motive to it was a desire to be recalled to Syracuse. Some believe Philistus to have been born at Naukratis, others at Syracuse, and lastly, others believe there were two historians of that name, one of whom was born at Naukratis, and the other at Syracuse. It is not very material which of these is in the right.

(6) Diod. Sic. l. xiii. (7) Cic. de orat. l. ii. (8) Quin-
til. l. x. c. i. (9) Diona. Halicarn. ep. ad Pomp. (10) Theon
in progym. c. 4. (11) Plut. ubi sup. (12) Euseb. in
Appian. in Libyc. sub init. (13) Pausan. in Attic. p. 25. Vide
& Voif. de hist. Græc. l. i. c. 6.
rather than the power he had acquired. In consequence of
this resolution, he dispatched an express privately to the Cam-
panians, and by large offers prevailed upon them to march
to his relief. By their assistance he soon extricated himself
out of the difficulties in which he was before involved, and
afterwards became a scourge both to his own subjects and the
Carthaginians.

HAVING disarmed the inhabitants of Syracuse, and by that
step fixed his sovereignty there, he began to make the necessary
preparations for renewing the war with the Carthaginians; for
he had struck up the late peace with Imilcar so suddenly, with
no other view, than to amuse him till he had established his au-
thority, and found himself in a condition to attack the Cartha-
ginian conquests in Sicily with a powerful army. The mo-
tives, that seem immediately to have prompted him to this
war, were two: First, to prevent the future desertion of his
subjects, many of whom retired every day with all their ef-
tects to the Carthaginian garrisons, as well as to recover those
he had lost, since he imagined, that, upon the breaking
out of a rupture, the cruel treatment of the Carthaginians
would drive them from thence. And secondly, the great
prospect of success he had at that particular juncture, by rea-
sion of the deplorable ravages the plague then made in the Car-
thaginian territories. As he knew the Carthagians to be the
most potent nation in the west, and that, if an opportunity
offered, they would most certainly besiege Syracuse, he
thought proper, by way of precaution, to fortify the hill
Epipolae, which commanded the town. This he did at a
vast expense, with the assistance of sixty thousand freed-men
and six thousand yoke of oxen. Diodorus tells us, that on this
occasion the tyrant did not only superintend every part of the
work, but frequently worked himself, enduring as much
hardship and fatigue as the poorest labourer; by which means
the workmen were inspired with such a spirit of emulation
and alacrity, that they laboured all day and part of the night,
and, which is almost incredible, in twenty days finished a
wall thirty furlongs in length, and of a proportionable height,
which being flanked with high towers, placed at proper dis-
tances, and built of hewn stone, rendered the place almost
impregnable.\(^v\)

* Diod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 3.  
\(^v\) Idem ibid. c. 4.
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Having thus put his own city in a state of defence, he made preparations suitable to the undertaking he was going upon, being very sensible with how formidable a power he was soon to cope. His first care was to bring to Syracuse from all parts of Sicily, Greece, and Italy, great numbers of workmen, whom he employed in forging all sorts of arms. As he found, that mercenaries came flocking in to him from all parts, his intention was to have them all armed after the manner of their respective countries, imagining that by this means they would be more capable of distinguishing themselves, and of striking a terror into the enemy. Not only the porches of the temples, but the schools, walks, piazzas about the forum, and every public place, nay even private houses, were filled with workmen. The great wages which Dionysius paid them, induced the best artificers every where to offer him their service. He himself directed them in every thing relating to the form of the weapons they were to forge, and appointed the chief of the citizens to superintend them, with orders to promise great rewards to the diligent for their future encouragement. The art of making engines to batter walls was, according to Diodorus, now first brought to Syracuse; but the artificer's name to whom Dionysius was obliged for this, is nowhere told us. As he was ambitious of being superior to the Carthaginians by sea, he caused a vast quantity of timber for building his galleys to be brought from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea-side, and then shipped for Syracuse. Mount Ætna also supplied him with many fir and pitch trees, with which it then abounded. Having provided the necessary materials, he employed such a prodigious number of hands, that a fleet of two hundred sail was soon ready to put to sea; to which he added an hundred and ten old galleys, that were refitted. He likewise caused an hundred and sixty distinct receptacles to be made round the harbour, for sheltering his fleet from the weather, which would contain two ships a-piece; and after he had repaired an hundred and fifty old useless vessels covered them with planks. The Syracusans themselves manned half of the long ships, and the foreigners, who had entered into Dionysius's service, the rest. In order to have his troops completely armed as soon as possible, Dionysius animated the artificers by his presence, by the applauses he gave them, and by his bounty, in which all the diligent part of them shared. But his popular and winning behaviour excited
excited more strongly, than any other circumstance, the industry and ardor of these people; for those who distinguished themselves, either by their ingenuity or application, were not only sure of receiving some particular marks of his favour, but even sometimes had the honour to dine or sup with him. It is no wonder therefore, that in a shorter time than can easily be conceived, besides an immense quantity of other arms, he had got ready an hundred and forty thousand bucklers, the same number of swords and helmets, and fourteen thousand cuirasses, all of excellent workmanship. He had also prepared for service a large train of battering engines of all kinds, and an infinity of darts. As for land-forces, besides his own subjects, many soldiers came from Italy, Greece, and other countries, to lift in his service. We must not omit observing here, that Dionyfius is said by Diodorus to have invented the quinqueremes about this time, to which he was induced chiefly out of a desire, that the Syracusans should be thought to rival their ancestors in ingenuity; for being apprised, that the triremes, or three-oared vessels, were first made at Corinth, he was deftious the number of oars should be first enlarged by the Syracusans, a colony of the Corinthians. The tyrant having finished his military preparations both by sea and land, and finding his army in a condition to take the field, thought proper now to open his design to the Syracusans. In order to which he convened the senate, and communicated his intention to them of attacking the Carthaginian territories instantaneously, and even without any previous declaration of war. In vindication of his conduct on this occasion, and to spirit up the assembly, he urged, that the Carthaginians were of all others the most implacable enemies to the Greek nation; that they had then nothing less in view than the conquest of Sicily, and consequently the ruin of all the Greek cities therein; that they would have even been at the gates of Syracuse before that time, had not the plague obliged them to continue in a state of inaction; that as they were then in a most deplorable condition, no finer opportunity could ever offer itself to the Syracusans of driving them out of the island than the present; and that lastly, if this was let slip, upon their recovering themselves, they would most certainly put their favourite scheme in execution, and deprive the Syracusans, as well as their neighbours, of every thing that was dear and valuable.

* Diod. Sic. ubi fup. c. 7.
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valuable to them. The assembly, moved by so pathetic a speech, and influenced by the views of policy more than the dictates of justice, readily concurred in his opinion. The antient hatred they bore the Carthaginians, their rage against them for having brought their city under the power of a tyrant, and the hopes they entertained of finding some opportunity of recovering their former liberty, united them in their suffrages, and war was unanimously resolved on. If they were victorious, they doubted not carrying their point; and if worsted, the tyrant would be so much afraid of a foreign enemy, that he would learn to treat his subjects at home with more moderation. In short, as they fancied themselves to have a prospect of bettering their condition, however the war might turn out, they were for pushing matters to extremity without delay.

Upon the breaking up of the assembly, Dionysius, in conformity to the disposition of the Syracusians, gave up the fury of the populace the persons and possessions of the Carthaginians, who then resided in Syracuse, and there traded on the faith of treaties. As there were many of their ships at that time in the harbour, laden with cargoes of great value, the people immediately plundered them, and, not contented with this, ranfacked all their houses in a most outrageous manner: and this horrid example of perfidiousness and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole island of Sicily; nay, the Greeks inhabiting the cities under the jurisdiction of the Carthaginians, not satisfied with stripping them of their effects, thought themselves sufficiently authorized to treat the bodies of those miserable wretches with the utmost ignominy and barbarity, to inflict every kind of punishment upon them, in return for the cruelties they had formerly exercised on the natives of the country. This was the bloody signal of the war that Dionysius now entered into with the Carthaginians.

It has been above observed, that great numbers of mercenaries flocked to Dionysius from Greece, Italy, and several other countries. The great pay he offered, drew them over in crowds; but no foreign power contributed so much to his support as the Lacedæmonians. From Sparta he received as many recruits as were necessary for the completing of his troops, which, because he apprehended the war...
with Carthage would be long and bloody, he resolved should be very numerous. That he might be entirely at liberty to act against the common enemy with all his forces, he concluded a peace with the Rhegians and Messanians. To engage the latter the more firmly in his interests, he ceded to them a large extent of territory. This he judged not ill bestowed at such a critical juncture; for the Messanians, being a seafaring people, and pretty powerful, would have given no small diversion to his arms, had they joined with the Carthaginians.

Dionysius, thus backed by his subjects, mercenaries, and confederates, and finding the vast project he had formed now ripe for execution, dispatched an herald to Carthage, with a letter to the senate and people, notifying to them, that if they did not forthwith withdraw their garrisons from all the Greek cities in Sicily, the people of Syracuse would treat them as enemies. This letter being read first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people, occasioned a general alarm at Carthage, which the plague had reduced to a miserable condition. However, though in want of all necessaries, they were not dismayed, but sent officers into Europe, with considerable sums, to raise troops with the utmost diligence. In the mean time, they dispatched orders to their garrisons in Sicily, to observe the motions of the Syracusan army; and appointed Himilco commander in chief of all their forces.

Dionysius, without waiting for the answer of the Carthaginians, agreeably to the plan he had laid down, advanced with his army towards Mount Eryx, near which stood the city of Motya, a Carthaginian colony of great eminence. This town was defended by a citadel of great strength, and might be justly looked upon as the key of Sicily. The reduction of it therefore, the tyrant very well knew, would be a considerable blow given to the Carthaginians. He was joined on his march by the Greeks of Gela, Camarina, Agrigentum, Himera, and Selinus, out of the ardent desire they had to recover their liberties, and shake off the Carthaginian yoke. With this accession of strength, his army amounted to eighty thousand foot and above three thousand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred long galleys, and five hundred transports, laden with

\[a\] Idem ibid.  \[b\] Idem ibid.
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warlike engines and all sorts of provisions. The Motyans, by reason of their attachment to the Carthaginians, expected the storm would fall upon them; but, in hopes of relief from Carthage, they were resolved to defend themselves to the last drop of blood. The city stood on a small island, about half a league from shore, to which it was joined by a small neck of land, which the Motyans cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side. In it the Carthaginians kept all their stores and provisions. Dionysius therefore opened the campaign with the siege of this place; and after having taken a view of it with his engineers, commanded the canal between the city and the shore to be filled up with rubbish, and his galleys to anchor at the mouth of the harbour. Having given these orders, he left his brother Leptines, commander in chief of the fleet, to carry on the siege, while he with the land-forces went to reduce the cities in alliance with the Carthaginians, which terrified at the approach of so formidable an army, all submitted, except five, viz. Ancyra, Solas, Egefta, Panormus, and Entella. The territories of the Solantines, Panormitans, and Ancyreans, he destroyed with fire and sword, and cut down all their trees. Egefta and Entella he besieged, endeavouring, by repeated attacks, to take them both by storm; but not being able to reduce them in so short a time as he expected, he returned with his whole army to Motya, not doubting, but all other places would fall of course, as soon as he had made himself master of this.

In the mean time, Himilco (F), who was busy in raising men and making other preparations for the war in Sicily, ordered his admiral to set sail from Carthage with ten galleys, and making strait to Syracuse, to destroy all the vessels in the harbour of Syracuse.

(F) This general we have constantly called Imilcar in the history of Syracuse, through mistake; for we are now convinced, that his true name was Himilco. This appears not only from Diodorus Siculus, but likewise from Livy, Polyænus, Frontinus, and Orosius. In some editions of Justin he is called Amilco; in other Imilcos; but that author is certainly guilty of a mistake, when he makes him the son of Hamilcar, who was killed by Gelon, and skips over a long interval of time, when he will have the destruction of this general's army by the plague immediately to have succeeded the death of Hamilcar above-mentioned. Besides
veffels he should find in that harbour. What he proposed by this was, to divide the enemy's forces, and oblige Dio-
nysius to fend part of his fleet to the defence of Syracuse. The admiral, pursuant to his orders, entered the harbour in the night, without being discerned by the enemy; and having sunk most of the ships he found there, returned to Carthage without the los of a single man (G).

Dionysius, on his return to Motya, having set more hands at work, speedily filled up the canal with heaps of stone and rubbish, so that he could make his approaches as on dry land. He then perfected the rampart, brought forward his engines, battered the place with his rams, advanced to the walls towers six stories high, rolled upon wheels, of equal height with their houses, and from thence galled the besieged with continual vollies of arrows and stones discharged from his catapults (H), an engine at that time of late invention. The place was attacked and defended with the sides, that this was not the same Imilcar who commanded in the preceding war, is probable from hence, that Imilcar there imagined his colleague Hannibal to have brought the plague into the Carthaginian army, by demolishing the tombs and monuments of the dead, which he considered as an impious action, and therefore discontinued that demolition; whereas we find, that this Himilco beat down the tombs which flood round the city, in order to fortify his camp, and facilitate his approaches. They were therefore probably different persons from this circumstance; but the authorities produced, without this, put the point beyond dispute (1).

(G) Polyænus tells us, that the admiral ordered the lights to be all placed abaft, or in the sterns of the ships, that no suspicion might be given of their approach; by which means he entered the port in the night undiscovered by the enemy, and easily destroyed the vessels he found there (2).

(H) To what has been lately observed of the catapultæ and bal-
liæ may be added, that from the latter stones of a prodigious size were generally thrown; that the Greek word πέλτη, of which with the preposition κατά, the word καταπέλτης or catapulta is composed, signifies, according to Hefychius, a dart, a spear, o javelin

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(1) Liv. l. xxiv. c. 36. Polyæn. stratag. l. v. c. 10. ex. 2 Frontin. strat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 2. Oros. l. iv. Justin. l. xix. (2) Polyæn. ubi sup.
the utmost vigor. The Motyans, tho' despairing of any relief, resolved to sell their lives at as dear a rate as possible, knowing they had no quarter to expect from so incensed an enemy; and therefore opposed the besiegers, notwithstanding the imminent danger they were in, with incredible bravery. They posted soldiers armed in coats of mail upon the masts of their ships, having hoisted up their main-yards, who threw down burning firebrands, and tow dipped in pitch upon the engines, which immediately set them on fire; but the Sicilians, presently advancing, not only extinguished the flames, but opened several large breaches in the walls, and made a general assault upon the town with such fury, that they bore down all before them. The contest now was extremely bloody; for the besiegers thinking themselves secure of carrying the place, and being vastly desirous of taking vengeance of the enemy for the barbarous treatment their nation had formerly received from them, fought like lions; and on the other hand, the besieged, knowing they must fall victims to an implacable and enraged enemy, if the town was taken by storm, resolved to die valiantly in the defence of the place, and therefore behaved like men in desperation. At last, however, the Sicilians prevailed, and entered the city sword in hand, thinking they should now speedily accomplish their design; but herein they found themselves deceived, for the Motyans had finished a fortification at the foot of the walls, of equal strength with the walls themselves, which there was a necessity of carrying, before Dionysius could make himself master of the place. The besieged therefore, after javelin; and consequently gives us to understand, that these were the missive weapons discharged most frequently out of that machine. This is confirmed by an allusion to be found in Plautus. Both the catapultae and balistae were of Syrian or Phoenician invention, and from those nations the Jews had them, as may be learned from Pliny, in conjunction with scripture. The Sicilians introduced them into Greece, in the time of Agesilas. Upon the first fight of the telum catapartarium, Archidamus, the son of that prince, is said to have cried out, 'O ye gods, all valour is now destroyed' (3).

after having been obliged to abandon the walls, betook themselves to the defence of this, and gave the Sicilians a warmer reception here than they had met with before, destroying vast numbers of them from the top of the fortification, and the roofs of the houses adjoining to it. However, the Sicilian towers being of a vast height, by their assistance the besiegers advanced their scaling ladders to the neighbouring houses, and by this means fought hand to hand with the besieged. The dispute now was extremely sharp and obstinate; for the Motyans having new life and vigor infused into them by the sight of their wives and children, who, in case of any disaster, they knew would be treated in the same barbarous manner, as their countrymen taken prisoners by the Greeks had already been, resolved either to conquer or die. They rushed therefore with a fury little inferior to madness into the midst of their enemies, threw infinite numbers of them headlong from the scaffolds they had erected, and, in fine, repulsed Dionysius with such slaughter, that he was at last obliged to found a retreat.

The attack was repeated for several days successively in the same manner, but without any effect; for the Motyans, being accustomed to this way of fighting, constantly repulsed Dionysius, obliging him every evening to draw off. At last Archylus the Thurian, at the head of a choice detachment, in the dead of the night, getting over the shattered houses without noise, possessed himself of a very commodious post, where he made a lodgment, till Dionysius sent another strong body of troops to support him. The Motyans, seeing themselves surprised, made their utmost efforts to dislodge the enemy, so that a fierce encounter ensued. But at last the Sicilians, overpowering them with numbers, gave Dionysius an opportunity of breaking into the city like a torrent with his whole army. Every part of the town was in a moment covered with dead bodies; for the Sicilians, enraged at the obstinate defence of the besieged, and to retaliate the former cruelties of the Carthaginians, put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex or age, those only excepted who took sanctuary in the Greek temples. For Dionysius, being devisors of selling them for slaves, in order to bring money into his coffers, and not being able to restrain the violence of his soldiers, ordered the public crier by proclamation to declare,
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clare, that he would have the Motyans fly for refuge thither. This put a stop to the slaughter; however the army thoroughly plundered the town, carrying off from thence an immense quantity of wealth and treasure. This Dionysius thought proper to permit, that he might ingratiate himself with the troops, and that they might hereby be the more readily induced to signalize themselves on all future occasions.

As many therefore of the Motyans as were left alive, he sold for slaves, but commanded Diamenes and all the Greeks, who had joined the Carthaginians, to be crucified. As for Archylus, to whose bravery and conduct the taking of the place was in a great measure owing, he rewarded him with an hundred minas, and all the rest in proportion to their merit. Having thus reduced the strongest city in Sicily subject to Carthage, he placed a numerous garrison in it, under the command of one Bito a Syracusan. Afterwards ordering Leptines, with an hundred and twenty galleys, to watch the Carthaginians at sea, and to make incursions into the territories of Entella and Egefla, which it was his intention to have done himself, would the season and the exigence of his affairs have permitted, summer now drawing to an end, he returned with his army to Syracuse.

The Carthaginians having been surprised by Dionysius, in contempt of the faith of treaties, as above related, found it impossible to oblige him to raise the siege of Motya; however, they were willing to attempt, not only this, but even to carry the war to Syracuse. In order to which, Himilco, receiving advice, that Dionysius with his fleet was entered into the harbour, gave orders to have an hundred of his best galleys manned without delay; with which, as the Syracusans had no squadron out at sea to obstruct his design, he entertained hopes either of destroying or making himself master of the tyrant's whole naval force by surprisle at one single blow. Could this have been effected, he would not only have relieved the place, but likewise changed the seat of the war.

Setting sail therefore from Carthage, after a short passage, he arrived in the night on the coast of Selinus, and the next morning by break of day, at the port of Motya, where the Syracusan galleys were then riding at anchor. These he immediately attacked, burning and sinking several of them.

Leaves a garrison there, and returns to Syracuse.

§ 3

Dionys—

Idem ibid.
Dionysius, not a little alarmed at this unexpected visit of the enemy, and seeing, by the dispositions they were making, his whole fleet in danger of being destroyed, advanced with his army to the mouth of the harbour; but finding the Carthaginians had possessed themselves of the passage, he looked upon it as too hazardous an attempt to bring his ships out of port, because the mouth being strait and narrow, a few galleys there might engage a much superior number with great advantage. Commanding his land-forces therefore to draw them over land into the sea, at a farther distance from the harbour, he by this means preserved them.

In the mean time, Himilco, pressing upon those galleys that lay next to him, made all possible efforts to take or destroy them; but was vigorously repulsed, and lost many of his men by showers of darts thrown from the decks. The Syracusan army likewise greatly annoyed him by repeated volleys of arrows from their engines of battery; which being a new kind of weapon, and doing considerable execution, struck a great terror into the enemy. Himilco therefore, finding that he could not bring his enterprise to bear, as judging it by no means advisable to venture an engagement with a squadron so much superior to him in strength, left the Motyans (I) to themselves, and returned to Africa.

The following spring, Dionysius, drawing his forces out of Syracuse, made an inroad into the Carthaginian territories.

(I) Polyænus intimates, that, upon the approach of the Carthaginian fleet, Dionysius drew off his forces from before the town, and advanced at the head of them to the shore, as near the enemy’s vessels as possible. By this motion he endeavoured to encourage his soldiers and mariners. Under the promontory that formed the port, there was a tract of twenty stadia in breadth, perfectly level, and full of mud. Over this his soldiers and mariners drew eighty triremes in one day, which threw the Carthaginians into a great consternation. The admiral therefore, fearing the Syracusans would first block up his fleet in the mouth of the harbour, and then destroy it, immediately set sail, and left the Motyans to the mercy of the enemy (4).

(6) Polyæn. strat. I. v. c. 2. ex. 6.
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provinces, ravaging and destroying the country in a dreadful manner. The Halicyæans, terrified by this irruption, sent embassadors to his camp to implore his protection; but the inhabitants of Egefta, remaining firm in their fidelity to Carthage, set him at defiance. Upon this, advancing with his army, he laid siege to the place; but the Egeftines making a vigorous and unexpected sally upon the besiegers, put the advanced guards in disorder, and set fire to their tents, which occasioned a great consternation throughout the whole camp. Several soldiers, in endeavouring to quench the flames, lost their lives, and many horses were burnt. Dionyflus, soon after, raising the siege, roved about the country in the same hostile manner as before, and whilst Leptines was observing the motions of the enemy by sea, continued his depredations without opposition.

Soon after the reduction of Motya, the news of that melancholy event arrived at Carthage; and the year following Himilco was appointed one of the suffetes there. The progress of Dionyflus alarming the senate, they resolved to surpass him in number both of men and ships; to which end they dispatched officers into all parts of Africa and Spain to raise forces. When the preparations were completed, the Carthaginian army amounted to above three hundred thousand foot, four thousand horse, and four hundred armed chariots. The fleet, under the command of Mago, consisted of three hundred galleys, and upwards of six hundred ships of burden laden with provisions and engines of war. This is the account given by Ephorus; but Timæus Siculus affirms, that not above an hundred thousand men were transported from Africa into Sicily, who, upon their landing there, were joined by three thousand Sicilians. The troops being embarked, and the fleet ready to set sail, Himilco delivered his orders to the commanders of the fleet sealed up, enjoining them not to open them till they were out at sea, and then to observe them with all strictness. This precaution he took (and it is the first time we find it used) to prevent spies from informing the enemy of his designs. The orders were, that they should make strait to Panormus, which was appointed the place of the general rendezvous, and thither they steered their course with a fair wind. The transports, getting out into the open sea, outfailed the galleys, which kept close to the coast.
of Africa; but being destitute of a convoy, were attacked off of Panormus by Leptines, whom Dionyfius had sent out with thirty sail against them. After a short dispute, he sunk fifty of them, in which five thousand men and two hundred chariots were lost; the rest, tacking about, had the good luck to escape. As soon as the galleys appeared, Leptines retired; and Himilco, having landed his troops at Panormus, marched directly against the enemy, commanding the fleet to sail along the coast near the army. On his march he took Eryx by treachery; and hastening from thence to Motya, reduced that important place before Dionyfius, who was then besieging Egesta, could send any forces to its relief.

The Sicilian troops were very eager for venturing a battle with the Carthaginians, in order to decide the fate of Sicily as soon as possible; but Dionyfius thought it more advisable to abandon the open country to the enemy, because he was at a great distance from his confederates, and began to be in want of provisions. He exhorted the Sicani to leave their cities, and join the army, promising them, after the conclusion of the war, a richer and more fertile country than their own, and to permit as many of them as would chuse it, to return to their former habitations. Some few, for fear of being plundered, listened to this proposal; but the greatest part of them deserted to the enemy, together with the Halicyæans, who sent embassadors to Carthage, to renew their antient alliance with that state. Dionyfius, not meeting with a sufficient reinforcement, and in consequence of the resolution he had taken, marched with great precipitation to Syracuse, plundering and laying waste the country all along as he passed. Himilco, flushed with his success, advanced towards Messana, of which city he was very desirous to possess himself, on account of its situation; for being once master of it, he could easily intercept all succours sent to the enemy, either from Italy or Greece; and besides, the haven was capable of receiving his whole fleet, which consisted of six hundred sail and upwards. Before he invested the city, he concluded a treaty with the people of Himera and Cephalædium, and reduced

\* Diod. Sic. ubi sup. Polyæn. strat. l. v. c. 10. ex. 2. Fron- 

zin. strat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 3.
duced the city of Lipara (K), the capital of the island of that name, putting it under contribution, by which he exacted

(K) Lipara was the principal of the Æolian islands, in number seven, not far from the north coast of Sicily. The names of these islands were Strongyle, Evonymos, Didyme, Phoenicus, Hiera, Vulcania, and Lipara (1). According to Diodorus, both the island Lipara and its capital city received their name from Liparus, the son of Aulon (2), king of these islands, who built the city Lipara, and cultivated all of them. The Liparese were antiently formidable, had a good fleet, and grew very rich, by reason of the great revenue brought them in by alum, with which mineral their island (3) abounded. Their capital city, according to Diodorus, was beautified with large and fair harbours, and famous for the baths in its neighbourbhood, which were medicinal, and of singular service to the people of Sicily, when seized with any strange and unusual disease. Pliny makes Æolus to have preceded Liparus in this island; but Diodorus tells us, that Æolus married Carne, the daughter of Liparus, and, in right of his wife, succeeded that prince. About the fiftieth olympiad, a colony of Cnidian (4), under their captains Gorgus, Thestor, and Epithersides, entered into a league with the antient inhabitants, and incorporated themselves with them. Lipara was noted amongst the antients for the great quantity of delicious fruit it produced, and is at this day remarkable for the excellent raisins it supplies several parts of Europe with, particularly England. That the inhabitants were pretty opulent in the times we are now speaking of, is evident from the contributions which Dionysus exacted of them, amounting to about five thousand four hundred pounds sterling. It must be observed, that Diodorus, not only here, but in other passages, where he mentions a talent, means the Attic talent, which was worth above an hundred and eighty pounds (5) of our money, and not the Sicilian, amounting not to above three Roman denarii, or a two thousandth part (6) of the Attic. The island is now called Lipari, and has its capital fortified, that it stood a short siege in the year 1719, when it was taken by an imperial detachment under the command of general Seckendorf; as was likewise the castle, whole garrison of four hundred men thought proper to surrender the next day at discretion.

acted from the inhabitants thirty talents. From thence moving with his forces towards Messana, his fleet at the same time attending him, he encamped upon the promontory of Peloris, now the Capo di Faro, about an hundred stadia from that city. When the inhabitants heard of the approach of the enemy, they could not agree among themselves about the measures to be taken on that occasion. Some, alarmed at the great strength of the Carthaginians, seeing themselves deserted by their confederates, as well as in great want of their horse, which were then at Syracuse, and knowing that the walls were in a ruinous condition, and that they had not time then to make the necessary preparations for their defence, were for submitting to the enemy. Others were resolved to hold out to the last, and cheerfully sacrifice their lives in the maintenance of their liberties. They were encouraged to this resolution by an antient prophecy, whereby it was foretold, That the Carthaginians should be one day carriers of water in that city. This they interpreted, as if the Carthaginians should be slaves in Messana; and being thereby greatly animated, were determined to undergo all extremities, rather than surrender themselves to the common enemy. Their wives and children, with all their treasures, they sent to the neighbouring towns before the place was invested.

In order to prevent any incursions of the enemy, they sent a strong detachment of the flower of their troops towards the promontory of Peloris, who for some time defended the frontiers. But Himilco, rightly concluding, that the garrison must be greatly weakened by the absence of this detachment, and that the city was thereby left so very much exposed on the sea-side, that it would be no difficult matter for his fleet to enter, commanded two hundred galleys to advance towards the town. His orders were instantly obeyed, and, a north wind at that time blowing fresh, they were carried with a full gale directly into the harbour. The Messanians, being now sensible of their mistake, recalled their detachment; but it was too late, for the fleet had already entered, and having a great number of engines on board, battered down the walls on that side; upon which the inhabitants hastened in crowds thither to defend the breaches, leaving the other parts of the wall quite

[k] Diod. Sic. ubi sup.
quite unguarded. Himilco took advantage of this confusion, and attacking the city on the land-side, entered it without opposition. All those who were on the ramparts died valiantly on the spot; the others either fled to the neighbouring cities, or fell into the hands of the enemy, or, getting into narrow creeks about the harbour, threw themselves into the sea, imagining they could reach the opposite shore; of which, however, not above a fourth part made their escape to the coast of Italy. Himilco entered Messana with his whole army, and, in order to render his conquest complete, proposed reducing all the forts and castles in the neighbourhood of that city; but upon taking a view of them, and finding them extremely strong, he altered his measures, and returned back to Messana. Here he halted a short time to refresh and recruit his army, and then marched at the head of all his forces against Syracuse.

Himilco, considering that Messana was very remote from the cities held by the Carthaginians, and the most commodious port in Sicily on account of its situation, had, before his departure, ordered it to be razed, that it might be of no advantage to the enemy. His orders were executed with the utmost severity, insomuch, that there was not left one house standing in the whole city; nay, Diodorus tells us, that scarce any traces of it remained, the very rubbish being carried away, and thrown into the sea; which sufficiently discovered the implacable hatred Himilco, as well as the whole Carthaginian nation, bore to the Greeks.

The Siculi having Dionysius in perfect detestation, and a fair opportunity now offering of shaking off their allegiance to him, all of them, except the Affairs, revolted to the Carthaginians. Dionysius, being hereby deprived of the means of raising recruits, was obliged to present all the slaves and servants of the Syracusans with their liberty, and with them he manned sixty galleys. He received likewise a supply of a thousand men from the Lacedaemonians, his antient and faithful allies. Expecting that the enemy would advance into his territories, he took care to fortify the castles and forts of the Syracusans, and the cities in their dependence, and to store them with provisions. Those of

1 Idem ibid.
of the Leontini, which were his principal magazines, he rendered extremely strong, and persuaded the Campanians to leave Catana, the place he had given them to reside in, and remove to the city of Ætna, a fortress of great strength, for their farther security.

DIONYSIUS, upon a review of his land-forces, found them to amount to thirty thousand foot, and above three thousand horse. With these he took the field, and encamped near a place called Taurus (L), about an hundred

\[k\] Idem ibid.

(L) This Taurus was undoubtedly the mountain of that name, upon the declivity of which stood the famous city of Taurominiun. According to Diodorus (1), a great number of Sicilians had fixed their habitations here before the time of this war. Dionysius had given the country of the Naxians to these Sicilians; but they, induced by the promises of Himilco, now dwelt upon this hill, which was naturally fortified. The same author adds, that, as they had settled here in times antecedent to this war, so they continued there after it, and inhabited the city called Taurominium, from its situation upon mount Taurus. We learn farther from this historian (2), that Andromachus, the father of Timæus Siculus, about forty years after the commencement of this war, assembled all the fugitives of Naxos, a city which Dionysius the tyrant had destroyed, and settled them on this hill, and that this was the origin of Taurominium. These two accounts seem to clash, since the first makes the foundation of Taurominium to have happened in the first year of the ninety-sixth olympiad, whereas the latter fixes it in the third of the hundred and fifth. The learned Dr. Bentley (3) takes the former to be nearer the truth, though he endeavours to make them both consistent with one another. Cluverius indeed prefers the latter, but in this he seems to have Diodorus against him; for that author calls the place Taurominium three several times, before he makes the least mention of Andromachus, viz. at olymp. XCVI. an. 1. (4) olymp. XCVI. an. 3. (5) and olymp. XCVII. an. 1. (6) However this may be, that the Taurominites were descended from the Naxians, cannot be disputed. Pliny and Solinus say expressly, that Taurominium was the city which was formerly called Naxos.

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and sixty stadia from Syracuse. His fleet by the accession of the sixty galleys above-mentioned, consisted of an hundred and eighty galleys. Himilco, upon advice of his march, advanced to meet him; his land army being attended by the fleet, which kept near the coast. When the Carthaginians arrived at Naxos, they could not continue any longer their march by the sea-side, but were obliged to take a long compass round mount Aetna, which by a violent eruption, had covered all the neighbouring country with burning ashes, and rendered the roads impassable by its flaming

The medals of the Taurominities clearly evince the same thing; for there are five several pieces in Paruta, that have on one side TATROMENITAN, and on the reverse Apollo’s head with this inscription, ἈΡΧΑΓΕΤΑ, and that Apollo ἈΡΧΑΓΕΤΗΣ was a deity of the Naxians, we are informed by Thucydides (7) and Appian (8). To conclude, our author Diodorus himself, in the place we are now upon, just after mentioning the city Taurominium, observes that “Himilco marched with great expedition to the aforesaid place of Naxia.” Probably Naxia here is a corruption of Naxos, since, if we remember right, Naxia, as the name of a place, is not to be met with in any other author, nor any-where else in Diodorus but here. This passage seems fully to prove, not only that the Naxians were the progenitors of the Taurominities, but likewise that, in the first year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, the city, or spot where it afterwards stood, was called Naxos or Naxia. As therefore it appears from another place (9) in Diodorus, that the city was but just built in the third year of the same olympiad, it seems clearly to follow, that Taurominium was founded in the first year of the ninety-sixth olympiad. This is an additional argument in favour of what Dr. Bently has advanced, and, to all appearance, entirely fixes the point. We must not omit observing, that Taurominium stood at a considerable distance from the antient Naxos, the one being situated either on the declivity or top of the hill, and the other much lower towards the southern foot of it (10). ’Tis likely there might have been a town of the same name with the hill, either upon it, or somewhere near the foot of it, as we find Aetna was the name both of a mountain and a town in its neighbourhood. If Dionysius did not ascend any part of the mountain, we may suppose him to have encamped near this town,
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flaming inundations. Himilco therefore ordered Mago to fail to Catana, and there wait, till he, marching through the heart of the country, should rejoin him with the land-forces. Dionysius, apprised of this, hastened with all speed to Catana, with a design to attack Mago, before Himilco's army came up; he hoped that his land-forces drawn up on the shore would greatly encourage his own mariners, and discourage the enemy's: besides, if his fleet were worsted, both ships and men had a place of safety to retire to. This was what Himilco had foreseen, when for the reason above-mentioned, his fleet and land forces were obliged to separate 1.

Dionysius, having therefore drawn up his army on the shore, sent out Leptines with the whole fleet against the enemy, commanding him to engage in close order, and not to break his line upon any account whatsoever. And indeed such a salutary order could not have been too punctually obeyed at that juncture, on account of Mago's great superiority; for his fleet was composed of no less than five hundred ships of burden, besides a vast number of galleys with brazen beaks. The Carthaginians, seeing the Greek troops drawn up on the shore, and the navy advancing in good order against them, were struck with terror, and tacking about, began to make to the shore, with a design to save themselves over land, and join Himilco; but recollecting that this was equally, if not more, dangerous, they resolved to try their fortune by sea; and accordingly drawing themselves up in a line, they waited for the enemy. Leptines, inconsiderately advancing with thirty of his best galleys, contrary to the express command of Dionysius, fell upon Mago's first squadron, and, after a brisk action, sunk several of the ships of which it was composed; but Mago, coming up with the whole fleet, immediately surrounded him, upon which, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, a most sharp and bloody engagement ensued.

The Carthaginian and Syracusan galleys grappling with one another, (for they were so close together, that there was no room for them to strike with their beaks) the forces on board fought hand to hand, as if in a battle on land. On both sides they made the utmost efforts to board their enemies, and consequently on both sides many were thrown over-

1 Idem ibid.
over-board and slain. In fine, Leptines, though for several hours he defended himself perfectly well, being at last over-powered, was obliged to fly, valour being forced to give way to numbers. The flight of the admiral disheartened the Syracusans, and gave the enemy fresh courage; the former therefore fled to the shore, where their land-forces were drawn up, but were closely pursued by the Carthaginians. Many, abandoning their ships, threw themselves into the sea, hoping to save their lives by swimming to the shore; but the Carthaginian transports, which lay near the shore, having manned their boats, made a dreadful havoc of those unhappy men, when they were not in a condition to make any resistance; so that the land-army saw them perish, without being able to give them the least relief. The Carthaginians sustained great losses in this action; but above an hundred of the Syracusan galleys were either sunk or taken, and more than twenty thousand of their men killed in the battle or pursuit. After the action was over, the Carthaginian fleet anchored at Catana, where they refitted the Syracusan ships they had taken. This was done to regale the eyes and ears of the Carthaginians and their confederates, who could not but be highly delighted with such a trophy, as enabled them to form some sort of an idea of the great victory they had obtained.

Upon this misfortune, the Sicilians apprehending they should be reduced to great straits by returning to Syracuse and there sustaining a siege, solicited Dionylius to fight Himilco, alleging that an unexpected attack at the present juncture would strike terror into the Carthaginians, and give them a fair opportunity of retrieving their late losses. This project seemed the more feasible, as the enemy could not but be extremely fatigued with their long and hasty march; and therefore Dionylius at first not only listened to it, but ordered his forces to be ready to march at a minute’s warning. But when he was just upon the point of putting it in execution, some of his friends remonstrating to him, that Mago in the mean time with his victorious fleet might pounce himself of Syracuse, he altered his resolution, and hastened with his whole army to the defence of that Metropolis. To this he was likewise strongly induced.

Diod. Sic. ubi sup.
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Dionysius returns with his army to Syracuse.

Himilco endeavours to excite the Campanians of Etna to a revolt.

He invades Syracuse, and takes up his quarters in the temple of Jupiter.

duced by the fate of Messana, which had lately been left by such a point of false conduct as the Sicilians proposed to him. However, many of these, being displeased at his not falling into their measures, deserted, and either retired to the neighbouring garrisons of the Carthaginians, or withdrew to their respective homes.

HIMILCO, in two days march, arriving at Catana, ordered his ships there to be drawn into the harbour, that they might be sheltered from the weather, which was then very boisterous and stormy. Here he halted some time to refresh his troops, and sent embassadors to the Campanians at Etna to excite them to a revolt, promising them large posseions, and that they should be equal sharers in all the spoils taken from the Sicilians. That his promises might make the deeper impression, he took care to inform them, that the Campanians of Entella had declared for the Carthaginians, and joined them with a considerable body of forces. In fine, he desired them to consider, that the Greeks of every denomination bore an implacable hatred to all other nations whatsoever. The Campanians were not a little moved by these promises and suggestions; but as they had given hostages to Dionysius, and sent the flower of their troops to Syracuse, they were obliged, contrary to their inclination, to adhere to the treaty concluded with them.

The Carthaginian general, animated with the good success that attended his arms, marched straight to Syracuse, with a design to besiege it; while his fleet under the command of Mago, sailed along the coast, carrying great plenty of provisions for the subsistence of so numerous an army. The arrival of the enemy threw the city into the utmost consternation. Two hundred and eight galleys laden, and richly adorned, with the spoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order, entered in a port of triumph the great haven of Syracuse, and were followed by above a thousand transports with more than five hundred soldiers on board; so that the harbour, capacious as it was, could hardly contain so great a navy, consisting in the whole of near two thousand sail. The fleet had scarce cast anchor, when the army appeared on the other side, amounting, according to some authors, to three hundred thousand foot, and three thousand horse, besides an additional squadron, of two hundred long ships,

* Idem ibid.  o Idem ibid.

† That there is a mistake in the numbers in this place is manifest. How few are 500 soldiers on board 1000 transports? Nay, the words 'more than' seem to intimate, that the number following was very considerable. But as this error is also in the present copy of Diodorus, we know not how to amend it.
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ships, attending them. Himilco took up his quarters in the temple of Jupiter, and the rest of the army encamped round it, above twelve stadia from the city.

Before he directly formed the siege, he advanced with his army in battalia to the very walls of the city, and offered the Syracusans battle. But finding they were prudent enough to decline accepting the challenge, he returned to his camp, well satisfied at his having extorted from them a tacit confession of their own weaknesses, and his superiority. At the same time he ordered an hundred of his best galleys to enter the two other harbours, viz. the little port and that of Trogillus, to strike more terror into the enemy, and convince them, that the Carthaginians were likewise masters at sea. In order to gain the affection of his troops, as well as to diffuse the enemy, he ravaged and laid waste the country many miles round for thirty days together, cutting down their groves, and doing infinite damage to the inhabitants. He took by assault the quarter, or suburb, of the town called Acradina, where he plundered the rich temples of Ceres and Proserpina, and, in short, succeeded in every measure he pursued for straitening the besieged. Elated with this run of good-fortune, he looked upon himself in effect as master of the place, though he was apprehensive, that the entire reduction of it would be the work of a considerable time. He erected therefore three forts near the sea, at equal distances from each other, one at Plemmyrion, another about the middle of the port, and the third near the temple of Jupiter, in which he laid up vast stores of provision, and all other necessaries, that might enable him to push on the siege. In order to facilitate his approaches, and fortify his camp in the most commodious manner, he ordered all the tombs, which stood round the city, to be demolished, and amongst others that of Gelon and his wife Damareta, which was a monument of great magnificence. Being very intent on the preservation of his troops, he took care they should want nothing that was proper for their subsistence, and therefore sent transports to Sardinia and Africa for a fresh supply of corn and other provisions. In the mean time, the Syracusans, though greatly dejected by their late misfortunes, did not despond, Diony-

p Idem ibid.
Dionysius being in daily expectation of receiving a considerable reinforcement from his foreign allies 9.

Before the storm fell upon Syracuse, Dionysius had sent his (M) kinman Polyxenus to implore the assistance of the Italians, Corinthians, and Lacedæmonians, against the power of Carthage, which alone he found himself unable to withstand. He likewise had dispatched several officers with large sums to Peloponnesus, to raise a body of mercenaries there. All these, returning some time after Himilco had cut down before Syracuse, brought with them, besides some land-forces, a supply of thirty galleys under the command of Pharácles the Lacedæmonian. Soon after Dionysius and Leptines went out upon a cruise, intending, if possible, to intercept some of the Carthaginian transports laden with provisions, of which the city then stood in great need. They were scarce out of port, when the Syracusans from the city spied one of the transports coming up to Himilco’s camp, upon which venturing out with five galleys they took it. As they were falling away with their prize, the Carthaginians gave them chase with forty sail, against which they advanced with their whole fleet, and engaging them with great resolution, took the admiral galley, besides several others, and

9 Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

(M) The Greek word κυριακός, which Rhodomanus has falsely translated focer or father-in-law, is a general term, and denotes any person who is related to another by marriage. Sometimes, however, it is equivalent to the Latin focer, and sometimes to gener, as we learn from Stephanus and Budaes, who produce instances of both those significations. But that it is to be used in a general sense here, is evident from Diodorus himself, who tells us elsewhere, that Polyxenus was uncle to Dionysius’s wife, and that that tyrant gave him his own sister in marriage. Such a complex relation as this cannot be expressed by any one particular word in our language, and therefore we have rendered it by the general term kinman. We mention this only to have an opportunity of suggesting to our readers, that many faults and inaccuracies are to be found in Rhodomanus’s edition of Diodorus Siculus, which yet is the best we at present have: so that it were to be wished some able hand would give us a new edition of that useful and entertaining historian (1).

funk or damaged twenty more. The rest they pursued to the place where their whole fleet rode, offering them battle a second time. The Carthaginians, terrified with this unexpected disaster, kept within the harbour, though their fleet was three times more numerous than the enemy’s who challenged them. The Syracusans, fastening the galleys they had taken to the poops of their ships, brought them off triumphantly to the town.

What happened now to the Carthaginians verified the observation, that misfortunes seldom come alone. Himilco, who, from his first arrival in the island to this time, had been successful in every measure, and the constant favourite of fortune in all his undertakings, was soon to be reduced to the lowest degree of ignominy and disgrace, and his people to the extreme misery. All the splendor of his anticipated triumph vanished in a moment, and served only to enhance his future misfortunes. This, according to the judicious reflection of our historian, may serve as a lively lesson to mankind, to teach them, that the proudest mortal, how great soever he may be, is but an inconsiderable creature, and may be blasted in an instant by a superior power. Here we may behold the Carthaginians from the summit of human felicity hurled down into the abyss of calamity and woe; from the most potent and formidable state in all the western parts of the world, become the most weak and contemptible of all nations, and that, as it were, in an instant. However, Providence did not so far favour the perfidious Syracusans, but that their enemies, though treacherous and cruel in many respects, recovered themselves, and came off with reputation at the conclusion of this war.

Himilco, now master of almost the whole island of Sicily, and expecting with great impatience to crown his other conquests with the reduction of Syracuse, was obliged to desist from all further operations against that city by the plague, which, breaking out in the camp, made great havoc amongst his soldiers. This infection was looked upon as a punishment inflicted upon them by the gods for plundering the temples, particularly those of Ceres and Proserpina above-mentioned, and demolishing the tombs round the city, which was considered as a violence offered

* Idem ibid.
* Idem ibid.
offered to the dead. But, without having recourse to the
extraordinary interposition of the gods, they might have
ascribed it, as Diodorus insinuates, to natural causes; for
the heats that summer, in the midst of which that pestilen-
tial distemper first broke out, were more excessive than they
had ever been known in the memory of man; and the ad-
jacent country abounded with fens and marshes, whose un-
wholesome exhalations, especially at that hot season, which
of itself was almost sufficient to have occasioned the plague,
must have had a very ill effect upon the camp, where such
an infinite number of people were crowded together: and
that these in fact were the two principal concurring causes
of that dire malady, is apparent from hence, that the A-
thenians, who spared both temples and tombs, had been,
not long before, afflicted with the same calamity. It be-
gan among the Africans, and soon spread through the
whole army. As this plague was attended with some un-
common symptoms, carried off above an hundred and fifty
thousand men in a very short time, and may be looked up-
on as one of the most malignant distempers to be met with
in history, we shall beg leave here to give a brief account
of it, believing that such a short digression will not be un-
acceptable to our curious readers.

Before sun-rising, the patients were seized with a con-
volutive shuddering, pretty nearly resembling that attending
the rigor or cold fit in agues, which happens in the begin-
ning of the paroxysm. This was in part occasioned by the
fresh breezes coming off from the sea, which at that
time of the morning were very piercing. As the sun ad-
vanced nearer the meridian, the cold remitted and the heat
grew more intense; so that by noon they found themselves
almost suffocated with heat; which made them excessively
weak and faint, but gave fresh force and malignity to the
disease. The south wind moreover greatly encreasing the
infection, they died in such numbers, that, after some time
it was impossible to inter them; nay, the persons attending
the sick were cut off in such a manner, that no one durst
approach the infected. In the first stage of the distemper,
they were afflicted with catarrhs, swellings of the throat,
&c. These were succeeded by violent dyenteries, raging
fevers, acute pains in all parts of the body, loathsome ul-
cers,
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cers, &c. Some were even seized with madness and fury, falling upon all those that came in their way, and tearing them to pieces. No relief could be had from the physician (A), this terrible malady eluding all his art; so that those infected with it expired the fifth or sixth day in exquisite torture. Justin seems to intimate, that almost the whole Carthaginian army perished by it, and that in a manner all at once, as it were in an instant; which may serve to give us an idea of the great malignity of it. Diodorus, however, informs us, that a considerable body of Africans and Iberians survived this dreadful calamity; though he at the same time affirms, that an hundred and fifty thousand carcasses of those who perished did not meet with any interment, and consequently infinuates, that a greater number died, since, according to the same author, the dead were buried for some time after the breaking out of the infection. It is worthy observation, that not a single person of those who attended the sick escaped it.

Dionysius, being apprized of the deplorable condition to which the Carthaginians were reduced, resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of attacking them. Having therefore manned eighty galleys, he ordered Pharacidas and


(A) It appears from the antient historians, that the plague raged pretty frequently amongst the Carthaginians, especially in their African dominions: and it is worthy observation, that those parts are still often visited by that terrible malady, particularly Algiers, Tunis, &c. It is probable, that the Carthaginians brought the seeds of the distemper with them out of Africa, since the pessilence had made great havoc there just before the breaking out of this war; which Dionysius (1) urged as a reason to the Syracussians for his attacking the Carthaginians, whom he supposed to have been thereby extremely weakened. It may be inferred from this passage, that the Carthaginians had physicians with them in their camps, and consequently that the art of physic was not unknown to that people. This likewise in some measure appears from the worship of Æsculapius (2), which prevailed in the territories subject to the state of Carthage, though at what degree of perfection herein the students arrived, we cannot pretend to say.

and Leptines to fall upon the enemy's fleet at break of day, while he attacked the land forces in the camp. With this view, having assembled his troops before the moon was up, he advanced to the temple of Cyane, and setting out from thence about midnight, without being discovered, arrived at the enemy's camp by the time appointed. He then detached a strong body of cavalry, and a thousand of the mercenary foot, with orders to fall upon that part of the camp, which lay at the greatest distance, pretending, that the enemy there kept no guard; but his real design was to get rid of that body of mercenaries, they having a great aversion to him, and being ready to mutiny on all occasions. Accordingly he gave private instructions to the officers of the horse to retire as soon as the infantry was engaged. His orders were obeyed, and the mercenaries, being surrounded on all sides, were cut off to a man. Dionysius, upon the return of the cavalry, at the same time attacked the enemy's camp, and the forts in their possession. The suddenness of the attack so surprised the Carthaginians, that they were some time before they could put themselves into a posture of defence, which gave them an opportunity of taking the fort called Polichna by storm; and the horse at the same time advancing in good order, with some galleys, to that near Daccon, likewise carried it. By the reduction of these forts, the Syracusans were enabled to enter the great haven with all their fleet, and to fall furiously on the enemy's galleys anchored there. The Carthaginians in the camp for some time defended themselves with great bravery; but seeing their navy now in imminent danger of being utterly destroyed, many of them, abandoning the defence of the camp, hastened to the shore, to the relief of their companions on board the vessels. But all their endeavours were ineffectual; for the Carthaginian ships, not being able to sustain the shock of the Syracusan galleys, many of them were sunk at the first attack, others quite disabled, and a great number burnt and taken. The slaughter on this occasion was so dreadful, that the shore was covered with dead bodies; which afforded a melancholy spectacle to Himilco, and filled all the Carthaginians with great horror, who, bewailing their unhappy fate, were now reduced to a state of desperation. In the mean time, the camp, being deserted by the body of troops above-mentioned, was left very much exposed; which Dionysius taking advantage of, redoubled his efforts, and finding but a feeble resistance,
soon broke into it, putting all to the sword who opposed him. After this, he moved with his forces towards the gulf of Dascy, where finding forty Carthaginian ships of fifty oars a-piece, with a great number of transports, and some galleys, he immediately set fire to them. This completed the destruction of the enemy's fleet; for the wind being at that time very high, and the cables of many of the ships burnt, they were all, excepting a few that were afterwards taken, either consumed by the violence of the flames, or falling foul one upon another, broken to pieces. Diodorus says, that when the ships were all in a blaze, and the flames ascending above the masts, a most dreadful scene was exhibited, the gods themselves seeming to destroy the enemy with lightning from heaven; which punishment, he insinuates, they deserved, on account of their great impiety. Such a spirit of joy and gladness diffused itself over the whole city on this happy occasion, that old and young, women and children, in fine, almost all the inhabitants of Syracuse, posted to the walls and eminencies in the greatest hurry, to be spectators of so glorious a victory: at the sight of which, lifting up their hands to heaven, they thanked the tutelary gods of the city, for revenging in so signal a manner the many sacrileges, which the Carthaginians had committed since their arrival in Sicily. Night putting an end to this action, Dionysius, with his troops, retired, and encamped near the enemy at the temple of Jupiter, with a design to renew the fight early the next morning (B).

G 4

THOUGH

w Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

(B) Polyænus seems to intimate, that Dionysius amused the Carthaginians with some proposals for an accommodation, and at the same time offered to deliver into their hands a great number of castles and fortresses, if they would put garrisons into them. The Carthaginians, closing with this offer, posted great numbers of their troops, according to our author, in those places; but hereby so weakened their army, that Dionysius found himself strong enough to attack them; which he did, and gained a complete victory. If we admit this story to be true, which perhaps our readers may scruple doing, since Diodorus Siculus, Jujtin, and Orophas, have passed it over in silence, it is probable the stratagem was made use of after the plague had made great havoc
Though Dionysius penetrated into the Carthaginian camp, put great numbers of the enemy there to the sword, and even entirely ruined their fleet, yet he could not, by this last effort, oblige them absolutely to raise the siege: this he referred to the day following. But Himilco, taking the opportunity of this short respite, sent embassadors privately to him, offering him three hundred talents (C), all the ready cash he had then with him, if he would permit the remains of his shattered army to return to Africa. Dionysius was unwilling utterly to destroy the Carthaginians, left the Syracusans, when free from the apprehensions of so formidable an enemy, should seek to regain their antient liberty, and thereby give him fresh disturbance; but, on the other side, he knew, that neither the Syracusans, nor their confederates, would suffer him to grant the enemy such terms: he therefore replied, that it was not in his power to permit them all to retire; but that he would allow Himilco, with all the citizens of Carthage, to depart in the night, upon his paying three hundred talents. This being agreed to, Dionysius retired with his forces into the city, whither Himilco privately sent him the promised sum, and then began to make the necessary preparations for his departure. The fourth night after the agreement, Himilco, with forty galleys full of the citizens of Carthage, was ready to set sail, leaving the rest of the army behind him. But the Corinthians, who served under Dionysius, discovering, from the noise and motion of the vessels, that Himilco and his friends were making off, sent to acquaint the tyrant with their flight, who immediately ordered some galleys to be manned, as if he designed to prevent their retreat.

in the Carthaginian camp; for Himilco’s forces were at first so vastly superior in strength to Dionysius’s army, even according to Polyænus himself, that he might have garrisoned all the fortresses belonging to the Syracusans, and yet have been much more than a match for Dionysius (1).

(C) According to what we have lately observed, that was about fifty-four thousand pounds sterling; which was no extraordinary sum for the military chief, considering what a numerous army Himilco commanded.

(1) Polyæn. frat. l. v. c. 2. ex. 9. Vide etiam Sex. Jul. Fronto. in frat. l. i. c. 8. ex. 11.
treat; but as his orders were but slowly executed, they grew impatient, and, without his permission, gave them chase; and coming up with the rear, by piercing them with the beaks of their vessels, sunk several of them. Upon the defeat of the Carthaginians, the Siculi, who joined them, dispersed, and, flying through the heart of the country, retired to their respective homes. In the mean time, Dionysius posted detachments at all the avenues leading to the enemy's camp, that none of those left behind might make their escape; and marching by night with his forces, took possession of it. This he met with no opposition in doing; for the Africans, finding themselves betrayed by Himilco and the Carthaginians, and that the Sicilians had deserted them, were thrown into such a consternation, that they immediately dispersed, taking a great variety of routes. Being therefore incapable of making any resistance, they either fell into the hands of the above-mentioned detachments, or surrendered to Dionysius himself at discretion. But the Iberians, keeping together in a body, sent an herald to capitulate with Dionysius, who took them into his service. All the enemy's baggage and valuable effects left in the camp were delivered up as plunder to the soldiery.

This victory was the more extraordinary, inasmuch as, before the plague broke out in the Carthaginian camp, Dionysius found himself reduced to the last extremity, and actually consulted with his friends about the most proper method of making his escape. In this melancholy situation, his friend Ellopides advised him to resume his courage, and by no means to renounce the sovereignty, telling him, that the royal title would be the greatest ornament of his sepulchre. The tyrant cloathed with this advice, and, notwithstanding the Siculi had joined the enemy, by the incident above-mentioned, became victorious. Diodorus and Plutarch both omit this circumstance, though the former of those historians mentions something of this nature to have happened to the tyrant upon the revolt of the Syracusan army, when he was shut up in his capital city. However, Ifocrates, an author of undoubted credit, who lived at the time of the transaction, has furnished us with this fragment of history, which has likewise been transcribed by Aelian; so that we shall make no scruple to insert it here.

Thus

* Idem ibid. c. 7.
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Thus ended this campaign, one of the most remarkable, for the variety of incidents and vicissitudes of fortune observable in it, to be met with in history. A large field for reflections here opens itself; but as these have been already in some measure anticipated, and as our province is chiefly confined to facts, we shall be obliged at present to supersede them. In general, however, we may remark, that all human grandeur is vanity; that Providence frequently makes use of some wicked men as its instruments in scourging others, and consequently that villainy must be frequently triumphant; and lastly, that a strict attachment to the dictates of justice and humanity is not only laudable, but politic, in all states, how elevated soever, since a deviation from these cannot be secured by the most formidable and extensive power from a retaliation.

Advice being brought to Carthage of the terrible fate that both the land and sea-forces of the republic had met with in Sicily, the whole city was overwhelmed with sorrow. Every part of it was filled with outcries and lamentations, and the people were under the same dismal apprehensions, as if the enemy had actually made themselves masters of the town. All the houses in the city, as well as the temples, being shut up, an entire stop was put to every kind of business, and even to their religious worship. This happened when the Carthaginians were seized with the first impressions of terror; for soon after, recovering themselves, they began to entertain hopes, that, upon the general's arrival, things might possibly turn out better than they had been represented. They did not, however, continue long in a state of suspense; for in a little time the poor remains of their shattered troops landed near Carthage, and confirmed the melancholy account they had before received. Upon this, all the wretched inhabitants abandoned themselves entirely to despair, and, giving a full vent to their grief, made the shore ring with their groans and lamentations. In short, a greater scene of horror, except the spot of ground where the Carthaginian army encamped before Syracuse, than Carthage now was, cannot well be conceived.

Himilco in the mean time, landing at Carthage, appeared in mean and forlorn attire. He was immediately met

Himilco, not being able to survive his misfortunes, kills himself.


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met by a vast concourse of people, bemoaning their sad and inauspicious fortune. Joining with these forlorn wretches, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he bitterly bewailled his own hard fate, but most of all that of his country. Afterwards impiously taxing the gods with partiality, and making them the sole authors of his misfortune, he told his countrymen, they ought to esteem it as a singular happiness, that their present calamitous condition was not brought upon them by their own ill conduct, and that the enemy could assume to themselves no merit from it: 

"The enemy," said he, "may indeed rejoice at our misery, but have no reason to glory in it. The troops we have lost did not fall by their valour, nor did they oblige those that are now arrived safe here to abandon their island by force. We return victorious over the Syracusans, and are only defeated by the plague. As for the baggage found in our camp, this ought not to be looked upon as the spoils of a conquered enemy, but as moveables, which the casual death of the owners has left the Syracusans in possession of. No part of the disaster, continued he, touches me so much, as my surviving so many gallant men, and my being reserved, not for the comforts of life, but to be the sport of so dire a calamity. Since therefore I have brought back to Carthage the remaining part of the army under my conduct, I shall speedily follow those brave men, who perished in Sicily, and thereby demonstrate to my country, that it was not out of a fondness for life, but merely to preserve the troops, which had escaped the plague, from the fury of the enemy, to which, by my more early death, they would have been exposed, that I survived them." After this going directly to his house, and shutting the doors against the citizens, and even his own children, he gave himself the fatal stroke. This violent death Diodorus interprets as a signal punishment inflicted upon him, for his having so frequently violated the sanctity of temples and tombs at Syracuse, which, according to our author, was a crime of a most flagrant and enormous nature.

The fame of Dionysius's success being spread all over the Carthaginian dominions, and those of their confederates in Africa, the affairs of this state there were soon almost in

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2 Justin. Oros. & Diod. Sic. ubi sup.
as bad a situation as in Sicily. The Africans bore a natural hatred to the Carthaginians, and this was much heightened, when it came to be publicly known in Africa, that Himilco had faved only the citizens of Carthage, leaving the confederates behind to the mercy of the enemy. Incensed therefore to the last degree, and moved with a thorough contempt of the Carthaginians, who now were become despicable to all their neighbours, the cities and states, which had sent them auxiliaries, took up arms, intending to take signal vengeance of them, for the late affront offered them in the persons of their countrymen. They despatched express to all parts notifying the ill usage they had met with in the most aggravating terms; by which means, supplies coming from every quarter, they soon assembled a considerable body of troops, with which they encamped in the fields. And now their design being publicly known, and that they had forces likewise to put it in execution, the whole country rose; so that their army in a short time amounted to above two hundred thousand effective men. With this formidable body they immediately took their rout towards Carthage a.

On their march, they took Tunis, a city in the neighbourhood of Carthage, which surrendered at the first summons. This gave a dreadful alarm to the citizens of Carthage, who now gave up every thing for lost. However, upon the approach of the enemy, they engaged them, but were defeated in a pitched battle, and obliged to retire within their walls. As the Carthaginians, in all public calamities, carried their superstition to a very great excess, their first care was to appease the offended gods, particularly Ceres and Proserpina, whose temples they had violated at Syracuse, and therefore considered this fresh melancholy incident as the effect of their resentment. Before, these deities had never been heard of in Africa; but now, to atone for the outrage that had been offered them, magnificent statues were erected in their honour; priests selected from amongst the most distinguished families of the city for their services; and all their sacrifices ordered to be offered after the Greek manner, those Greeks amongst them, who were versed in the rites and ceremonies peculiar to the worship of these goddesses, being appointed to officiate in this service.

a Diod. Sic. ubi sup.
service. Having by this means sufficiently, as they apprehended, atoned for past offences to these deities, they equipped a fleet, and made all necessary preparations to reduce the rebels, and those who supported them, to reason.  

Though the African forces were very numerous, yet, happily for the Carthaginians, they wanted a general, as well as subordinate officers, of experience, and neither had war-like engines to carry on a siege, nor provisions to support so vast a multitude; whereas the Carthaginians being matters of the sea, were supplied with every thing in great plenty from Sardinia. Such an army as this was like a body uninformed with a soul. As there was no discipline or subordination in it, every person might set up himself for a general, and claim an independence on the rest; which would soon cause numberless factions and divisions amongst them, and consequently soon dissolve the whole. Thus in fact it happened with this rabble of an army; for divisions arising therein, the famine daily increasing, and many of their leaders being bribed by the Carthaginians to desert, the individuals of it withdrew to their respective homes, and by this means delivered Carthage from one of the most imminent dangers that had ever threatened it.  

After the late disaster in Sicily, Himilco had left Mago to take care of the Carthaginian interest there, and settle their broken affairs in the best manner possible. In order to this, he treated all the Sicilians subject to Carthage with great mildness and humanity, and granted his protection to all those who were persecuted by Dionysius. He also entered into alliances with several Sicilian cities, which had an aversion to that tyrant. Strengthened by these alliances, and receiving great reinforcements from Carthage, he formed an army, and made an incursion into the territory of Messana. Having ravaged this in a dreadful manner, he carried off the plunder, and retired to Abacænum, a city of his confederates, where he encamped. Dionysius, advancing to Abacænum with his army, offered him battle; which challenge Mago accepted, but was driven out of the field, with the loss of above eight hundred men. Upon this defeat, the Carthaginian general, with his broken troops, entered Abacænum; and Dionysius returned to Syracuse.

Notwith-

b Idem ibid.  c Idem ibid c. 10.  d Dod. Sic. l. xiv. c. 10.
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Notwithstanding the great losses the Carthaginians had sustained in the course of this war, they could not forbear making new attempts upon the island of Sicily. Their officers were therefore sent, as usual, to levy forces in Africa, Sardinia, and some of those parts of Italy not inhabited by Greeks. As they had hitherto had such bad successes with their fleet, they proposed determining the fate of Sicily by a decisive battle in the field; for which reason they fitted out a much weaker squadron of long ships, than in any of the former expeditions. The Carthaginians armed all their troops on this occasion in the completest manner, and appointed Mago, who was defeated the year before at Abacenum, commander in chief, hoping the face of affairs in the island above-mentioned would soon receive a very considerable alteration.

Mago, assembling his land-forces, found them to amount to eighty thousand fighting men, with which he landed in Sicily. On his march through the territories of the Siculi, many cities fell to him; which gave him great encouragement. At last he encamped on the river Chryfas in the country of the Agyrinæans, and attempted to bring over that people to his party; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, and receiving intelligence, that Dionysius was advancing against him at the head of twenty thousand men, he thought proper to continue some time in his camp, and put himself there into a posture to receive the enemy. In the mean time the tyrant, being arrived in the neighbourhood of the Carthaginian camp, sent to Agyris, prince of the Agyrinæans, to join him with all his forces, and supply his troops with some provisions. This tyrant was next to Dionysius in power of all others in the island, his city containing no less than twenty thousand inhabitants. His coffers at that time were full of treasure; for he had lately put to death some of his principal subjects, and confiscated their estates. Dionysius therefore making him a visit, with some of his particular friends, prevailed upon Agyris to come into his measures; in consequence of which he received a supply of provisions and a strong reinforcement of troops. What induced Agyris to fall so readily with the Syracusan tyrant's views was, the promise of a large extent of territory adjoining to his own, in case their arms were attended with success in this war.

* Idem. ibid. c. 11.
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In the mean time, Mago, finding himself in an enemy's country, and reduced to great straights for want of provisi-
on, began to be very uneasy. The Syracusans were for coming to a battle immediately with him; but this Dionysius opposed, telling them, they might ruin the enemy's whole army without striking a stroke, by starving them to a surrender. And indeed he had good reason for what he advanced; for the Aegyptiarchs, being well acquainted with all the paffes and by-ways of the country, every day surprized the Carthaginian parties, and, after cutting them to pieces, intercepted all the provisions they were carrying to their camp. However, the Syracusans, being disgusted at Dionysius's refusal to comply with their motion, directly quit-
ted his camp. This threw the tyrant into a great conterna-
tion, and obliged him to manumit all the slaves, as he had done once before. Soon after, the Carthaginians, moved by the dreadful prospect of a famine, thought proper to send embassadors to him, to propose an accommodation. This being as necessary for Dionysius in his present circumsta-
ces as the Carthaginians, a peace was concluded to the fa-
tisfaction of both parties, without any further effusion of blood. The new treaty agreed in all particulars with the former; only by an additional article the city of Tauro-
minium was given up to Dionysius, who, driving from thence the Siculi, placed the choicest of his mercenaries in their room. As for Mago, as soon as the treaty was signed, he returned to Carthage, leaving his allies in Sicily to shift for themselves. Thus this war ended, notwithstanding the terrible blow they received before Syracuse, very little to the disadvantage of the Carthaginians.

From this time, for nine years, the Carthaginians enjoyed an uninterrupted repose, at least history is silent as to any military transactions they were concerned in during that interval. But, in the second year of the ninety-ninth olympiad, Dionysius, meditating a war against them, formed a project of putting his finances upon (A) such a footing,

And concludes a peace with Mago.

f Idem ibid.

(A) Aristotle and Polyænus affirm, that Dionysius, in his expedi-
tion to Etruria, had an hundred galleys, as likewise a large ship with a body of horse on board, with which making a descent, he plundered the temple of Leucothea, from whence carrying off.
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as might enable him to carry it on with a prospect of success. This, by the slightest of that good fortune, which had always attended him through the different scenes of his life to

off seventy talents in money, besides other valuable effects, he immediately put to sea again. The same authors relate, that, upon his re-embarking, he was informed, that the soldiers and seamen had privately conveyed on board the fleet a thousand talents of silver; whereupon he issued out an order before he landed in Sicily, requiring every person to bring to him half of his treasure, upon pain of death, promising each of them the other half for his own use, in case of a compliance herewith. When the landmen and mariners brought him in their respective halves, he knew what riches remained still in their possession, and obliged them to refund those likewise (1). Ælian takes notice of this expedition, telling us (2), that Dionysius impiously carried off all the treasuries of Apollo and Leucothea, and amongst other valuable moveables a silver table, placed near the statue of Apollo; and that the men who took it out of the temple, at the same time drank, or offered, to the god, the cup of the good Genius; which they did by way of joke or ridicule, that cup or health going round the company amongst the antients, after the conclusion of their meals, when the tables were taken away. We must not omit observing, that the learned Perizonius imagines Aristotile's text here to have been corrupted, and thinks it may be corrected by Ælian, viz. by inserting τυφήμ:αν or τυφήμ:αν instead of τυφήμ:αν, and this in contradiction to the manuscripts. But we must beg leave to dissent from that great man in this particular; for that this very passage of Ælian is corrupted, he himself allows; nay, so corrupted, that it has embarassed most, if not all, of those learned men, who have endeavoured to translate and explain that author, particularly Gellner, Scheffer, and Julius Vulteius, none of whom have been able to come at his meaning. Besides, all the manuscripts of Polyzenus, an author who did not occur to Perizonius, and who lived within a very few years of Ælian, if he was not contemporary with him, in the passage referred to, which was most certainly taken from Aristotile, have τυφήμ:αν. This authority is of much greater weight than the testimony of Pausanias, in proof of there having been in antient times a temple sacred to Apollo at Tæzena; which, we cannot help thinking, is little, if any thing at all, to the purpose.

(2) Ælian. var. hist. I. i. c. 20. & Jac. Perizon. com. in loc. Vide & Athen. in deipnosoph. I. xii. l. b. sin.
that time, he easily put in execution. Having fitted out sixty galleys, under colour of clearing the seas of pyrates, he made a detent in Etruria, and plundered a rich temple in the suburbs of Agylla, carrying away, besides the rich moveables and furniture, above a thousand talents in money. Five hundred talents more he raised by the sale of the spoils, and with this money, set on foot a numerous army. He now wanted nothing but a plausible pretence to break with the Carthaginians, for which he was not long at a loss. Observing, that the Carthaginian subjects in Sicily were inclined to a revolt, he took as many of them under his protection as would accept of it, and entered into a league with them; the consequence of which was an admission of his troops into their cities. The Carthaginians, being apprised of this, first remonstrated against such a proceeding, as a manifest infraction of the treaties then subsisting between them, by ministers sent to the tyrant for that purpose; but this not availing, they declared war against him.

The people of Carthage, suspecting his design against their state, upon the first notice they received of his extraordinary preparations, had strengthened themselves by alliances with their neighbours, and taken all other necessary measures to secure themselves against the impending storm. Expecting to be attacked by the tyrant's whole power, they formed an army out of the flower of their citizens, which was joined by a strong body of foreign mercenaries they had engaged in their service. To give a greater diversion to the tyrant, they divided their army into two bodies, one of which they sent to Italy, and the other to Sicily; and this obliged Dionysius likewise to divide his forces. The main army, however, was to act in Sicily, under the command of Mago, who, soon after his arrival, was attacked by Dionysius at a place called Cabala. The encounter was rude and bloody; but at last the Carthaginians were overthrown, and forced to fly to a neighbouring hill, that was indeed strongly by its situation, but destitute of water. In the battle they had ten thousand men killed upon the spot, together with Mago their general, who behaved with great bravery and resolution, and five thousand taken prisoners. The Carthaginians, terrified by this defeat, and finding themselves block-

* Died. Sic. I. xv. c. 2.
ed up by Dionysius on the hill, where they were like to die of thirst, were forced to sue for a peace. Dionysius answered the embassadors they sent him with great haughtiness, that there was only one way left for them to make peace with him, and that was, forthwith to evacuate Sicily, and to defray all the expences of the war. These hard terms they pretended to comply with; but at the same time representing that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities they possessed in Sicily (B), without the express orders of their republic, they obtained a truce, which was to last till the return of an express sent to Carthage. In the mean time, they buried Mago, who, at the time of his death, was one of their suffets, with as much pomp and magnificence, as the present melancholy situation of their affairs would permit, and appointed his son Mago to command the troops in his room.

Dionysius, much elated with his good success, now looked upon himself as sovereign of all Sicily, not doubting, but he should soon be in a capacity of giving laws to all his neighbours. But in this he was greatly mistaken; for the Carthaginians intended nothing less than in reality to accept of the conditions offered them. As their whole conduct on this occasion was calculated only to amuse the tyrant, till they had an opportunity of re-establishing their affairs, in the time of the truce Mago their new general raised and disciplined fresh troops, and improved that short interval allowed him so well, that, at the return of the express sent to Carthage, he took the field with a powerful army. As Mago, though young, had, on many occasions, given proofs of an extraordinary valour and prudence, the forces under his

h Idem ibid. & Polyæn. Ἀρτ. 1. vi. c. 16. ex. 1.

(B) Polyænus relates this in a manner something different from Diodorus. He says, that the Carthaginians pretended they had not the power of concluding a peace with Dionysius, without the consent of their admiral; and therefore begged they might be permitted to remove their camp into the neighbourhood of their fleet, which would enable them to comply with the conditions prescribed them. The tyrant granted this request, though against the advice of Leptines; which brought upon him the disaffection mentioned (3).

(3) Polyæn. Ἀρτ. 1. vi. c. 16. ex. 1.
duct shewed great impatience to come to blows with the enemy. Observing therefore their ardor, immediately upon the expiration of the truce, he gave Dionysius battle not far from Cronion, and entirely defeated him (C), killing fourteen thousand Syracusans on the spot, and among the rest Leptines (D) his brother, a gallant officer, who was greatly regretted, even by those who hated the tyrant. In the beginning of the engagement, Dionysius had the advantage, repulsing those that charged him with great bravery; but when he heard of the death of Leptines, and that the body he commanded was broke and dispersed, he immediately betook himself to flight, and was hotly pursued by the Carthaginians. A dreadful slaughter was made of the runaways in the pursuit; and as the enemy gave no quarter, the left must all have been cut off to a man, had they not, by the favour of the night, found means to escape. This made the Carthagians ample amends for the blow they received at Cabala, and left them in full possession, not only of their own towns, but also of a good part of the Syracusan territories. Dionysius, with the remains of his shattered army, fled to Syracyce, where he expected soon to be besieged by the victorious enemy. But the Carthaginian general used his victory with great

(C) According to Polyænus, the Carthaginians had a strong party in the city of Cronion, who were desirous of opening the gates to them. The Carthaginian general, being apprised of this, when the wind favoured his project, set a wood on fire, which grew close by the town, the smoke of which being driven by the wind into the face of the enemy, who lay encamped over-against him, prevented them from discovering any motion he might make. Taking advantage of this, he approached the place, and was admitted by the Cronians in his interest into the town (4).

(D) Frontinus relates, that this Leptines was the author of the following stratagem: he ordered a detachment of his troops to lay waste his own lands, and burn several Syracusan castles and villages in the neighbourhood of the Carthaginian camp in the night-time. The Carthaginians, imagining this to have been done by their own men, sent a strong body of troops out of the camp to support them; but these falling into an ambuscade, which Leptines had laid for them, were entirely defeated, and driven back to their camp with great slaughter (5).


ii. c. 5. ex. 11.
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great moderation, and, instead of pursuing the routed enemy, retired to Panormus, whence he sent embassadors to Dionysius, offering him terms of peace, which he readily embraced; and a treaty was concluded on the following conditions, viz. that both parties should keep what they had at the breaking out of the war, save only that Dionysius should deliver up to the Carthaginians the city and territory of Selinus, and that part of the territory of Agrigentum adjoining to it, which extended as far as the river Halycus, and besides pay a thousand talents, to defray the expenses of the war. In other respects, all former treaties betwixt the two powers were to subsist in their fullest extent.

About three years after the conclusion of this last war, the Carthaginians landed an army in Italy, and restored the inhabitants of Hippo, or, as Strabo calls it, Hipponium, to their city, from whence they had for some time been expelled. This city was very antient, as being mentioned by Scylax, and was, according to Strabo, built by the people of Locri. The Romans called it Vibo, Valentia, and Vibo Valentina; but Ptolemy made use of the old name, following herein Scylax and Strabo. If the last author may be credited, the country about it was extremely beautiful, being covered with flowers of various kinds, of which the matrons of the place made chaplets or garlands, and wore them in honour of Proserpina, who, according to an antient tradition prevailing amongst the natives, came thither on purpose to gather flowers. The citizens were undoubtedly in alliance with the Carthaginians, who made this expedition purely with a design to reinstate them in the possession of their native country; which after they had effected, by recalling the exiles from all parts, and treating them with great kindness, they returned to Africa.

Immediately after the arrival of the troops from Italy, Carthage had a most terrible calamity to struggle with: the plague broke out afresh there, and swept away an infinite number of the inhabitants. This seems to have raged with greater violence than any distermer the city was ever visited with before; for such vast multitudes were carried off by it, that the whole country was in a manner depopulated. The Africans and Sardi, encouraged by the extreme

\[1 \text{ Idem ibid.}\]
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treme weakness to which that state was hereby reduced, at-
ttempted to shake off the Carthaginian yoke; but were at last,
not without some effusion of blood, reduced to their former
obedience. The pestilence we are now speaking of, was of a
very singular nature; for panic terrors and violent fits of
frenzy seized on a sudden the heads of those afflicted with it,
who falling sword in hand out of their houses, as if the ene-
my had taken the city, killed or wounded all who unhappily
came in their way. Justin seems to intimate, that the Car-
thaginians laboured under such a grievous sickness as this se-
veral years, with little or no intermission; for it appears from
a hint he has given us, that they were delivered from the
plague not long before the death of Dionysius.

Towards the beginning of the hundred and third o-
ly mpiad, Dionysius, assembling a great number of forces,
resolved to fall upon the Carthaginians, who were then in
a very bad situation, on account of the ravages the plague
had made, and the war with the Africans and Sardi, which
had not been long finished. As he had not the least colour
or pretext for such an open violation of treaties, he was ob-
gled to have recourse to a downright falsity, viz. that the
Carthaginians made incursions into his dominions. With-
out putting himself to the trouble therefore of mak-
ing a formal declaration of war, he advanced into the
Carthaginian territories, with an army of thirty thousand
foot, and three thousand horse, attended by a navy of three
hundred sail. With this formidable force he soon reduced
the cities of Selinus and Entella, plundering and laying waste
all the adjacent country. Then he made himself master of
Eryx, and laid siege to Lilybaeum; which, being defended
by a numerous garrison, baffled his efforts in such a manner,
that he was obliged to rise from before it. Being informed,
that the arsenal at Carthage was consumed by fire, he con-
cluded, that this state would find it impossible to equip a
fleet, and therefore laid up thirty of his best galleys in the
haven at Eryx, and sent back all the rest to Syracuse. The
Carthaginians, being apprised how little the tyrant was upon
his guard, immediately manned two hundred galleys, and
unexpectedly entering the port of Eryx, surprised that part
of

\[H 3\]

\[k\] Idem ibid. c. 3. Juxt. i. xx. sub fn. Sclayx & Strab. i. vi.
Inscript. vet. apud Gruter. p. 99. n. 1. & p. 150. n. 7. Cic. pro
Planc. c. 40. & ad Attic. iii. ep. 3. Plin. l. iii. c. 5.
of his fleet laid up there, and carried most of it off. After this, a truce was agreed upon by both parties, and the troops retired into winter-quarters. Dionysius did not long survive this event: having reigned thirty-eight years, he was succeeded by a son of the same name in the government of Syracuse 1.

Though Diodorus does not say expressly, that the Carthaginians, upon the last rupture, sent a body of troops to Sicily, yet Justin gives us some reason to believe, that they either did, or designed it, and that the commander's name was Hanno. The same author farther informs us, that Sunicator, or Sunitates, a person of great authority in the city, bore an implacable hatred to Hanno, and, in order to do him a prejudice, endeavoured to give the enemy intelligence of his motions. This he did by writing in Greek to Dionysius; but his letter, wherein he made very free with Hanno's character, was intercepted, and he thereupon found guilty of treason by the senate. This occasioned the passing of a law at Carthage, whereby all the inhabitants were forbid learning either to write or speak the Greek language, that they might be deprived of all means of corresponding with the enemy m.

We are told by Orofius, that the Carthaginians concluded their first treaty with the Romans in the four hundred and second year of Rome, which was not far from the time we are now speaking of. But this we must by no means give credit to, because it is contradicted by Polybius, an author infinitely superior in point of authority to Orofius, who affirms, that the first treaty the Carthaginians entered into with the Romans happened in the year after the refugis; and that this was the second. And here we cannot forbear expressing our surprise at M. Rollin, who quotes Orofius as affirming this to have been the second treaty concluded between the two republics; whereas that author expressly affirms it to have been the first. The articles of this treaty may be seen in a former part of this work, and therefore we shall not here repeat them. However, it may be proper to observe, that the people of Utica and Tyre, according to Polybius, were comprised in the treaty, and that the Romans were not permitted to build towns, or ravage the country, in any part beyond the Fair Promontory, Maftia, and Tarfeium. The Car-

1 Diod. Sic. 1. xv. c. 8.  m Justin. ubi sup. 1. iii. c. 5. Mel. 1. ii. c. 4. Liv. 1. xxxv. c. 40, &c.
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Carthaginians, being at this time in full possession of Sardinia and a great part of Africa, thought it consistent with justice, and even policy, to prevent all intercourse betwixt the Romans and these countries. From the treaty here mentioned it farther appears, that both the Romans and Carthaginians applied themselves with great diligence at this time to commerce. Soon after this event, the Romans gained a signal victory over the Samnites; upon which the Carthaginians sent to compliment the republic on her success, and made a present of a crown (E) of gold of twenty-five pounds weight to Jupiter Capitolinus, by way of thanksgiving for so glorious an action. But to return to the affairs of Sicily.

The prince now upon the throne was of quite a different character from his father, being as peaceable and calm in his temper, as the other was active and enterprising; but this mildness and moderation being rather the effect of a slothful and indolent disposition, than of a wise and judicious understanding, his subjects from hence reaped no great benefit. Soon after his taking upon himself the government of Syracuse, he changed the truce with the Carthaginians into a perpetual peace, and made it his endeavour to cultivate a good understanding with that neighbouring state. As Diodorus ascribes this peace to his indolence and sloth, and consequently, in some measure, seems to upbraid him for it, we have some reason from hence to believe, that the terms of it were not very advantageous to the Syracusans.

H 4

Some


(E) This must have been a mere compliment, proceeding from some political motive to us unknown; for it was by no means the interest of the Carthaginians, that the Samnites should be subdued by the Romans. The latter, at this time, began to rival the Carthaginians in trade; whereas the former seem to have been their good and faithful allies; at least it is certain they sometimes supplied them with bodies of auxiliaries or mercenary troops, as we shall find towards the close of this section. This passage seems to intimate, that Jupiter was a deity well known at Carthage, and that
Some years after, the people of Syracuse, being agitated by civil dissensions, were involved in the greatest miseries (F). Dionysius was obliged to quit his throne, and continued an exile for ten years; but at last, the city being rent into parties and factions upon the death of Dion, he found means to reinstate himself in his dominions. His past misfortunes greatly inflamed his temper, and rendered him very savage and brutal. In short, the better fort of the citizens, not being able to brook so cruel a servitude, implored the aid of Icetas, who was by descent a Syracusan, and at that time tyrant of the Leontini; they created him general of all their forces, abandoning themselves to his conduct; not that they had any great opinion of his virtue, but because they had no other resource. Besides, they entertained some hopes of his being both able and willing to protect them, as he was in some respect their countryman, and had an army able to cope with that of Dionysius. The Carthaginians, thinking this a proper opportunity to make themselves absolute masters of Sicily, fitted out a great fleet, and for some time hovered about the coasts of that island, not being at first determined where to make a descent. This so alarmed the Syracusans, that they apprehended themselves upon the brink of ruin, and in this extremity resolved to have recourse to the Corinthians, from whom they were originally descended, and whose assistance had several times extricated them out of great difficulties. The Corinthians, being the most famed of all the Greek nations

that his image there was adorned with a crown of gold, agreeably to what has been before observed of Baal in the Phoenician history (6).

(F) It appears from Diodorus, that the Carthaginians were at the bottom of these civil dissensions at Syracuse; for Dionysius had never been deposed by Dion, but had not Paralys, the Carthaginian governor of Minos, a city in the territory of Agrigentum, supposed to have been built by Minos, given the latter a kind reception there, permitted him to land five thousand arms, and supplied him with carriages to convey them to Syracuse. This was certainly good policy in the Carthaginians, whose interest it was to endeavour rendering the city of Syracuse into as many factions as possible, that the inhabitants might destroy one another, and thereby become a more easy prey to the flate of Carthage (7).

(7) Diod. Sic. i. xvi. c. 3.
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Nations for their professed aversion to tyranny in every shape, readily granted their request, and gave their embassadors a most kind reception. Ictes, whose only view was to make himself master of Syracuse, in the mean time seemed to concur with these measures, though he had actually entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians. He was in hopes some domestic broils or other would prevent the Corinthians from afflicting their relations, and then, by his complying with this motion, he doubted not he should win over to his interest those very persons who made it, which would enable him the more easily to accomplish his design. He therefore dispatched deputies himself along with the Syracusan ministers; but in the mean time was contriving how he could prevent the Corinthians from sending any forces into the island, which, according to his last treaty with the Carthaginians, was, after the expulsion of Dionysius, to be divided between him and them. However, the Corinthians, then enjoying a profound tranquillity, were at leisure to send a body of troops to Syracuse, which, in a general assembly, it was resolved should be done. As the Syracusans in particular desired they would send them an able and experienced general, they appointed Timoleon, the son of Timodemus and Demariste, a person of distinguished merit, to take upon him the command of the Syracusan army, in conjunction with their forces, and with these he was to act against Dionysius and the Carthaginians.

The Syracusan embassadors were scarce set out for Corinth, when Ictes took off the mask, and openly joined the Carthaginians, intending, by their assistance, to possess himself of Syracuse, and that under colour of afflicting the inhabitants against Dionysius. But being apprehensive, that afflicting any a body of forces from Corinth, under the conduct of a skilful general, would defeat his measures, he dispatched an express to the Corinthians, acquainting them, that the Carthaginians, apprised of their design, were waiting to intercept their squadron with a strong fleet; and that their slovenliness in sending him succours had obliged him to call in even the Carthaginians to his aid, and employ them against the tyrant; wherefore they might forbear making any further levies, or exhausting their treasures by great, but useless, expences, since he could, without the assistance of his allies the Carthaginians, drive out Dionysius, and restore Syracuse.

* Plut. in Timol. & Diod. Sic. ubi sup. c. 10.
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to its antient liberty. The Corinthians, hereby plainly dis-
covering, that the tyrant aspired to the sovereignty of Sy-
racuse, and being justly at that time celebrated for the ge-
nereous notions they entertained in behalf of liberty, were in-
censed to the last degree at such a perfidious conduct; and
therefore those who had before either opposed the expedition,
or been cold and languid in promoting it, now readily con-
curred with the rest, and all the necessary dispositions were
made for Timoleon's sudden departure 9.

Plutarch tells us, that when the troops were ready to
embarque, the goddef Proserpina, attended by her mother
Ceres, both in travelling habits, appeared to her female priests
in a dream or vision; and that both these deities declared
they would fail with Timoleon to Sicily, an island in a peculiar
manner sacred to them. This greatly encouraged Timoleon,
who, consecrating the beft trireme of his squadron to the
goddeses, called it the sacred ship of Ceres and Proserpina.
The same author likewise relates, that Timoleon going
to Delphi, in order to sacrifice there to Apollo, and
descending into the place where the responses of the oracle
were received, a wreath or garland, interwoven with
crowns and trophies, slipping from among the con-
secrated gifts, that were hung up in the temple, fell directly
upon his head; which he interpreted as an happy omen, Apol-
lo thereby seeming to crown him with success, and to assure
him of a triumph over Icetas and the Carthaginians. He
set sail from Corinth with seven galleys of his own nation,
two of Corcyra, and a tenth, which was sent him by the
Leucadians, with only a thousand soldiers on board; a very
small force, considering the enterprise he was going upon.
Our author farther informs us, that Timoleon, getting out
of port by night, was carried by a prosperous gale into the
ocean, and preceded in the night by a flame, resembing those
torches that were used in the sacred mysteries of Ceres and
Proserpina, which conducted him to that part of Italy where
he intended to land; and that this being interpreted by his
foothsayers as a confirmation of what those two goddeses
had before declared, he looked upon it as a sure token of
victory. Pursuing his voyage therefore over the Ionian sea
with great alacrity, he soon arrived safe with his small fleet

9 Diod. Sic. & Plut. ubi sup.
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at Metapontum, now Torre di Mare, on the coast of Italy.

The first advice he received here was, that Icetas had
defeated Dionyfius, and having made himself master of the
greatest part of the city, had obliged the tyrant to shut
himself up in the citadel. At the same time he was infor-
med, that the Carthaginians had, by the treaty with Ice-
tas, engaged themselves to hinder the Corinthian squadron
from putting in at any of the Sicilian ports, that being by
this means obliged to return home, they might from thence
meet with no farther obstruction in dividing the island be-
tween them. This gave him great uneasiness; however, he
advanced with his small fleet to Rhegium, where he found
embassadors from Icetas, who were charged to acquaint him,
that if he thought proper, he might come to Syracuse, and
affix him with his advice; and that he should meet with a
kind reception there, and even be a partaker of his good
fortune, provided he would dismiss his troops; but other-
wise the Syracusans, who were jealous of foreign forces,
would not admit him into the city. These ministers were
convoyed to Rhegium by twenty Carthaginian galleys, who
had orders to block up the road, and oppose Timoleon,
if he offered to approach Syracuse. That general, finding
himself unable to force his way, by reason of the superior
strength of the enemy, and that, even provided he could land
at Syracuse, his handful of troops would not be able to
engage those of Icetas, flushed with victory and sup-
ported by a numerous Carthaginian army, was resolved to
have recourse to artifice at this critical conjunction. He
therefore demanded a conference with the embassadors and
the chief commanders of the Carthaginian squadron, in the
presence of the people of Rhegium. He pretended to listen
to the proposal offered him; but insinuated, that as the Rhe-
gians were Greeks, and common friends to both parties,
his first object was to hear what they had to say, and act, if
possible, by their advice, that he might on his return to
Corinth, have wherewithal to justify his conduct; alledging
further, that the Carthaginians themselves would more scru-
pulously observe the articles of a treaty they had signed be-
fore so many witnesses. The Rhegians were privy to the
design, and dreaded nothing more than the consequence of
having so formidable a nation in their neighbourhood as the
Cartha-

Qiod. Sic. l. xvi. c. 11, & Plut. ubi sup.
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Carthaginians. They summoned therefore an assembly, and shut the gates of the city, under pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, that they might apply themselves solely to the affair in hand. In the mean time, the Carthaginians, being amused, and verily believing, that Timoleon would be persuaded to return home, had not made the least preparation to attack him, in case he should attempt steering his course towards the coast of Sicily.

And lands his forces in Sicily by a stratagem.

Timoleon, that he might not give the Carthaginians the least room to suspect his design, did not offer for a considerable time to stir out of the assembly, which being met, long speeches were made, and debates carried on, in appearance with great warmth, though without coming to a point, on purpose to gain time; nay, Timoleon, farther to prevent any ground for suspicion, frequently made signs, as though he was going to begin a speech in support of the resolution he had seemingly formed. But while the Carthaginian commanders were busy in the council, nine Corinthian galleys, according to the orders they had received from Timoleon, set sail, and passed in fire of the Carthaginian fleet, unable at that time to act, by reason of the absence of its captains, and moreover believing, that their departure had been agreed on between the officers of both parties, who, it was supposed, were then in the city. When Timoleon was privately informed, that his galleys were at sea, by the assistance of the Rhugians about his chair, he slipped through the crowd, and making to the galley that was left, embarked, and rejoined the rest of his squadron. The Carthaginians, being thus deluded, were extremely chagrined, making bitter complaints of the Rhugian perfidiousness and fraud. The Rhugians, on the other hand, greatly rejoiced to see the Carthaginians overcome at their own weapons, and could not forbear rallying them thereupon. The assembly not having broke up till it was dark, the Carthaginians could not come up with Timoleon, so far was he got before them, though they gave him chase for some time. He arrived therefore safe with his whole fleet at Taurominium.

The Carthaginian general, apprised of Timoleon's landing at Taurominium, dispatched an express on board one of his galleys thither, threatening Andromachus, tyrant of

* Plut. & Diodor. ibid.
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that city, with his resentment, if he did not immediately drive away the Corinthians from thence. The form of the menace, according to Plutarch, was this: The barbarian, stretching out his hand with the inside upward, and then turning it down again, threatened to turn the city topsy-turvy just so, in as little time, and with as much ease. Andromachus, laughing, made no other reply to this insolence, than by repeating the same motion with an air of contempt, and ordering him to be gone immediately, upon pain of having that trial of dexterity exercised first upon the vessel which brought him thither. This single circumstance, slight as it is, seems clearly to point out the Carthaginian original, such kind of insolent denunciations having been common in the east, as may be learned from scripture, to omit what may be collected on this head from profane authors 1.

Icetas no sooner received intelligence of Timoleon's arrival in Sicily, than he was thrown into a great consternation, and directed the Carthaginians to send a squadron of galleys with all possible expedition to guard the coasts. Soon after, he put the Carthaginian fleet, consisting of an hundred and fifty galleys, in possession of the harbour of Syracuse, and dispatched an express to Mago, the Carthaginian general, pressing him to advance with his whole army to the gates of the city. In the mean time, Timoleon, drawing his forces out of Taurominium, which in the whole did not amount to above a thousand or twelve hundred men, began his march towards the dusk of the evening, and arrived the next day at Adranum, a place to which Icetas had advanced a little before at the head of a Carthaginian detachment of five thousand men. These he surprized at supper, and therefore meeting with but a faint resistance, easily made himself master of their camp, putting three hundred of them to the sword, and taking fix hundred prisoners. In order to follow his blow, and strike the greater terror into the enemy, he flew like lightning to Syracuse, and even broke into one part of the town, before any thing of his march was known. Here he immediately took post with his troops, and defended himself with that intrepid resolution, that the whole united power of Icetas and the Carthaginians found it impossible to dislodge him 2.

1 King. xx, 10. & alib. pass. 2 Plut. & Diodor. wbi sup.
The Carthaginians, being informed, some time before this war broke out, that the whole island of Sicily was soon like to be in a flame, greatly careless all those cities with whom they were in alliance, to which many other neighbouring states were invited to accede, particularly Icetas, tyrant of the Leontini, the Syracusean general, with whom a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded, as above-mentioned. In order therefore to make good their engagements, and support their confederates, especially Icetas, they raised a great number of forces both by sea and land, and transported them to Sicily, under the command of Hanno their general. Upon a general muster here, the army was found to consist of fifty thousand men, and three hundred chariots. These were attended with two thousand carriages drawn by two horses a-piece, an immense quantity of provisions, besides a prodigious number of arms, engines of battery, and all sorts of warlike stores. The fleet, destined to concur with these land-forces in the operations of the campaign, was composed of an hundred and fifty long ships or galleys, as related above. Hanno, with his forces, moved first towards Entella; which city he caused to be blocked up, having before ravaged and destroyed the country all round it. The Campanians, however, then in garrison, found means to notify their distress to the neighbouring cities, and to defray their assistance; but none of them durst stir, except Galeria, which sent them a reinforcement of a thousand men, who, being intercepted by the Carthaginians, were all cut to pieces. The Campanians indeed, who inhabited Ætna, seemed at first, on account of their conflagrinity, disposed to assist them; but receiving advice of the terrible fate the Galerians had met with, they judged it more convenient to lie still. In the mean time, Icetas, moving from Leontium with his army, encamped at Olympus, fortifying his camp with a trench and a parapet, that he might be the better enabled to receive Dionysius, in case he should think proper to attack him. Provisions failing him, he was obliged to return to Leontium for a fresh supply. This Dionysius interpreting as a flight, fell directly upon his rear; which brought on a general engagement. But, after a sharp conflict, Icetas routed him, killing three thousand of his men upon the spot, and pursuing the rest with so much ardor, that he entered with them pell-mell into the town of Syracuse; by which means he possessed himself of the whole city,
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city, except the island on which the citadel stood. This was the situation of affairs in Syracuse, when Timoleon broke into the city, and gave Icetas the defeat above-mentioned.

Before the action at Adranum, the Sicilians in general were so far from being disposed to join Timoleon, that they were prejudiced against him as a foreign commander; which was chiefly owing to the calamities they had formerly suffered by the treachery of Calippus an Athenian, and Pharax a Lacedæmonian general; for these persons, under the specious pretext of delivering them from tyranny, had treated them in a more rigorous and oppressive manner than the worst and most despotic of their tyrants. The people of Adranum only were divided in their sentiments, some preferring the Carthaginians and Icetas, and others the Corinthians. Hence it came to pass, that both partiers were solicited for succours by their respective confederates; and both sides accordingly advancing to the relief of their friends much about the same time, engaged in the manner above related. The Corinthians, being victorious, entirely through the valour and conduct of Timoleon, according to Plutarch, were received with open arms by the people of Adranum, and, after their example, other cities opened their gates to Timoleon, and joined him with all their forces. In the mean time, Dionysius, as we have already observed, possessed the island of Ortygia, Icetas Neapolis and Acradina, Timoleon all the rest of the city, and the Carthaginians the port, having moreover their army encamped at a small distance from the town. This deplorable situation threw Timoleon into great perplexities, so that he was at a loss what course to take. Whilst he remained in a state of suspense, he was reinforced by a body of the Adranitæ and Tynderitæ; Marcus or Mamerus also, prince of Catana, an able warrior, and master of an immense treasure, advanced at the head of a powerful army to his relief. Upon such an unexpected flow of success, many forts and castles surrendered to him; and lastly, to crown all, he received advice, that the Corinthians had sent him a farther supply of soldiers on board ten galleys, which were happily arrived at Thurium, together with money to pay all their troops at Syracuse.

* Plut. & Diodor. ibid.  
* Idem ibid.
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Dionysius, seeing himself besieged on all sides, without any hopes of relief, sent privately embassadors to Timoleon, offering to put the citadel, which he could no longer defend, into his hands, upon condition he would suffer him to retire unmolested. Timoleon, immediately closing with so advantageous an offer, readily agreed to what the tyrant desired, and detached Euclid and Telemachus, two Corinthian officers, with four hundred men, to take possession of that important place. As the Carthaginians had a strong guard upon the haven, and consequently were masters of that part of the town adjoining to it, where Icetas was posted, the Corinthians could not march in a body to the citadel, and therefore they entered it in small parties. Dionysius received them within the walls, and delivered up to them not only all his warlike stores and provisions, but even the rich moveables of his palace, with a vast number of horses, darts, military engines, all the old magazine, containing seventy thousand complete suits of armour, and two thousand regular troops, which Timoleon incorporated among his own. After this, Dionysius was sent to Corinth by Timoleon in a single galley, without any convoy, where he arrived safe, notwithstanding the Carthaginians, being apprised of his departure, had laid several vessels in wait for him. The Carthaginians were so disheartened at these misfortunes, coming as it were one upon the neck of another, (for Plutarch tells us they happened all in the space of fifty days) that they did not offer to make the least movement, either with their fleet or land-forces, tho’ the latter were above ten times as numerous as the Corinthians.

According to Diodorus, the first treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians was signed this year, which was the first of the hundred and ninth olympiad. As this corresponded with the four hundred and fourth or four hundred and fifth year of Rome, (if, with Fabius Pictor, we place the foundation of that city in the first year of the eighth olympiad) it is not improbable, that Orofius, in the passage abovecited, followed Diodorus Siculus. But neither of them, in the point before us, deserves any consideration; for though we do not pretend to deny, that there might have been a treaty concluded this year between the two republics aforesaid, yet, that it was the first, we can by no means allow; since

\[\text{Idem ibid.}\]
since Polybius, who undoubtedly consulted both the Roman and Carthaginian archives, does not only assure us, that they entered into a treaty above an hundred and sixty years before this time, but likewise gives us the express words of that treaty. His authority therefore, in this case, as well as in all others relating to the Roman and Carthaginian affairs, as interwoven, must be looked upon as incontestable.

But to return to the Carthaginian transactions in Sicily: Towards the conclusion of this, and the beginning of the following year, the Carthaginian forces, that were to act in favour of Icetas received a strong reinforcement, and Mago was appointed to command them. Upon the retreat of Dionysius, Icetas, laid siege to the citadel of Syracuse, which was defended only by four hundred Corinthians left there by Timoleon, under the conduct of one Leon, an experienced and brave officer. Timoleon, who had withdrawn to Catana, sent the garrison frequent supplies of provisions; but they were for the most part intercepted by Icetas, who kept the place closely blocked up on all sides. When they were reduced to the last extremity, Timoleon found means to relieve them, by conveying into the place, in spite of all opposition, a great quantity of corn. This he did by the assistance of small fisher-boats and skiffs, which got a passage through the Carthaginian fleet in the most tempestuous weather, sliding over the waves and billows up to the citadel, when the enemy's galleys were either beat one against another, or dispersed by the violence of the wind. Whilst these things happened, Icetas formed a design to assassinate Timoleon at Adranum, to which place he had for a short time retired, and employed two foreigners, probably Carthaginians, for that purpose; but they were prevented from executing their execrable design in a very providential manner, a full and minute account of which remarkable event may be seen in Plutarch. Timoleon, after his escape, returned to Catana, and continued supplying his troops in the citadel with provisions, as often as an opportunity offered. The besieged were, however, greatly fatigued, by being obliged to be continually under arms, in order to repel the enemy's assault.

affronts, which were frequent and vigorous, and to repair the breaches made by their battering engines. Nevertheless they defended themselves with incredible bravery, and, having their renowned general himself so near at hand, despised all the efforts of the enemy a.

ICETAS, being much chagrined at this late disappointment, and finding his soldiers desert in great numbers to the enemy, dispatched an express to Mago, the Carthaginian general, desiring him to advance with his troops to the gates of the city. As soon as he arrived, Icetas, without any scruple, admitted him at the head of the whole Punic army, consisting of sixty thousand men, into the town; which was a point the Carthaginians, in all their struggles with the Siculo-Greeks, could never gain before. As Mago's fleet of an hundred and fifty sail at the same time rode in the harbour, the city seemed to be entirely in the enemy's hands. Timoleon, being informed of this, kept his troops together; but for the present remained at Catana, that he might be at hand to encourage and succour the Corinthian troops in the citadel; which he did so effectually, by continuing to supply them with corn and other provisions, in the manner above-related, as well as by giving them hopes of obliterating the enemy to raise the siege, that they were not under the least apprehension for the safety of the place b.

MAGO and Icetas, finding it impossible to reduce the citadel, as long as Timoleon was in that neighbourhood, resolved to leave part of the army in Syracuse, and with the rest either drive Timoleon from Catana, or block him up in that city. Tho' they knew his forces were very inconsiderable in comparison of those with which they intended to attack him, yet, having a great opinion of the abilities of that general, they picked out the very flower of their troops on this occasion. They were scarce gone, when Leon who commanded in the citadel, observing that those who were left to continue the siege were very remiss in their duty, made a sudden sally, killed a great number of them, put the rest to flight, and having possessed himself of the quarter of the city called Acradina, fortified it, and, by works of communication, joined it to the citadel. As Acradina was the best and most opulent part of Syracuse, consisting, as it were, of several towns united, Leon found vall

a Plut. ubi sup.  b Idem ibid.
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Vast sums of ready money and great plenty of provisions in it; which, at that time, were of signal service to him. A courier was immediately sent away with this melancholy news to Mago and Icetas, who, upon receiving it, returned in great haste to Syracuse, though they were then but a small distance from Catana; but could not, upon their arrival, dislodge the enemy from the post they had gained. In the mean time, a supply of two thousand foot and two hundred horse from Corinth landed safe in Sicily, having been detained a considerable time at Thurium by tempestuous weather, and found means to elude the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron under Hanno, posted to intercept them. That commander, not imagining the Corinthians would attempt a passage to Sicily in such a stormy season, left his station at Thurium, and, ordering his seamen to crown themselves with garlands, and adorn their vessels with bucklers of both the Greek and Carthaginian form, failed to Syracuse in a triumphant manner, where he gave the troops in the citadel to understand, that he had taken the succours Timoleon expected, thinking by this means to intimidate them to a surrender. But whilst he spent his time in such trifling amusements, the Corinthians marched with great expedition through the territories of the Brutii to Rhegium, and taking the advantage of a gentle breeze, were easily wafted over to Sicily. This capital error in Hanno proved the total ruin of Icetas, and, in its consequences, was of infinite prejudice to the Carthaginians.

Timoleon, greatly animated by this new reinforcement, marched against Messana, which he soon made himself master of, and then advanced in good order to Syracuse. Mago was seized with a panic upon the news of his approach, in so much, that he seemed only to want a pretence to quit the island, tho' the new Corinthian succours, in conjunction with all Timoleon's other troops, did not form a corps of above four thousand men. Soon after, some of Icetas and Timoleon's Greek mercenaries mixing together in conversation, whilst they were fishing for eels in the marshes above Syracuse, one of the Corinthian party addressed himself to thofe of the other side in the following terms: "Is it possible for Greeks to attempt reducing so noble a city as this to the obedience of barbarians, nay, of the most cru-
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“el and bloody barbarians breathing? Is it not much more for their interest, that the Carthaginians should be removed at the greatest distance from Greece, than that they should be put into possession of a most rich and fertile island in its neighbourhood? Can any person be so stupid as to imagine, that they have drawn their forces from the frights of Hercules and the Atlantic ocean, purely to support Ictetas, who, if he had acted like an able general, would never have introduced his country’s implacable enemies into its bowels? Was it politic conduct in him to treat his ancestors and natural friends, as the bitterest enemies, which had he not done, he might have enjoyed his high dignity, without giving the least offence to Timoleon and the Corinthians?” These discourses being spread through the whole camp, and even reaching Mago’s ears, whose army was mostly composed of mercenary Greeks, he pretended to be afraid of a general defection of his troops; and therefore, without hearkening to the entreaties and warm remonstrances of Ictetas, who plainly demonstrated to him the weakness of the enemy, he weighed anchor, and set sail for Africa, shamefully abandoning the conquest of Sicily. No other reason can be assigned for this accountable conduct, but the timorous disposition of that general, who, conscious of his guilt, on his arrival at Carthage, laid violent hands on himself, to prevent the punishment his cowardice deserved. His body was hung upon a gallows or crofs, and expos’d as a public spectacle to the people, in order to deter succeeding generals from forfeiting their honour, and sacrificing their country, in so flagrant a manner. Perhaps a more daftardly action is not to be met with in the whole course of history.

The next day, Timoleon appeared before the city with his army drawn up in order of battle; when being informed of Mago's precipitate flight, and seeing the haven quite clear of Carthaginian vessels, he was most agreeably surprized, but could scarce believe his own eyes and ears. He could not forbear ridiculing the cowardice of Mago on this occasion, and therefore, in a pleasant humour by proclamation offered a great reward to any person who could bring him intelligence into what corner of the world the Carthaginian squadron was retired, to make its escape from his formidable...
ble fleet. Icetas being determined to defend that part of the town in which he was posted, Timoleon made the necessary dispositions for a general assault. This he divided into three attacks; the first he commanded in person, with a body of chosen troops, against that part of the town situated upon the river Anapus, which was the strongest and most difficult of access; the second he committed to the conduct of Iias, a Corinthian captain, who was to advance from the quarter of Acradina; and the third was to be formed against the post Epipolae by Dinarchus and Demaretus, who brought the last supply of troops from Corinth. In conformity to this plan, the assault was made; and the troops of Icetas being every-where driven from the walls, that part of the city which they held was taken by storm. That Icetas should lose many men in this action, is easy to be believed; but that the Corinthian forces should not have so much as a single man wounded, favours so much of fable and rhodomontade, that Plutarch must excuse us, if we are inclined to be of a contrary opinion.

Timoleon, after the junction of his forces with those of Mamercus and the cities above-mentioned, and the reduction of Syracuse, having left a body of troops to defend that capital, marched straight to Leontium, Icetas's metropolis, with an intention to besiege it. In consequence of this design, he sat down before the place; but finding the garrison very numerous, and being repulsed with loss in several attacks that he made, he was obliged to draw off. He next advanced to Enyon, a city that groaned under the tyranny of Leptines, and so terrified the tyrant by his reiterated assaults, that he thought proper to capitulate, and was conducted to Peloponnesus. Apollonia, a neighbouring city under the power of Leptines, upon this, applied to Timoleon for his protection, and obtained it, so that this general now began to be looked upon as the scourge of tyrants, and consequently to be in high esteem amongst the Sicilians; but being in great distress for money to satisfy the demands of his soldiers, he detached a thousand men to make an incursion into the Carthaginian territories. This detachment laying all the enemy's country waste, and pillaging it thoroughly, carried off an immense booty, which they brought to Timoleon, who exposing every thing to public sale, by this means raised a vast sum, and not only paid his army all their past arrears, but likewise advanced them their pay for a consider-
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rable time to come. Soon after, he made himself master of Entella, where he put to death fifteen of the citizens, who persisted in their adherence to the Carthaginians, and restored the rest to their liberty. Upon this the Greek cities every-where submitted to him, and were by him restored to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. Many cities likewise of the Sicani and Siculi, subject to the Carthaginians, sent embassadors to him, desiring to be admitted among his confederates. Icetas, in the mean time, in conjunction with some Carthaginian auxiliaries, formed the siege of Syracuse. This, in the beginning, he pushed on with vigour; but as Timoleon's garrison behaved with incredible resolution, cutting off a great part of his army by their frequent sallies, and as Timoleon himself was now advancing a second time towards Leontium, he was at last forced to abandon the siege.

And reduces Leontium. Icetas, having thus lost the best part of his troops in this fruitless expedition, marched back with great precipitation to Leontium, in order to cover that important fortress from all attempts of the enemy, who, as he received intelligence, were advancing towards it. In this he was not misinformed; for Timoleon, judging it of the highest consequence to his affairs to reduce Icetas, before the Carthaginians returned into the island, which they threatened to do in a short time, moved directly towards his frontiers, and appeared before Leontium, without giving him time to recruit his shattered troops, and re-establish his affairs. The tyrant, terrified at this sudden approach, and finding himself incapable of resisting an army so animated by success, was glad to come to a composition with the Corinthian general; the terms of which were, that he should renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians; that his forts should all be demolished; and lastly, that the Leontini should be governed by laws of their own, he residing among them as a private person. Having thus detached Icetas from the Carthaginian interest, and extinguished tyranny out of the Greek part of Sicily, he returned to Syracuse, designating to carry the war into the Carthaginian dominions without delay.

The
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The senate and people of Carthage, being highly offended at the conduct of their general officers the last campaign, deprived most of them of their commissions; and, resolving to new-model the army, filled the vacant posts with persons of known merit. As they were determined to carry on the war in Sicily with all possible vigour, they ordered levies to be made in all parts of their dominions, and took besides into their service a numerous body of mercenaries, raised in Spain, Gaul, and Liguria. Their naval preparations were in all respects proportioned to those made by land; both which being completed, they sent Adrubal and Hamilcar, two experienced commanders, over to Sicily with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred ships of war, and a thousand transports laden with warlike engines, armed chariots, horses, and all sorts of provisions. In the mean time, Timoleon, having just concluded the war with Icetas, and, by the accession of his troops, considerably reinforced his army, advanced against them with great intrepidity upon the first news of their landing at Lilybæum, though his forces did not amount to above seven thousand effective men. He had, before the arrival of the Carthaginians, detached Dinarchus and Demaretus with a body of choice troops to make an inroad into one of their provinces, where they did not only live for a considerable time at discretion, but likewise obliged several of their cities to side with the Greeks, and at their departure carried off a vast sum of money, exacted from the inhabitants, whom they had laid under contribution. By this means Timoleon was enabled to settle a military chest, and establish a fund sufficient for the present exigences of the war. The Carthaginian generals had no sooner landed their forces, but they were apprised of this affront, which they intended fully to revenge; and therefore moving with their whole army towards Timoleon, they at last encamped upon the banks of the river Crimeus or Cornesius. The Corinthian commander was by no means tardy in his approaches to their camp, but on his march one of his mercenaries, by name Thracius, a profligate fellow, who had some time before been concerned in plundering the temple of Apollo at Delphi, cried out, that Timoleon was not in his right senses, otherwise he would never propose with such an handful of men to attack the Carthaginian army. He farther urged, that as the general was leading them to inevitable destruction, if he was not distracted, he must certainly have
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a design to sacrifice them, perhaps because he was not able to pay them their arrears. In fine, therefore, he advised them to go and demand their pay at Syracuse, and not think of attending Timoleon in such a desperate expedition.

The mercenaries, naturally prone to mutiny and sedition, received the harangue of this hot-headed incendiary with applause, and were all of them upon the point of deserting their standards. But at length Timoleon by his entreaties, large promises, and singular address, brought them back to a sense of their duty, excepting a thousand, who were determined at all events to follow the desperate fortunes of Thracia. After this he wrote to his friends at Syracuse, informing them of what had happened, but at the same time enjoined them to treat the defectors with moderation and humanity, and order the mercenaries their pay. By this means having extinguished all the sparks of sedition, and regained the affection of his troops, he advanced to attack the Carthaginian forces with great ardour and celebrity.

It happened that, as he was ascending an eminence to take a view of the enemy's army, he met some mules loaded with parsley, an herb with which the sepulchres of the dead were usually adorned by the antients. This trifling event threw the soldiers into a great panic, as taking it for an omen of very bad signification. Timoleon, to calm their minds, halted for a moment, declaring that, as the victors at the Isthmian games were crowned with this herb, particularly the Corinthians, it ought to be esteemed as a symbol of victory, and therefore entreated them to banish all gloomy apprehensions. To remove entirely all impressions of terror from their minds, he made himself a crown of parsley, and the officers, in imitation of their general, did the like. With these round their heads, they approached the enemy with as much alacrity as if they had been sure of a triumph, and thereby inspired the troops with as much resolution as Timoleon had done, before the last occurrence happened, by a pathetic speech, wherein he put them in mind of Gelon's signal victory over the barbarians with an inconsiderable force, and exhorted them to enable him to follow so great an example. Plutarch, an author not a little

h. Diod. Sic. ubi sup. c. 13.  
i. Idem ibid.
little tainted with credulity and superstition, adds, that the footsayers discovered two eagles flying towards them, one of which bore a dragon pierced through with her talons, and the other made a terrible and martial sort of noise (A). These they shewed to the soldiers, and interpreted them as a token of certain success, by which the troops were confirmed in their hopes of an auspicious day. Timoleon therefore, taking advantage of their present disposition, and of the confusion the Carthaginians were in at his unexpected arrival upon the banks of the Crimeus, attacked them with great vigour and resolution. Ten thousand of the enemy's forces, who had already passed the river, were defeated and put to flight, before the rest could come up to their assistance. Great numbers of the enemy perished in this first action; for Timoleon himself being at the head of the particular body of troops engaged, they performed wonders. But in the mean time the whole Carthaginian army having gained the opposite bank, the battle was renewed, and the victory a long time doubtful. The Sicilian horse, under the conduct of Demaretus, charged the enemy in front, before they could form themselves; but could make no impression, the armed chariots (B) posted there keeping

(A) Plutarch says, that just before the beginning of the engagement there ascended so thick a fog out of the river, that neither the enemy's camp, nor any part of the plain, nor even the river itself, was visible, the Greeks only hearing a confused noise of a vast multitude advancing towards them. But the sun-beams at length dissipating the vapours, they observed the Carthaginian army approaching them in the following order: First, the armed chariots, which appeared very terrible; secondly, a body of ten thousand infantry, with white targets on their arms, whom, from the brightness of their armour, and their slow regular march, they took to be native Carthaginians; and lastly, the gros of their army, composed of different nations, who followed the rest in such a disorderly manner, as gave Timoleon great encouragement to attack them. By this it seems to appear, that the national troops in the Carthaginian armies were distinguished in a particular manner from the mercenaries, as well as those of the provinces subject to Carthage (1).

(B) The custom of fighting in armed chariots was undoubtedly of great antiquity. That it prevailed amongst the Greeks, Phrygians, and neighbouring nations, at the time of the Trojan war,

(1) Plutarch. ubi sup.
in them at a distance, and pushing them with such vigour, that they found it difficult to maintain their ranks. Timo-
leon, observing this, ordered them instantly to wheel about, and

is evident from Homer. Herodotus assures us, that the Greeks learned this method of fighting from the Libyans or Africans; and Xenophon intimates, that it was particularly in use amongst the people of Cyrenaica. In the earliest ages the Medes, Syrians, Arabs, &c. fought in chariots, but especially the Libyans and Ethiopians, as we are informed by scripture. The sacred writings farther speak of two sorts of chariots, one for princes and generals to ride in, the other designed to break the enemies battalions, by being let loose against them. These last were armed with iron, which made terrible havock in the troops that opposed them (2).

The most antient chariots of war mentioned in history are Pha-
raoh's, which were overwhelmed in the Red-sea. The Canaanites, to whom Joshua gave battle at the waters of Merom, had cavalry, and a multitude of chariots; Sisera, Jabin the king of Hazor's general, had nine hundred chariots of iron in his army; the tribe of Judah could not take possession of all the lands allotted to them, because some of the antient inhabitants were strong in chariots of iron; the Philistines, in the war carried on by them against Saul, had thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen; David, having taken a thousand chariots of war from Hadadezer, king of Syria, ham-strung the horses, and burnt nine hundred chariots, preferring only an hundred to himself. These, with many more passages that might be produced, plainly evince, that armed chariots were used amongst the Phenicians, Syrians, and Egyptians, in very remote times (3).

Erechbeus or Erichthonius, king of Attica, is said first to have introduced these armed (4) chariots into Greece, though he, in all probability, received them from the Barbarians, amongst whom they were in use long before his time, as is intimated by Euse-
bius. At the Trojan war the Greek chariots had for the most part only a pair of horses, to which, however, sometimes a third was added, called by Homer ἑπτάετος, which was tied to them in a more lax manner, according to Eustathius. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that in his time this sort of chariots was used among the


nov. in theol. ant. Græv. t. xi. p. 183.
and attack the enemy in flank, whilst with the foot he formed a sort of phalanx, joining man to man, and shield to shield, by which the van being rendered firm, he bore down with great

the Romans, but left off by the Greeks. Sometimes also the most antient Greeks had two pair of horses to their warlike chariots, as may be inferred from Homer. The drivers were frequently persons of the highest distinction, as Aeneas, Nætor, and one of Priam’s sons. The person armed in the chariot directed the charioteer which way to drive, and was likewise frequently a person of prime quality, as Pandarus the son of Lycaon, and Hector the son of Priamus. He generally leaped out of the chariot to engage his enemy, as Paris, Agamemnon, Hercules, and Cygnus, &c. did. Princes and generals had their chariots adorned with gold and silver, and much curious workmanship, as that of Rhesus in Homer, and even sometimes covered with plates of gold and tin, as that of Diomedes in the same author. The kings of Persia were forbidden by the royal law so much as to touch the bridles or reins of horses fastened to a chariot, it being looked upon as inconsistent with the high dignity they enjoyed (5).

The Rhodians consecrated horses and chariots to the sun annually, in conformity to the practice of their Phænician ancestors, as we learn from Festus; and Pausanias, Heliodorus, and Strabo assure us, that the Spartans, Massagetae, and Ethiopians antiently did the same thing. The scripture observes, that some of the kings of Judah preceding Josiah did offer chariots to the sun; which superstitious custom was in imitation of the pagan nations, principally of the Persians, as father Calmet thinks, who had horses and chariots consecrated in honour of that luminary. The reason the Rhodians gave for throwing a chariot every year into the sea, in honour of the sun, was because they believed, that every day he travelled round the earth riding in a chariot (6).

The description of the clystred chariots, mentioned in the Macabees, as the antients have given it us, is as follows. The beam to which the horses were fastened, was armed with pikes having iron points to them, which projected forward; the yokes of the horses had likewise two long points of three cubits. To the axle-tree also were fixed iron spits, armed at their extremities.

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great fury upon the Carthaginians. These sustained the shock of the Sicilian foot with great intrepidity, and repelling

with scythes; between the spokes of the wheels were placed javelins, and the very fellows of the wheels were furnished with scythes, which tore every thing they met with in pieces. The axle-tree was longer than usual, and the wheels stronger, that they might be able to resist the shock of the motion, and the chariot believed to overturn. The driver's seat was a kind of little tower made of very solid wood, and raised breast-high. The charioteer was armed all over, and covered with iron. Sometimes several men well armed were put in the chariots, who fought with darts and arrows (7).

Such chariots as these the Romans found amongst the antient inhabitants of this island when they first landed here, which very much galled them in their engagements with that people. They were likewise common in the neighbouring parts of Gaul, which is a plain proof, that both these countries were known to the antient Phœnicians, except it be admitted, that these machines were invented before the progenitors of the Gauls and Britons first came out of Asia. Diodorus affirms, that the military chariots of these remote nations were of the same kind with those used by the antient Greek heroes at the siege of Troy. It appears from different authors, that the Britons had several sorts of chariots, viz. the benna, the carrus or carrum, the covinus, the effedum, and the rheda, all of which, from their names, appear to have been of Phœnician extraction. The effeda seems to have been of the same kind as the Carthaginian armed chariots, from the description Cæsar gives us of them; for he tells us, that the charioteers drove through every part of the armies engaged, and threw their darts upon the enemy; that, with the terrible appearance of their horses, and the noise of their wheels, they usually broke the enemies ranks; that, when they had intermixed themselves with the cavalry, the armed men in the chariots flung themselves out, and fought on foot; and, that the drivers, in the mean time retiring out of the battle, posted themselves in such a manner, that, if their party was overpowered, they might enable them to make good their retreat. For a full account of their incredible dexterity and agility on these occasions, as well as their particular manner of engaging, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to Cæsar and Dio, or to a future part of this history, to which it will more properly belong (8).

 Accord-
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ing the enemies javelins with their iron and brazen armour, soon came to a close engagement. The Carthaginians had now apparently the advantage, because in such actions as these strength contributes as much to victory as discipline and military skill. But whilst the enemy were fighting with great courage in this manner, and endeavouring to hem in and surround on all sides Timoleon's small army, there arose on a sudden a violent storm of hail, thunder, and lightning, which beating on the faces of the Carthaginians, put them into such confusion, that they were not able to stand their ground any longer. At the same time, the Crimeus overflowing its banks, occasioned such an inundation, that the enemy were extremely embarrassed by it, which heightened their consternation and confusion, and forced them to retire in disorder. The Greeks then, encouraging one another with shouts of joy, pressed them so vigorously, that the whole army was driven into the river, where great numbers of them were drowned. The sacred cohort or brigade, as the Carthaginians called it, which consisted of two thousand five hundred citizens of Carthage, all men of experienced courage and valour, fought with great resolution, and flooded their ground till they were all cut off to a man. Plutarch relates, that, of ten thousand men, who

According to father Calmet, it does not appear, that the Hebrew kings ever made use of chariots in war. For though the scripture lays, Solomon had fourteen hundred chariots, it does not appear, that they were ever employed by him in any military expedition. Perhaps, as the territories of these princes were very mountainous, chariots, being only fit for the plains, could not be of any great use there. This seems to be confirmed by an observation in scripture, viz. that the tribe of Judah could not dispossess the ancient inhabitants of the valleys in their district, because they had chariots of iron. The Carthaginians, who were descended from the old Phenicians or Canaanites, imitated their ancestors in this particular. They generally posted their chariots in front, and intermixed them with the horse, that when the former had made an impression upon any part of the enemies troops, the latter might be able to charge with the greater vigour, and cut off all those who were put into disorder and confusion (9).

thag. l. ii. c. 2. p. 515, 516.
who were left dead on the field of battle, above three thousand were native Carthaginians of the best families in Carthage, and that, according to the Punic records, such a number of persons of distinction never fell in any battle before, the Carthaginian armies being for the most part made up of Africans, Spaniards, Numidians, &c. so that when they received any remarkable defeat, it was generally at the expense of other nations. Besides the slain, there were above fifteen thousand taken prisoners; all their baggage and provisions, with two hundred chariots, a thousand coats of mail, and ten thousand shields, fell into Timoleon's hands, and were either sent to Corinth, and there dedicated to Neptune, or hung up in the temples of Syracuse. The spoil, which consisted chiefly of gold and silver plate, and other furniture of great value, was, according to Plutarch, so immense, that the whole Sicilian army was three days in collecting it, and stripping the slain. In fine, after Timoleon's troops had passed the river, and taken possession of the enemy's camp, they found there such an incredible quantity of gold and silver in different forms, that nothing of inferior value was at all regarded; for the commander in chief divided the whole among the soldiers, reserving nothing for himself but the glory of so famous a victory. It must not be forgot, that this memorable battle was fought on the twenty-seventh day of the month Thargelion, which was Timoleon's birth-day, nor that all the other engagements of note he was concerned in, if Cornelius Nepos may be credited, happened on the same day. The wonderful success it was attended with, is a full proof of the great force of superstition; for, next to the violent storm above-mentioned, this unparalleled victory was owing to the happy turn Timoleon gave to a frivolous accident considered as a fatal omen. This certainly shewed him to have been a man of genius, and perfectly well acquainted with the dispositions of his countrymen, as well as with the general bent of mankind at that time; and Polyænus takes notice of it as an instance of the great military capacity of that general.

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The news of so signal a victory, obtained over the pro-

fessed enemies of the Greek name, could not but be highly
agreeable to the people both at Corinth and Syracuse, es-

pecially as it was like to be attended with such happy con-

sequences. The Corinthians adorned their temples with
the Carthaginian spoils, which they hung up there with in-

scriptions upon them, importing, that the people of Corinth,
and Timoleon, their general, offered them to the gods as an
acknowledgment for their having made them the instru-
ments of delivering Sicily from Carthaginian servitude.
Timoleon having left his mercenaries upon the enemy’s
frontiers, in order to plunder and ravage their whole coun-
try, returned to Syracuse with the rest of his army, where
he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy.
’Tis worthy observation, that all the punishment he inflict-
ed upon the thousand mercenaries, who were accomplices
of Thracerius, for their infamous defection above-mention-
ed, was only banishment from Syracuse; however, he
ordered them all to be gone before sun-set.¹

Icetas, according to Plutarch, after this, being tired
with his private station, shewed an inclination to reinsta-
himself, if possible, in his dominions; and, in order thereto,
found means, in conjunction with Mamercus, tyrant
of Catana, to strike up another treaty with the Carthagin-
ians. In consequence of this fresh alliance, that nation eq-
quipped a fleet of seventy sail, and took a strong body of
Greeks, of whose valor they had now a great opinion,
for the first time, into their service, intending to try their
fortune once more in Sicily. Gisco, the brother of Hann-
on, a general of great experience and bravery, was recalled
from banishment to command the troops defined for the
new expedition. This news soon reaching Sicily, occa-
sioned fresh commotions there. The inhabitants of Me-
sana, entering into an association against Timoleon, put
four hundred of his men, left as a garrison in that place, to
the sword; a detachment of mercenaries under the com-
mand of Euthymus the Leucadian, being drawn into an
ambuscade by the Carthaginian troops at Hierae, were all
cut off to man; and whilst Timoleon was on his march to
Calauria, Icetas, being reinforced by a Carthaginian party,
made an incursion into the territories of Syracuse, carrying
off a considerable booty, and, in contempt of Timoleon,

¹ Plut. & Diodor. ubi sup.
paffed by Calauria itself, the place where that general was then posted. However, he pursed the tyrant with a body of cavalry, attended with some of his light infantry, who could march with expedition. This Ictas perceiving, paffed the river Damyrías with some precipitation; and drawing up his troops on the other side, put himself into a posture to receive the enemy. In the mean time, a dispute arising amongst Timoleon's officers, who could not agree which of them should pass the river first to attack Ictas, the general ordered them to cast lots, upon which every one of them threw a ring into Timoleon's robe, and the first that was taken out, and exposed to public view, had the figure of a trophy engraven for a seal upon it. This greatly encouraging the troops, they fell with incredible fury upon Ictas, who, not being able to sustain the shock, was put to flight, with the loss of a thousand men killed upon the spot, and pursued to the city of Leontium. Upon this defeat, the tyrant himself, his son Eupolemus, and Euthymus, general of his cavalry, were brought bound by their own soldiers to Timoleon. The two first were immediately executed, as tyrants and traytors, and the last murdered in cold blood. Ictas's wives and daughters likewise suffered death, after a public trial. Plutarch blames Timoleon (C) for not preventing this last execution, which, he

(C) We have already observed, that Timæus Siculus exalted Timoleon to a superiority above the highest divinities, and that he was greatly cenfured for this by Suidas. The last author's words are to this effect: "If Callithenes deservedly suffered death for designing to deify Alexander, a prince infinitely more illustrious than Timoleon, what did Timæus deserve? &c." This passage seems to contradict most, if not all, of those writers who have given us any account of Alexander's achievements, viz. Justin, Q. Curtius, Plutarch, &c. who represent Callithenes as inflexibly determined not to deify Alexander, nor even to allow him that kind of adoration which the Persians paid their kings; when many of his sycophants, particularly Anaxarchus, would have made him that high compliment. Nay, these writers seem unanimously to agree, that he left Alexander's favour by his obstinacy in this particular, and even at last was put to death by him. Now, in order to reconcile Suidas with these authors, it must be observed, that Timæus extolled Timoleon in his history; and therefore Suidas must intimate, that Callithenes had an intention to deify Alexander in his history of that prince, otherwise the con-
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he infinuates, that general might have done, had he inter-
posed in the affair, and censures it as the only blot in his
character; tho' we think his conniving at the murder of
Euthymus, a brave man, who was put to the sword by the
Corinthian soldiers for speaking with some contempt of
them, ought to be looked upon as another of the same kind.
After this, he moved with his forces towards Catana; and
meeting Mamercus, gave him battle in the plains of the
river Abolus. The dispute was for some time warm and
bloody; but at last the tyrant was overthrown, his army
entirely dispersed, and above two thousand men left dead
upon the field of battle. As the greater part of these last
were auxiliaries sent to Mamercus by Gisco, the Cartha-
ginians themselves suffered considerably in this action
m.

NOTWITHSTANDING the warlike preparations they
were making at Carthage for the invasion of Sicily, the fe-
nate

m Idem ibid.

comparison is impertinent and absurd. Admit this, and the pa-
fage in Suidas does not at all clash with what the authors above-
mentioned have observed of Callithenes, because it bears no re-
lation to them as taking notice of that philosopher's refusal to
adore Alexander, whilst at the head of his army in Asia. Arrian
assures us, that Callithenes, out of a vanity peculiar to himself,
declared, that Alexander should in future ages be esteemed as a
god from the history he would write of him, and not from those
idle stories his mother Olympias imposed upon the world. This
comes up to the point, and seems to be what Suidas had particu-
larly in view. As for that author's affirming, that Callithenes
suffered death for his intention to deify Alexander in his history,
no more can be meant by it than this, viz. he was put to death by
that very prince whom in his history he intended to deify, which
was a just punishment inflicted upon him by the gods for his great
impiety. That this reconciliation is just, will appear from a per-
usal of the passages referred to in Suidas and Arrian, as likewise
from the drift and scope of Suidas's observation: we cannot there-
fore help expressing our surprize, that M. Bayle should not have
been able to discover the confusity betwixt Suidas and the above-
mentioned historians (10).

(10) Suid. in Tïaïa. Iul. i. xii. c. 7. Q. Curt. i. viii. c. 5.
Diog. Laer. in Afr. Suid. in Alex. & Arrian. i. iv. p. 165.

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nate had sent embassadors to Timoleon to attempt striking up a peace with him, imagining, perhaps, that he would be the more inclined to a pacification, when he saw them in a condition to continue the war. The two last blows given their confederates disposed them still more strongly to an accommodation, to which they found Timoleon not adverse, as he was apprehensive of fresh troubles from Mancrus and others, against whom he wanted to turn his arms. A peace was accordingly settled on the following terms: That all the Greek cities should be set free; that the river Halycus, or, as Diodorus and Plutarch both call it, the Lycus, should be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of the cities subject to the Carthaginians should be allowed to withdraw, if they pleased, to Syracuse, or its dependences, with their families and effects; and lastly, that Carthage should not for the future give any assistance to the remaining tyrants against the Syracusans.

About this time, one Hanno, who, according to Justin’s account of him, was the most opulent and powerful citizen in Carthage, formed a design of subverting the constitution there, and introducing arbitrary power. In order to accomplish this, he proposed to invite the senators to a grand entertainment on the day of his daughter’s marriage; and there, by mixing poison with his wine, to destroy them all, not doubting, but such a tragical event would at once make him master of the republic. Though the scheme was carried on with great secrecy, yet it came to be discovered by some of his servitors; but his interest in the city was so great, that the government did no dare to punish so execrable a crime. The magistrates therefore contented themselves with only preventing it, which they did by passing a law prohibiting too great luxury and magnificence at weddings, and limiting the expense on such occasions. Hanno, seeing his stratagem defeated, was resolved to have recourse to arms, and for that purpose assembled all his slaves, and fixed upon a day a second time to put his design in execution. However, he was again discovered; but, to avoid punishment, he retired with twenty thousand armed slaves to a castle, that was very strongly fortified, and from thence applied to the Africans, and th

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\(^n\) Plut. & Diodor, ibid.
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king of the Mauritani, for assistance, but without success. He was afterwards taken prisoner, and carried to Carthage, where being severely whipped, his eyes were put out, his arms and thighs broken, that punishment might be inflicted on every part; and at last he was executed in the presence of all the people, to deter others from such flagitious attempts; after which his body was hung on a cross gibbet. His children and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, shared in his punishment. They were all sentenced to die, that not a single person of his family might be left, either to imitate his crime, or revenge his death. Plutarch mentions one Hanno as admiral of the Carthaginian fleet, in the beginning of the late war between Icetas and Timoleon, who, in all probability, was the very person Justin represents as so infatuated with ambition, especially as he was, if that author may be credited, very fond of show and parade. However this may be, since Justin makes him co-temporary with the younger Dionysius, and Orofius affirms this conspiracy to have happened in the time of Philip king of Macedon, we think from hence we are sufficiently authorized to place that event here.

We must likewise observe here, that Diodorus Siculus places Alexander's reduction of Tyre in the first year of the 112th olympiad, and Agathocles's descent on Africa in the third of the 117th; and consequently that Q. Curtius must have been out in his chronology, when he makes these two events to have happened about the same time, as anticipating the latter full twenty-two years by this synchronism. What the last of these authors relates of the arrival of certain Tyrian embassadors at Carthage, to implore the assistance of that potent republic against Alexander, has a greater appearance of truth; since not only a good understanding, but a most cordial friendship, always subsisted between Carthage and Tyre, and even at this time most of the inhabitants of the latter were transported to the former of these cities. The extremity to which their countrymen (for so these two states always called one another) were reduced, touched the Carthaginians in a most sensible manner, though, by reason of some domestic troubles, they were then incapable of sending them any succours. However, though they were unable to relieve, they at least thought it their duty to comfort them, on this melancholy occa-

Justin. 1. xxi. Plut. & Orof. ubi sup.
occasion, and therefore dispatched to Tyre thirty of their principal citizens to express their grief, that the bad situation of their own affairs would not permit them to spare any troops. The Tyrians, though frustrated of their hopes, did not despond, but took all the necessary measures for a vigorous defence. Their wives and children they put on board some vessels, in order to send them to Carthage; by which being delivered from all apprehensions of danger, with regard to what was the dearest to them of any thing in nature, they were prepared against all events, and thought of nothing but making the most strenuous efforts to repel the enemy. Curtius intimates, that the Carthaginians offered annually a sacrifice to the tutelary gods of Tyre, considering them as their protectors; and that when their embassadors came to Tyre on this occasion, they persuaded the Tyrians to stand it out to the last, promising powerfully to support them. As this very historian observes, that the seas at that time were blocked up by the Carthaginian fleets, and that by the hopes of mighty succours they spirited up the Tyrians to oppose Alexander's whole force, 'tis not very probable, that they should be then engaged in so dangerous a war as that with Agathocles was, or be reduced to so deplorable a condition as they must have been in, when that general, after giving them a notable defeat, advanced to the very walls of Carthage. He therefore seems not to be entirely consistent with himself in this particular; for which reason, as well as upon account of Diodorus's superior authority in the point before us, we must beg leave to differ from him, and look upon the arrival of the Carthaginian embassadors at Tyre, as coincident with the transactions of the period we are now upon.

The Carthaginians, hearing of the reduction of Tyre, and the great progress Alexander made in the east, began to be under some apprehensions for their own safety, as fearing that prince's good fortune might be as boundless as his ambition. But they were much alarmed, when they received advice, that he had made himself master of Egypt, was advancing towards the west, and had built Alexandria upon the confines of Egypt and Africa, in order to rival them. They imagined now he might in reality have an
intention to unite Africa and Asia under his dominion, and aspire to universal monarchy. They therefore chose one Hamilcar, (or, as Gellius intimates, Adrubical) surnamed Rhodanus, to found the inclinations of that prince, and endeavour to pry into his counsels. Being a person of wonderful address, as well as great eloquence, though at the same time of great subtilty and art, he made it his utmost endeavour to intimate himself into Alexander’s favour. Having obtained an audience by means of Parmenio, he declared to the king, that he was, by the cabals of his enemies, banished Carthage, and begged he might have the honour to attend him in all his future expeditions; which being granted, he did his country signal service by communicating many important discoveries relating to Alexander’s schemes. The manner of this communication being somewhat singular, we shall give it our readers from Gellius. He prepared tables of wood, in which he cut out the letters or characters of his epistle, and afterwards covering them with wax, as was the custom of that age, without any characters upon it, sent them away as blanks. This the people of Carthage being before apprised of, decyphered the contents; which could not have been easilie done by others, had the dispatches been intercepted, because the manner of writing then was upon the wax itself, and consequently the whole must have been looked upon as a blank. We do not find, that Alexander ever discovered the treachery of this Carthaginian, or even entertained the least suspicion of him; which is further proof of the refined genius of that nation for all works of intrigue. Upon his return home, notwithstanding his eminent services, he was considered as a betrayer of his country, and was accordingly put to death at Carthage, by a sentence as barbarous as it was ungrateful. 9

In the second year of the hundred-and-fourteenth Olympiad, Thimbro, after he had assassinated his friend Harpalus in Crete, sailed with a body of mercenaries to Cyrenaica, and being joined by some exiles, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the by-ways and passes there, endeavoured to make himself master of that country. Having

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...given the natives a defeat, they were obliged to apply to the Carthaginians, whose dominions were contiguous to theirs, for relief; which they thought that state, in point of good policy, could not well refuse them. This we learn from Diodorus; but as the whole country was immediately after conquered by Ophellas, and delivered into the hands of Ptolemy, 'tis very probable the Carthaginians were not then at leisure to assist them.

A few years afterwards, Sophistratus, who had usurped the supreme power at Syracuse, having been forced by Agathocles to raise the siege of Rhegium, returned with his shattered troops to Sicily. But soon after this unsuccessful expedition, he was obliged to abdicate the sovereignty and quit Syracuse. With him were expelled above six hundred of the principal citizens, who were suspected by the populace to have formed a design of altering the plan of government, which then prevailed in that city, as we have already related in the history of Syracuse. As Sophistratus and the exiles thought themselves ill treated, they had recourse to the Carthaginians, who readily espoused their cause. Hereupon the Syracusans recalling Agathocles, who had before been banished by Sophistratus, appointed him commander in chief of all their forces, principally on account of the known aversion he bore to that tyrant. The Carthaginians supplying Sophistratus with troops, he immediately assembled an army, and advanced at the head of it, to do himself, and his six hundred adherents, justice. After the two armies approached one another, several marches and counter-marches, and even some skirmishes happened, each side striving to gain some notable advantage. Agathocles, in all these military movements and combinations, acquired great reputation, both for his valour and policy. He frequently contrived some stratagem or other, which turned out much to the advantage of the Syracusans; of which the following was one of the most remarkable.

The Syracusan army having encamped near Gela, Agathocles, with a detachment of a thousand men, found an opportunity of entering the city in the dead tatt of the night; but being instantly charged by Sophistratus with a strong body of troops, he was obliged to retire with the loss of three hundred men. All the rest now look:
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looked upon themselves as lost, though Agathocles behaved with great intrepidity and resolution. However, having received seven wounds, being ready to faint for loss of blood, and hearing the enemy advancing from all parts to surround him, he ordered his trumpets to sound a charge at both parts of the walls. This greatly alarmed the Carthaginians, who now imagined, that another party of the Syracusans had forced their way into the town to relieve their companions. As the darkness of the night did not permit them to discover the truth, they thought proper to put an end to the pursuit; and dividing their forces, posted away to the places from whence the trumpets sounded, in order to defend the walls. In the mean time, Agathocles, at the head of his detachment, arrived safe in his own camp. By this artifice, he not only preserved the seven hundred men that first entered, but seven hundred more that were sent afterwards to his assistance.

This war did not continue long; for Sosistratus and the exiles being soon received again in the city, a treaty of peace was concluded between Carthage and Syracuse. The Syracusans now finding, that Agathocles began to exercise a sovereign power over his fellow-citizens, and take such measures as plainly shewed, that he aimed at monarchy, had recourse anew to Corinth for a general to command their forces. Accordingly one Acestorides was sent them to fill this post, who, upon his arrival, found that Syracuse could never enjoy a perfect tranquillity as long as Agathocles was alive; and therefore formed a design of dispatching him, which he attempted to execute in the manner already related in the seventh volume of this work. But Agathocles by a stratagem eluded that attempt; and making his escape, raised a body of forces in the heart of the island, with which he prepared to attack Syracuse. The Carthaginians being apprised of this, were struck with terror as well as the people of Syracuse; and therefore, at the instigation of the former, the latter thought proper to re-admit him, to avoid the fatal consequences of a civil war; however, he was obliged to swear in a solemn manner, that

* Idem ibid.
he would do nothing to the prejudice of the democracy (D).

Notwithstanding the solemn oath he had taken, Agathocles still pursued the point he had before in view, and, by a general massacre of the principal citizens, at last raised himself to the throne of Syracuse. Not content with this, he proposed to turn his arms against the other cities of Sicily, having a design to make himself master of the whole island. Beginning therefore with Messana, he seized upon a fort in the territory of that city; and being informed, that the walls were in a ruinous condition, he attempted at the head of a body of horse to surprise Messana itself. But missing his aim, he laid siege to the castle of Mylæ, which surrendered to him. Soon after he renewed his attempt upon Messana; but the citizens, knowing what treatment they were to expect, if the city fell into his hands, defended themselves with great bravery, and repulsed him in several attacks. In the mean time, the Carthaginians, being applied to, sent embassadors to him, complaining of such a notorious infraction of former treaties. The tyrant, at that time not caring to draw upon himself the whole power of Carthage, submitted to the terms prescribed him; and, in consequence of his peace with the people of Messana, concluded by the mediation of Carthage, he not only drew off his army from before their city, but restored likewise the castle of Mylæ to them. Upon which the Carthaginian embassadors, having happily executed their commission, returned back to Africa.

But

1 Diod. Sic. ubi sup. Justin. i. xxii Val. Max. i. vii. c. 4.
Univ. hist. vol. vii. p.

u Diod. Sic. ubi sup. c. 4.

(D) It appears from Diodorus and Justin, as this last author's text is emended by Sebilius, that these solemn oaths were usually taken in the temple of Ceres, and that at taking them the persons generally put their hands on the altar of that goddess. Juvenal and Virgil illustrate this point to satisfaction; Scheffer, Tanaquil Faber, and Gronovius, agree with Sebilius, but Vorstius differs from him; though the passage this last author produces from Plutarch, equally supports both opinions (1).

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But the restless spirit of Agathocles would not suffer him to be quiet. The cities therefore of Gela, Messana, and Agrigentum, entered into a confederacy against him, and confederacy sent to the Lacedaemonians for a general, not daring to trust any of their own principal citizens, as suspecting them to be too much inclined to arbitrary power. But observing that Acrotatus, who came from Sparta to command their forces, was more cruel and bloody than even Agathocles himself, they not only refused to act under his conduct, but even attempted to stone him. Hamilcar therefore, the Carthaginian general, judging this a favourable juncture to accommodate matters between Agathocles and the confederate cities, proposed a treaty of peace to both parties, which was at last made upon the following conditions: First, that the Carthaginians should remain in possession of Heraclea, Selinus, and Himera; and secondly, that all the other cities dependent on the Syracusans, should be governed by their own laws. By this treaty it seems to appear, that the cities above-mentioned were at that time greatly in the interest of the Carthaginians w.

Agathocles, finding his subjects disposed to second his ambitious views, shewed as little regard to this last treaty as he had before done to his oath; and therefore, in violation of the second article of it, he first made war on the neighbouring states, and afterwards carried his arms into the very heart of the island. He was attended in these expeditions with extraordinary success, in much, that in the space of two years he brought entirely under subjection all the Greek part of Sicily. This rapid progress alarmed the Carthaginians, who saw their territories there threatened with the same fate; especially as the tyrant had strengthened himself by many alliances, and, besides a potent army, made up of his own forces and those of his allies, had a body of mercenaries, consisting of ten thousand foot and above three thousand horse, all excellent troops. On the other hand, Agathocles, being sensible that both his power and proceedings gave great umbrage to the Carthaginians, and that they were very angry with Hamilcar for being instrumental in concluding the late peace, made all the necessary preparations, not only to put himself into a good posture of defence, but even to act offensively, in case of a war with Carthage. Things being in

w Idem ibid. c. 5.
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this situation, it was morally impossible but that a rupture must soon commence.

It is intimated by Justin, that Agathocles was at first supported by the Carthaginians, or rather by Hamilcar, their general in Sicily, nay, he assures us, that the tyrant effected the massacre above-mentioned by the assistance of five thousand Africans sent him by Hamilcar. After the reduction of the other parts of Sicily, he made incursions into the Carthaginian territories and those of their allies, where he committed great depredations, Hamilcar not offering to give him the least disturbance. This highly incensed the people of those districts, who looked upon themselves as betrayed by Hamilcar; and therefore sent letters to Carthage, filled with bitter complaints of his perfidious conduct and Agathocles’s tyranny; adding moreover, that, by the late infamous peace, many cities in alliance with Carthage had been sacrificed and delivered up into the tyrant’s hands. This greatly exasperated the senate; but as Hamilcar was invested with great power in Sicily, they judged it prudent to suspend their resentment till the arrival of Hamilcar, the son of Gisco. In the mean time, they came to a vigorous resolution concerning him; but, for the reason just hinted, did not think proper to declare this openly, but threw all the suffrages that passed into an urn, which they sealed up, till the other Hamilcar came from Sicily. But the general, being surprised by death, escaped thereby the punishment prepared for him at Carthage; and Hamilcar, the son of Gisco, was appointed to succeed him in the command of the forces. This incident hastened the rupture between Agathocles and the Carthaginians.

The last place that held out against Agathocles was Messana, where all the Syracusan exiles had retired. His general Pasipholus at first marched against it with an army; but having before received instructions from Agathocles to act as he should think fit for the good of his service, and finding that force would prove ineffectual, he enjoined the inhabitants into a treaty. This Agathocles likewise infringed when in possession of the town, cutting off all such as had formerly opposed his government; for as he intended to prosecute the war against Carthage with the utmost vigour, he thought it a point

- Idem ibid. & Justin. ubi sup.  
> Justin, ubi sup.
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a point of good policy to destroy, if possible, all his enemies in Sicily (E).

In the mean time, the Carthaginians arrived with a fleet of sixty sail at Agrigentum, and obliged Agathocles to desist from an attempt upon that place, which a little before he had projected. But as they had not brought a sufficient body of land-forces, he ravaged all the adjacent country, plundered the subjects of the Carthaginians, and took several of their forts by storm. Whilst he was thus employed, another Carthaginian squadron of fifty ships entered the great harbour of Syracuse, and sunk two transports, one of them an Athenian, which were all the vessels then in port. The Carthaginians, according to their usual cruelty, cut off the hands of all those they found on board, though they had not offered them the least injury, it being impossible for them to make any resistance. This barbarity was soon retaliated by Agathocles upon the Carthaginians; for several of their galleys, having been separated from the rest of the fleet upon the coast of Italy, fell into his hands, when he served all the prisoners taken therein in the same manner.

The Carthaginians, being informed that Agathocles had pillaged their territories in Sicily, and that his forces grew very numerous upon the frontiers, resolved to assemble a powerful army without delay, in order to reduce that tyrant. As they army to oppose him, and encamp a considerable body of their troops posted upon the hill Ecnemos, near Himera.

(Diod. Sic. ubi sup. c. 6, Idem ibid.

(E) In the midst of these troubles, Dinocrates assembled a large body of troops, which consisted chiefly of Syracusan and Messianian exiles. Having a great antipathy to Agathocles, he sent a considerable detachment under the command of Nymphodorus, one of his captains, to reduce the city of Centuripe, which was then garrisoned by that tyrant's troops; but Nymphodorus was killed in this attempt, and his men forced to raise the siege with great loss. Dinocrates sent to the Carthaginians for assistance in this expedition; but whether or not he received any from them, Diodorus tells us not. However, Agathocles took from hence an occasion of accusing the Centuripians of having formed a conspiracy against him, which gave him an opportunity of cutting off all those whom he suspected to be disaffected to his government (2).

who were obliged to decline his challenge, they were determined to pursue the war with more vigour than they hitherto had done. Having therefore reinforced the troops intended for the Sicilian expedition with two thousand native Carthaginians, among whom were many persons of quality, a thousand Etruscan mercenaries, as many slingers from the Balearic islands, and two hundred chariots, they transported them to that island, under the command of Hamilcar, as above-mentioned, to put a stop to the tyrant's conquests. The fleet, consisting of an hundred and thirty long ships, in the passage was dispersed by a violent storm, in which Hamilcar lost sixty ships of war and two hundred transports, with a great number of men. Many persons of the best families of Carthage were lost by this disaster, which caused a public lamentation in that city, when the walls were all hung with black, as usual on such melancholy occasions. Hamilcar, notwithstanding his loss, being joined on his arrival by such of the Sicilians as hated Agathocles, found upon a muster, that his army consisted of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse. With these he took the field, and encamped near the city of Himera, designing to come to blows with the enemy as soon as a fair opportunity offered.

In the mean time, Agathocles, finding the Carthaginians much superior to him, concluded, that many cities would join them, particularly that of Gela. What confirmed him in this opinion was, a blow he had lately received, twenty of his galleys, with all the troops on board, having fallen into the hands of the Carthaginians. To prevent the inhabitants of Gela from declaring against him, he found means gradually to introduce a party of his troops into the town, who not only pillaged it, but put four thousand of the citizens to the sword, threatening to use all others in the same manner, who did not immediately produce their treasure. Having thus filled his coffers with wealth, and left a strong garrison in the place, he moved with his forces towards the Carthaginians; and possessing himself of an eminence opposite to the enemy, there encamped. The Carthaginians had posted themselves upon the hill Econemos, on which Phalaris's castle, where he tortured offenders in his brazen bull, formerly stood; and Agathocles took post in another of that tyrant's castles, which from him was called Phaleria, upon the
the opposite height, being separated from Hamilcar by a river which ran between the two camps. As a prophecy or tradition had long prevailed there, that a great battle should be fought on the banks of this river, in which a vast carnage should be made, neither side for a long time shewed any disposition to begin the attack, both armies having a superstitious dread upon them. At last a party of Africans, by way of bravado, passed the river, and another of Agathocles’s troops, to return the compliment, did the same; and this brought on a general engagement. For the Sicilians, driving off some cattle and beasts of burden belonging to the enemy, were pursued by a Carthaginian detachment, which immediately upon its arrival on the opposite bank, fell into an ambuscade, that Agathocles, foreseeing what would happen, had laid there to intercept it; and not having time to form itself, was easily routed. This first instance of success greatly encouraged Agathocles, who hereupon moving out of his camp, attacked Hamilcar with his whole army, and with incredible bravery forced his trenches; though he sustained great losses from the slingers of the Balearic islands, who (F) with stones of a large size broke to pieces the shields and armour of his soldiers, and destroyed him abundance of men. But at this critical juncture a strong reinforcement unexpectedly arrived from Carthage, which entirely changed the face of affairs; for the Sicilians having before made their utmost efforts, became greatly dejected upon the arrival of these succours, and, almost as soon as the enemy rallied, took to their heels, and were so hotly pursued, that all the plains of Himera were covered with dead bodies. The heats being then excessive, great numbers that were ready to perish with thirst, drank too copiously of the river-water, which was salt and brackish, and thereby lost their lives. The Carthaginians

[F] Diodorus tells us, that all these Balearic slingers had been trained up in the art of slinging from their infancy, and consequently were very expert in that art; that they frequently attacked the enemy with stones of three pounds weight, which did great execution; and that in fine the Carthaginians wrested many victories out of the enemy’s hands almost entirely by their efforts. Our readers may expect a further account of them from Lycophron, Diodorus, Vegetius, and others, when we come to the history of Spain (3).

(3) Diod. Sic. l. v. c. i. & l. xix. c. 7.
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Agathocles had five hundred men killed in this battle, but Agathocles at least seven thousand.

After this defeat, Agathocles, collecting the shattered remains of his army, burnt his camp, and retired with great precipitation to Gela. He had not been there long, before some of his troops, by chicane, deluded three hundred African horses into the place, all of whom to a man he caused to be cut off. The tyrant remained sometime in Gela, that he might draw the enemy thither, and thereby prevent the siege of Syracuse, till the inhabitants of that place had got in their harvest. Hamilcar, being informed, that Gela was defended by a strong garrison, supplied abundantly with all forts of provisions and military stores, did not think fit to make an attempt upon it, but contented himself with reducing the forts and castles in the neighbourhood of that place, all of which surrendered upon the first summons. As he behaved in a very affable manner, the people of Camarina, Catana, Leontium, and Taurominum, sent embassadors to him to implore his protection; as did soon after those of Messana and Abacennum, though they were before at variance amongst themselves. In such perfect abhorrence did the people over the whole island hold the tyrant and all his adherents (G).

Agathocles, finding the Carthaginian general not disposed immediately to undertake either the siege of Gela or Syracuse, repaired to the latter of these places; and having filled his magistrates, reinforced the garrison, and perfected all the works, he shut himself up within the walls of his metropolis. Thither the Carthaginians followed him, and laid close siege to that important place, which, if they could have taken it, would soon have put them in possession of the whole island.

The Carthaginians having cut off a great part of Agathocles’s army, tripod him of his confederates, and got all Sicily,

(G) Justin intimates, that there was a second action between Hamilcar, the son of Gisco, and Agathocles, before the Carthaginians laid siege to Syracuse, wherein the latter was totally routed, and obliged to shut himself up within the walls of his metropolis (4).

(4) Justin l. xxii. c. 3.
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Sicily, except Syracuse, into their hands, the tyrant now found himself driven to a state of desperation. Being therefore abandoned by his allies from their abhorrence of his enormous cruelties, he formed a design of so bold, and, in appearance, so impracticable, a nature, that nothing but the success with which it was attended, could justify the undertaking of it. This design was to transfer the war into Africa, and besiege Carthage at a time when he himself was besieged in his metropolis, which was the only city left him in Sicily. His project he communicated to no person whatsoever, but only told the Syracusans in general terms, that he had found out an infallible way of freeing them from the impending calamities, and repairing all the losses they had sustained to that day. He then chose the most daring and intrepid among the soldiers and citizens of Syracuse, ordering the foot to be ready with their arms at the first call, and the horsemen to carry each along with him, besides his arms, a saddle and a bridle. Before his departure he gave free permission to all persons, who were not willing to go through the fatigues of a siege, to (H) retire out of the town, which many of the principal citizens, Justin says sixteen hundred, accepted of; but were scarce got out of the place, when they were cut off by parties posted upon the roads for that purpose. He set at liberty all the slaves who were able to bear arms, and, after obliging them to take an oath, incorporated them among his troops. Having seized upon the effates and effects of those persons who left the city, he raised a considerable sum, which was intended in some measure to defray the expence of the expedition he was going upon; however, he carried with him only fifty talents to supply his present wants, well assured that he should find in the enemy’s country whatever was necessary to his subsistence. His forces being all embarked, he appointed his brother Antandrus governor of Syracuse in his absence, with forces and provisions sufficient to hold out.

(H) Polyænus relates, that vast numbers of Syracusans having crowded on board the sixty vessels, of which Agathocles’s fleet consisted, the tyrant gave free liberty to all who were not willing to be engaged in a delesperate expedition, to retire with their effects. Many, embracing this offer, withdrew into the town, all of whom Agathocles, who looked upon them as cowards, ordered to be put to the sword (5).

(5) Polyæn. strat. l. v. c. 3. ex. 5.
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out a long siege; and taking with him his two sons Archagathus and Heraclides, he went on board last himself, where he waited some time for a fair wind. All people were at a loss to conjecture, what design he was going upon: some imagined his intention was to sail to the coast of Italy or Sardinia, to plunder those countries; others, that he proposed ravaging that part of Sicily belonging to the Carthaginians; but most persons agreed, that it was a desperate project he had in view. As the Carthaginians had a much superior fleet, and blocked up the mouth of the harbour, he was obliged to watch several days for an opportunity to set sail. At last a large fleet of transports appeared laden with corn and other provisions for Syracuse. To intercept these, the Carthaginians put to sea, and Agathocles no sooner saw the mouth of the harbour open, but he likewise hoisted sail, and, by the great activity of his rowers, soon got out in the main ocean.

The Carthaginians, seeing a squadron of sixty galleys, (for so many did this of Agathocles contain) at first imagined, that the enemy's fleet was sent to defend the transports; and therefore, tacking about, prepared for an engagement. But observing that this squadron continued its course strait forward, and was far before them, they immediately gave it chase, crowding all the sail possible. However, Agathocles so bestirred himself, that, night coming on, they lost sight of him; and in the mean time the transports, unexpectedly escaping the danger, plentifully supplied the city with corn and all other provisions. The next day a most remarkable (1) eclipse of the sun happened, when

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(1) Diodorus and Justin both affirm this to have been a solar eclipse; but Frontinus makes it a lunar one. The last author has, however, been corrupted in the passage referred to, so that the critics can scarce make sense of it. From the two former writers, as well as many others, that might be produced, it appears, that the ancients believed the eclipses of the luminaries to have portended great revolutions in human affairs; and it must be owned, that this notion, as well as some other points in judicial astrology, is of a very high antiquity (6).

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when the stars appeared every-where in the firmament, and the day seemed to be turned into night. As the Sicilians were not a little superstitious, this event struck the troops on board with terror, every one believing it to be a preface of their approaching destruction. But Agathocles revived the drooping courage of his soldiers, by telling them, that if they had seen this before their departure from Sicily, it would have portended a disappointment to them; but that as it happened afterwards, it predicted a train of disasters to the Carthaginians, whose dominions they were going to invade. He further remarked, that these eclipses always foretold some instant change; that therefore happiness was taking its leave of the enemy, and coming over to them. The Carthaginian admiral, finding that by pursuing two fleets at once, he had miffed them both, and that Agathocles did not return, resolved to pursue him close, and prevent him from kindling the war in some other place. Having therefore failed six days and six nights steering his course towards Africa, he at last came up with the Sicilian fleet, then upon the point of landing the forces on board. As both squadrons had the coast of Africa in view, the Carthaginians made the utmost efforts to attack Agathocles before he could reach the shore; and on the other hand, the tyrant, knowing what his fate would be, if he fell into the hands of so cruel an enemy, was no less active in his endeavours to land, before the Carthaginians could engage him. In fine, he had just begun to execute his design, when part of the Carthaginian squadron coming up with his rear, a flight engagement ensued. The weapons chiefly made use of on this occasion were bows and slings, the vessels not being close enough to grapple. As but a small part of the Carthaginian fleet found it possible to engage, and the mariners were quite tired with rowing, Agathocles gained the advantage; whereupon the Carthaginians, tacking about, stood off a little above the cast of a dart. This gave him an opportunity of landing his troops at a place called the quarries, without any farther opposition.

Agathocles, having landed his forces in the enemy's country, and secured for the present his shipping by a breast-work or parapet, offered a solemn sacrifice to Ceres and Soon after his landing, he burns his ships.


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and Proserpina, the guardians of Sicily. After this he summoned a council of war, composed of such officers as were entirely at his devotion; where, appearing in his royal robes, he acquainted them, that when they were so closely pursued by the Carthaginians, he applied himself to the two goddesses, promising, upon his arrival in Africa, to confederate all the vessels of the squadron to them, by reducing them to so many burning lamps; and that, since they were now delivered from the enemy, his intention was to perform his vow by burning the whole fleet. He exhorted them to distinguish themselves on the present occasion, declaring, that by the sacrifices the gods promised great success. He likewise observed, that the only way to draw the enemy out of Sicily was, to carry the war into their own country; that the Carthaginians were softened and enervated by ease and luxury; that the Africans under their subjection, as well as the neighbouring states, being highly incensed at the Carthaginian insolence, would join them on the first news of their arrival; that the cities of Africa were not fortified and built on mountains, as in Sicily, and therefore could not make any defence; that the boldness only of their attempt would quite disconcert the Carthaginians, who were altogether unprepared to repel an enemy at their own gates; that no enterprise could redound more to their honour and advantage, since this would, if attended with success, make them masters of all the wealth of Carthage, and transmit their names and fame to the latest posterity. In fine, he defied them not to be dismayed at the loss of their ships, since the two goddesses above-mentioned would hereafter return them a far greater number. Having uttered these words, a servant brought him a torch, which he eagerly catching hold of, went on board his own ship, and set it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were cheerfully followed by the soldiers. As the flames mounted up, the trumpets sounded from every quarter, and, after a joint prayer to the gods to grant the army a safe return home, the whole shore echoed with joyful shouts and loud acclamations. In short, the soldiers fancied themselves already masters of Africa; and not having been allowed time to reflect on the proposal made them, the whole fleet was in a moment consumed. This seems to have been one of the most
most desperate actions to be met with in history (K).

The motives for this astonishing point of conduct were various: First, Agathocles was desirous of putting his troops under a necessity of conquering, which he imagined might be done by the destruction of his fleet, since this would leave them no other refuge but victory. Secondly, he considered, that he had not one good harbour in Africa, where his ships could lie with safety; wherefore, as the Carthaginians were masters at sea, they would infallibly possess themselves of all his shipping, which was no ways in a condition to cope with theirs. Thirdly, in case he had left as many troops as were necessary to defend the fleet, he would have thereby so weakened his army, which was at best but inconsiderable, that he could not have ventured a battle with the enemy, and of course would have rendered himself incapable of drawing any advantage from this unexpected diversion. These, with other reasons, determined him to act in the manner above-mentioned, and exert that prodigious courage, necessary to work up his troops to such an unparalleled resolution. As they had been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour, when they began to cool, things appeared in another light. They now considered themselves as in the midst of an enemy’s country, separated from their own by the vast ocean, without the least hopes or means of escaping. Upon this a sad and melancholy silence succeeded that transport of joy, which but a moment before had been so general in the army.

But to dissipate all gloomy apprehensions, Agathocles marched instantly at the head of his troops against a place in the territories of Carthage, called the Great City, leaving

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(K) This conduct of Agathocles, how wild and extravagant soever it may appear to us at this distance of time, who are not so well acquainted with the springs and motives to it, nor the circumstances of his and the Carthaginian affairs, was highly approved of by Scipio, as we learn from Polybius. That great general looked upon Agathocles as a very able commander, and took hints from some points of his conduct, which much facilitated the conquest of Carthage (7).

(7) Polyb. 1. xv. Liv. 1. xxviii. n. 43.
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He advances towards Carthage, takes a place called the Great City, and gives the plunder of it to his soldiers.

The whole country, through which he passed, afforded the most delicious and agreeable prospect imaginable. On each side were spacious meadows covered with flocks of all kinds of cattle, country-houses built with extraordinary magnificence, delightful avenues planted with all sorts of fruit-trees, charming gardens of a prodigious extent, and kept with all possible care and elegance, &c. The whole tract was likewise watered by beautiful streams, and full of towns adorned with lately palaces belonging to the nobility of Carthage, many of whom inhabited this particular province. As they had enjoyed a long peace, nothing but a face of plenty and abundance here appeared, and an immense quantity of wealth was amassed in every part. This enchanting scene raised the drooping spirits of the soldiery, who thought the possession of so fine a country would make full amends for all the toils and fatigues that could be undergone. They advanced therefore with intrepidity to the Great City, which, after a feeble resistance, they took by storm. As Agathocles was desirous of inspiring his troops with fresh courage, he abandoned the plunder of the place, which was very considerable, to them. That this was a town of importance, and called in the Punic language Samath, Sumeth, or Samatho, is in some degree probable from Alexander Polyhistor, Stephanus, and others.

From hence the tyrant moved with his army to Tunis, a city of eminence in the neighbourhood of Carthage, which being intimidated by so unexpected a visit, surrendered on the first summons. The troops would willingly have garrisoned both these places, and laid up in them the plunder they had got; but Agathocles would by no means listen to such a motion. He, with some difficulty, convinced them, that this was not consistent with the plan he had laid down, nor at all expedient in their present circumstances. Being therefore determined, that his men should have no place to retire to in case of any misfortune, that they might place all hopes of safety in victory, he caused both the cities lately reduced to be levelled with the ground, and encamped in the open fields.

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In the mean time, the Carthaginians on board the galleys, that came up with Agathocles, just before he made his descent, expressed great joy upon seeing the Sicilian ships all on a blaze, imagining this to be the effect of fear. But they changed their note, when they observed the enemy marching in good order up into the country, being then convinced, that a push was intended to be made at Carthage itself. Hereupon they immediately spread a great number of hides upon the fore-castles of their ships, which was with them a constant signal of some impending public calamity. They also carried on board their own vessels the iron beaks belonging to the Sicilian ships that had been destroyed, and dispatched an express to Carthage to give the senate a particular account of every thing that had happened. But the whole country was so alarmed upon the first appearance of the enemy's squadron on the African coast, that, before his arrival, the news of his unexpected descent had reached Carthage, and thrown the whole city into the utmost terror and confusion. They all concluded, that their army before Syracuse had been defeated, and their fleet lost; for that, in any other situation of affairs, it was possible for Agathocles to leave Syracuse, and pass over into Africa, they could not believe. The people hastened with trembling hearts to the market-place, while the senate assembled in a tumultuous manner to deliberate how they might save the city, which the victorious enemy was with long marches advancing to besiege. They had no army in readiness to make head against the enemy; and their imminent danger did not permit them to wait till forces were levied among their allies. Some therefore were for sending ambassadors to Agathocles to propose an accommodation, and at the same time to discover the posture of the enemy; others apprehended it would be better to receive a more perfect intelligence of the true state of affairs, before any public step was taken; and this opinion prevailed.

Whilst the city was in this ferment, the courier sent by the Carthaginian admiral arrived, and informed the senate of the destruction of the Sicilian fleet, and that Agathocles was advancing with his army into the heart of their dominions. However he gave them to understand, that their troops in Sicily were all safe and in good condition; that they pushed on the siege of Syracuse with the utmost vigour; that the body

~ Idem ibid. & Justin. ubi sup.
body of forces under Agathocles was not very considerable; and that the advantage he had lately gained by sea was attended with no other consequence in his favour, than that it enabled him barely to land his troops. This pacified the minds of the people, so that by degrees they recovered from the panic they were lately thrown into; though the senate severely reprimanded the sea-officers for their negligence, in suffering the enemy to make a descent, when they were masters at sea. It was now resolved, that the citizens should be armed; and accordingly in a few days they had on foot an army of forty thousand infantry, and a thousand cavalry, with two thousand armed chariots. They appointed Hanno and Bomiclar to command the forces, notwithstanding the grudges that had long subsisted between their respective families, hoping that, laying aside all private animosities, they would jointly exert themselves in the defence of their country, and not permit any family quarrels to interfere with the public welfare. In this, however, they were deceived; for Bomiclar, having long thirsted after arbitrary power, passionately wished for an opportunity of subverting the republican form of government at Carthage; which believing the post above-mentioned would enable him to do, he readily accepted of it with that view only. As the Carthaginians frequently brought false accusations against their generals after the conclusion of a peace, and through envy put many of them most unjustly to death, 'tis not to be wondered at, that sometimes, in order to avoid such pernicious treatment, they either resigned their commissions, or attempted to introduce arbitrary power. Of this Bomiclar was an instance, as will more fully appear by-and-by a.

In the mean time Agathocles committed great ravages, razing several castles, and burning many villages on his march, though his army did not consist at most of above fourteen thousand men. The Carthaginian generals, to find him other employ, immediately took the field, and advancing towards him with great celerity, at last posses[s]ed themselves of an eminence in sight of his camp, and drew up their forces in battle-array. Hanno commanded the right wing.

a Diod. Sic. ubi sup.
wings, supported by the (L) sacred cohort; Bomilcar the left, making his phalanx very deep, since the nature of the place would not permit him to extend his wing farther in front; and the cavalry and chariots were placed, as usual, in the van. Agathocles, on the other hand, made a proper disposition of his forces, which were composed of Syracusans, Samnites, Etruscans, Celts, and Greek mercenaries. The right wing he committed to the conduct of his son Archagathus; the other at the head of the troops of the household and a thousand cuirassiers, opposite to the Carthaginian sacred cohort, he commanded himself; and lastly, the slingers and archers, to the number of five hundred, were distributed in both wings to the best advantage. Finding several of his soldiers unarmed, he obliged them to draw the covers and cases of shields over a quantity of rods collected for that purpose, and to carry those before them, as if they had been real. By this stratagem, though none of the most refined, he imposed upon the enemy, who were at some distance from him, and prevented the nakedness of his troops from being exposed to their view. Agathocles was in no small consternation, when he saw so numerous an army ready to engage him. However, he dissimulated his fear, and in order to encourage his men, who were quite dispirited, and under great apprehensions of the enemy’s horse and chariots, he let out several owls, which he threw before them. And by a stratagem, together with Bomilcar’s treachery, entirely overthrew them.

(L) The sacred cohort consisted of the sons of senators, and the prime nobility, who seem to have had their tents placed near that of the general. His aids-de-camps were taken out of this body, and the officers of it were his principal companions. The precise number of this corps cannot be determined; but from Appian we may conclude, that it consisted of about four thousand men. It was known to the Romans by the appellations sacra cohors, flitatores, prætoriani, delecta cohors, and anwered to the evocati and ablecti of that nation. In short, it was a body composed of volunteers of distinction, who might be looked upon as the general’s guard and particular friends. Curtius intimates, that Amyntas had a guard of Macedonian youths something resembling these. For a further account of them, we must refer our readers to the authors cited in the margin (8).

he had before prepared for that purpose. These flying about the camp, and lighting on the soldiers' shields, so raised their spirits, that of their own accord they began to advance against the enemy, not doubting, but by the assistance of Minerva, to whom that bird was sacred, and therefore looked upon by the whole army as a good omen, they should gain a complete victory. The first charge was made by the enemy's chariots, and the cavalry intermixed with them; but the body of Sicilian troops opposed to them did not only withstand their efforts with incredible bravery, but pierced some of them through with darts and arrows, and drove the rest back into the midst of their own foot. This naturally threw the foot into confusion, and occasioned the defeat of the horse; for these, finding themselves deprived of their chief support, were easily broken, and never afterwards made the least attempt to rally. However, Hanno, with the sacred cohort, which consisted of the flower of the troops, sustained a long time the fury of the enemy, and even put them into disorder; but being overwhelmed with flowers of darts, and covered with wounds, he fell, fighting bravely to the last. His death obligeing the right wing to give ground, inspired Agathocles and his troops with such ardor, that they bore down all before them, though for some time they were most vigorously opposed by the enemy. Bomilcar, understanding that his colleague was slain, looked upon this as a favourable opportunity put into his hands by the gods of possessing himself of the sovereignty, to which he had long aspired. Tho' therefore it was in his power to have changed the face of things, yet being sensible, that he could not accomplish the design he had in view, if the army of Agathocles were destroyed, but might easily put it in execution, if the enemy conquered, he resolved to retire with the forces under his command, not doubting, but he should be able to get the better of Agathocles whenever he pleased. Accordingly acquainting his men with Hanno's death, he enjoined them to keep their ranks, and retire in good order to a neighbouring hill; as the only means to escape the fury of the victorious enemy. As by the general's direction the retreat was to precipitate, that it looked like a downright flight, the Africans in their rear imagined, that all the rest of the army were totally routed, and therefore immediately fell into disorder; which being observed by Agathocles, he took advantage of this confusion, and pursued them so close, that they were obliged to take to their heels, as their companions before
fore had done, whereby he gained a complete victory. The sacred cohort, however, fought with great bravery, even after the death of Hanno, and courageously advanced over the dead bodies of their fellow-soldiers, till they saw themselves abandoned by the whole army, and in danger of being surrounded by the enemy. Then indeed they thought it proper to have some regard to their own safety, and therefore retiring in good order, gained an eminence, where they halted, and endeavoured to make head against those who pursued them; but not being supported by Bomicar, they were either cut off, or forced to save themselves by flight, after having distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner. That general, after the defeat of his army, retired to Carthage, not having been pursued far by Agathocles, who returned back with great expedition to take possession of the enemy's camp. This he allowed his soldiers to plunder for their further encouragement; where, among other rich spoils, they found many chariots of curious workmanship, that carried twenty thousand pairs of fetters and manacles, which the enemy had provided for the Sicilian prisoners, not doubting, but they should fill all the dungeons in Carthage with them. Of the Sicilians, according to Diodorus, not above two hundred were slain, and about a thousand Carthaginians, or, as others will have it, six thousand. Justin makes the loss to be pretty equal on both sides; for he tells us, that two thousand Sicilians, and three thousand Carthaginians, fell in this battle. As Bomicar quitted the field of battle without fighting, and Agathocles did not long continue the pursuit, it is probable, that the slaughter was not very considerable, and that both sides suffered pretty much alike, especially since the sacred cohort behaved to the last with such unparalleled resolution. Justin likewise differs from Diodorus in his account of the strength of the Carthaginian forces in this action; for whereas the former will have that host to have been very numerous, the latter relates, that it consisted only of thirty thousand men. Be this as it will, the Carthaginians received a notable defeat, when they thought themselves in a manner certain of victory; God, as our historian here observes, being pleased, by this instance, to let them know, that He is the supreme disposer and arbiter of events. * Diod. Sic. & Justin. ubi supra.
Though the Carthaginians had sustained no very considerable loss in the late engagement, they were extremely disheartened, believing the gods fought against them. They could not imagine it possible for Agathocles, after his whole army had been totally routed in Sicily, and he reduced almost to the necessity of surrendering his metropolis, to land in Africa, in spite of a powerful fleet, with the shattered remains of his broken troops, and afterwards defeat a numerous body of forces, without the interposition of some superior being. Under the influence of this persuasion, they made it their first endeavour to appease the offended deities, particularly Hercules and Saturn, whom they considered as the tutelar gods of their country. From the foundation of their city, they had sent the tenth part of all their revenues annually to Tyre, as an offering to Hercules, the patron and protector both of Carthage and its mother city. This custom for many ages had been religiously observed; but their revenues at last growing immensely large, they not only had omitted to raise the tenths sacred to Hercules in proportion, but even discontinued their antient acknowledgment to that deity. For this sacrilegious avarice they now imagined themselves punished; and therefore, to expiate their guilt, they made a public confession of their impiety, and sent the golden flamines of their other deities to Hercules at Tyre, having a notion, that such sacred gifts would make a more effectual atonement. As for Saturn, in antient times it was usual to sacrifice children of the most noble families to him, as has been above observed; but for many years past these sacrifices they had substituted children of mean extraction, secretly bought and bred up for that purpose, in the room of those nobly born. This they now considered as a departure from the religion of their forefathers, and a remarkable failure of paying this divinity the honour due to him, and consequently were conscious of having given him just cause of offence. To expiate the guilt of so horrid an impiety, a sacrifice of two hundred children of the first rank was made to the bloody god, and above three hundred other persons, in a sense of their dreadful neglect, voluntarily offered themselves as victims, to pacify, by the effusion of their blood, the wrath of this deity. Such were the sentiments of the Carthaginians at this juncture, and such the method, they apprehended, would prove the most effectual in reconciling the offended deities to them, whom they imagined the immediate authors of the bad success that attended their arms; though it is probable,
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bable, that soon after, upon the discovery of Bomilcar's per-
fidious conduct, they admitted at least of the concurrence of an
inferior cause.  

After these expiations, the Carthaginians thought it not
improper likewise to make use of human means for their
preservation; they therefore dispatched messengers to Hamil-
car in Sicily, with advice of what had happened in Africa,
and express orders to hasten over to the relief of his country.
When the messengers arrived, Hamilcar commanded them
not once to mention the victory of Agathocles; but, on the
contrary, to give out amongst the troops, that he had been
entirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his fleet destroyed
by the Carthaginians. The senate of Carthage had sent to
Hamilcar by the messengers all the beaks of the Syracusan
ships, that this report might more easily gain credit; for it
was by their orders that he had caused it to be propagated.
Hamilcar therefore, in consequence of these orders, imme-
diately sent the persons newly arrived from Carthage to Syra-
cuse, to publish this melancholy news there, and at the same
time, in confirmation of it, to produce the iron beaks of
the ships pretended to be taken from the enemy. This they
did, summoning the governor and citizens to deliver up the
city, since they could expect no succours, their army and
fleet in Africa being utterly ruined. At first this sad account
was generally believed, and greatly affected the whole city;
but the leading men, to prevent all commotions, dismissed
the messengers without any answer, and soon after expelled
eight thousand of their citizens, who seemed disposed to an
insurrection. This threw every part of the city into the ut-
most confusion, the women running about the streets in a
distracted manner, and every house being filled with outcries
and lamentations. Some bewailed the death of Agathocles
and his sons; others the loss of their friends, who were sup-
posed to be cut off in Africa; and great numbers their own
hard fate, in being driven, with their wives and children,
into the hands of the enemy. But Hamilcar entertained the
exiles with great kindness; and being informed by them of
the deplorable condition the city was in, he resolved to make
a general assault on all quarters at once. Tho' he expected
easily to carry the place, as believing it to be almost destitute

Lactant. divin. initit. i. c. xxii. Diod. Sic. ubi supra, &c.
of troops to defend it, yet he first sent new deputies to Antandrus the governor, promising to spare him and all those who sided with him, if he delivered the city up into his hands. Hereupon a council of war was summoned, at which all the principal officers were invited to assist; when, after much debate, Antandrus, being a man of a mean spirit and very unlike his brother, declared himself for a capitulation; but Eurymnon the Ætolian, whom Agathocles had left to assist his brother with his advice, prevailed upon him and the rest to hold out, till they had certain intelligence of the truth. Hamilcar, being apprised of the resolution the garrison had taken, prepared his battering-engines to play afresh upon the walls, and made all the necessary dispositions to storm the town without delay.

Whilst matters remained in this situation, a galley with thirty oars arrived in the harbour of Syracuse, whose rowers crowned with garlands, and singing the Io Pean, made directly to the city. This vessel Agathocles caused to be built immediately after the battle; and having manned it with some of his best rowers, under the conduct of his intimate friend Nearchus, dispatched it to Syracuse, to carry thither the agreeable news of his late victory. The Carthaginian galleys, discovering it, gave it chase so briskly, that it narrowly escaped falling into their hands; which it must infallibly have done, had not the Syracusans advanced to its relief, when it was within a dart’s cast of the shore. Hamilcar, observing that the garrison flocked down to the port on this occasion, and believing that he should find the walls unguarded, ordered his soldiers to rear up scaling-ladders, and begin the intended assault. The enemy having left the ramparts quite exposed, the Carthaginians mounted them without being discerned, and had almost possession themselves of an entire part lying between two towers, when the patrol discovered them. Upon this a warm dispute ensued; but at last the Carthaginians were repulsed with considerable loss. Hamilcar therefore, finding it in vain to continue the siege, after such glad tidings had restored life and resolution to the Syracusans, drew off his forces from before the place, and sent a detachment of five thousand men to reinforce the troops in Africa.

Agatho-
Agathocles, after his victory over the Carthaginians, finding no enemy to oppose him, reduced many forts and castles in the neighbourhood of Carthage. Many cities like wise, either out of fear, or aversion to the Carthaginians, joined him, by which his army being considerably reinforced he moved towards the maritime towns, having left a body of troops to defend his fortified camp at Tunis. The first place he attacked was the New City; which he carried sword in hand, but treated the inhabitants with great humanity. He then advanced to Adrumetum, and laid siege to it. The Carthaginians, by degrees recovering from the consternation they were thrown into by the late defeat, and being informed of the progress Agathocles made, as also of his being supported by Elymas king of Libya, immediately assembled another army, and marched against Tunis. After a stout resistance, they made themselves masters of the enemy’s camps, and by their repeated attacks so pressed the town, that it was soon reduced to great extremity. Agathocles, receiving intelligence of the enemy’s success, left the greatest part of his army to carry on the siege of Adrumetum, and, with a small body of troops, privately posted himself on the top of a mountain between Adrumetum and Tunis (M), from whence he could take a view both of his own camp and that of the Carthaginians. Here he ordered his soldiers in the night to make large fires, that the Carthaginians might think he was advancing at the head of a formidable army to the relief of Tunis; and, on the other hand, the garrison of Adrumetum might be induced to believe, that a strong reinforcement was coming to his camp before that place. The stratagem answered both these views; for the Carthaginians raised the siege of Tunis hereupon with so much precipitation, that

(M) The learned and ingenious Dr. Shaw supposes mount Zow- aan, or Zag-wan, a conspicuous mountain in the inland part of the summer circuit of the Tunisians, to have been the place from whence Agathocles was entertained with a view both of the country of the Aedumetines and Carthaginians. Solinus intimates, that the foot of this mountain was one of the limits of Africa Propria; which, in conjunction with the name, renders it something probable, that the Regio Zeugitana received its denomination from it (9).

(9) Dr. Shaw’s geograph. observat. relating to the kingdom of Tun. c. 3. p. 184, 185. Solin. c. 27. Vide & Strab. l. x. p. 326.
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that they left all their battering engines being them; and the
Adrumetines were so intimidated, that they immediately ca-
pitulated. Thapsus he afterwards took by storm, and reduced
in that tract above two hundred cities and towns, partly by
force, and partly by composition. Justin intimates, that he
put a great number of people to the sword in this expedition;
but as the contrary seems to appear from Diodorus, we must
suspend our belief of this particular. Perhaps the author
above-mentioned took this article from Timaeus Siculus, who
painted all the expeditions of Agathocles, and his whole life,
in the blackest colours. Be that as it will, he made himself
master of the whole territory of Carthage; but hearing that
Elymas, king of Libya, in violation of the late treaty, had
declared against him, he immediately entered Libya Superior,
and in a great battle overthrew that prince, putting to the
sword a good part of his troops, and the general that com-
manded them. This blow obliged the Libyan monarch to
recall the body of auxiliaries he had sent to aid the Cartha-
ginians, and enabled Agathocles to march against that nation,
who, he was acquainted, had formed the siege of Tunis a
second time. Advancing with great expedition, he at length
encamped within two hundred stadia of the enemy, and
commanded his soldiers not to make any fires at all. This
prevented the Carthaginians from having any suspicion of his
approach; so that marching all night with wonderful celerity,
he arrived by break of day in the neighbourhood of their
camp, where meeting with a body of their forces, that had
been plundering and laying waste the adjacent country, he
charged them with such vigour, that two thousand were kill-
ed upon the spot, many taken prisoners, and the rest disper-
sed. The Carthaginians, being extremely mortified at this
disaster, and receiving advice, that Elymas had been obliged
to recall the troops sent to their assistance, without waiting for
Agathocles, abandoned the siege.1

It has been before observed, that Hamilcar sent only a
detachment of five thousand men to the relief of his dis-
tressed country; keeping therefore the main body of
his forces together, he still entertained hopes of obliging
Agathocles to quit Africa, and return to the defence of
his own dominions. He spent some time in making
himself master of such cities as sided with the Syracusians;
and after having brought all their allies under subjection,

1 Diod. Sic. ubi supra.
returned again to Syracuse, hoping to surprize the city, by attacking it in the night. The Syracusans were, before the approach of the Carthaginian army, reduced to some straights; for Hamilcar had not only cut off all supplies of provisions, that might have come to their relief by sea, but likewise destroyed all the corn and fruits of the earth he could meet with in their territory, and had attempted to possess himself of the castle of Olympia or Olympium, lying before the town. However, they were not discouraged, but took all the necessary measures for a vigorous defence; and suspecting Hamilcar to have formed a design of surprizing the city, they, by way of precaution ordered a body of three thousand foot and four hundred horse to take post in Euryalus, the citadel of Epipolae (N). About midnight, Hamilcar advanced, at the head of a strong party, to begin the attack, and was supported by Dinocrates, general of the horse. His army was divided into two phalanxes, one formed of the Carthaginian forces, the other of the Greek mercenaries, which were followed by a confused multitude, composed of various nations (O), who attended the army for the sake of plunder. The pasiles being then rough and narrow, this unwieldy rabble for some time found it impossible to move forwards; and therefore

(N) Diodorus here makes a fine reflection on the uncertainty of war, and infinuates, that neither valour nor conduct has the greatest share in bringing it to an happy conclusion. Agathocles, one of the greatest captains of his age, at the head of a numerous army, was routed by Hamilcar at the battle of Himera; and yet soon after, this very victorious army, weakened only by an inconsiderable detachment sent to Africa, and consisting then of an hundred and twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, was entirely defeated by a small party of the routed enemy, supported only by the advantageous situation of the post they were ordered to defend (10).

(O) From this passage it appears probable, that the Carthaginian armies were attended by a numerous rabble in all remarkable expeditions. This will enable us to account for the prodigious carnage made of their troops when the enemy was victorious; for such an undisciplined number of people must first greatly contribute towards throwing the regular troops into confusion; and then, not being able either to retire or escape, be totally cut off. The Turks labour under the same inconvenience at this day, or at least have done so till of late.

(10) Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.
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The barbarians, of which it consisted, quarrelling for the way, came at last to downright blows; which put the whole army into confusion. The Syracusans posted at Euryalus, taking advantage of this, made a sally, and after having terribly galled the Carthaginians with their darts and arrows from the hill, attacked them in form. Hamilcar at first received the enemy with great resolution, crying out to the officers to do their duty, and endeavour to animate their troops to sustain the shock of the enemy; but the Syracusans having seized upon the passes, and there not being room for so numerous an army as Hamilcar’s to act, great numbers of the Carthaginian foot were trod to death by their own horse; and the confusion they were at first thrown into being heightened by the darkness of the night, one part of their army engaged the other; so that the rout became general, and the slaughter dreadful. Hamilcar therefore, being deserted by all his army, which, before the engagement, amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, was taken prisoner, and carried into Syracuse. Diodorus relates, that an haruspex, or soothsayer, before the beginning of the action, predicted, that Hamilcar should sup the next night in Syracuse; which though it proved true, yet the entertainment he there met with was not much to his satisfaction; for those, whose parents and relations he had barbarously murdered, led him in chains about all the streets of the city, and, after having venged their rage on their miserable captive by all sorts of torments, struck off his head, and sent it into Africa, a welcome present to Agathocles, who, advancing to the enemy’s camp, and flewing them the head of their general, struck them with such terror, that their commanders with the utmost difficulty kept them from abandoning the camp, and returning to Carthage.

The day after this defeat, the Carthaginians rallied their shattered troops at some distance from Syracuse; but having lost their general, they could not agree amongst themselves about the choice of his successor: the exiles and Greek mercenaries therefore pitched upon Dinocrates for their commander, and the Carthaginians vested with the supreme command of the national troops the Carthaginian officer

The Agri-gentines take several places from the Carthaginians and Syracusans.

Diod. Sic. l. xx. c. 1. Publ. l. xxii. c. 7. sub init. & Orof. l. iv. c. 6.
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officer who was next in dignity to the general. The Agri-
gentines, finding the Carthaginians and Syracusan had ex-
tremely weakened each other by this bloody war, and that
the latter were in great distress for want of provisions,
judged this a favourable opportunity of feizing upon the
sovereignty of the whole island themselves; and therefore
set on foot a considerable army for that purpose, appointing
Xenodicus, one of their countrymen, general. This army
was soon reinforced by a considerable body of troops from
the city of Gela, which Xenodicus had found means to
engage in the Agrigentine interest. He first made himself
matter of Enna, and then marched to Herbeius (P), that
was defended by a Carthaginian garrison. Upon his arrival
there, he immediately caused it to be attacked. For some
time the garrison made a vigorous defence; but at last the
inhabitants declaring in favour of the besiegers, the town,
after a brisk action, was taken; on which occasion a great


number

(P) That the cities of Enna and Herbeius were of Phœnician
or Carthaginian extraction is apparent from the names themselves.
The former is undoubtedly a Greek corruption of Ennaam or
Ennam, which, in Punic or Phœnician, imports the fountain of
pleasure, or the pleasant fountain. The Greeks, having no words
ending in M, frequently expunged that letter from Oriental pro-
per names, in order to accommodate them to their own language,
of which Maria, Gehenna, &c. are sufficient instances (11). The
authors referred to in the margin evince this etymology (12). The
latter signifies in Punic or Phœnician, the mountain of the cave,
or the hollow mountain; and that the town of Herbeius stood
upon such a mountain, appears from several authors (13). We
must not omit observing, that the word begins with an H, since
Pliny (14) enumerates the Herbeëneses amongst the inhabitants of
those cities, whose names begin with that letter; nor that, in con-
firmation of what has been advanced, the place at this day is
called Le Grotto, or the caverns. From Polyænus we may infer,
that the Greeks sometimes pronounced only one of the words of
which this town's name was composed, viz, Beßia, or Veßia,
which greatly strengthens Bochart's conjecture (15).

(11) Bochart. Chan. 1. i. c. 28. (12) Ovid. saft. i. iv. Diod.
Sic. I. v. c. 1. Cis. aed Ver. 4. Claud. i. ii. (13) Bochart,
I. iv. c. 6. & Strab. 1. vi. (14) Plin. i iii. c. 8. (15) Clu-
I. v. c. 1. ex. 4.
number of Carthaginians were killed, and above five hundred taken prisoners. In fine, the Agrigentines prosecuted this war with such success, that in a short time they wrested many places of note both out of the hands of Agathocles and the Carthaginians.

The Syracusans, in the mean time, being threatened with a famine, and understanding, that some vessels laden with corn were coming to the enemy, fitted out twenty galleys to intercept them. As the Carthaginians had entertained no suspicion of such an attempt, the Syracusans found an opportunity of slipping by them, and for some time pursued their course in quest of the transports above-mentioned. But the Carthaginians, being apprised of what had happened, pursued them with thirty galleys; and coming up with them off of Hybla, immediately attacked them. At first the Syracusans seemd to prepare themselves for a warm engagement; but being soon driven on shore, they abandoned their ships, and taking shelter in the temple of Juno, endeavoured there to defend them against the Carthaginians. After a sharp dispute, the latter, by means of their grappling-irons, carried ten of them off; but the rest were drawn on shore by the assistance of the garrison of Hybla, who, upon the first news of the action, advanced to the relief of the Syracusans.

Agathocles, having forced the Carthaginians to raise a second time the siege of Tunis, and reduced all the places subject to them, prepared now to besiege Carthage itself; and, in order thereto, advanced with his army to a post within five miles of that capital. On the other hand, the Carthaginians, notwithstanding the great losses they had sustained, in order to cover the city, encamped betwixt it and the enemy with a powerful army. This was the face of affairs, when Agathocles received advice of the defeat of the Carthaginian forces before Syracuse, and the head of Hamilcar their general, who being taken prisoner in the action, had been put to death in Syracuse, as above related. Upon receiving this agreeable news, Agathocles rode up to the enemy’s camp, and shewing them the head, gave them an account of the total destruction of their army in Sicily. This threw the whole army into the utmost consternation, and filled every part of the camp with cuttures and lamentations. The barbarians, according to the custom of the country,

\textsuperscript{7} Dion. Sic. ubi cap. c. 2. \textsuperscript{x} Idem ibid.
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country, prostrated themselves before the head of their prince; for Hamilcar at the time of his death, according to Diodorus, was one of the Carthaginian suffetes. In short, they were so dejected at the first publication of this melancholy account, that, in all human probability, Agathocles would soon have made himself master of Carthage, and put a glorious end to the war, had not an unexpected incident happened, which had like to have proved fatal to the tyrant himself, and thrown the game once more into the hands of the Carthaginians.

Lyciscus, an officer of great bravery, being invited by Agathocles to supper, and heated with wine, reflected on the tyrant’s conduct in the most opprobrious terms, uttering at the same time against him the most bitter imprecations. Agathocles, having a personal value for him, on account of his merit, turned all his insolence and scurrility into a jest; but his son Archagathus, highly resenting such infamous behaviour, did not fail to recriminate, and to his invectives not a few menaces were added. When the entertainment was over, and every one retired to his tent, Lyciscus charged Archagathus with incest, he being suspected of an illicit commerce with Alcia, his father’s wife. This incensed Archagathus to fury and madness; so that losing all moderation, he snatched a lance out of the hands of one of the guard, and immediately piercing Lyciscus with it, laid him dead at his feet. The friends of the deceased, and many other soldiers, enraged at the fact, filled the whole camp by break of day with tumult and confusion. To these many officers, who were justly obnoxious to the tyrant’s displeasure for various crimes, thinking this a fair opportunity of delivering themselves from all future apprehensions of punishment, joined in exciting the troops to a revolt. The whole army was soon in motion, and determined to take vengeance either of Archagathus or Agathocles, if he refused to deliver up his son into their hands. The troops therefore, electing new officers to command them, soon possessed themselves of the walls of Tunis, to which place the tyrant returned after the arrival of the last express, and surrounded him, and his son, with their whole body of guards. The Carthaginians apprised of what had happened, dispatched

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dispatched messengers to the Sicilian forces, promising them larger pay, and ample rewards, if they would abandon the tyrant, and take on in their service. Hereupon Agathocles, seeing himself in the most imminent danger, especially as many of his officers had already closed with the enemy’s proposal, and judging it better to fall by the hands of his own soldiers, than to be put to an ignominious death by a cruel and insulting enemy, de vested himself of his royal robes, and, in the habit of a poor peasant, appeared in the midst of his troops. This strange sight so confounded them, that there was a deep silence all over the camp; which Agathocles taking advantage of, made a speech suitable to the occasion, wherein he gave a particular detail of the most memorable events of his past life, and the great actions in which he had been concerned, concluding, that he was determined never to for sfeit his honour for the sake of his life, and that therefore he was ready to put a period to his days immediately, if they, his fellow-soldiers, deemed this expedient for the public good. Upon this he drew his sword, as though his intention was to have killed himself upon the spot; but when in all appearance he was upon the point of thrusting it into his body, the army cried out aloud to him to forbear; and desiring him to resume his purple robe, and other ensigns of royalty, in a moment returned to their duty. This greatly disappointed the Carthaginians, who were in continual expectation of being joined by the most considerable part at least of the tyrant’s army, not dreaming of what was really in agitation at that time in the Sicilian camp. Agathocles therefore surprized a strong body of the enemy, who had posted themselves close by his troops, that they might be at hand to join them, in case the proposal above-mentioned was listened to; and having put them to the rout, forced them back to their camp with great slaughter. Thus Agathocles not only extricated himself out of a strange difficulty, in which his son’s imprudence had involved him, but likewise defeated the enemy, when they looked upon his situation as desperate. However, the ring-leaders of the mutiny, and two hundred others, who bore Archagathus a grudge, went over in a body to the Carthaginians.

But notwithstanding the tyrant’s affairs took so happy a turn at this critical juncture, when he seemed to be upon the very brink of destruction, yet the effects of the late mutiny

* Diod. Sic. ubi supra.
tiny might, in some measure, have been esteemed as fatal to him, since it gave the Carthaginians an opportunity of recovering from the consternation, into which the deplorable news of the total ruin of their army in Sicily, and the death of their general there, had thrown them. Could Agathocles have attacked the Carthaginian forces immediately upon his communication of this advice to them, he would, in all human probability, have easily defeated them, and made himself master of Carthage, had he directly followed his blow, without any resistance; but this unfortunate incident gave them time to shake off their panic, and make such preparations for their defence, as, in concurrence with other unforeseen events, baffled all the tyrant’s future efforts to reduce that city. In the mean time, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by alliances with the African princes, to whom he sent embassadors, inviting them to join in the common cause, and assist him in overturning that imperious republic, which, with so much haughtiness, lorded it over them. This, together with the fame of his victories, had such an effect upon the Numidians, that, immediately declaring in his favour, they renounced all allegiance to the Carthaginians

(a)

The next year the people of Carthage, notwithstanding their deplorable circumstances, sent an army into Numidia to reduce the revolters; which, in conjunction with the (Q.) Zuphons, a nation of that country, brought back many of them to their duty. Agathocles being informed of this, and fearing to lose the benefit of so seasonable a diversion, left his son Archagathus with part of his forces at Tunis, and with the rest, consisting of eight thousand foot and eight

a Idem ibid.

(Q.) The Zuphons were a herd or canton of those Numidians, who either always perished in their fidelity to the Carthaginians, or were the first who returned to their duty. It seems probable, that their capital city, if they had any, must have been named Zuphon, or Zupho, and situate not far from the frontiers of Africa Propria. It is impossible, however, to determine this situation with any tolerable degree of precision, especially as none of the antient writers, except Diodorus in this place, if our memory fails us not, have taken any notice of them. Cellarius, though an accurate author, has passed them over in silence (16).

eight hundred horse, all chosen men, together with fifty African carriages, for the sake of the greater expedition, advanced to the relief of the Numidians. The Carthaginians, receiving advice of his approach, encamped upon an eminence on the opposite bank of a deep, and seemingly impassable, river, in order to prevent a surprise; from whence they detached a body of light Numidian horse, to obstruct their march, and harass them by continual alarms. To keep these in play, Agathocles sent out parties of his slingers and archers, and with the main body of his army marched directly towards the enemy's camp, where he found them drawn up in battle ready to receive him. Upon his first attempting to pass the river, he was charged by a body of the Carthaginians with great fury, and lost a considerable number of men; but his troops, notwithstanding the great resistance they met with, at last carried the opposite bank, where they warmly attacked the enemy. Most of the Carthaginian troops were, after an obstinate fight, defeated, and driven into their camp; but a body of Greek auxiliaries, under the command of Clinon, for a considerable time sustained the shock of the whole Sicilian army, where they did great execution, though at last they thought proper to retire. Agathocles, not judging it expedient to pursue such resolute fellows, fell upon the Carthaginian camp in two places at once, but, by reason of its being strongly fortified, was vigorously repulsed. Notwithstanding this, he continued his efforts to force it, depending greatly upon his Numidian allies; but these, during the heat of the engagement, kept themselves perfectly neuter, having an eye chiefly to the plunder of both camps. The action happening near that of the Carthaginians, they durst not move that way, and therefore advanced to the camp of Agathocles, which was at some distance, and defended but by a small guard. This they plundered, after having put to the sword, or taken prisoners, all that defended it; of which Agathocles being apprised, he hastened thither, and recovered part of the spoil. The Carthaginians, in the mean time, not only preferred themselves by this defection of the Numidians from Agathocles, but put their affairs in Numidia upon the ancient footing. The tyrant had been hitherto the favourite of fortune, yet finding himself unable to carry on the war alone.

b Idem ibid.
alone, he endeavoured to gain Ophellas, one of Alexander's captains, then poiseff'd of Cyrenaica, over to his interest. In order to this, he sent Orthon, a Syracusan, one of his intimate friends, as embassador to that prince. Ophellas had at this time a considerable army on foot, and was forming a project to enlarge his dominions. Agathocles therefore thought proper to flatter his ambition, by promising him the sovereignty of Africa, if, by his assistance, he would enable him to subdue the Carthaginians. He suggested, that could he get rid of so troublesome a rival, he should easily reduce the whole island of Sicily, which would abundantly gratify his ambition; that had he more extensive views, Italy was near at hand, where he could make farther conquests; that being separated from Africa by a large sea, he had no intention to settle there; and that his last expedition did not proceed from a motive of choice, but necessity. Ophellas was entirely brought over by these suggestions, and, to succour his new ally the more effectually, sent to Athens for a body of troops. As he had married Eurydice, the daughter of Miltiades, who commanded the Greeks at the battle of Marathon, and was made free of the city, he obtained his request, the Athenians not doubting but they should share with him and Agathocles all the wealth of the Carthaginians. The low condition to which that people, as well as the other states of Greece, were then reduced by civil dissensions, and the immediate prospect they had of considerable gain, made them exert themselves on this occasion with the greater alacrity. *

Ophellas, having finished his military preparations, found his army to consist of ten thousand foot and six hundred horse, all regular troops, besides an hundred chariots, and a body of ten thousand men, attended by their wives and children, as though they had been going to plant a new colony.

* The battle of Marathon was fought in the 490th year before Christ, Ophellas joined Agathocles the 320th year before Christ: So that it seems improbable Ophellas could have married the daughter of Miltiades, who died soon after that battle. There seems to be some mistake or oversight in the authors, their being no less than 179 years between the death of Miltiades and this battle.
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colony. At the head of these forces he continued his march towards Agathocles for eighteen days, and then encamped at Automolæ (R), a city about three thousand stadia distant from the capital of his dominions. From thence he advanced through the Regio Syrtica, but found himself reduced to such extremities, that his army was in danger of perishing, for want of water, bread, and other provisions. Besides, they were greatly annoyed by serpents and wild beasts, with which that desolate region abounded. The serpents made the greatest havoc among the troops; for being of the same colour with the earth (S), and extremely venomous, many

(R) This city seems to be the Automalax of Ptolemy, which, according to that author, was fortified, and undoubtedly a frontier town of Cyrenaica. Apollodorus and Strabo call it Automala, Diodorus here Automolæ, and Stephanus Automalaca. It was situate, according to Strabo, at the bottom of the greater Syrtis, now called the gulf of Seedra, at a small distance from the Phalænorum are, the Carthaginian frontier. None of the antients, except Diodorus, have told us how far it was from Cyrene, the capital of Cyrenaica. This last author here gives us to understand, that it stood on the borders of the Regio Syrtica, which agrees with the site assigned it by Ptolemy and Strabo, and that it was three thousand stadia, or about three hundred and seventy-five miles from Cyrene; which seems greatly to exceed the truth (17).

(S) One remarkable circumstance may be observed in the short description Diodorus here gives us of these serpents, or rather of the mischiefs arising from thence to Ophella's army, viz. that they were so exactly of the colour of that barren (18) soil, that the soldiers could not distinguish them from it. This certainly is a strong presumptive proof, that their whole subsistence must in a manner have consisted of that soil, and consequently that they must have fed entirely upon it. The argument will receive a farther accession of strength from the nature of the region itself, where Diodorus seems to intimate, was void of every other kind of sustenance. Further, it may be remarked, that these serpents were of a most malignant species of that animal; since Diodorus (16) here intimates, that they were extremely venomous, and destroyed a vast number of men; which seems to point particularly at the cherubyrus, one of the most noxious species of serpents, subtilisitg,

many of the soldiers trod upon them without seeing them, and were flung to death. At last, after a very fatiguing march of two months, he approached Agathocles, and encamped at a small distance from him, to the great terror of the Carthaginians, who apprehended the most fatal consequences from this junction. Agathocles at first highly censured him, and advised him to take all possible care of his troops,

substituting, according to Nicander (20), upon dust, and found, if Cicero and Ἄλιαν (21) may be credited, in vast numbers in the deferts of Libya. Bochart has likewise proved by irrefragable (22) arguments, that the seraph, or, according to several authors, the serpent in which the devil beguiled Eve, was of this particular species; and that Arabia, as well as the adjacent countries, abounded with them (23); which is also evinced by Herodotus, Mela, Lucan, Solinus, and Ammianus Marcellinus, together with scripture. Let all these particulars be admitted, and the literal sense of a passage in the Mosaic history, which has been hitherto, for the most part, either allegorically taken, or not fully understood, will be thereby rendered most apparent and incontestable, viz. (24) And the LORD GOD said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. This (25) seems also to be confirmed in the strongest manner by the prophets Isaiah and Micah. To what has been said, we may add, if any thing is requisite to be added to so clear a point, that several sorts of animals live upon dust, when they can meet with nothing else to eat, as we learn from (26) Ariftotle, Bardepanes in Eufebius, and others; and that though other serpents feed upon fish, frogs, herbs, &c. the cheridrus, or seraph, lives only in such places as the deferts of Libya, Arabia, &c. where there is scarce a possibility of finding any other food than dust or sand to live upon (27).

troops, that had undergone so many fatigues (T); but making no scruple to commit the most enormous crimes, in order to promote his own interest, he resolved upon his destruction. Observing therefore, that one day the greatest part of Ophellas's (U) troops were gone out to forage, he thought a proper opportunity now offered of putting his design in execution. Accordingly he drew up his forces in order of battle, and acquainted them, that Ophellas was guilty of the blackest perfidy, since under the pretext of afflicting him as an ally, he had formed a scheme to deliver

(T) Diodorus (28) relates, that upon Ophellas's approaching the Regio Syrca, he came to a double ridge of mountains, with a valley betwixt them, in which was a cave, wherein queen Lamia, a lady celebrated for her beauty, formerly had her residence. It is pretended, that this lady, being bereaved of all her children, out of an invidious and vindictive principle, caused all those of her subjects to be destroyed. This gave all the neighbouring Africans such a frightful idea of her, that they made use of her name as a bugbear to frighten their children with. Being extremely addicted to drunkennesses, according to our author, she never made an enquiry into any of her subjects' conduct, but permitted them all to do what they pleased. For this reason she was feigned to be blind, and for her cruelty above-mentioned had the face of a monster assigned her. That she was an African (29), Euripides likewise affirms; we may therefore take further notice of her, when we come to treat of the proper African nations.

(U) According to Diodorus, Polyænus, Theophractus, and others, this prince's name was Ophellas, or Ophellas; but Justin calls him Aphellas, and others Opheltas. With these I last Tanaquil Faber agrees, though the reason he assigns for this agreement seems to us not to have any great force in it, viz. because Opheltas is a Lacedæmonian name, and consequently more likely than Ophellas to be the name of a Cyrenean, since the Cyrenians were a colony of the Lacedæmonians. Now, this supposes Ophellas to have been a Cyrenean, and that Opheltas was a proper name peculiar to the Lacedæmonians; neither of which suppositions can be proved, but are both improbable; since the Lacedæmonians had few, if any, names, that we know of, peculiar to themselves; and Ophellas was one of Alexander's captains, and therefore undoubtedly a native of Greece (30), probably of Macedon.

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(X) him up to the enemy. Incensed at this, the army fell with great ardor upon Ophellas, who, being at that juncture too weak to oppose them, was killed upon the spot; upon which Agathocles, by fair words and large promises, prevailed upon the Cyreneans, now destitute of a leader, to serve under him, and be entirely at his devotion. Polyænus relates this event in a different manner from Diodorus; for he tells us, that Agathocles, being informed, that Ophellas was addicted to an unnatural species of lust, decoyed him by means of his son Heraclides, who yet preserved himself inviolate, and put both him, and the greatest part of his army, to the sword.

While these things were transacting, a great revolution had like to have happened at Carthage: Bomičar, then possessed of the first employment in the state, thought this a favourable juncture to obtain the sovereignty of that city, to which he had long aspired. In order to facilitate the execution of this his darling design, he had sent away all: the most eminent citizens, from whom he apprehended any obstruction, to serve in the Numidian expedition. At the head therefore of five hundred of his associates, supported by a body of a thousand mercenaries, he advanced from Neapolis to Carthage, and entered the city without opposition. As many citizens as he met with, he cut off, without regard to sex or age; which struck the whole city with incredible terror, every one imagining, that the town was betrayed.

Agreat revolution like to have happened at Carthage.


(X) Justin relates, that Agathocles endeavoured to ingratiate himself with Ophellas, who frequently supped with him, by the most fawning address, and the lowest adulation; that Ophellas adopted the Syracusan tyrant's son; and that this Cyrenian prince was cut off by treachery, not having taken the precaution to guard himself against a surprize. The same author likewife informs us, that, after this base and infamous action, Agathocles cajoled the Cyrenian army into his service, and overthrew the Carthaginians in a pitched battle, with incredible slaughter, though at the same time he himself sustained a very considerable loss. This last article, however, not agreeing so well with Diodorus, will hardly engage our assent to the truth of it (31).

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betrayed to the enemy. Dividing his forces into five bodies, he made five different attacks, carrying every thing before him, till at last his troops all met in the forum. However, when it was known that Bomilcar had been the occasion of this disturbance, and moreover caused himself to be proclaimed king of Carthage, the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and, from the tops of the houses, discharged whole volleys of darts and stones upon the heads of his soldiers. The traitor, finding himself not able to carry the city, forced his way through the defiles, and retired to Neapolis; but being closely pursued by the Carthaginians, who by this time had assembled a sufficient force, he retired with his troops to an eminence, there intending to make a vigorous defence, and fell his life at as dear a rate as possible. To spare the blood of the citizens, a general amnesty was proclaimed for all who would lay down their arms. The rebels surrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it, except Bomilcar their chief; but he, notwithstanding the general indemnity promised on oath, was condemned to die, and fixed to a cross in the middle of the forum, where he suffered the most exquisite torments. From the cross as from the rostra, he harangued the people, reproaching them for their injustice, their ingratitude, and perfidy, which he demonstrated in an historical deduction of many illustrious generals, whose services they had rewarded with an ignominious death. Having thus insulted both his tortures and the authors of them, he expired, by his death delivering the Carthaginians from the most dangerous domestic enemy their state had ever produced.

It is worthy observation, that Agathocles caused Ophellas to be murdered, and Bomilcar made the last flagrant attempt upon the liberties of his country, at the same instant of time, though neither of them was privy to the other's design. Had Agathocles been apprised of Bomilcar's ambition, or of the disorder and confusion then in the town of Carthage, he might easily have made himself master of it; for if the latter could have been supported by the former in the critical moment, he would undoubtedly have joined him, in order to avoid falling a victim to the fury of his enraged fellow-citizens. On the other hand, had the Carthaginians entertained any suspicion of Ophellas's impending danger, by joining him, or at least sending him a strong rein-

Diod. Sic. & Justin. ubi sup.
reinforcement, they might, without much difficulty, have overthrown Agathocles, as in some measure appeared from the future course of this war; but the generals on both sides being chiefly intent on gratifying their own ambition, which they at that time imagined incompatible with the public welfare, their armies were content not to observe one another’s motions, and by this means undesignedly contributed to each other’s preservation.

Agathocles, now finding himself at the head of a numerous army, in imitation of Alexander’s captains, who took upon them the dignity of crowned heads, assumed the title of king of Africa, intending soon to complete his conquests in that country, by the reduction of Carthage. However, for the present, his arms received a considerable diversion from the Uticans; which prevented him from putting his design in execution. Having received intelligence of their revolt, he advanced with such expedition to their city, that he surprized three hundred of them in the adjacent fields, and made them all prisoners. These he placed alive in a warlike engine, which he brought to the walls of the town, and exposed them in such a manner to the darts and arrows of the besieged, that they could not repel his assaults, without destroying their own citizens, among whom were some of the prime nobility. He then summoned the garrison to surrender, imagining they would be induced to this by the sight of their friends and relations; but finding they valued their liberty more than these, he began the siege, and discharged such volleys of stones and missive weapons from the engine abovementioned, that the besieged were thrown into a great consternation. At first they refused to defend themselves for fear of destroying their countrymen; but finding the enemy to push on the siege with incredible fury, and that without a vigorous resistance they must soon fall into their hands, they betook themselves to their arms, and in several assaults bravely repulsed them. At last Agathocles summoning all his courage, made a general assault upon the weakest part of the wall, and carried it; notwithstanding which the Uticans for some time kept their posts; but the tyrant’s whole army forcing itself like a torrent into the town, and soon driving them, partly into the temples, and partly into their own houses, they were all either put to the sword or taken prisoners. 

The

* Diod. Sic. ubi sup.
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The tyrant, having hanged all the prisoners, plundered the town, and left a sufficient garrison in it, marched with his army to Hippouacra, or Hippo Diarrhytus, the Bizerta of the moderns, a place naturally fortified by the lake upon which it stood. Before he could reduce this city, he was obliged to engage the inhabitants upon the water with his galleys; but having defeated them on that element, and followed his attacks closely for some days, he at last took it by storm. Most of the people bordering upon the sea-coasts, and even those inhabiting the inland part of the country, after this submitted to him. The Numidians he found himself not able to subdue; however, many of their hords or cantons thought proper to conclude a treaty of peace with him.

In the mean time, Xenophanes, general of the Agrigentines, having restored many of the cities in Sicily to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges, the subjects both of the Carthaginians and Syracusans entertained hopes of a revolution throughout the island in favour of liberty. Animated by these hopes, great numbers of them took up arms, and entered into an association, in order to extirpate tyranny. Agathocles, receiving advice of this from Demophilus and Leptines, the commanders of his troops in Sicily, was (Y) greatly alarmed, and therefore resolved to return home; which, he thought, he might safely do for a while, as

(Y) Justin affirms, that not Xenophanes, but the Carthaginians, obliged Agathocles to return to Sicily; and that the latter, after the death of Hamilcar, the son of Gisco above-mentioned, sent another army to that island; nay, he farther seems to hint, that they had laid siege to his metropolis, before Agathocles's arrival there; and that this was the immediate cause of the tyrant's abandoning Africa in so precipitate a manner. But as this fragment of history is not taken the least notice of by Diodorus, and even inconsistent with what Justin had himself before related, we are not disposed to give over-much credit to it (32).

The same author likewise tells us, that Agathocles, after his arrival in Sicily, expelled the Carthaginians from thence, and made himself master of the whole island. But as this directly contradicts Diodorus Siculus, we have not thought proper to insert it in the body of the history (33).

as his affairs on the continent were in a very flourishing condition. Having therefore built some open vessels, with fifty oars a-piece, and put two thousand men on board, he set sail for Sicily, leaving his son Archagathus governor of the conquests in Africa, and commander in chief of the forces there. Upon his arrival at Selinus, he found, that Demophilus and Lepitides had not only assembled a powerful army, but likewise defeated Xenodochus in a pitched battle, and forced him to fly to Agrigentum, with the loss of fifteen hundred men. After this victory, Agathocles advanced to Therma, a city possessed by a Carthaginian garrison; which immediately submitted to him. Cephalœdium, Heraclea, and other places, that had regained their liberty, he likewise reduced; but could not make himself master of the principal cities belonging to the Carthaginians.

Archagathus, after his father’s departure, greatly extended the conquests in Africa. He sent Eumachus, at the head of a large detachment, to invade some of the neighbouring provinces, whilst he himself, with the grots of his army, observed the motions of the Carthaginians. Eumachus, falling into Numidia, first took the great city of Tocas, and conquered several of the Numidian cantons, that would not come into a state of amity with Agathocles. Afterwards he laid siege to Phellina, and carried it; which was attended with the submission of the Asphodelodians, a nation, according to Diodorus, as black as the Ethiopians. From hence he marched to Maschala, a city of great importance, built by the Greeks in their return from Troy, and inhabited by their posterity for several succeeding ages, which opened its gates to him. Then he moved to Hippouacra, which, since its surrender to Agathocles, had revolted to the enemy, and made himself master of it. Lastly, he possessed himself of Acris (Z), a free city, of great

h Idem ibid. & Justin, ubi sup. c. 8.

(Z) Neither the city of Trocas, nor those of Phellina, Maschala, Acris, nor yet the nation of the Asphodelodians, though, according to our author, a very remarkable people, have been mentioned by Cellarius, whose work is yet held in the highest repute. They all seem to have had their situation in that part of Numidia contiguous to Africa Propria, and not far from Hippo Diarrhythus. It is probable those auxiliary troops taken prisoners by
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great opulence, which he gave up to the soldiers to be plundered, and sold the inhabitants for slaves; after which he returned to the camp, loaden with the immense booty he had got in this successful expedition.

Elasted with such a run of good fortune, Eumachus resolved next to penetrate into the more remote parts of Africa on the side of Numidia; in order to which, having traversed the countries invaded last, and continuing his march, he arrived at a city called Miltine, and, at the first attempt, forced his way into it. But notwithstanding this first instance of success, the barbarians, immediately collecting their whole force, attacked him in the streets with such fury, that they obliged him to retire out of the town in great confusion, after he had lost a vast number of men. From hence he advanced to an high mountain, above two hundred stadia over, full of wild cats, but destitute of all kinds of birds, on account of the rapaciousness of these animals. Having passed this mountain with great difficulty, he came to three cities, called in the Greek language Pithecusae, from the apes (A), with which all the adjacent country

by Gelon in his engagement with the Carthaginians, which Frontinus calls Nigerrimi, were of this nation, the Melanogætuli, and even of the Nigritæ themselves; for that they all were not only known to, but likewise had an intercourse with, the Carthaginians, cannot well be doubted. As not only the cities above-mentioned, but a vast number of others, taken notice of by Herodotus, Diodorus, Paulanias, Appian, &c. have been omitted by Cellarius, it were to be wished some learned man would give us a new edition of that author, which he might easily do, with very large additions (34).

(A) Diodorus tells us, that the inhabitants of this tract had customs far different from those of the Greeks; that the apes here mentioned were very familiar with them, had admission into their houses, and received divine honours from them, in the same manner that dogs did from the Egyptians. He adds, that when these creatures were hungry, they took meat out of the cellars, batteries, &c. without any disturbance; that parents named their children after them, as the Greeks did after the gods; that whoever killed

(34) Diod. Sic. in loc. citat. c. 3. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. i. c. 11. ex. 18.
country abounded. One of these he took by assault, and levelled it with the ground; which so terrified the other two, that they immediately surrendered; but receiving intelligence, that all the neighbouring nations were marching in a formidable body to give him battle, he abandoned his conquests, and retreated with the utmost precipitation towards the sea-coasts k:

Hitherto Archagathus had been the favourite of fortune; but this last unhappy expedition of Eumachus occasioned a very considerable alteration in the face of affairs. The Carthaginians, being informed of that general’s ill success, took courage, and resolved to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner to recover their former losses. In order to this, they divided their forces into three bodies: one of these they sent to the sea-coasts, to keep the towns there in awe; another they dispatched into the Mediterranean parts, to preserve the inhabitants there in their allegiance; and the last body they ordered to the Upper Africa, to support their confederates in that country. They had other motives likewise for this conduct: by sending such a number of mouths out of the city, they supposed they should, in some measure, restore plenty to the citizens, who began to be in want of provisions: the city was so strongly fortified, and lay so near the sea, that it was in no danger of being taken by force; and therefore all superfluous

k Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

killed one of them, was sure to suffer death, as a notorious atheist; and that for this reason, when any person behaved himself amongst them with unusual haughtiness and insolence, it was a proverbial expression, Thou hast drunk the blood of an ape. This proverb Erasmus applies to those who die a violent death. Two things may be inferred from Diodorus’s relation: first, that the Africans gave their apes names, probably terms of honour and distinction, such as the Egyptians and other nations conferred upon their gods; and secondly, that the Greeks applied the names of their gods to themselves, particularly, as there is reason to believe, to their kings and heroes, as the Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, &c. did. We shall treat more amply of this people, and their customs, in a proper place (35).

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ous hands were rather troublesome than useful: by sending a powerful army to the relief of their allies, they believed they should not only confirm them in their fidelity, and prevent their joining the enemy, but likewise encourage the neighbouring neutral princes to declare in their favour; and lastly, they had reason to imagine, that, by such a various diversion, they should draw the enemy's forces at a greater distance from the city, and consequently give themselves a little time to breathe. They were not deceived in their views; for upon the departure of thirty thousand soldiers out of the city, provisions returned to their former price; their confederates abandoned the side which through compulsion they had been obliged to take; and the enemy were forced to draw their troops off from the neighbourhood of Carthage. Archagathus, being apprised of the motions of the Carthaginians, divided his forces likewise into three bodies: one of which he sent to observe the Carthaginian troops on the sea-coasts, with orders afterwards to advance into the Upper Africa; another, under the command of Æschiron, one of his generals, he posted at a proper distance in the heart of the country, to have an eye both upon the enemy there and the barbarous nations; and with the last, which he led in person, he kept nearer Carthage, preserving a communication with the other two, in order to send them succours, or recall them, as the exigency of affairs should require. Things being in this situation, Archagathus kept himself quiet in his camp, well pleased with the disposition he had made, and with great impatience expecting the event.  

The Carthaginian troops sent into the heart of the country were commanded by Hanno, a general of great experience, who, being informed of Æschiron's approach that way, laid an ambuscade for him, into which being drawn, he was cut off himself, with four thousand foot and two hundred horse. The rest were either taken prisoners, or fled to Archagathus, who lay encamped above five hundred stadia from the place where this action happened. Himilco, who commanded the Carthaginian forces in the Upper Africa, having advice of Eumachus's march, immediately put himself in motion, and at last took post in a town near that general's camp, with a resolution to engage him. The Greeks,

1 Idem ibid.
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Greeks, tho' much incommode by the spoils taken out of several cities, which they carried with them, drew up their army in battalia, and prepared to attack the enemy. Himilco left part of his army in the town, with orders to fall out upon the Greeks as soon as they saw them pursue him. Advancing then at the head of his other forces, he fell upon them with great fury: but soon after his men betook themselves to a precipitate flight, as tho' they were in the utmost consternation. Eumachus, puffed up with this supposed advantage, permitted his troops to pursue them with so much eagerness, that they fell into disorder; which being observed by the forces in the place, they rushed out in an instant upon them, and at the same time the other body facing about, the Greeks were so disheartened, that they endeavoured to retire to their camp; but finding their retreat cut off by the body that issued out of the town, they fled to a neighbouring eminence. Here being surrounded by the Carthaginians, and in great want of water, they were almost totally destroyed; for of eight thousand foot only thirty, and of eight hundred horse only forty, had the good fortune to escape, the rest either perishing of thirst, or being put to the sword.

Archagathus, receiving the melancholy advice of Agathocles upon receiving this bad news, leaves Sicily.

These two defeats, and being rejoined by the remains of Aeschirion's army, ordered the detachments, he had sent out to harass the enemy, to return with all speed to the camp. This was a very necessary precaution; for after the defeat of Eumachus, Himilco moved with great expedition towards Archagathus, blocking up the passes, and securing the country, all along as he advanced, from the enemy's incursions; so that had not the above-mentioned detachments retired in time, pursuant to the order received, they must undoubtedly have been all cut to pieces. Himilco therefore cutting off all communication betwixt the Syracusan army and the fruitful country of Africa on one side, and Atarbas, another Carthaginian commander, who lay encamped within forty stadia of Tunis, preventing any supplies coming to them by sea on the other, the Greeks in a short time were reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions. Many of their confederates, being struck with terror at so dismal a prospect, deserted them and went over to the enemy, who now hemmed them in on all sides, and

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seemed ready to swallow them up every moment. Whilst things remained in this melancholy situation, Agathocles received an express from Archagathus, acquainting him with the great losses he had sustained, and the extreme scarcity of provisions the troops laboured under. Upon which Agathocles, leaving the management of the war in Sicily to Leptines, by a stratagem got eighteen sail of Etrucañ ships, that came to his assistance, out of the harbour of Syracuse; and then engaging the Carthaginian squadron lying off of that harbour, took five of their ships and made all the men therein prisoners. By this action he became master of the port, and secured the passage into it for the merchants of all nations; which soon produced a plenty of all things in Syracuse, where famine before began to make great havoc. Supplying himself therefore with a sufficient quantity of necessaries for the voyage he was going to undertake, he immediately loosed from Syracuse, and set sail for Africa.

Upon his arrival here, he took a review of his forces (B), and found them to consist of six thousand Greeks, as many Celtes, Samnites, and Etruscans (C), besides ten thousand Africans,

(B) Justin relates, that Agathocles, upon his arrival in Africa, found a mutiny in the army, which arose from a want of payment of the arrears due to the troops. In order to bring them back to their duty, he made them a florid speech, wherein he told them, "That they ought to seek their pay from the enemy; that as they would all of them have a hand in obtaining the victory, so they should all partake of the spoil; that if they would but exert themselves vigorously for a short time, the war might be brought to an happy conclusion, and Carthage reduced; in which case there would be riches enough to satisfy their most avaricious desires." The same author adds, that by this speech having appeased all commotions, and calmed the minds of the soldiery, he soon after gave the enemy battle; but being defeated, the troops again grew very clamorous for their pay; which, together with the bad state of his affairs, obliged him, and his son Archagathus, by night to abandon Africa (36).

(C) From this passage, as well as from many more that might be produced, it appears, that the Etruscans at this time made some figure

(36) Justin I. xxii. c. 8.
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Africans, who had persevered in their fidelity to him, notwithstanding the disaster that had befallen him, and fifteen hundred horse. As he found his troops reduced almost to a state of desperation, and consequently prepared for any attempt, he thought this a proper juncture to offer the enemy battle; which he did accordingly. The Carthaginians, though they had the advantage of numbers, having collected all their forces into one body, and were encamped upon an eminence that was almost inaccessible, thought proper to decline the challenge, not being willing to put all to the issue of a battle with men who were grown desperate, but believing, that by lying still in their camp, where they had plenty of every thing, and protracting the time, they could starve the enemy to a surrender, and consequently make themselves masters of their camp without striking a stroke.

Agathocles, perceiving the enemy’s design, and finding he could not long continue in that camp, resolved at all events to force them to a battle. Moving therefore at the head of his forces to their camp, he attacked it with such bravery, that he made a considerable impression upon it, and might possibly have carried it, had not his mercenary’s safely deserted him, and taken to their heels almost upon the first onset. The Carthaginians, as much animated by his cowardice as the Greeks were dismayed, redoubling their efforts, soon forced the tyrant to retreat with great precipitation to his camp; whither they pursued him very closely, doing great execution in the pursuit. The Carthaginians spared the Africans in this action, in order to win the affections of that people; but bearing an implacable hatred to the Greeks, besides the prisoners they took, they put above three thousand of them to the sword.

The next night, the Carthaginians sacrificed all the prisoners of distinction, as a grateful acknowledgment to the gods for the victory they had given them. Whilst they were in the midst of this solemnity, the wind, suddenly rising, carried the flames to the sacred tabernacle, near the altar, which they entirely consumed, as well as the general’s tent, and those of the principal officers adjoining to it.


figure by sea; and that they, as well as many other nations of Italy, were afraid of the Carthaginian power, which induced them frequently to assist the Greeks of Sicily against that nation, both by sea and land.
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it. This occasioned a dreadful alarm throughout the whole camp, which was heightened by the great progress the fire made; for the soldiers' tents consisting of very combustible materials, and the wind blowing in a most violent manner, the whole camp was almost entirely laid in ashes; and many of the soldiers, endeavouring to carry off their arms and the rich baggage of their officers, were burnt to death. Some of those who made their escape out of the flames, met with as unhappy a fate; for after Agathocles had received the last blow, the Africans, as in all reverses of fortune that people closed with the strongest side, deserted him, and were at that very instant coming over in a body to the Carthaginians. These the persons above-mentioned took to be the whole Syracusan army advancing in order of battle to attack their camp; which being soon noised through the Carthaginian army, a dreadful confusion ensued; some betook themselves to their heels, others fell down in heaps one upon another, imagining the enemy was at that instant coming upon them; and lastly, others engaged their comrades, mistaking them for the enemy. In fine, five thousand men lost their lives in this nocturnal encounter, and the rest thought proper to shelter themselves within the walls of Carthage; neither could the appearance of the day itself, for some time, dissipate those terrible apprehensions they were under.

And another in that of Agathocles.

At the same time an accident, something resembling this, happened in the Greek camp. The African deserters, observing the great confusion the Carthaginians were in, and not understanding the meaning of it, were so terrified, that they thought proper to return to the place from whence they came. The Syracusans, seeing a body of troops advancing towards them in good order, immediately concluded, that the enemy were marching to attack them, and therefore in an instant cried out, To arms. The flames ascending out of the Carthaginian camp into the air, and the lamentable outcries proceeding from thence, confirmed them in this opinion, and greatly contributed towards heightening their confusion. The consequence of this panic was much the same with that above-mentioned; for coming to blows one with another instead of the enemy, they scarce recovered their senses upon the return of the light. This intestine fray was so bloody, that it cost Agathocles four thousand men.

\[\text{Idem ibid.}\]

\[\text{Idem ibid.}\]
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The last disaster, though of no advantage to the enemy, who had themselves suffered more than the Syracusans on the like occasion, quite disheartened Agathocles. His mind being now filled with melancholy reflections, he considered himself as deserted by the Africans; as not having a sufficient number of troops to contend with the Carthaginians; and lastly, as in danger of being assassinated by his own son, and therefore resolved to quit Africa. As he knew the Carthaginians were masters at sea, and was persuaded they would never make peace with him upon any terms consistent with his safety, but take ample vengeance of him for the ravages he had made in their country, he concluded, it would be impossible for him to escape in a public manner; and therefore set his head to work to find out some method of slipping away privately. This he at last, though with great difficulty, effected. But as the manner of his escape, which more properly appertains to the history of Sicily, than that of Carthage, has been already related by us at large, we must refer our readers for farther satisfaction on this head to a former part of this history.*

After Agathocles’s departure, his two sons fell a sacrifice to the wild fury (D) of the soldiers, who immediately put them to death; and chusing leaders from amongst themselves, concluded a peace with the Carthaginians upon the following terms: First, that the Greeks should deliver up all the places they held in Africa, receiving from them three hundred talents. Secondly, that such of them as were willing


(D) Justin says, that the Syracusan troops, being apprised of Agathocles’s flight, were in as great a consternation, as if they had all been actually surprised by the enemy; that Archagathus, being separated from his father, and losing his way by the darkness of the night, was taken by a Sicilian party, and carried to the camp; that he was put to death by Arceflaüs, one of his father’s intimate friends; and that, before the fatal stroke was given, Archagathus asked him, How he thought Agathocles would treat the children of Arceflaüs, who bereaved him of his children? To whom the other replied, that it was enough for him, that his children survived those of Agathocles. In other points, this author almost entirely agrees with Diodorus Siculus (37).

(37) Justin. l. xxviii. c. 8. sub fn.
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ing to serve under the Carthaginians, should be kindly treated, and receive the usual pay. And thirdly, that the rest should be transported to Sicily, and have the city of Selinus for their habitation. These articles were agreed to, and punctually observed by the Carthaginians; in consequence of which, all those troops that adhered to the treaty they had concluded, met with a most kind reception; but the cities, which, in hopes of relief from Agathocles, refused to submit, were reduced by force of arms, their governors crucified, and the garrisons obliged to cultivate those parts of the country they had before laid waste and destroyed. This war, after various turns and revolutions, ended to the advantage of the Carthaginians, who, by the last treaty, settled their affairs upon the antient footing, notwithstanding the great losses they had sustained, and notwithstanding the Syracusan army had brought them to the very brink of destruction.

Our historian here finely observes, that several most remarkable traces of a divine providence appeared through the whole course, and at the conclusion, of this war: Agathocles was routed in Sicily by the Carthaginians, and lost the greatest part of his army; his affairs there were almost desperate, and his capital upon the point of surrendering to the enemy: notwithstanding which, with a very inconsiderable body of men, he, at this perilous juncture, invaded Africa, defeated the Carthaginians, and reduced them almost to the same unhappy circumstances his own troops laboured under at Syracuse. In Sicily he left every thing, but his metropolis, which the enemy thought themselves sure of; but in Africa he possessed himself of all places, except Carthage, which, for some time, he closely besieged. By which remarkable steps, Providence made it apparent, that it is equally easy for the Supreme Being in a moment to elevate the most afflicted states, and depress the most powerful. After the tyrant, in the height of his prosperity, had murdered Ophellas, in violation of all the laws of friendship and hospitality, Providence distinguished itself likewise in a most extraordinary manner: his affairs in Africa from that instant began to decline; the very month, and day of the month, on which he treacherously murdered Ophellas, and brought over his army, he left both his sons and his army; and lastly, as he had most perfidiously affaf

finated his friend, the very troops this friend commanded, afterwards cut off his two sons. As Diodorus made these observations for the sake of those persons, who are too apt to slight, or not duly attend to, such uncommon instances of an over-ruling power, we thought we could not properly omit them.

Notwithstanding peace was concluded betwixt which is ratified by Agathocles, the Syracusan troops in Africa and the Carthaginians, yet the treaty was not ratified by Agathocles till the year following. That prince, being reduced to great frights by Dinocrates, who began to aspire to the sovereignty of Syracuse, found it necessary to court the friendship of the Carthaginians. This obliged him to purchase a peace with them at a very dear rate; for he not only ratified the former treaty, but consented to have an additional article inserted in it much to the advantage of the Carthaginians, viz. that all the cities they formerly possessed in Sicily should be restored to them; which being immediately executed, the Carthaginians left him at liberty to pursue his designs in Sicily; and, to facilitate the accomplishment of them, sent him three hundred, or, as Timæus Siculus will have it, an hundred and fifty, talents of gold, besides two hundred thousand medimni, or five hundred thousand bushels of wheat.

Agathocles, having defeated Dinocrates, and re-established his affairs at Syracuse, passed over into Italy, where he subdued the Brutii, rather by the terror of his name, than by force of arms. From hence he passed over to the Lipari islands, in order to raise contributions; which he did to the value of an hundred talents of gold, plundered the sacred treasure, stripped the temples, and then set sail for Syracuse, with eleven ships laden with the gold and spoils of the temples. Diodorus seems to intimate, that Sicily, for a considerable time after this, enjoyed the sweets of peace, but that at last the implacable hatred Agathocles bore the Carthaginians prevailed upon him to make preparations for a new war with that nation. As the Carthaginians by the last war, had made themselves masters of the sea, they were abundantly supplied with all the necessaries and elegancies of life, and easily secured their country from all foreign invasions. Agathocles therefore fitted out a squadron of two hundred galleys, in order first to prevent the exporta-

u Diod. Sic. ubi sup.  w Diod. Sic. ubi sup. c. 4.
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exportation of corn and other provisions from Sicily and Sardinia to Africa, and afterwards to transport a large body of forces into that country, to attempt a second time the conquest of it. But this, as well as the other projects he had formed, fell to the ground by his death, an account of which we have already given in the history of Syracuse x.

After the death of Agathocles, Mænon, who had poisoned him, usurped the supreme authority at Syracuse. This he did by murdering Archagathus, and bringing over the army to his interest. The Syracusans, however, resolved to have a struggle for their liberty, and therefore raised another army, giving the command of it to Icetas, with orders to attack Mænon. In the mean time, Mænon, finding himself not strong enough to engage Icetas, industriously avoided fighting, and applied to the Carthaginians for assistance. That people, always intent upon fomenting divisions in Sicily, in order to enlarge their own acquisitions there, readily granted his request; and joining him with a strong body of troops, obliged the Syracusans to conclude a peace with them upon their own terms, to recall the exiles, and, as a security for their punctual observance of the treaty, to deliver them four hundred hostages. Soon after, Icetas seized upon the government at Syracuse, and ruled there with an absolute sway, though he declined the title of king, contenting himself with that of prætor. In the mean time, the rebels and Syracusan exiles, in conjunction with the Agrigentines, who, in the ninth year of his command, revolted from him, advanced, under the conduct of Phintias, to Hybla, where they were attacked and defeated by Icetas. That general, greatly puffed up with this victory, engaged the Carthaginian army upon the banks of the river Teria, but was overthrown with incredible slaughter, and forced to fly to Syracuse. In Icetas’s absence, one Thynion had possessed himself of the sovereign power there; but being opposed by Sophistatus, who had the same aim, a civil war broke out within the very walls of the city. Thynion maintained himself in the island with a body of ten thousand men, and his rival held the other quarters of the city with the like number of forces; so that for some time Syracuse was nothing

x Univ. hist. ubi sup. Diod. Sic. l. xxi. in excerptis Rhodomani. Ælian. var. hist. l. ii. Oros. l. vii. c. 6.
thing but a scene of blood and slaughter. The Carthaginians, taking advantage of these divisions, reduced most of the cities subject to Syracuse, and invested the capital itself with a fleet of an hundred sail, and an army of fifty thousand men. Thynion and Sophratus, finding the Carthaginians to push on the siege with such vigour, that, in all probability, they would soon make themselves masters of the city, unless speedily relieved, united their forces against the common enemy, and dispatched messengers to Pyrrhus, then at Tarentum, entreatin him to come over to Sicily, and deliver the Greeks there from the barbarians, who threatened them with utter destruction. That prince received these messengers very favourably, and, sending Cynneas (E) before-hand to conclude a treaty with Thynion and Sophratus, after having left a strong garrison in Tarrentum, under the conduct of Milo, embarked with his army for Sicily. He took with him a considerable number of elephants, and a vast quantity of provisions, and the tenth day after he had loosed from Tarentum, arrived at Locri; from whence steering his course for Sicily, he, in a few days, landed at Taurominium, and upon his arrival, was joined by Tyndarion, tyrant of that city. With this reinforcement he advanced to Catana, and from thence marched to Syracuse at the head of thirty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, all his own troops, besides the Sicilian auxiliaries that joined him, attended by a fleet of two hundred sail. The Carthaginians, then carrying on the siege of Syracuse, having detached thirty of their best vessels to bring in a fresh supply of provisions, did not think themselves strong enough to venture an engagement with Pyrrhus's fleet, and therefore judged it not proper to wait his approach; so that he entered Syracuse without

(E) Cynneas was a famous orator, and an hearer of Demosthenes. According to Plutarch, Pyrrhus looked upon himself as more obliged to Cynneas's eloquence for many of his conquests, than to the force of his arms. The author last mentioned calls him Cineas; but we choose rather to follow Justin, who calls him Cynneas. Pausanias countenances us herein; for he takes notice of one Philabrus, an Eretrian traitor, the son of Cynneas. This, together with the word ἐνθρόνῳ, an helmet, from whence the proper name itself is apparently derived, seems to put the point beyond dispute. Tanaquil Faber himself was of our opinion (37).

without opposition. Soon after he had possessed himself of that important place, embassadors arrived from the Leontini, who had joined with Thynion and Sosistratus in preferring the king of Epirus to come and take upon him the defence of their respective states, offering to deliver up their city into his hands, and to join his forces with a body of four thousand foot and five hundred horse. Many other cities followed the example of Syracuse and Leontium. In short, Pyrrhus, partly by the terror of his name, and partly by his insinuating and affable behaviour, made such an impression upon the minds of the Sicilians in general, that he doubted not soon having them all entirely at his devotions, and consequently flattered himself with the hopes of speedily deceiving the Carthaginians of all their acquisitions in Sicily.

We must not omit observing, that before Pyrrhus landed in Italy, the Romans were not unacquainted with the designs of that ambitious prince. In order therefore to strengthen themselves against any attempts he might make, or at least to deter him from making any such attempts, they renewed their treaties with the Carthaginians, who, on their side, likewise were under some apprehensions of his invading Sicily. To the articles of the preceding treaties one was added, which contained an engagement of mutual assistance, in case either of the contracting powers should be attacked by Pyrrhus. As it was particularly specified therein, that the Carthaginians should send a sufficient naval force to the relief of the Romans, upon the first notice of a rupture with the king of Epirus, as soon as they heard he had made a descent in Italy, they ordered for that purpose a fleet (F) of an hundred and twenty sail, under the command of Mago. That officer, in an audience he had of the senate, upon his arrival at Rome, told the confirmiters, that his principals


(F) Valerius Maximus, in the place cited, makes this squadron to have consisted of an hundred and thirty sail. Possibly the particular number of ships, with which the Carthaginians were to assist the Romans, might be specified in a subsequent treaty, since the epitomizer of Livy mentions a fourth treaty concluded between the two republics after the battle of Asculum (38).

(38) Val. Max. in loc. citat. Liv. epit. l. xiii.
principals had heard with great concern of the hostilities Pyrrhus committed in Italy; adding, that he was sent by his republic to offer them a foreign force, to enable them to repel this foreign invader. The senate, after receiving him with proper marks of distinction, returned thanks for this obliging offer of the Carthaginians, but at the same time thought proper to decline accepting it. Diodorus tells us, that, notwithstanding this, the Carthaginian fleet, having a body of land-forces on board, failed to Rhegium; which place they battered for some time with incredible fury, but were at last obliged to raise the siege. They destroyed, according to this author, a vast quantity of timber, and other materials for shipping, in that port, and then put to sea with their squadron, to observe the motions of Pyrrhus. Mago, some days after his departure from Rome, repaired to Pyrrhus's camp, under pretence of offering the mediation of Carthage for accommodating all differences betwixt him and the Romans, but in reality to found him, and discover, if possible, his designs with regard to Sicily, which common fame reported he was going to invade. The Carthaginians at that time were afraid, left either Pyrrhus, or the Romans, should concern themselves with the affairs of that island, and transport forces thither for the conquest of it. And indeed this seems to have been the real motive for their sending a fleet to afflict the Romans, rather than a desire to be punctual in the observance of their engagements, which they were never famous for, this being inconsistent with that subtle and intriguing genius, which discovered itself in every remarkable point of conduct of the African republic.

As soon as Pyrrhus had settled his affairs at Syracuse, Leontium, and the other places that had submitted to him, he began to move with his army towards Agrigentum, which was then poissessed by a Carthaginian garrison, under the command of Phintias. Upon his march he received intelligence, that the inhabitants had expelled the Carthaginians, and were come to a resolution to admit him into their city, and join him with a good body of troops. Accordingly, upon his arrival on their frontiers, he was met by Sosistratus, at the head of eight thousand Agrigentine foot, and eight hundred horse, nothing at all inferior in military skill and

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and bravery to the Epirots themselves. Sosiphratus likewise prevailed upon him to take thirty towns of the neighbouring country under his protection. Being abundantly supplied with darts, arrows, all other kinds of arms, and engines of battery, from Syracuse, he advanced into the Carthaginian territories, and reduced Heraclea, which was for some time defended by a party of Carthaginians. After this, the Azones, Selinuntines, Halicyæns, Egestines, and others, made their submission to him; in fine, the Carthaginians found, that this conqueror soon deprived them of all their allies, made himself master of many of their towns without the least opposition, and was determined to make the Libyan sea, on the side of Greece, the boundary of their dominions.

Pyrrhus, in conformity to the plan he had laid down, advanced to Eryx, a fortress defended by a numerous Carthaginian garrison, and of such natural strength, that it was almost inaccessible. This place, with some difficulty, he invested, and, after bringing his battering rams to the walls, formed the siege of it. The garrison for some time made a vigorous defence; but at last Pyrrhus, making a general assault, entered the breach his rams had opened, and bore down all before him. In order to render his name famous to all posterity, after the example of Hercules, he was the first who mounted the walls, after having killed many of the Africans, with his own hand. However, he met with such a resistance, that his success was dubious, till a fresh reinforcement of his troops supported him in the attack, and then he easily carried the town. Panormus, Erêta, and most other places of note, were either taken by storm, or opened their gates to the victor upon the first summons; so that now the Carthaginians had no town left in Sicily but Lilybæum, to which Pyrrhus laid siege with all his forces.

Lilybæum was a maritime city of great strength, esteemed by the Carthaginians as one of the keys of Sicily. They had therefore raised many outworks for its defence, drawn a trench to prevent any approaches on the land-side, and fortified it in the best manner possible. The Carthaginians, being masters of the sea, landed a strong body of troops here, just as Pyrrhus was going to form the siege of the

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b Diod. Sic. ubi sup.
the place; but being greatly alarmed at the rapidity of his conquests, they sent embassadors to treat of a peace with him upon very advantageous terms, offering him either a large sum of money, or to abandon all their conquests in Sicily, except Lilybæum. But he, puffed up with his great success, and spirited up by the Sicilians, who were sensible, that they could enjoy no tranquillity, as long as the Carthaginians had any footing in the island, answered them, that the only means to obtain what they desired, was to leave Sicily entirely to the Greeks. Upon this the Carthaginians broke off the negotiation, and Pyrrhus repeated his assaults with the utmost fury; but the town being well furnished with all sorts of provisions and military stores, situated upon a rock, and defended by a numerous garrison, the Carthaginians repulsed him in every attack, and, at the end of two months, obliged him shamefully to raise the siege.  

Notwithstanding this repulse, Pyrrhus began to entertain thoughts of attacking the Carthaginians in the very heart of their dominions, and therefore made all the necessary preparations to transfer the war into Africa. As he wanted seamen for this expedition, he obliged the maritime cities in his interest to furnish him with sailors and mariners, and even forced into the service persons of rank, who had any experience in naval affairs. The cities complained of this violence, but he had no regard to their complaints. This, with some other arbitrary proceedings, so disgusted the Sicilians, that they began to look upon him as a tyrant, and the cities in general conceived such an aversion to him, that some of them entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, his avowed enemies. In consequence of this, there was such a general desertion amongst the Sicilian troops in his service, most of whom went over to the Carthaginians, that he soon found himself attended only by his Epirot phalanx; which obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of any further military operations, either in Sicily or Africa. The Carthaginians, being informed of this sudden revolution, sent a strong reinforcement to their army in Sicily, in order to recover their antient conquests.

*Idem ibid. & Plut. in Pyrrh.*
conquests there, whilst a mighty fleet cruised round the island to prevent Pyrrhus from making his escape (G).

That prince therefore, meditating a return to Italy, embarked with the remains of his troops on the vessels he brought to Sicily, being attended by a large additional number of Sicilian transports, with a considerable treasure on board, according to Appian. With his fleet he set sail for Rhegium, but was met at sea by the Carthaginian squadron, and obliged to venture an engagement; wherein being defeated, he had seventy of his ships sunk, and most of the rest so shattered, that they were rendered entirely unfit for service; so that he arrived at Locri, with only ten vessels, and from thence with great difficulty marched to Tarentum. The Carthaginians after this reduced the Sicilian towns before in their possession with as much celerity as Pyrrhus had conquered them, and settled their affairs in Sicily upon a firmer footing than ever. It is said, that Pyrrhus, when he was on the point of setting sail, cried out to his men, at the sight of that wealthy country he was going to abandon, "What a fine field of battle do we leave to the Carthaginians and Romans! a prediction which was soon afterwards verified. What happened to this prince after his arrival in Italy, it is unnecessary to touch upon here, since an ample relation of this has been already given in other parts of our history e.

Notwithstanding the Carthaginians so easily dislodged the Epirots from their part of Sicily, yet they had two powerful enemies still to contend with in that island, the Syracusans and the Mamertines. After Pyrrhus's departure, the former, being desittute of a governor, fell into the greatest disorders. Whilst their army lay encamped near Merga-

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(G) Justin will have it, that Pyrrhus defeated the Carthaginians in several pitched battles whilst in Sicily, and gave them a notable overthrow just before his departure out of the island; but as Diodorus seems to clash with this account, no great stress is to be laid upon it (39).

(39) Justin. l. xxiii. c. 3.
na, a quarrel arose betwixt the soldiers and the citizens, which had like to have been attended with fatal effects. Upon this, the soldiers elected Artemidorus and Hiero for their leaders, and vested them with an almost absolute authority. Hiero, tho' then very young, had all the good qualities to be wished for in any prince; and having, by the address and management of his friends, got possession of the city, soon suppressed the contrary faction. Far from being elated with his good fortune, he held the reins of government in so gentle and slack a manner, that he gained the hearts of all men; insomuch, that the Syracusan, though highly dissatisfied with the soldiery for assuming the right of chusing their own generals, received him as praetor, without the least content; nay, according to Juv. in, they unanimously confirmed him in the command the army had conferred upon him, investig him with all the civil and military power during the inter-regnum. He is represented by the antient historians as a consummate hero and most amiable prince; as one who, by the arts of insinuation and address, without shedding of blood or hurting one single citizen, calmed the minds of the people of Syracuse, and reconciled the different factions, which then miserably distracted that unhappy state. He made his first campaign under Pyrrhus, and so improved in the art of war by the direction of that great general, that he was looked upon as the best commander in his army. The Syracusan forces under his command, destined to act against the Carthaginians, after the departure of Pyrrhus, being most excellently disciplined, obtained several considerable advantages over them, and even in a short time grew formidable to them. As for the Mamertines (H), the other enemy the Carthaginians

(H) Albus gives us the following short history of the Mamertines: The whole country of the Samnites having been visited with a terrible pestilence, Sthenius Metius, prince of that people, assembled all his subjects, and told them, that Apollo in a dream had assured him, that they should be delivered from the plague, provided they would make a vow to offer up to him all the produce of the next spring; which they immediately complying with, the plague ceased. Some time after it broke out again amongst them, and made great havoc; upon which consulting Apollo, they were informed by him, that the return of the pestilence was owing to the non-obliviance of their vow, since
The History of the Carthaginians. Book III.

A brief account of the Mamertines.

The Carthaginians had to deal with in Sicily, they were originally a body of Campanian mercenaries, that Agathocles took into his service. Being tempted with the beauty and opulence of Messana, they formed a design to make themselves masters of it by surprize, which took effect in the following manner: These troops, being denied by the Syracusans the right of giving their votes at the election of magistrates, immediately had recourse to arms; which threw the city into great confusion; but some persons of distinction interposing, it was at last agreed, that the Campanians should evacuate Sicily within a limited time, and carry off all their effects along with them. Upon the expiration of this term they retired to Messana, in order to embark for their native country. Here they met with a most friendly and kind reception from the citizens; in return for which favour, they in the night either expelled or assailed all the men, took the women to their own use, and seized upon the city. After they had divided the lands and riches of the unhappy Messanians amongst themselves, they called the city Mamertina, and assumed to themselves the name of Mamertini, that is, martial or warlike people, from Mamers, a word, which, in their language, being a dialect of the Oscans, signified Mars, the (I) god of war. As they since they had not sacrificed to him the children born in the spring above-mentioned; but that if they should banish all of them that were then living, and grown up, they would be delivered a second time from that dreadful evil. They immediately followed this advice of the god; and the men thus banished retiring to Sicily, came into that part of the island called Taurominita, or Regio Taurominitana. The Messanians, being at that time engaged in a bloody war, desired their assistance; which having obtained, they overcame all their enemies, and, as a grateful acknowledgment for the service done them, made them free of their city. As the republic of Messana was now grown more powerful by the coalition of two different nations, the Messanians proposed assuming a new name, and, in order to this, cast the names of twelve of the gods into an urn, by way of lots, resolving to take that which came out first. This happened to be Mamers; so that they were from that time called Mamertines (40).

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they were a bold and resolute nation, they in a short time reduced many of the neighbouring states, and extended their conquests to the middle of the island. By the assistance of the Roman garrison at Rhegium, which, under the command of one Decius a Campanian, had seized upon that city in the same infamous manner that the Mamertines had possessed themselves of Messana, they soon became very powerful, and made frequent incursions both into the Siculan and Carthaginian territories, plundering the country, and laying most of the towns and villages under contribution. The Romans, thinking their honour concerned in making an example of Decius and his accomplices, for the flagrant violation of public faith they had been guilty of, attacked the city of Rhegium, took it by storm, and put to the sword all the garrison, except three hundred men, whom they carried to Rome; and after having scourged them with rods, in conformity to the Roman custom, beheaded them publicly in the forum. The Mamertines, being thus deprived of their main support, could not long defend themselves against the attacks of Hiero, who, on account of their repeated depredations, and for several other weighty reasons, declared war against them. As that prince’s troops were always ready to enter upon action, he immediately advanced to the frontiers, and cutting off all communication betwixt the Mamertines and the neighbouring states, encamped on (K) the river Longanus, where he put himself in a posture to receive the enemy, in case they should think proper to venture an engagement with him.

8 Polyb. i. i. Appian Samnit. & Diod. Sic. l. xxii. in excerptis Valesii.

mers, Mavors, and Mars, amongst that people, denoted valiant. It has likewise been supposed, that the word Mars comes from amarus, or the Hebrew אמר, amaritudo; and this notion is countenanced by the epithets אמないこと, דוער, אברוס, באכר, דיווש, סן-מי, דונד, דוד, ור, וור, רורס, וורס, וורס, וורס, which are frequently applied to him. Scaliger, in his notes upon Varro, thinks that Mars, by reduplication, becomes Mamers (41).

(K) Diodorus Siculus calls this river Loitanus; but we apprehend this to be a corruption of Longanus, the name given it by Polybius,

They are attacked and defeated by Hiero, who, after this action, is proclaimed king of Syracuse.

The Mamertines, finding all the avenues leading to their capital city guarded by the enemy’s detachments, and themselves reduced to great straits by Hiero’s possessing himself of so commodious a camp, were obliged to run the risk of a battle; and therefore drawing their forces, which consisted of eight thousand foot and some horse, out of Meffana, under the command of Cios, they encamped on the opposite bank, and made the necessary dispositions to pass the river. In the mean time, Hiero sent a choice detachment, consisting of two hundred Meffanians and four hundred picked soldiers of his own troops, with orders to take post on the hill Thorax, and then wheeling about, to attack the enemy in the rear, whilst he himself, with the gros of his army, charged them in front. The action for some time was sharp and bloody, both sides behaving with undaunted resolution; but at last Hiero having gained an eminence near the river, which, being a very advantageous post, enabled him terribly to gall the enemy, the detachment posted upon the hill falling with great fury upon their rear, and they having with much difficulty already sustained the first shock of the Syracusan army, the Mamertines immediately gave ground, and soon after betook themselves to a precipitate flight. The Syracusans pursued them so closely, that they put every man of them to the sword, except Cios (L), who having received many wounds

Polybius. We own, the generality of MSS. of the former author have ΔΟΙΤΑΝΟΣ; but this cannot stand in competition with the great authority of Polybius. Besides, upon viewing the words ΔΟΙΤΑΝΟΣ and ΔΟΙΤΑΝΟΣ together, we shall find, that nothing can be conceived more easy than such a corruption; for in the middle of these words, the letters on which the true reading depends, resemble one another so nearly, that it is the easiest thing in nature to mistake the former for the latter. Cellarius, by taking notice only of Polybius’s name, seems to have been entirely of our opinion (42).

(L) Diodorus tells us, that Cios assembled his footsayers, and confounded them, before he joined battle with Hiero. Upon viewing the sacrifices narrowly, they unanimously declared, that he should lodge that night in the enemy’s camp. This prediction of the entrails he took as an infallible token of victory, and therefore engaged the Syracusan army with great alacrity and courage, but had the misfortune to meet with the fate here mentioned. However, being brought a prisoner into Hiero’s camp, the prediction was
wounds in the engagement, fainted through loss of blood, and being taken prisoner, was brought half-dead to Hiero’s camp. Hiero, being a prince of singular humanity, ordered all possible care to be taken of that general, and his wounds to be dressed by the most skilful surgeons in his army; but Cios, soon after seeing his son’s horse brought into the camp by a party of Syracusans, immediately concluded he was killed, which threw him into such an excess of grief, that he refused all comfort, tore in pieces the ligatures of his wounds, and chose rather to fall by his own hand, than survive a person so dear to him. This defeat, which Hiero gave the Mamertines in the plains of Mylæ, was the greatest blow that people ever received; neither did they ever afterwards find it possible to re-establish their broken affairs. The troops were so highly pleased with Hiero’s conduct in this battle, that they proclaimed him king of Syracuse upon his arrival at that metropolis.

The Carthaginians, being apprised of the great victory Hiero had gained over the Mamertines, began to be uneasy at the progress of that prince’s arms; but their uneasiness was much heightened, upon receiving intelligence, that the Mamertines had made some overtures to him for an accommodation, the principal of which was, that they should put the city of Messana into his hands, provided he would engage to maintain the inhabitants in the possession of their ancient rights and privileges, and protect them against any foreign invasion. The Carthaginians endeavoured to traverse this negotiation; but finding themselves unable to prevent its taking effect, they formed a scheme to keep Messana out of the hands of the Syracusans. In order to this, Hannibal, who at that time commanded the Carthaginian forces in Sicily, amused Hiero, till some troops, which he had kept concealed in the Lipari islands, drew near Messana. The cunning African came to Hiero, advancing to take possession of the place, as it were to congratulate him on his late victory, but

And is over-reached by the Carthaginians.


was undoubtedly looked upon as fulfilled, though not in the sense in which he understood it. By such ambiguous answers both the oracles and haruspices frequently imposed upon those who consulted them (43).

(43) Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.
but in reality with an intention to retard the march of his troops to Messana. In the mean time, an officer being sent, at the head of a detachment, into the town, assured the Mamertines, that he came as a friend, and that his only design was to assist them against the Syracusans, and prevent them from delivering their city into the enemy’s hands. The Mamertines, being greatly weakened by the late overthrow, readily admitted the Carthaginian detachment, and by that means preserved themselves still independent both of the Syracusans and Carthaginians. These two last powers, finding they had pursued wrong measures, afterwards entered into an alliance, and assembled their joint forces to form the siege of Messana. This obliged the Mamertines to call in the Romans to their aid; which gave rise to the first Punic war, a particular account of which will be found in the following section i.

i Diod. Sic. & Polyb. ibid.

**S E C T. VI.**

The history of the Carthaginians, from the first to the second Punic war.

Though the Carthaginians had entered into an alliance with the Romans a little before Pyrrhus landed in Italy, and offered them powerful succours against that prince, yet, even at this time, there reigned a mutual jealousy and diffidence between the two states. As their power was very extensive, their political views and interests diametrically opposite, and both of them seemed acted by the same spirit of ambition, it was morally impossible but that, sooner or later, a bloody quarrel must commence betwixt them. The Romans, proving superior to Pyrrhus, as has been related, obliged him to abandon his Italian allies, whom, soon after his departure, they easily reduced a. The Samnites received so terrible an overthrow from the consuls L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Corvilius, surnamed Maximus, that,

a Flor. i. i. c. 18. Univers., hist. vol. xii. p. 91. Polyb. 1. i.
that, from this time, they ceased to be a nation. The Brutians and Lucanians were next obliged to submit; so that only Tarentum remained to be chastised for incurring the displeasure of the Romans. As that city had not only embroiled the Romans with their neighbours, but likewise destroyed one of their fleets, insulted their embassadors, invited Pyrrhus over into Italy, and greatly exerted itself in assisting him to execute the project he had formed against the Roman republic, they were resolved to make it feel the effects of their resentment; and therefore the consuls, immediately after they had conquered the Brutians and Lucanians, caused it to be invested. Milo at this time commanded the Epirot garrison in the citadel, and the Tarentines had possession of the town. These two parties, being then at variance, instead of taking proper measures for the defence of the place, seemed to be under-hand contriving how they might deliver it up to a foreign power. As the Carthaginians lay at that time with a strong squadron of galleys, and a body of land-forces on board, before the town, and affected to treat only the Epirots as enemies, it was suspected, that the Tarentines had implored their assistance; and on the other hand Milo entered into a negotiation with the Romans, in order to put both the town and citadel into their hands; which at last he did, and that even by the consent of the Tarentines themselves. The Carthaginians, being disappointed of their aim, retired to their own coasts; but the Romans were not a little chagrined at this step, since they thereby discovered, not only that the Carthaginians intended to rob the republic of a city, which by right of conquest, belonged to it, but likewise that they meditated the conquest even of Italy itself. Besides, could the design have been carried into execution, it would have been a notorious infraction of the treaty lately concluded between the two states. This therefore convinced the Romans, that the Carthaginians paid little regard to the faith of treaties, and consequently that they could not be too much upon their guard against the attempts of so perfidious, as well as enterprising, a nation. That the Romans drew such a conclusion from the conduct of

\[\text{Flor. ubi sup. Zonar. in annal. l. xiii. c. 6. p. 377, 378.}
\[\text{Ibid. ibid. & Liv. epist. l. xii. xiv. xv. &c. Orig. l. iv. Zonar. ubi sup.}
\[\text{Liv. epist & Orig. ubi sup. Univerf. hist. vol. xii. p. 92. Zonar. ubi sup.}
\[\text{Univerf. hist. ubi sup. Zonar. annal. l. viii. c. 6. p. 379.}
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of the Carthaginians at this juncture, seems not only probable from the nature of the thing itself, but likewise from an observation of Cato, and Gellius; and therefore we may look upon it as a remote or pretended cause at least of the first Punic war; and indeed this is allowed by Zonaras, as well as Lucius Ampelius, one of their own later historians.

The Romans, soon after the reduction of Tarentum, made themselves masters of all the countries in Italy, from the remotest part of Etruria to the Ionian sea, and from the Tyrrhenian sea to the Adriatic. This rapid progress of their arms gave a fresh alarm to the Carthaginians, who now considered, that the Romans had a very short passage over to Sicily, and that the continent of Italy could not limit their ambition. They therefore began to look upon all their possessions in that island as very precarious, unless they could speedily reduce the exorbitant power of their rival within narrower bounds. Such a consideration as this must undoubtedly have encreased the jealousy, and heightened the disgust already conceived in the breasts of the Carthaginians, and had most certainly its proper influence in puffing them on to a rupture with the Romans.

The inhabitants of Rhegium, being exposed to the attempts of Pyrrhus, as well as the insults of the Carthaginians, who, soon after the arrival of that prince in Italy, invested all the Ionian sea, applied to the Romans for a garrison to defend them from an invasion. In compliance with their request, a legion of Campanians was raised, the Romans at that time not being able to spare any of their own troops, on account of the war with Pyrrhus, and sent under the command of one Decius Jubellius, a native of Campania, to garrison that city. These troops, for some time, did their duty perfectly well; but at last, in imitation of the Mamertines, who had possessed themselves of Messana in a most perfidious manner, and, being of the same nation, assisted these Campanians with a body of forces to accomplish their design, they began to entertain thoughts of rendering themselves independent at Rhegium. To this they were strongly excited by the beauty and opulence of the place, and the elegancies the citizens abounded with.

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f Cat. in orig. quart. apud Aul. Gel. in noct. Attic. i. x. c. 1.
g Lucius Ampel. in lib. memorial. c. 46. Vide & Zonar. ubi sup. c. 8. p. 382

b Liv. epit. Oros. Universal, hist. &c. ubi sup.
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As the Romans at that time had their hands full of the war with Pyrrhus, they thought this a favourable juncture to bring their project to bear, since nothing but the opposition which might be apprehended from that quarter could possibly obstruct the execution of it. Decius therefore, to colour his proceedings, pretended to have advice, that the Reginians had entered into a conspiracy to deliver up the place to Pyrrhus, and betray the garrison into his hands. In order to prevent this, he suggested there was a necessity of taking possession of the town, and making an example of the conspirators. To support what he advanced, forged letters were produced, which he pretended to have intercepted, wherein all the particulars of the conspiracy were related at large. This, together with a set speech on the occasion, made such an impression upon the troops, that they were prepared for any attempt, and ready at an instant to execute their general’s orders. In the mean time, a person privy to the design, appearing, pretended to have certain news, that Pyrrhus had already made a descent on the territories of Rhegium, and was advancing towards the city, in order to have a conference with the principals of the conspiracy. This serving as a signal to the Campanians, the train being already laid, they immediately took possession of the city, divided amongst themselves all the plunder found therein, and put most of the men to the sword.

Not long after the perpetration of this horrid fact, the Romans retake Rhegium, and obliged to fly to Messana. There being seized by a violent pain in his eyes, and either he applied to a Reginian physician for relief; who, reserving the injuries offered his country, prescribed him a plaster of cantharides, which totally deprived him of his sight. The Campanians then made his escape. This we learn from Diodorus.

But Appian intimates, that he was attacked by this disorder at Rhegium, and sent to Messana for a physician, not caring to trust any of those in the place where he resided. The Mamertines sent him one, eminent for his skill in the art of medicine, whom the last author intimates to have been a Reginian; who, applying caustics to his eyes, advised him to keep them on till his return, which never happened; so that in a short time he became stark-blind.

Neither

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Neither Polybius nor Dio take notice of any of these circumstances; and therefore give us reason to believe, which is likewise consonant to the fragment of Appian just referred to, that he did not depart from Rhegium, as Diodorus suggests, but met with the fate he deferred either in that place or Rome, with his accomplices and companions. Be this as it will, as soon as the Roman republic was in a condition to take vengeance of this perfidious legion, she ordered L. Genecius Clepfina to besiege Rhegium with a powerful army. The Campanians, being reinforced by a strong body of Mamertines, whom they had likewise assisted in their wars with the Syracusan and Carthaginians, made a vigorous defence; but the consul, redoubling his attacks, at last took the place, and put all the garrison to the sword, except three hundred men, who were carried to Rome, and there punished with exemplary severity. They were whipped with rods in the middle of the forum, had their heads struck off, and their bodies remained, by the senates order, uninterred. Appian relates, that Decius, being detained in close custody, grew impatient of his confinement, and laid violent hands on himself; but whether this happened at Rome or Rhegium, he says not. In the mean time, the Mamertines, having sustained a prodigious loss, not only by the slaughter of their troops sent to the assistance of the Campanians, but likewise by the destruction of their faithful ally, who had hitherto greatly contributed to support them against all their enemies, and receiving about the same time the terrible defeat from Hiero above-mentioned, found themselves upon the point of submitting to the Syracusans. Some of the principal citizens, to prevent this, applied to the Romans for succours, who, for certain reasons, not being disposed to support them at that conjuncture, the Carthaginian faction in Messana admitted a Carthaginian detachment into the town, which immediately took possession of the citadel. The Roman party, highly incensed at such a point of conduct, hereupon resolved to send a second time to their friends for speedy relief. This step of the Carthaginians therefore must be allowed to have been the immediate cause of the first Punic war.

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As for the motives which prompted the Carthaginians to this war, we have just hinted at them: a desire of securing and enlarging their acquisitions in Sicily; the necessity of humbling a proud rival, whose interests in every respect clashed with theirs; a resolution to preserve the dominion of the (A) sea, and that extensive trade they then enjoyed; these, we say, were undoubtedly the principal motives, which prevailed upon them to engage in this famous quarrel. The Romans likewise, in all probability, were influenced by reasons of much the same kind: a thirst after empire, an abhorrence of the Carthaginian genius, a fear that to false a friend would get a footing in Italy; in fine

(A) That the Carthaginians were, for several centuries, extremely powerful by sea, cannot be disputed; nay, if John Tzetzes may be credited, they came as far with their fleets as the Thracian Bosporus, where they carried on a naval war with the Byzantines. However, this we cannot believe, as being entirely unsupported by any other author. That scholiast's words are, ὁμοίως δὲ τοῦτον καὶ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟI καὶ Βυζαντίοι, δι' ἁπασάς σκαλιμοῦς πενεκτενέται δεούς ἔνταξιαν ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ Τζετζές, in the place referred to, observes how common a thing it is for neighbouring states to quarrel, and that even about trifles; and, amongst others, brings the dispute betwixt the ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟI and the Βυζαντίοι, in the passage before us, as an instance of it. As therefore the Carthaginians and Byzantines could never have been looked upon as neighbours, the passage under consideration wants undoubtedly to be amended; which will be done to satisfaction, if for ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟI we read ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝΙΟI; since the people of Chalcedon or Calchedon were most certainly neighbours to the Byzantines, and sometimes embroiled with them. That the people of Chalcedon were neighbours to the Byzantines, is evident from the situation assigned that city by Stephanus, Tacitus, Pliny, and Strabo; since, according to these authors, it stood over-against Byzantium, on the opposite shore. In order to support our emendation farther, it may be not improper to observe, that tho', in printed books, for the most part, we find the name of this city to be ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝ, yet, in ancient coins, which are of much greater authority, it is always exhibited ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝ, and the people named ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝΙΟI, or, in the Doric dialect, ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝΙΟI. This is a strong proof of the error of the printed books, and many MSS. in this particular, that Hardouin has corrected the MSS. and printed editions of Pliny, and Seguin those of Strabo, by the help of these coins. Spanheim likewise looks upon ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝ
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fine, a notion, that their political views were entirely repugnant to those of the Carthaginians, disposed them to a rupture with that people. That the possession also of the fertile islands of Sicily and Sardinia, which, they imagined, must of course fall to the victor, had great weight with the Romans, in determining them to enter upon a war with Carthage, is extremely probable, and even acknowledged by some of their own writers. The first Punic war, according to Polybius, lasted twenty-four years, and was carried on chiefly by sea, both sides struggling hard for the dominion of that element. As Sicily, the object of this dispute, was an island, such a contention was very natural. We shall now proceed to give a brief account of the principal transactions of every campaign, in order of time as they happened.

The Roman faction in Messana, upon the admission of a Carthaginian garrison into the citadel, dispatched fresh deputies to Rome, to solicit assistance from the republic. Upon their arrival, in the name of their principals, they offered the possession of Messana to the Romans, and, in the most moving terms, implored their protection. The conscript fathers, imagining that a compliance with this request would destroy the uniformity of their conduct, and make them lose the high character they had gained by the severe


to be indisputably the true name; which together with the authority of Memnon in Photius, Juventius, &c. fixes the point we are inflicting on beyond contradiction. (1).

severe punishment lately inflicted upon the perfidious Cam-panian legion, were for some time in suspense what course to take; but afterwards considering what vast territories the Carthaginians possessed in Africa and Spain; that they were masters of a great part of Sicily, Sardinia, and the other islands lying on the coast of Italy; that they had a design on Italy itself, which they would most certainly put in execution, if they could entirely reduce Messana, and seize upon the whole island of Sicily; they either really were, or pretended to be, under great apprehensions for their own safety, and therefore appeared disposed to support the Mamertines. This disposition was soon turned into a resolution by the unanimous voice of the people, who, having been greatly impoverished by the late wars, and propelling to themselves no small advantage from an invasion of Sicily, to which likewise they were strongly excited by those who expected the command of the armies defined for that service, were very eager from the beginning for an attempt to deliver Messana. The senate therefore decreed, that this enterprise should be undertaken; and in consequence of this decree, which was likewise confirmed by an ordinance of the people, Appius Claudius, one of the consuls, received orders to attempt a passage to Sicily, at the head of a powerful army.

The consul, being obliged to stay some time longer in Rome, where his presence was then necessary, on account of some affairs of moment, commanded one Caius Clau-


bud, a legionary tribune, and a person of great intrepidity and resolution, to advance with a few (B) vessels to Rhe-


gium.

(B) Zonaras calls these vessels triremes; but in this he not only contradicts Polybius, but himself. For Polybius affirms, that neither quinqueremes nor triremes were in use amongst the Italians before the first Punic war; and as for Zonaras himself, he assures us, that the Romans were entirely ignorant of every thing relating to the building and equipping of fleets before the commencement of their first quarrel with Carthage. We are told by some writers, that a Carthaginian galley, venturing too near the shore, was stranded, and taken by the Romans; and that, after the model of this galley, the Romans built many of those vessels, of which their first fleet was composed. This must have been a trireme; since, according to Polybius, their first fleet consisted of quinqueremes and triremes. And Aurelius Victor gives us to understand, that the first Carthaginian quinquereme, which fell into
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gium. Claudius, upon his arrival there, observing the Carthaginian squadron to be infinitely superior to his own, and absolute masters of the freights, thought it would be little inferior to madness to attempt at that time transporting any forces to Sicily; and therefore contented himself, for the present, with watching the enemies motions. However, he soon after, in a small boat, boldly crossed the freights himself, and had a conference with the Mamertines; but finding that people awed by the Carthaginian garrison in the citadel, he returned to Rhegium, without having been able to prevail upon them to accept of the Roman protection. Notwithstanding which, in a little time, he received advice, that the Mamertines, being desirous of expelling the Carthaginians, and recovering their former absolute independency, were in motion; upon which he ventured a second time to Messana, and assured the Mamertines, that the sole view of his republic was, to restore them to the full enjoyment of all their rights and privileges, and preserve them in that situation. Then addressing himself to the Carthaginian officers there present, he, with an air of dignity, told them, that they either ought immediately to abandon the place, or assign a reason for their continuance in it. The Mamertines, being under some restraint, by reason of the Carthaginian troops, which had taken post amongst them, were silent; and the Carthaginians, being, in effect, masters of the place, would not vouchsafe him an answer. Directing himself therefore to the latter, he told them, they had reason to be silent, since the iniquity of their conduct would not admit of a vindication. And as for you, Mamertines, added he, your silence I take to be a full proof of your passion for liberty; since, if you were disposed to be slaves to such imperious masters, nothing could hinder you from declaring for them. The Mamertines, animated by the tribune’s boldness, applauded his speech, and shewed their readiness to receive the Roman succours. Claudius, having thus happily gained his point, departed to the opposite shore, and made the necessary dispositions into the hands of the Romans, was taken by Appius Claudius, in his passage from Messana to Rhegium (2).

positions to transport a body of forces to Messana without delay.

The Carthaginians, being informed of the resolution taken at Rome to assist the Mamertines, sent a body of forces and a strong squadron of galleys, under the command of Hanno, to Sicily. That general, receiving intelligence, that Claudius had set sail from Rhegium with a (C) small Roman fleet, and was steering towards Messana, in


(C) That the Romans were not entirely unacquainted with the art of navigation before the time of the first Punic war, is apparent from hence, that they were contiguous to the Etruscans, a nation (3) very powerful by sea many centuries before this war, from whom they must undoubtedly have received some knowledge of sea affairs; nay, they had conquered Etruria, and consequently made themselves masters of the Etruscan power both by sea and land, before the commencement of the first Punic war. It is true, the Etruscan power, particularly by sea, had been declining many years before the Romans reduced Etruria; but considering how celebrated the Etruscans had been (4) for the figure they made by sea in former ages, we cannot suppose them entirely void of shipping, when conquered by the Romans. Besides, several very ancient Roman coins, prior to the first Punic war, if not as old as the regal government, plainly prove the Romans not to have been absolute strangers to the art of constructing ships in earlier ages, since different parts of ships are visible on the reverses of these (5) coins. On the other hand, it must be allowed, that, till the period above-mentioned, the Romans were much more intent upon rendering themselves formidable by land, than by sea; neither is it at all natural to believe, that they should have entertained any thoughts of building and equipping a fleet of any force, before they had formed a design of attacking the dominions of some rival state, separated from

in order to throw a body of troops into that place, immediately went in quest of him; and coming up with him near from their own by the watry element; and so we find, in fact, it happened. After having premised this, we think we may venture to allow a possibility of reconciling Polybius with himself, in his relation of the manner and period, wherein the Romans first endeavoured to fit out a fleet. That the Romans applied themselves to commerce long before the times we are now speaking of, is evident from the two first treaties they concluded with the Carthaginians, and from several other incidents taken notice of in the Roman history, as we have elsewhere observed; but then it is probable, that, for the most part at least, they traded in Italian bottoms, making use of the ships of their allies, who are expressly mentioned in those treaties, on such occasions. Be this as it will, it is certain, that they generally, if not always, as we are inclined to believe they did, applied to their allies for ships of war and naval succours, whenever they wanted them. This is evident from Justin and Polybius, to omit other authors, from whom it appears, that, in the treaty concluded with Carthage near the time of Pyrrhus's coming to Italy, it was stipulated, that the Carthaginians should assist the Romans with a squadron, in case they should be attacked by that prince; and that, in the beginning of the first Punic war, Claudius could not pass over to Sicily, till he was supplied with ships by the Tarentines, Locrians, and Neapolitans. That the Romans never equipped a fleet of any consequence before this war, or even had any quinqueremes or triremes amongst them, likewise farther appears from their being totally ignorant of the art of rowing and navigating those vessels, which they found themselves obliged to learn first upon land; nor indeed is it possible to conceive, that they should have had any squadron of note before they had these galleys, since the chief strength of fleets, in the age we are now upon at least, consisted in such galleys. The Romans therefore might have had a few coasting vessels, and rude galleys or biremes, of their own, in the times preceding the first Punic war; but they never crossed the seas with any squadron of quinqueremes or triremes till now, as appears from Polybius, Livy, and others. Polybius therefore, in his account of the first fleet the Romans fitted out, must be understood as speaking of these ships only. And indeed that the Romans were totally ignorant of the construction of this sort of vessels, and that they were not used in any part of Italy before the first rupture of the Romans with the Carthaginians, may be certainly inferred from the express words of that excellent historian (6).

(6) Polyb. i. i. & l. iii. Justin. i. xviii. Liv. epit. i. xvi. & Flor. i. ii. c. 2. &c.
near the coast of Sicily, attacked him with great fury. He had scarce begun the attack, when a violent storm arose, which dashed many of the Roman vessels in pieces against the rocks, they not being so capable of riding out a storm as the Carthaginian, and did their squadron infinite prejudice; insomuch, that Claudius, finding himself engaged with two enemies at once, was forced to give way. He was therefore totally defeated, most of his ships taken, others destroyed, and he himself obliged to retire with great difficulty to Rhegium. Hanno, either to pique the Romans in point of honour, or to divert them from sending succours to Messina, restored all the vessels he had taken from Claudius, who, when the Carthaginian deputies arrived, was renewing his fleet. These deputies, upon their arrival, proposed a treaty of peace to the tribune; which being rejected, they had some warm expostulations with the Romans, whom they accused of a violation of former treaties, declaring, that the Carthaginians would never suffer the Romans to be masters of the straits betwixt Italy and Sicily, nor even to wash their hands in them. This, for the present, cut off all hopes of a pacification, so that Claudius resumed his military preparations with the utmost vigour; which having completed, and narrowly observed when the wind and tide favoured him, he weighed anchor a second time, and, eluding the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron posted to intercept them, got safe into the port of Messana. The Mamertines having surrendered the town to him, Hanno thought proper to retire into the citadel; but at the desire of Claudius, and the heads of the Mamertines, he had a conference with them, when he was peremptorily accosted by one of the legionaries, at the command of the Roman general, and detained a considerable time prisoner. This greatly intimidated the Carthaginian garrison, and, with some succeeding perjuries and menaces intermixed, induced them to surrender the citadel to Claudius. Hanno, being afterwards released, went to Carthage, to justify his conduct; which having the misfortune not to do to the satisfaction of the senate, he was, by their order, immediately crucified. Persius tells us, that his countrymen suspected him guilty either of cowardice or treachery; but that he really deserved such an imputation, does not appear from any point of his conduct. On the contrary, the cowardice of the Carthaginian
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Carthaginian garrison, when deprived of their commandant, and the perfidiousness of Claudius, seem to have been the true causes of the loss of the citadel. Nothing can be inferred to his prejudice from the cruel and ignominious death he met with, since that was a fate common to the most famous Carthaginian generals when unsuccessful.

The Carthaginians, being determined at all events to dislodge the Romans from Messana, raised a formidable army, and equipped a powerful fleet, for that purpose, appointing another Hanno, the son of Hannibal, commander in chief of these forces. This general, landing his troops at Lilybaeum, invited Hiero, king of Syracuse, to enter into an alliance with the Carthaginians, and then marched to Selinus, near which city he encamped; from whence, at the head of a considerable detachment, he advanced to Agrigentum, and repaired the fortifications of the citadel there. The Agrigentines were easily prevailed upon to declare for the Carthaginians; and Hanno, upon his return to the camp at Selinus, found embassadors from Hiero, who had orders to concert with him the proper measures for driving the Romans out of Sicily. Pursuant to the plan of operations Hanno and Hiero had laid down, those two generals marched with their united forces to Messana, and immediately invested the town. Before they besieged the place in form, they summoned the Roman garrison to surrender; which they refusing to do, Hanno put all the Italian soldiers in the Carthaginian service to the sword, and thereby rendered an accommodation with the Romans, on the part of his nation, impracticable. The Carthaginians pitched their tents at Senes (D), a town in the neighbourhood.


(D) The Greek name of this place in Polybius is ΣΗΝΕΙΣ, in Diodorus ΕΤΝΕΙΣ, which Rhodomanus translates cubilia. Whether the word is a proper name, or an appellative emphatically used, cannot now be determined, since none of the old geographers have taken any notice of a place known by this name in the neighbourhood of Messana. However this may be, it is probable, that the words used by Polybius and Diodorus...
hood of Messana, and posted their fleet near the promontory (E) Pelorus, to prevent any supplies coming by sea; whilst Hiero encamped on the hill Chalcidicus, in order to cut off all communication betwixt the besieged and the neighbouring country. The Romans, being apprised of these motions, dispatched the consul Appius Claudius himself, at the head of a powerful army to Rhegium; who, upon his arrival there, sent embassadors to Hiero, conjuring him, by the antient friendship betwixt the Romans and him, to desist from the siege he had undertaken, promising at the same time, that not the least damage should be offered to his territories. Hiero answered, that the Mamertines had poiffeled themselves of Messana in the most villainous manner; that they had razed the cities of Gela and Camarina, and treated the inhabitants with unheard-of cruelty; that therefore such a nest of banditti ought to be entirely extirpated; that the Romans could not, without a manifest deviation from their pretended equity, take them under their protection; and that in case, contrary to expectation, this should happen, the world would naturally conclude, that they were not influenced

rus (7) were originally the same, though afterwards rendered different by the carelessness and inattention of transcribers. The great affinity betwixt the letters [ΕΦΕΙΣ, ΕΤΕΙΣ] of which they consist, since Η is often written in MSS. [Η], one side of which might be easily defaced by length of time, and the letter thereby mistaken for a Τ, and the two initial letters in many MSS. being nearly the same, gives good ground for such a supposition.

(E) It is something surprizing, that so learned a man as Rhodomanus, in his Latin version of Diodorus, should translate the word AKPA here “arx”, which signifies a fort or citadel; whereas it ought to have been rendered promontorium, a cape or promontory. It is true, AKPA answers to both the significations of arx and promontorium; but that, in this place, it should be confined to the latter, is evident from Polybius, who intimates, that the Carthaginian fleet lay near cape Pelorus or Peloris, and lined the coast. That this cape or promontory was called Pelorias, the name Diodorus here uses, appears from Ovid and Solinus; which proves Diodorus exactly to correspond with Polybius. It must therefore be allowed, that here is a second instance produced, to which many others might be added, of Rhodomanus’s inaccuracy in his above-mentioned version (8).

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influenced by the maxims of rigid probity and justice, as they would have mankind believe, but swayed by ambition, their aim being not to succour the distressed, but to make themselves masters of the island of Sicily.

The consul, having received this answer, resolved to pass over into Sicily with all possible expedition; but, to conceal his design, gave out, that he could not venture upon that enterprise, before he had consulted the senate. This stratagem was of signal service to him, since the Carthaginian squadron posted to oppose his passage would undoubtedly have been too strong for him, had they been apprised of his resolution; but this report reaching their ears, they guarded the freights with less care and vigilance. In the mean time, Appius, going on board a (F) galley, built unskillfully and in great haste, pretended to coast along the shore in his way to Rome; but as soon as he was out of sight, he tacked about, and, being favoured by a dark night, reached, with some transports, the nearest coasts of Sicily, and landed his forces, without being perceived by the enemy. He had no sooner landed, but he took a view of both the enemies armies and their fleet; and finding them vastly superior to his own, that they pushed on the siege with the utmost vigour, and that, in all probability, the town must soon capitulate, unless their camps could be forced, which could not be done without a great effusion of blood, he resolved


(F) Amazius Victor intimates, that this Claudius, who was surnamed Caudex, and the brother of Appius Claudius Ccesar, or "the blind"; crossed the freights first in a small siffer-boat, with a few transports attending him, in order to discover the disposition of the Mamertines, and reconnoitre the enemy; which having done, he returned to Rhegium in the same vessel, and had the good luck to take a Carthaginian quinquereme, with a body of foot, in his passage, on board of which he soon after transported a Roman legion to Messana, following himself with his whole fleet, and the rest of the land-forces. This general is said likewise by the same author to have distinguished himself against the Volscians; which doubtles induced the senate to give him the command of the army destined to act against the Carthaginians and their allies in Sicily.

(g) Aurel. Vict. five aest. vit. vir. illust. 37.
resolved to make another effort to bring about an accommodation between the contending parties. In order to this, he dispatched ministers a second time both to Hiero and the Carthaginians, with fresh proposals for a peace, purely, as it should seem, to amuse them, till he had received a reinforcement from Rome, and was able to attack them with a better prospect of success; but the negotiation proving ineffectual, and finding notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, that he must either conquer or die, he first attacked the Syracusans, and that with such intrepidity, that tho' for some time they defended themselves with great bravery, putting the Roman cavalry into disorder, he defeated them, and entered Messana in a triumphant manner, loaded with their spoils. Following his blow, he fell immediately upon the Carthaginians, whose camp was at some distance from that of the Syracusans, as has been before observed; who, being surprized by the suddenness of the attack, were put to the rout, and, for the most part, either cut to pieces, or dispersed. The Romans, however, in all probability, would not have bought these advantages at so cheap a rate, had Hanno and Hiero opposed them with their united forces, as in good policy they ought to have done; but Hiero, finding that the Romans landed their troops without any opposition from the Carthaginian fleet, immediately concluded, that Hanno kept a secret correspondence with the enemy, and therefore was afraid of reposing too great a confidence in him; in consequence of which distrust, Hiero decamped hastily in the night, after the late advantage Claudius had obtained over him, though he was not in the least obliged to it, since the Romans could not force his camp. The enemy had hereby thrown into their hands an opportunity of attacking the Carthaginians with their whole strength, and gaining a most signal victory over them. This is the account given us by Polybius; but Zonaras relates that event differently. According to him, the Carthaginian camp was so secured by the sea and a moat, that it was accessible only by one avenue, which, being a narrow passage, and fortified by a strong wall, the Romans found it impossible to enter. After a furious assault, they were beaten off by a shower of darts, and forced to retire with great loss. The Carthaginians, thinking themselves now sure of victory, purged the legionaries to the walls of the town; but the latter, having drawn the enemy out of their impregnable
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... the camp, faced about with great bravery, and in their turn repulsed them with such slaughter, that they never durst appear afterwards, as long as Claudius continued in Messana. Claudius afterwards, finding no enemy to make head against him in the field, ravaged the enemy’s territories in a dread-ful manner, making excursions to the very gates of Syracuse; nay, if Zonaras may be credited, he laid siege to that place, though the Syracusans defended themselves with such valour, that he had no prospect of reducing it. They cut off abundance of his men in the fallacies they made, and in one of them had taken him prifoner, had he not luckily just before proposed some terms of peace to Hiero, which prevented the garrison from pushing matters to the last extremity. As Hiero was inwardly a well-wisher to the Romans, he did not fliew himself displeased at the consul’s overtures; but the campaign being at an end, and Claudius leaving the island soon after, the negotiation was suspended till the following year. Thus the Carthaginians not only lost Messana, but almost all possibility of recovering it. Those of them that escaped the late carnage took shelter in the neighbouring fortified towns, expecting to be put in a condition of acting offensively the following spring. As for Claudius, having left a strong garrison in Messana, the season being far advanced, he palled over to Rhegium, and from thence pursued his journey to Rome.

After the consul’s departure, Hiero and the Carthaginians, drawing together a body of regular troops, reduced many towns that had fallen to the enemy. But the succeeding consuls, Manius Octavilius Craflus and Manius Valeri-
us Flaccus, transporting to Sicily two confular armies, consisting each of eight thousand legionaries and six hundred horse, with a great number of auxiliaries, upon their arrival recovered most of those places. They first laid siege to Adranum, and took it by storm. Afterwards they advanced to Centuripe, and encamped before it. While they were making preparations for an attack, there arrived embassadors in the camp from the Alænians (G), who decided

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‘G’ The Greek word, in all the printed and manuscript copies of Polybius, is ΑΛΕΝΙΟΙ, in which, through the neglect
red to be taken under the protection of the Romans; and about sixty-seven other towns followed their example. The consuls, animated by such a rapid progress, moved with all their forces towards Syracuse, the capital of the island, with an intention to form the siege of that city. Their approach scattered terror throughout the island, and so intimidated Hiero, who now plainly discovered the great superiority of the Romans in this war, that he began to entertain thoughts of renewing the negotiation, which Claudius's sudden departure out of Sicily had broken off towards the close of the last campaign. As the treaty concluded betwixt the Romans and Hiero did not a little contribute to the declension of the Carthaginian power, we shall beg leave here to touch upon a few particulars relating to that remarkable event, as well as to Hiero himself, which have been omitted in all former parts of this work.

After Pyrrhus's precipitate retreat, the Carthaginians became on a sudden so powerful in Sicily, that the Greek cities there thought themselves in danger of being speedily over-run by that nation; nay Polyænus intimates, that there was an actual war betwixt these two powers, and that the Carthaginian admiral, by a stratagem, gained a considerable advantage over Hiero. This induced Hiero to court the friendship of the Romans, looking upon them as the only power that could give a check to the towering projects of the Carthaginians, and defeat their ambitious designs. He therefore sent a supply of troops and provisions to the Roman forces then employed in the siege of Rhegium, which enabled them to reduce that place, and consequently rendered them more capable of supporting him, whenever he should stand in need of their assistance. This was the basis of that good understanding, which subsisted for so long a time between the two powers, though it at first met with a short interruption. The Carthaginians, ever jealous of the neighbouring states, and now particularly so of the Romans,

Hiero comes to an accommodation with the Romans.

P 4


or ignorance of transcribers, [A] has been omitted. This is so apparent, that we think it sufficient just to have taken notice of it.
mans, took umbrage at this harmony, as plainly discovering the drift of it. In order therefore to traverse it, they prevented Hiero from pooh-poohing himself of Messana, made it a pretext for a quarrel with the Romans, and pretended to take the Mamertines under their protection. Hiero, finding the Romans not willing to act in favour of the Mamertines, upon the first application of that people to them, and that the Carthaginians, at the same time they entered the citadel of Messana, expressed a desire of being upon good terms with him, thought it agreeable to his interest to enter into an alliance with the latter; which he accordingly did, and, in conjunction with them, declared war against the Romans. This brought on the action above-mentioned between Hiero and Claudius, wherein the former being defeated, fled to Syracuse, looking upon himself as betrayed by the Carthaginians, because their fleet had not hindered Claudius from landing his troops in Sicily. The Carthaginians could never afterwards make a friend of that prince; so great an aversion did he, from this period, conceive to them. Claudius, pursuing Hiero to his capital city, besieged him therein; which still made him more desirous of abandoning the Carthaginians, and which he undoubtedly then had done, since Claudius proposed an accommodation to him, had not the plague broke out in the Roman army, which, together with a famine and the vigorous defence of the besieged, obliged the consul to draw off, and, as it should seem, precipitately to leave the island. However, the next year matters took another turn: the Romans, in the beginning of the campaign, conquered a good part of Sicily almost without opposition, advanced, at the head of their legions, to the gates of Syracuse, and invested the town. At the same time, according to Philinus (H), they besieged Echetla, a fortress in the dependency of Syracuse. The Syracusan nobility, having now a prospect of nothing but a long train of calamities, entreated their sovereign to make over-

(H) This Philinus we have already had occasion to mention as a very partial historian; but Polybios likewise represents him as one absolutely inconsistent with himself, and guilty of the greatest enormities. A certain author, whom we have before often quoted of, thinks, from the corrupted proper name Phililus, that he was the same person Cornelius Nepos tells us wrote the history of Hannibal. From hence, and some MSS. of Nepos, it seems to follow, that he was called by Cicero. Silanus. But
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Overtures for a peace to the Roman generals, and thereby prevent the ruin that threatened them. Such a desire falling in with Hiero’s natural sentiments, he readily complied with it; so that dispatching embassadors immediately to the Roman camp, a treaty of friendship and alliance was concluded to the satisfaction of both parties. Many things concurred to dispose the Romans to facilitate so salutary a work; but it will be sufficient to observe here, that, by the conclusion of this treaty, they got, according to Eutropius, two hundred talents of silver, or, as Diodorus will have it, an hundred and forty thousand drachmas, a plentiful supply of provisions through the future course of this war, and found themselves enabled to reduce their army in Sicily to two legions. For an account of the particular articles of this treaty, we must refer our readers to the history of Syracuse‡ (I).

The interest both of Hiero and the Romans rendered which the accommodation necessary: the Romans could not have Carthaginians endeavored to obviate to ob.

want of provisions, since the Carthaginians, being masters at sea, could easily have intercepted their convoys, and cut off in vain.

Polyen. frag. 1. vi. c. 16. ex. 4. Liv. Flor. & Diod. Sic. ubi
P. 332.

But both these notions are overthrown by Diodorus Siculus, who, in agreement with Polybius, calls him Philinus; and tells us, that he was an Agrigentine, and wrote the history of the first Punic war, without entering at all into his character. Had this been duly attended to, it might have prevented some mistakes in Hendreich, Voëns, and others (10).

(I) Eutropius intimates, that Hiero concluded a treaty of peace with the Romans in the third year of this war. But the other authors we have cited, or at least the majority and best of them, have placed that treaty in the second campaign, and therefore we have chosen to follow them (11).

(10) Uni. hist. vol. xvi. chap. 37. sect. 3. in nat. (N). sub fin.
divin. 1. i. Voff. de hist. Graec. Hendr. in. catal. auctor. Vide
& Vofnum. atq; not. var. ad Corn. Nep. de Hannib. p. 624. edit
v. ver. 718. & Serv. in loc. Cic. in Ver. 4. de sign. c. 53. Ennius
antiquit. 1. v.
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off all supplies, that might have come from the coasts of Ital-
y, as they actually d i d the last year, which reduced the
Romans to the extremities hinted at above. And, on the
other hand, Hiero found the Carthaginians not able to pro-
fect his dominions, nor himself in a capacity to make head
against the consuls. If Livy, Zonaras, Eutropius, and
Synclerlus, may be credited, he received several overthrows
from the Romans since the breaking out of this war, which
in all probability, must have entirely exhausted him. The
peace concluded at first was not perpetual, but only for a
term of fourteen years. The Carthaginians endeavoured by
all possible means to obstruct the negotiation, but without any
effect. With this view it was, that Hannibal the Carthagi-
nian general, advanced with a strong body of troops to Xi-
phonia, giving Hiero to understand, that he was in a con-
dition to support him; but hearing that every thing was
settled, he thought proper to retire u.

The Carthaginians, being thus deserted by their ally,
found themselves obliged to bear the whole burden of the
war, which yet they believed themselves capable of doing.
They were so far from being dispirited on this occasion,
that they resolved to exert themselves in an extraordinary
manner, to drive the Romans out of Sicily, and even to
oblige king Hiero to renounce his new alliance. They placed
numerous garrisons in all their frontiers, perfected the
works of their fortified towns, and sent officers, with large
sums of money, to make levies in Liguria, Gaul, and Ibe-
ria. The Romans in the mean time, marching into the
Carthaginian territories, laid siege to Adranon and Macella,
which they carried on with great vigour, but were repul-
sed in all their assaults, and at last forced to retire from be-
fore them. However, they met with better success at Se-
gesta (K), which, having been founded by Aeneas, or at
least


(K) According to Servius, this city received its name from one
Acelestes, a Trojan, whom Aeneas left in possession of it at his de-
parture from Sicily. Ennius calls this Acelestes Aeneas’s host, and
consequently intimates him to have been one of the Aborigines of Sicily.
The inhabitants of it, from their first acquaintance with the Romans, looked upon them as their kindred and relati-
on, and always most heartily espoused their interest. Before that
time,
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least one of his Trojan companions, and consequently rela-
ted to the Romans, opened its gates to the consul, after hav-
ing massacred the Carthaginian garrison. The people of
Aliena did the like. Hilara, Tyrata, and Ascela, were car-
ried sword in hand. As for the Tyndarites, they proposed
submitting upon the first appearance of the Roman army,
had they not been prevented by the Carthaginians, who up-
on the first intelligence of their design, carried off the prin-
cipal citizens as hostages, and conveyed all the provisions and
military stores in the place to Lilybæum. After this, the
consuls retired to Rhegium, where they took up their win-
ter-quarters 🍃.

The next campaign, the Carthaginians appointed Han-
no commander in chief of all their forces, who made Agri-
gentum, as being the most commodious for that purpose by
its situation, a place of arms, and fixed there his principal
magazine. The consuls L. Posthumius Megellus and Q.
Mamilius Vitulus, being apprized of this, advanced with a
powerful army into the neighbourhood of that city, and,
after having blocked it up for some months, besieged it in
form. As this siege happened in the middle of harvest, the
Carthaginian garrison, observing great numbers of the ene-
my dispersed in the fields, in order to carry off the corn to
their camp, made a vigorous sally, cut many of them to
pieces, and had almost forced their intrenchments; but
were

Feft. in voc. Segesta.

time, it is probable, they had an averfion to the Greeks, as being
of Trojan extraction; and therefore might very naturally court
the affittance of the Carthaginians on all occasions, as we find
sometimes they did. Afterwards, when they became subject to
Carthage, they undoubtedly were very faithful to that state; but,
at the commencement of this war, preferred the Romans to that
nation, for the reason above assigned. That cities frequently, in
antient times, were denominated after great men, is a truth obvi-
oun to all persons moderately versed in the knowledge of antiq-
ity (12).

(12) Virg. Æn. v. ver. 718. & Serv. in loc. Cic. in Ver. 4,
de sign. c. 33. Ennius apud Laelant. l. i. c. 22. Dio, l. liv. Vide
& Velser. antiquit. l. v.
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were at last beat back into the town. In the mean time, Hannibal, the son of Gisco, who commanded in the place, finding the Romans to push on the siege with such vigour, that he must be obliged to capitulate, unless speedily relieved, dispatched reiterated expresses to Carthage, with an account of his distress. Hereupon Hanno received orders to attempt raising the siege; in order to which, he first marched to Heraclea, within twenty miles of Agrigentum, and from thence to Erbeffa, where posting himself, he so frightened the Roman army, that they were in great danger of perishing for want of provisions, as having no prospect of any supply. Though that army at first, according to Diodorus, consisted of an hundred thousand men, most of whom were Sicilians, not a fourth part of them now remained fit for service; and the plague at the same time breaking out amongst them, they found themselves in a very melancholy situation. This induced the consuls now to think of attacking Hanno, though they had before declined an engagement, when that general had made a motion, as though he intended to offer them battle, and even defeated their cavalry. Having then plenty of provisions, and being strongly intrenched, they imagined themselves able to starve the garrison to a surrender; and therefore, as their army, through the great fatigues they had undergone during the siege, was not near so numerous as the Carthaginian, they judged it prudent to avoid a battle; but being now reduced to great distress, they braved the enemy; who, suspecting some ambuscade, did not shew the same disposition to fight. The Romans, however, reaped considerable advantage from this conduct; for Hiero, finding the Carthaginians superior to his new allies, had delayed supporting them in the manner he was obliged to by the last treaty; whereas at this time, seeing the tables turned, he supplied them in great abundance with all kinds of provisions. Many Sicilian cities likewise, animated by the same event, sent deputations to the Romans, and joined them with a good body of forces. Hanno, observing this, and believing Hannibal, falling out of the town in the heat of the action, would fall upon the rear of the enemy, advanced some time after into a plain near the Roman camp, and drew up his army in order of battle. In the mean time, the Roman generals, by way of precaution, had posted proper detachments to repulse any fall the besieged might make, and, upon Hanno’s approach, sent privately another body to attack the Carthaginian rear.

As
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As soon as this disposition was made, the Roman army, moving out of their trenches into the plain, faced the enemy, and towards evening a bloody engagement ensued. But the Romans behaved with such bravery, that, notwithstanding the obstinate resistance they met with, they carried the day, and entirely routed the Carthaginians, putting to the sword vast numbers of their men, and killing some of their elephants. Hannibal, during the engagement, fell out with the best part of the garrison; but being repulsed by the troops the consuls had posted at all the avenues to the city, he was obliged to retire with considerable loss. Immediately afterwards making his escape, he abandoned the place to the Romans; and Hanno fled, with the broken remains of his army, to Heraclea. The siege of Agrigentum continued seven months, the Romans losing thirty thousand foot and five hundred and forty horse before the town.*

The Carthaginians, greatly chagrined at the ill success of their arms the preceding campaign, attributed it as usual, to the bad conduct of their general; and therefore not only exacted an immense sum of money from Hanno, by way of fine, but likewise deprived him of his commissariat, appointing Hamilcar to command the forces in his room. Hannibal, an officer of good repute, took upon him the command of the fleet, and received orders from Hamilcar to savage the coasts of Italy, that he might draw the consuls that way, and, by such a diversion, enable the land-forces to attack more successfully the Roman conquests in Sicily. But the Romans had taken such care to guard their coasts, by posting detachments in proper places to prevent the enemy from making a descent, that this design was rendered abortive, and the consul C. Duilius landed two legions in Sicily without opposition. Upon his arrival there, he advanced to Mytilenaeum (L), and laid siege to that fortress; but, notwithstanding the large train of battering-engines he had with him, was obliged to raise the siege.

* Zonar. ubi supra.

(L) This Town Diodorus calls Mytilinias, Polybius Mytiliniaeum, Zonaras Mytilinias, Stephanus Byzantinus Mytiliniaeum, and Silius Italicus Asinaria. Polybius mentions the Mytiliniani, which were undoubtedly the inhabitants of it. Both from the name and the
fiege, and retire with great loss. In the mean time, Hamilcar, suspecting a body of Gallic mercenaries in his army of a design to desert to the enemy, because they had lately mutinied for want of their pay, commanded them to storm a town defended by a Roman garrison, of which, by means of his spies, he gave the Romans private intelligence, that they might receive them in a proper manner. The Romans, thus informed of their approach, laid an ambuscade for the Gauls; into which falling, and not being supported by Hamilcar, they were all cut off to a man. Frontinus seems to relate this event differently, intimating, that the Gauls, amounting to four thousand men, were sent to pillage the country, and that they sold their lives at a dear rate. The confud, being ignorant of Hamilcar’s view in this point of conduct, looked upon the action as a signal advantage gained over the enemy, and, animated thereby, made preparations with great vigour for a fresh attack upon the Carthaginian territories. But the Romans receiving now a blow by sea, he was recalled to command the fleet, and consequently, for some time, obliged to suspend the operations by land.

The Romans, observing that the coasts of Italy lay exposed to the depredations of the Carthaginian fleets, which made frequent descents upon them, whilst Africa enjoyed all the sweets of peace, were resolved to attack the enemy in the most sensible part, and, in order to this, to equip a fleet capable of coping with any the Carthaginians could fit out against them. This was a bold undertaking in a nation, who were almost totally ignorant of sea-affairs, and such a strange phenomenon, that it induced Polybius, according to his own relation, to write the history of the first Punic war. We shall therefore make it our business here to touch upon all the most material circumstances relative to such an extraordinary attempt, that have hitherto escaped us.

\[\text{Boedest takes a Roman squadron of galleys; and the Romans in their turn, beat Hannibal, the Carthaginian admiral.}\]

\[\text{v Diod. Sic. & Polyb. ubi supra. Zonar. l. viii. c. 10. Flor. l. ii. c. 2. Liv. in epit. 17. Frontin. strat. l. iii. c. 16. ex. 3.}\]

the situation assigned it by some of the above-mentioned authors, the Sicilian town at present called Mirtretta seems to answer to it (13).

us. Hannibal, the Carthaginian admiral, being desirous of destroying the Roman navy in its infancy, by his emissaries, found means to decoy Cneius, or, as Polybius calls him, Caius, Cornelius Scipio, with seventeen new-built galleys, to the port of Lipara. Upon his arrival there, the Carthaginians, who had sent before a squadron into that harbour under the command of Boodes, begged for peace in the most supplicant manner, pretending to submit to whatever conditions the Romans should think fit to impose upon them. At the same time they acquainted him, that the Carthaginian commodore was so extremely indisposed, that he could not possibly come on board his galley, or that otherwise he would have waited upon him, and made the overture in person; and therefore entreated him to honour Boodes with his company, in order to settle a firm and lasting peace between the two nations. The credulous Roman, giving ear to this proposal, was detained prisoner by the perfidious Carthaginian, and his whole squadron taken after a faint resistance. The Roman squadron was sent from the rest of the ships to Messana, to reconnoitre the coasts, and give direction there for the reception and security of the grand fleet; of which Hannibal, who was then at Panormus, receiving intelligence, immediately detached twenty galleys, under the command of Boodes, who made themselves masters of the Roman vessels in the manner above-mentioned. Zonaras tells us, that the Carthaginian commodore at first made the proper dispositions to attack the Romans; but finding them in a posture to give him a warm reception, he judged it more convenient to have recourse to the artifice already related. The same author adds, that the legionary tribunes on board the Roman fleet, attending the confab, were likewise taken, and all of them sent prisoners to Carthage; and that, after this, the seventeen galleys surrendered, without striking a stroke. Soon after Hannibal himself committed great ravages on the coasts of Italy, whither he had advanced at the head of fifty galleys, to take a view of the Roman naval forces there; but was attacked in his turn, left the best part of his ships, and with great difficulty made his escape. This something raised the drooping spirits of the Romans, who were not a little dejected at the loss they had before sustained.

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Duilius the consul gained another most signal victory over him. Notwithstanding this defeat, the Carthaginians, being one of the most powerful nations of the world by sea, entertained still a very contemptible opinion of the Roman fleet, which was but in its infancy. The Romans, on the other hand, dreaded the naval force of the Carthaginians, though they had gained an advantage over Hannibal, especially as they had lost one of their consuls, who was an able and brave commander. In order therefore to make head against the enemy upon the water element, the senate ordered the remaining consul, C. Duilius, immediately to leave Sicily, and take upon him the command of the squadron then in the freights of Rhegium. This he did, and engaging the Carthaginians, by the help of the corvus, a machine which we have already described at large from Polybius, entirely defeated them. Some authors intimate, that the manus ferreae, or harpagones, a grappling instrument, were a machine different from the corvi \( \text{(M)} \), and of great service to the Romans in this action. Others maintain, that they were the same, or at least, that the former appertained to the latter. For our part, we think it evident from Curtius, Pliny, and others, that the manus ferreae \( \text{(N)} \) were more antiquities than the corvi, and of Tyrian


\( \text{(M) To what has been already said of the corvus, we shall only add, that the chevalier Polard has obliged the world with a learned and curious dissertation upon it. Dominicus Machaneus, in his Polia upon Cornelius Nepos, likewise has given us a minute description of it, which is extracted chiefly from Polybius. This we mention purely for the sake of our curious and inquisitive readers.} \)

\( \text{(N) Zonar intimates, that the manus ferreae, or harpagones, were fixed to the ends of long poles, and that with them the Romans grappled and brought to the enemy's ships. Livy gives us such an account of them, and tells us, that the Carthaginians likewise made use of them in their naval engagements with the Romans; which seems a sufficient proof, that they were not the corvi, since this was invented by Duilius. Scheffer thinks that these manus ferreae, or harpagones, were iron hooks fixed in the} \)
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Tyrian extraction, and consequently known to the Carthaginians themselves; though at the same time we believe they were much improved by the corvi. As the Roman vessels were vastly inferior to the Carthaginian in lightness and activity, the corvus was invented to remedy that defect. Hannibal, though he performed the part of a gallant commander in this action, was obliged to abandon his septirreme, or admiral galley, to the enemy, and got off in a small boat. The rest of the Carthaginian galleys soon after came up with the Romans, but met with the same fate the others had done before. The loss of the Carthaginians in this double engagement is variously related by the Roman historians; but the most authentic account of it is the inscription on the basis of the columna rostrata (O) of Duilius, still preserved at Rome, and which may be seen in a former part of this work. As for Hannibal, having before fled from Agrigentum, he would most certainly have been crucified upon his arrival at Carthage, had he not, by an instance of Punic subtility, avoided the impending danger. However,

a Liv. ubi sup. vide & Scheffer. in Mil. nav. I. xi. c. 7.

the heads of poles, which, by the assistance of a chain fastened to the mast, were thrown down with great force upon the enemies vessels; which they penetrated in such a manner, that nothing could disengage them; so that they hoisted them in the air, and then dashed them upon the water with so great violence, that they were frequently sunk. The Greeks called this machine ἀπράγμα, according to Hefychius (14).

(O) The masts rostrata, from whence Duilius's pillar was called columna rostrata, were vessels so denominated from the Latin word rostra, signifying the beaks of ships. These beaks, in figure resembling those of birds, consisted of brafs, and served not only to cut the water in failing, but likewise to damage the enemies ships in an engagement. This is not only apparent from the figure of these vessels in the columna rostrata of Duilius, and on ancient coins, but likewise from Diodorus Siculus and Polybius. The Romans and Carthaginians both made use of such vessels. It is likely they were of eastern extraction. The Carthaginians, as Silius seems to intimate, had them from their ancestors the Tyrians and they from the Sidonians (15).


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However, the senate thought proper to remove him from the command of the sea-forces. This we learn from Orosius and Zonaras; but, according to Polybius, he was continued in that post, and the same campaign crucified by his own men, upon their receiving another disgrace from the Romans.

**Fortune**, however, did not entirely abandon the Carthaginians. Their arms in Sicily were attended with a good run of success after the departure of Duilius; for though the Romans, in consequence of their late victory, obliged the Carthaginians to raise the siege of Segesta, which a body of their troops had formed, and carried the town of Macella by assault; yet Hamilcar, whose headquarters were then at Panormus, only waited for a favourable opportunity to attack them. In the mean time, a dispute arose in the Roman camp between the auxiliary troops and the legionaries, which came to such a height, that a separation seemed inevitable, the former having actually marked out a camp for themselves between Paropus and Thermæ (P). A general, much less vigilant than Hamilcar, would naturally have taken advantage of such a diffusion; the Carthaginians therefore, surprizing them near the spot of ground they had chosen to encamp upon, before

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*(P) Salmašius, depending upon the authority of Mela, Pliny, and Strabo, places the city here mentioned by Diodorus in the southern, or rather south-western, part of the island, in the neighbourhood of Selinus. Besides this, there was another of the same name, founded by the Carthaginians upon the ruins of Himera, which we have already given a description of. That the Termini of the modern Sicilians stands upon the same spot of ground, which the antient Thermæ Himerenfes, or, as Diodorus calls it, Therma, occupied, is evident from Gruter and Marius Aretius. Cicero likewise, and Pindar's scholiast, both take notice of this last city; which we could not entirely pass over in silence, as being of Carthaginian extraction (16).*

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before they could intrench themselves, put four thousand, according to Polybius, or, as Diodorus will have it, six thousand, of them to the sword, and dispersed the rest. After this blow, Hamilcar made himself master of Camarina and Enna, and fortified Drepanum, surrounding it with a wall. Here he likewise deposited the most valuable part of his baggage and other effects. Then advancing to Eryx, he almost razed that antient city, leaving only a small part of it standing to cover the famous temple of Venus Erycina, supposed to have been built by Æneas; and carried the inhabitants to Drepanum. This he did to prevent the Romans from taking post in that fortress, in case the citizens should be disposed to invite them thither. In short, he reduced many cities, partly by force, and partly by treachery; and had made himself master of the whole island, had not Florus, the Roman general, after Duilius was gone to Rome, behaved with great vigilance and bravery. However, this success was not lasting, as we shall see immediately.

Hannibal, according to Polybius, after the defeat of Mylae, returned to Carthage; where being reinforced by a good number of galleys, and attended by many officers of great merit, he put to sea again, steering his course by his own men for the coast of Sardinia. He had not been long in one of the harbours of that island, probably Calaris, now Cagliari, but he was surprized by the Romans, who carried off many of his ships, and took great numbers of his men prisoners. This so incensed the rest, that they seized their admiral, and crucified him; but who was his immediate successor, does not appear. The Romans, however, reaped no other advantage from this action, than shewing their activity, encouraging their allies, and a little diminishing the naval power of their rival. Had Hannibal escaped death for the present, it is probable he would have met with it at Carthage; since it was looked upon there as the highest crime in a general to be unsuccessful. Nothing further material happened either this campaign, or the following, if we will give credit to Polybius.

Towards the close of the following campaign, Hamilcar put his troops into winter-quarters at Panormus, posting proper detachments at the principal avenues to the city.

Q. 2

1 Diod. Sic. & Polyb. ubi sup. 2 Polyb. & Zonar. ubi supra.
ty, to prevent a surprize. In the mean time, C. Aquilius Florus, the Roman general, having received a reinforcement, advanced into the neighbourhood of Panormus, and offered the enemy battle: but finding that they would not stir out of the town, and that he was not strong enough to undertake the siege of the place, especially as the season was so far advanced, he moved with his army to Hippana, and took it by assault. From thence he marched to Mytisstratum, a fortress which the Romans had twice ineffectually besieged, and sat down before it. Florus here made his approaches so slowly, either through the bad disposition of the ground, or the bravery of the Carthaginian garrison, that he could not reduce the city before the expiration of his office. However, early the next spring, his successor, A. Attilius Collatinus, or, as Zonaras calls him, A. Attilius Latinus, joining the army before Mytisstratum with a strong body of forces, pushed on the siege with such vigour, that the Carthaginian garrison abandoned the town in the night, and the wives and children of the citizens, by their outcries and lamentations, obliged them to open the gates to the Romans. The soldiers, enraged at the obstinate defence they had made, and their attachment to the Carthaginians, at first put all they met, without distinction to the sword; but the consul cauing a proclamation to be made, that every Roman soldier should possess all the persons and effects of those he took prisoners, the slaughter ceased. However, the city itself was levelled with the ground, and the remaining part of the inhabitants sold for slaves. The consul next attacked Camarina, and, in his march thither, was near being cut off with his whole army, by a stratagem of Hamilcar, as has been already related; but found it so strong, and defended by so numerous a garrison, that he could not make himself master of it, till he received a large train of battering-engines and other supplies from king Hiero. After these arrived, the Romans soon carried the town, and treated the inhabitants in the same manner they had done those of Mytisstratum. The consul afterwards seized upon Enna by treachery, and massacred the Carthaginian garrison. Sittana he took by storm; and Camicus, a castle belonging to the Agrigentines, was betrayed to him. Other places, of less importance, surrendered of course; so that the Carthaginians began to lose ground considerably, notwithstanding their late success. The Romans, looking upon Camicus as a post of
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of consequence, left a considerable party of men to defend it; and having possessed themselves of Erbusius, which was deserted by its inhabitants, made preparations to set down before Lipara with all their forces.

In the mean time L. Cornelius Scipio, Florus's colleague, failed, with the squadron under his command, towards Sardinia and Corsica, two islands in the Tyrrhenian sea, subject to Carthage, and so near one another, that, at a great distance, they seemed to be but one island. The consul first made a descent in Corsica, and took Aleria, or, as Zonaras calls it, Valeria, by storm; upon (Q) which the

(Q) About the year 1615, a stone was dug up near the Porta Capena in Rome, with the following inscription upon it, commemorating the event here mentioned. This stone is five palms four inches long, and two palms ten inches broad.

HON COI NO, PLOIRVME, COSENTIONE, R
DVONORO, OPTVMO, FVJS, E, VIRO
WNCION, SCIPIONE, FILII P, BARBAT
CONSO, CENSOR, AEILIS, HIC FVET A
HEC CEPIT, CORICA, AVERIA', QVE, VRBE
DEDET, TEMPE, STATE BUS, AIDE, MERETO.

Hunc plurimi consentiunt Romae
Bonorum optimum fuisse virum
LUCIUM SCIPIONEM. Filius Barbati,
Conful, censor, ædilis hic fuit,
Hic cepit Coricam, Aleriamque urbem;
Dedit Tempelatibus ædem merito.

Most people agree, that of all the good men in Rome this
LUCIUS SCIPIO was the best. He was the son of Scipio fur-
named Barbatus, as likewise consul, censor, and ædile. He
took the city of Aleria, and conquered Corsica; and built a
temple for the Tempels, as he had great reason to do.

From this most remarkable inscription, which, in point of an-
tiquity, is scarce inferior to that on the base of the column
rostrata of Duilius, since the action here referred to happened in the
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the other towns submitted, that being the only place of strength in the whole island. As the Carthaginians had
a strong

the year of Rome 494, the year after Duilius got his naval victory, may be drawn the following observations:

1. That the L. Scipio mentioned here was not the L. Scipio said by Livy to have been made confus in Etruria, but another,
the son of Barbatus, who subdued Corsica, A. U. C. 494.

2. That he was the same person with him, who, according to
the Capitoline Tables, triumphed over the Corfi, Sardi, and Carthaginians.

3. That either the MSS. of Livy, or the Fasti Capitolini,
must be out, when the first affirm, that Scipio Barbatus's prenomen was Publilius, and the last, that Lucius Scipio, who triumphed
over the Corfi, Sardi, and Carthaginians, at the time aforesaid, was the son of L. Scipio.

4. That a vacancy or hiatus in the Capitoline Tables may be
from hence supplied; since from the inscription it appears, that this L. Scipio must have been, in all probability, Duilius's colleague in the censorship A. U. C. 495. From whence it follows, that Onuphrinus Panvinius is guilty of a mistake, when he makes Cn. Scipio Afinula to have been Duilius's colleague in the censorship the year above-mentioned.

5. That a passage in Ovid may be hereby explained, which,
before the discovery of this inscription, was not understood:

Te quoque, Tempeertas, meritam delubra fatemur,
Cum pone eft Corfiis obruta claffis aquis.

Some authors imagined this to point at the tempest Claudius Nero
the confus met with in the year of Rome 551, in which, according to Livy, his fleet was near being destroyed; others, to one
that attacked Marcellus; and lastly, others, to one in which Metellus's squadron was almost lost; whereas it undoubtedly alludes
to one, that L. Scipio, at the time we are speaking of, met with
on the coast of Corsica, wherein he very narrowly escaped destruc-
tion.

6. That of course L. Scipio was attacked by such a tempest on
the coast of Corsica, in which his whole fleet was in the most in-
minent danger of being lost; and that, upon account of his deli-
verance therefrom, he built a temple, which he dedicated to the
Tempeasts, i.e. to the deities presiding over them.

7. That the Romans looked upon tempeasts as deities, or at least
imagined they had deities presiding over them, and therefore paid
them divine honours.

8. That the name of the principal fortress in Corsica was Ale-
ria, and not Valeria, as we find it in all the MSS. of Zonaras; and
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a strong fleet of galleys on the coast of Sardinia, they were in no great pain for that island. Upon Scipio's moving that way, they detached one part of it to reconnoitre him; which immediately retired upon his approach. But, upon his entering the port of Olbia, the appearance of the whole Carthaginian squadron, then riding at anchor there, was so terrible, that he thought proper to sheer off, without putting his design in execution. A further inducement to him not to undertake the conquest of Sardinia at this present juncture, was his not having a sufficient body of legionaries on board to attack the Carthaginians by land. As he had not received proper intelligence of the enemy's strength on that side, he had not taken the necessary measures to render that expedition successful, and therefore found himself obliged to retreat in a precipitate manner; but some authors give us to understand, that soon after, having been furnished with a larger body of land-

Q 4

and that therefore these MSS. may be emended by this inscription.

9. That many observations relating to the ancient language of the Romans and Latins, laid down by Festus, Quintilian, and others, are confirmed by the words it contains.

10. That, in ancient times, some letters of the Roman and Latin alphabet, at least, were borrowed from the Etruscans, since ꞌ and Ꞓ apparently belong to that nation; at least, that the Etruscans had letters in their alphabet, which, in figure, corresponded with some of the Roman and Latin letters. This is confirmed by the legends on several confular coins.

Many other conclusions might be drawn from hence, which we have not time at present to touch upon. It is not improbable, that the stone, on which this inscription was found, belonged to Scipio's tomb, and that he was buried not far from the Porta Capena.(17)

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land-forces, he returned, and (R) reduced Olbia. Other places of like note, upon the reduction of that town, fell to him; but he could not make himself master of the whole island. However, according to Eutropius, he carried off with him a vast number both of the Corsi and Sardi prisoners 1.

Hamilcar being informed the year following, that the Romans had a design upon Lipara, threw a body of forces into that town by night, unknown to the consul. This was done in so private and unexpected a manner, that the citizens, though strongly inclined to the Romans, found themselves incapable of making any resistance. The consul, arriving before the place, made a vigorous attack; but was repulsed by Hamilcar, at the head of the garrison, with the slaughter of a great number of men. At the same time Sulpicius, who then acted as admiral, after having hovered several days about the coast of Sardinia, made a descent there, and completed the reduction of that island. According to Florus, by razing the city of Caralis, or Carales, the capital of the island, he so terrified the Sardi, that they submitted to him. Zonaras informs us, that the contrary winds prevented an engagement between Sulpicius and the Carthaginians; but that afterwards Attilius, who commanded the land-forces, found an opportunity of imposing upon the Carthaginian admiral, by means of some defectors, whom he bribed to assure him, that the Romans intended to land in Africa. Upon this, according to the same author, the Carthaginian squadron, having been before driven by stress of weather into one of the ports of Sardinia, loosed immediately, though in the night, and set sail for Africa; 2


(R) Hanno, who had behaved with so much bravery in Sicily, commanded in Olbia, and was killed in one of the attacks. We must own ourselves guilty of a mistake in a former part of this work when we cite Valerius Maximus to prove, that the Roman consul honoured Hanno's body with a noble funeral; since that author, in the place referred to, speaks of Hannibal in the second Punic war, who shewed great humanity on such an occasion to the body of Tiberius Gracchus (18.)

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Africa; but were attacked by Sulpicius, who, being apprised of the intelligence given them, had posted himself in a proper place to intercept them, and either took or sunk, by favour of the night, most of their ships. The good success of this stratagem encouraged the Romans now in good earnest to prepare for an expedition to Africa, as the only means to oblige the enemy to evacuate Sicily, and procure them a peace upon their own terms § (S).

The next year, from Zonaras it seems probable, that the Roman forces in Sicily, under the command of A. Attilius Collatinus, or, as Livy will have it, Calatinus, who on account of his great services, was continued general there, with the title of proconsul, besieged Lipara a second time, though they had been routed by the Carthaginians towards the close of the last campaign. C. Attilius Regulus, one of the new consuls, who had the command of the fleet allotted to him, had two naval engagements with the enemy off the coasts of Sicily, in the first of which he lost nine galleys; but in the other routed the Carthaginian

§ Zonar. ubi sup. c. 12, 13. Polyb. Liv. & Flor. ubi sup.

(S) Zonaras and Orofius make Hannibal to have been the Carthaginian admiral at this time, and, if we remember right, are the only authors who tell us, that he had his commission taken from him for the ill success he met with in his engagement with Duilius. Aurelius Victor indeed agrees with them in relation to Hannibal's escaping punishment by a stratagem; but says not a word of his being deprived of his command. Zonaras and Orofius therefore being modern, in comparison of Polybius, whom they contradict in this particular, and unsupported by any ancient writer in what they advance as to the point before us, we have chosen to follow the last historian, when he affirms, that Hannibal was continued in his command of the fleet, and crucified soon after by his own men. Besides, it seems improbable, that, if he had been discarded on account of his ill conduct, or ill success, which the superstitious Carthaginians looked upon as very ominous, the senate of Carthage should have afterwards employed him, especially as they might naturally have some apprehensions of his conduct's being influenced by his resentment. Zonaras and Orofius therefore ought to give way to Polybius in the present case. Orofius intimates, that he was floned to death by his troops. (19).

(19) Aurel. Vict. five auth. vit. vir. illustr. in Duil. 37. Polyb. i. i. & Zonar. in loc. citat. Orof. i. iv. Vide Liv. epir. l. xvii. aliq; Roman historiq.
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Carthaginian squadron, sinking ten, and taking eight of their vessels, with all their crews. The other consul, about the same time, laid waste the island of Malta; which is a good proof, that the Carthaginians were then in possession of it. These advantages still farther excited the Romans to attack the African republic in the very heart of its dominions.

As neither of the late actions had been decisive, both parties made such vast and expeditious preparations, that the ensuing summer, the ninth year of this war, they had collected their whole naval force, in order to determine the fate of Sicily, as well as the dominion of the sea, and, in consequence thereof, that of Carthage itself. The consuls, L. Manlius Vulso and C. Attilius Regulus, who were elected purely on account of their distinguished merit, with the Roman fleet under their command, consisting of three hundred and thirty galleys of different sizes, had their rendezvous at Messana. From thence, stretching their line along the coast towards cape Pachynum, after having doubled that cape, they sailed directly to Ecnomus, where they took their land-forces on board. About the same time, the Carthaginian squadron, composed of three hundred and fifty sail, arrived at Lilybaeum, the only place they had left in Sicily, except Panormus, and a few towns of the same name in that neighbourhood. They did not stay long here, but, pursuing their projected course, took up their station at Heraclea Minor, where they made the necessary dispositions to give the enemy battle.

The Romans, in order either to engage the enemy by sea, or make a descent upon their territories in Africa, had taken care to put on board the galleys the very flower of their land-forces. The grand squadron consisted of four divisions, the first of which was called the first legion, and the first fleet; the second and third in like manner received a denomination from their order; but the fourth went by the name of triarians, a term peculiarly applied to a certain order of soldiers, who were always the choicest troops, and formed the corps de reserve amongst the Romans. Each galley contained three hundred rowers, and an hundred and twenty soldiers; so that the whole united force on board amounted to near an hundred and forty thousand men.


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The first division was posted on the right, the second on the left, and the third in the rear of the other two, in such a manner, as with them to form a triangle, the vertex of which was the two admiral-galleys, wherein were the two consuls, placed in the front of their respective squadrons. The triarians were drawn up in the rear of the whole fleet, parallel to the third legion: the base of the aforesaid triangle, but extended beyond the two angles there. The transports, with the horses and baggage on board, lay between the two last-mentioned lines, that is, between the third division and the triarians, this being judged the best situation for them to be covered from any irruptions of the enemy. The combined naval and land-force of the Carthaginians must, according to Polybius, have exceeded that of the Romans; since he seems to intimate, that their troops, including the seamen, could not have been less than an hundred and fifty thousand strong. When the Carthaginians had observed the disposition of the Roman squadron, they immediately ranged their own in order of battle. They divided it into four smaller squadrons, which they drew up into one line. The three first divisions, posted to the right, stretched out far into the sea, as though they had an intention to surround the Romans, pointing their prows directly upon them; the fourth, lying to the left, kept close under the shore, being disposed in the form of an outwork or tenaille. Hanno, who had met with such bad successes at Agrigentum, commanded on the right with the light vessels, that could attack and retreat with great swiftness, and row nimbly round the galleys of the Romans. Hamilcar, the Carthaginian admiral in the late action off of Tyndaris, had the left wing committed to his conduct, who, though he had the misfortune to be defeated, gave sufficient proofs of his merit and experience in this engagement.

The consuls, observing the Carthaginian line to be very thin in the middle, caused it to be vigorously attacked in that part by their first and second divisions. The Carthaginians, at the first onset, pursuant to the orders received from Hamilcar, retired with precipitation, hoping by this means to separate that part of the Roman fleet, with which they were engaged, from the other, not doubting but the Romans would pursue them with great ardor, and thereby give the gross of their fleet an opportunity of charging the remaining.

* Polyb. & Zonar. in annal. ubi sup.
remaining Roman divisions with great advantage. Accordingly the Romans, by their eagerness in the pursuit, left their comrades exposed to the efforts of the enemy. The Carthaginians, that fled, perceiving this, immediately, upon a signal given from Hamilcar's galley, tacked about, and, with great bravery, made head against their pursuers; but, after a warm dispute, the Romans, notwithstanding the lightness and activity of the Carthaginian vessels, by the assistance of their corvi and other grappling instruments, coming to a close engagement with them, and being animated by the example of their officers, who exposed themselves as much as the meanest soldiers, worsted the enemy, obliging them to sheer off. In the mean time, Hanno fell with great fury upon the triarians, whilst that part of the Carthaginian squadron posted on the left under the shore, attacked the transports and the third legion. Here were three sea-fights at once, which continued for some hours with a vast effusion of blood. In fine, Hanno on one side, and the fourth Carthaginian division on the other, reduced the triarians, transports, and third legion, to the last extremity, forced many of them on shore, and had totally ruined them, had they not been kept in awe by the corvi. But at last Manlius returning from the chase of the Carthaginian squadron already routed, and Regulus, with the second legion, advancing to the relief of the triarians, the enemy were entirely defeated. The Romanslost only twenty-four galleys in this action; but the Carthaginians had thirty sunk, and thirty-three taken by the victors. After this battle, which happened off of Heraclea Minor, Hamilcar sent Hanno to make proposals of peace to the Romans, chiefly with a design to amuse the consuls, and divert them from the African expedition they had in view. But the Romans rejecting these proposals, the war continued with as much fierceness as ever; and the consuls, soon after setting sail for Africa with their whole fleet, and a powerful army on board, landed at Clypea without opposition.

No words can express the consternation the Carthaginians were in, upon advice of the Roman army's landing in Africa. They very well knew, that the consuls might march to Carthage without any obstruction, and lay waste all

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all the fertile country as they advanced, which could not but reduce them to the greatest straits. Zonaras tells us, that the inhabitants of Clypea or Clupea were seized with such impressions of terror, that they abandoned the city at the approach of the Romans; but, according to Polybius, it stood a siege, though the Carthaginians not being in a condition to relieve it, the consuls, without much bloodshed, made themselves masters of it. Appian represents the Roman navy employed in this invasion as very formidable, telling us, that it included no less than three hundred and fifty sail. From Cape Hermea, where it lay for a short time, it coasted along to Clypea, or, as the Greeks call it, Aspis, where there was a very commodious harbour. The Romans, having left a strong garrison in the place, to secure their shipping, and keep the adjacent territory in awe, moved with the rest of their army nearer Carthage, and reduced a great number of towns, partly by force, and partly by composition. They likewise plundered an infinity of villages, laid vast numbers of noblemen’s seats in ashes, took above twenty thousand (Eutropius says twenty-seven thousand) prisoners, amongst whom were many Romans, that had fallen into the enemy’s hands since the beginning of this war, with several defectors; and having scourged all the country almost to the gates of Carthage, they returned to Clypea, laden with the immense booty got in this expedition.

The Carthaginians, soon after, receiving intelligence, that Manlius was set out for Rome with the best part of the troops, and had left Regulus with only forty ships, fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to carry on the war in Africa, began to recover from the terrible fright they were thrown into by the first news of this invasion, and therefore instantly set about making the proper dispositions for their defence. They appointed Hanno, the son of Aemilius, and Bothar generals of their forces, and dispatched an express to Hamilcar, then at Heraclea, to return home with all expedition. Hamilcar, in a short time, arrived at Carthage, with a reinforcement of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, and was joined with Aemilius and Bothar in the command of the army. The first object of their consultations was, how to prevent the incursions of the Romans at least, if not dislodge them from the province,

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wherein the capital of Africa was seated. On the other hand, Regulus, who had taken up his winter-quarters at Clypea, committed great ravages along the sea-coasts, and even penetrated into the very heart of the country; but hearing that the Carthaginian army was in motion, he likewise made a movement with his forces, and encamped upon the Bagrada, in the neighbourhood of Carthage. Here with his battering-engines he slew a serpent of a monstrous size, which, if Aelius Tubero may be believed, found the whole Roman army for some time in employ. The Roman historians have undoubtedly given us an hyperbolic description of this monster, and the effects it produced; but considering that 9 Livy, Valerius Maximus, Aelius Tubero, Pliny, Zonaras, and others, agree in the main in their accounts of it, we cannot help thinking, that a serpent of an enormous size the Romans really killed at the place where they were now encamped, especially since dragons or serpents immensely large were pretty common in Mauritania, Numidia, Libya, Ethiopia, &c. and (T) since it appears from Megasthe-

Flor. ubi sup.

(T) In proof of what is here advanced, many authors might be produced. Megasthenes says, that in India there were serpents or dragons, which could swallow at once a stag, or a bull. Metrodorus affirms, that near the river Ryndacus in Pontus, they were so large, that they could seize upon birds flying at a great height over their heads, and devour them. Pliny relates, that a certain species of this animal, called boa or boia, were of such a magnitude, that a whole child had been found in the stomach of one of them, in the reign of the emperor Claudius; and that at first they lived upon cows milk, from whence they derived their name. Seneca, a very grave author, intimates, that the serpent here mentioned infected the river for a vast distance, destroyed the country all round, and burnt many of the soldiers to death with his breath. Plutarch tells us of a monstrous serpent or dragon, which was brought up by a virgin at Lauvium; and on some old Roman denarii, we find this virgin represented as bringing him meat, with a basket hanging by her side. Agatharchides Cnidus, in Photius, mentions serpents of various kinds of an enormous size common in Ethiopia, and affirms, that he himself saw one thirty cubits long. Oneficius.

Alypalaeus, in Strabo, informs us, that Abifarus, an Indian prince.
Megaethenes and others, that various instances of surprisingly huge animals of the serpentine kind might be drawn from antiquity.

Hamilcar and his colleagues, receiving advice of the Roman general's approach, and of his having formed the siege of Adis, or Adda, a fortress of great confluence to Carthage, advanced at the head of their forces to attack him. Upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of Adda, they encamped upon some heights covered with woods, which was a capital error, and occasioned the defeat of their army; for by neglecting the plains, and taking post in rough and inaccessible places, they rendered their elephants and cavalry, prince, kept two dragons or serpents, one of which was an hundred and forty cubits long, and the other eighty; which Alexander greatly defied to see. Herodotus tells us, that serpents of a size exceeding all belief, were found upon the banks of the Triton, a river bordering on the territory of Carthage. Ifidore, Avicenna, Philostratus, Solinus, Nicephorus Callitius, Lucian, Arrian, Strabo, Pliny, Ætius, Leo Africanus, and others, affirm, that serpents of an immense size were produced in Mauritania, Libya, and Ethiopia. Our Philosopical transactions supply us with instances of rattle-snakes prodigiously large, which countenances, in some measure, what the Roman historians have related about the serpent we are discoursing of. Ludolphus and father Lobo likewise, in their accounts of Ethiopia, add some weight to what is here advanced, as we shall see, when we come to the history of that country. It has been imagined by some, that the animal Regulus killed was a crocodile; but the manner in which this was slain, which has been minutely described by Orosius, as well as the express testimony of many Roman authors to the contrary, will not permit us to come into this opinion. Besides, it does not appear from ancient history, that the river Bagrada, or indeed any part of Africa Propria, was formerly infested by crocodiles; nor, from the relations of modern travellers, that they are observed in the kingdom of Tunis at this day (20).

cavalry, in which their principal strength consisted, incapable of acting. The Romans, taking advantage of this mistake, did not give them time to rectify it, but immediately fell upon them with the utmost fury. The attack, which happened in the night, was so sudden and unexpected, that many of the Carthaginians had their throats cut in bed, and others lost their lives before they could lay hold of their arms to defend themselves. However, the mercenaries in the Carthaginian service behaved with great bravery, and not only repulsed the first legion, but forced them to fly to their camp. But Regulus having, at the beginning of the action, ordered a detachment to wheel about, and attack the enemy’s rear, they were hereby thrown into confusion, and at last forced to abandon their camp. A great part of the infantry perished, the Romans very closely pursuing them, and having guarded many of the defiles through which they must pass; but most of the elephants and cavalry made their escape. The Carthaginians lost seventeen thousand, or, according to Eutropius, eighteen thousand men in the battle and pursuit; eighteen elephants were taken; five thousand men made prisoners, and the rest dispersed. Regulus, after this action, continued his devastations as before, burnt all the open places, and reduced the fortified towns. Some authors assure us, that he took above two hundred cities; but as this account seems rather to refer to the whole number of places plundered or reduced since the first descent, we shall chose to follow Eutropius, who tells us, that the consul conquered seventy-three cities. Utica, amongst the rest, was forced to submit, and Tunis, within nine miles of Carthage, soon met with the same fate. In short, nothing now remained but to lay siege to Carthage itself.

To complete the misfortunes of the Carthaginians, the Numidians declare against the Carthaginians.

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fure, destroyed, partly by Regulus, and partly by the afore-
said Numidians.

The African nations likewise, more immediately subject to Carthage, being weary of the Carthaginian yoke, declared for the Romans, who now carried every thing before them. This induced Regulus to imagine, that the Car-
thaginians would conclude a peace with him upon any, even the most dishonourable, terms. He therefore, ac-
deciding to Polybius, offered to treat with them about a peace, being afraid, that his successor would rob him of the glory he had acquired, by putting an end to the present war; though Zonaras tells us, that the Carthaginians themselves made the first overtures. Be that as it will, the terms Regulus prescribed them seemed so intolerable, and incompatible with their honour, that they were resolved to suffer all extremities, rather than submit to them. As Regulus had met with an uninterrupted course of prosperity from the beginning of his consulship, he set no bounds to his arrogance; and the Romans in general being then of the same disposition, by reason of the great success their arms were attended with both by sea and land, it is no wonder, that the Carthaginians should have been treated in so imperious a manner. Regulus wrote to the senate, that the Cartha-
ginians were upon the brink of ruin, and that he had taken care to "seal up their gates with fear." All hopes therefore of an accommodation vanishing into smoke, both sides seemed resolved to refer the decision of the points at present in dispute betwixt them to the sword. A certain author tells us, that the whole number of prisoners taken by the Romans, from their first arrival in Africa to this time, including those who fell into their hands in the late battle, amounted to two hundred thousand. All the riches and valuable effects found in the Carthaginian camp after the last action, Regulus sent on board some transports to Rome; and having laid waste all the adjacent country, advanced at the head of his victorious troops to the st Magnum or great mora, on which Carthage stood. Here, immediately after the rejection of his above-mentioned proposals, he encamped, resolving without delay to attack the capital of the African republic.

Whilst


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WHilst matters remained in this melancholy situation, a Carthaginian officer, who had been sent to Greece, to levy soldiers there, returned home with a body of Greek mercenaries, consisting chiefly of Lacedaemonians. This body was commanded by Xanthippus the Lacedaemonian, a person of great bravery and military skill, who had learned the art of war in the school of Sparta, then the most renowned of any in the world for the famous generals it produced. As soon as he had informed himself wherein the main strength of the Carthaginian forces lay, and of the circumstances of the late defeat, he openly declared, that it was owing to the false step taken by their generals in encamping upon hills, where their cavalry and elephants could not act; and that, by an opposite conduct, they might still retrieve their affairs, and drive the enemy out of their dominions. Being prevailed upon by the Carthaginian senate, people, Hamilcar, and all the other officers, to take upon him the command of their forces, he first trained them up in the discipline of his country: exercising them near the city he drew them up in order of battle; made them advance or retreat upon the first signal; file off with order and swiftness; in a word, to form all the evolutions and movements of the military art, according to the Lacedaemonian manner. As nothing inspires soldiers with a greater degree of courage, than a persuasion of their general’s abilities, the Carthaginian troops, who were before so greatly dispirited, now thought themselves invincible, under the conduct of Xanthippus, observing how vastly he excelled their own generals in the military art. As he judged it highly improper to permit their ardor to cool, he drew them up in battle in a large plain before the city, and boldly advanced towards the Romans. We have already, in a former part of this work, described the disposition of both armies, and given an account of the principal things that passed betwixt them previous to the engagement, and therefore shall not here repeat what was there said; but only observe, that Xanthippus, being within twelve hundred and fifty paces of the enemy, thought proper to call a council of war, in order to shew a respect and deference to the Carthaginian commanders, by consulting them; and that, all joining unanimously in opinion with him, it was resolved to give the enemy battle the day following.

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The Romans were not a little surpriz'd at the motions of the Carthaginian army, and the new form of discipline introduced amongst them; notwithstanding which, they affected to hold both them and their new general Xanthippus in great contempt, not doubting, but they should soon be able to give a good account of them. One capital error, according to Polybius, the Roman general committed in the arrangement of his forces. Though he took a proper precaution to sustain the shock of the enemy's elephants, he did not provide for the inequality of his cavalry, which was vastly inferior in number to the Carthaginian, but disposed them in such a manner, that they were broken almost upon the first onset. To which we may add from Appian, that the same general ought to have been deemed guilty of a great and complicated mistake, when elated with his former successes, through his great ardour, he overfatigued his soldiers, led them through such places as exposed them to the enemy's parties, posted on eminencies to annoy them with misfired weapons in their march; and, to crown all, passed a river parting the two armies, by which means he cut off a retreat, in case of any misfortune. This had conduct of Regulus proved the total ruin of his army; for Xanthippus had thereby such an advantage over the enemy thrown into his hands, that he entirely defeated them, and either put to the sword, or took prisoners, all of them; except two thousand, who, after having broken his right wing, had drawn themselves out of the engagement, and made their escape to Clypea. Of the Carthaginians eight hundred were slain in this action; but on the Roman side near thirteen thousand must have fallen in the battle and pursuit, if Polybius has given us a just account of the number of forces Manlius, at his departure for Rome, left with Regulus. Xanthippus took Regulus himself, and five hundred of his men, prisoners in the pursuit, and immediately carried them to Carthage. According to Eutropius, thirty thousand Romans left their lives in this battle, and fifteen thousand their liberty; but this cannot be admitted, except we suppose, that Regulus had either received a strong reinforcement from Rome, since the departure of his colleague, or been joined by a good body of Africans in the interval betwixt that event and the battle; neither of which oppositions receives the least countenance from Polybius, whom, in the main, we chuse to follow.

* Idem. ibid. Vide Aurel. Vict. in At. reg. 40
The Carthaginians treated all the Roman prisoners, except Regulus, with great humanity, hoping by this conduct to engage the Romans to behave with lenity and moderation to the Carthaginian captives, who were very numerous, in their hands. But as for Regulus, he had insulted them in so outrage a manner, in the height of his prosperity, that they could not forbear shewing him the greatest marks of their resentment on this occasion. According to Zonaras and others, he was thrown into a dungeon, where he had only suffenance allowed him barely sufficient to keep him alive; nay, his cruel masters, to heighten his other torments, ordered an huge elephant, at the sight of which animal, it seems, he was greatly terrified, to be constantly placed near him; which prevented him from enjoying any tranquillity or repose, and rendered his life a burden to him. When he would have prescribed dishonourable terms of peace to the Carthaginians, he pretended with unparalleled haughtiness, that every thing he suffered them to postrs ought to be esteemed a favour, with this further insult, that "they ought either to overcome like brave men, or learn "to submit to the victor." No wonder therefore that so harsh and disdainful a treatment should incense to the highest degree a nation naturally proud, as well as cruel and implacable, and even, in the point before us, force their interest itself to give way to their resentment. Zonaras intimates, that Regulus suffered himself to be surprized by Xantippus, not believing that he would have the courage to attack him. However this may be, as the Carthaginian army did not consist of above sixteen thousand men, besides the elephants, this ought to be looked upon as a most wonderful victory, especially considering the heroic valour of the Roman legions; and, as Frontinus rightly intimates, must be almost entirely attributed to the conduct and bravery of Xantippus.

The Carthaginians remained on the field of battle till they had stripped the plain, and then entered the metropolis, which was almost the only place left them, in great triumph. The citizens immediately repaired to the temples in crowds, to return thanks to the immortal gods for so signal

Zonar. ubi sup. c. 13. p. 391, 392. Cic. de offic. i. iii. S. Jul. Frontin. frat. i. ii. c. 2. ex. 11. & l. 2. c. 3. ex. 10. Diod. Sicil. xxiii. ubi sup. Valer. Max. i. i. c. 1.
nal a victory, and hung up in these temples (U), as so many trophies, the arms taken from the enemy. Several days were devoted wholly to festivities and rejoicings, a spirit of joy and gladness diffusing itself over the whole city. However, according to some authors, they not only soon forgot the vast obligation they were under to Xantippus, but even shewed themselves guilty of most shocking ingratitude to him, as well as to the whole body of mercenaries, who had delivered them at the critical moment. If these writers may be credited, they either actually destroyed Xantippus, or attempted his destruction; and not only refused paying the mercenaries the arrears due to them, but ordered the captains of the vessels, who were to carry them home, to leave them exposed on a desolate island. These horrid instances of Carthaginian ingratitude, we say, are attested by some authors; yet at the same time we think it our duty, as impartial historians, to observe that their authority in the point before us, is not to be entirely depended upon; for although we should allow, that the Carthaginians were frequently both cruel and ungrateful, nay, that they had a natural propensity to the odious vices of cruelty and ingratitude; yet in the present case, what advantage or emolument could accrue to them from so execrable a fact? It could never have buried in oblivion so illustrious an action as the victory Xantippus acquired for them, since that could not fail of being transmitted to posterity by their enemies, in order to deprive them, to whom they bore so implacable a hatred, of the merit of it; and indeed through this canal it has been conveyed down to us, and yet the authors, who stigmatize the Carthaginians, by accusing them of so enormous a crime, assign this as their motive to it; nor can any other motive be conceived, except we will suppose, that they did it purely to gratify a barbarous and inhuman disposition; which, wicked as the world is, can scarce be imagined possible. Besides, Polybius, the best author extant who has treated of this particular branch of history, says not a word of it. Livy also, if we may judge of him from his epitomizer, paffes

(U) Other nations, as well as the Carthaginians, hung up the arms taken from the enemy in the temples of their gods. The Gauls, and even the Romans themselves, may be ranked amongst these, as we learn from Plutarch, Tacitus, and others (21).

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passes it over in silence, as do Florus, Eutropius, &c., who, being Roman historians, would most certainly have taken the greatest pleasure in relating such a story, if founded on good authority, as reflecting an eternal shame and dishonour upon their most avowed and mortal enemies, whom they never failed to treat with the utmost freedom on all occasions. We think it therefore but equitable to suspend our belief of what Appian and Zonaras have affirmed with regard to the departure of Xanthippus, especially as the scheme these authors have made the Carthaginians form for the destruction of the Lacedaemonian mercenaries, is, in point of policy, so defective and incredible that no stress can be laid upon it; for, according to them, all these mercenaries, as well as their general, were to be exposed to inevitable destruction, without the loss of a single Carthaginian, or pretence of even a storm, to colour the perpetration of so horrid a crime. This certainly seems incompatible with that genius for refined policy and intrigues, the Carthaginians were in history so famous for; and therefore will, with great difficulty, be admitted for fact by our impartial and intelligent readers.

As for Regulus, he was a lively instance of the great instability of fortune and human affairs. Had he been either influenced by the maxims of sound policy, or touched with the least sense of compassion for the misfortunes and sufferings of his fellow-creatures, he would have abated something of the rigour he shewed the Carthaginians after the last defeat given them, and might have concluded a most advantageous peace for the Romans; but, giddy with success, nothing less would satisfy him than the total ruin of that people, or at least a reduction of them to a state of servitude, which they thought equivalent to it. This providence did not permit him to accomplish; but, on the contrary, by a swift revolution, he fell from the height of prosperity to the lowest degree of contempt, nay, into the extremest misery and despair, his exalted station serving only to render his fall the more precipitate, and the less pitied by those he had before insulted. Many, and even recent, examples might be produced of princes, who, by pursuing the same conduct, have met with the same fate, would

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would the limits of our history permit; but, as they will not, we must beg leave to refer our readers to their own observations on this head, and to those fine reflections of Diodorus Siculus and Polybius, which we could not avoid glancing at here.

We have, in a former part of this work, given a full account of what happened to Regulus in the subsequent part of his life, and cenfured Hoffman for differing from a great number of Roman authors in this particular. But our high regard to impartiality, a quality essentially necessary in an historian, obliges us now to lay before our readers the reasons, that may possibly have induced some learned men to believe the whole relation of Regulus's death, as handed down to us by the aforesaid authors to be an absolute fiction.

1. All the Roman historians, as Romans, bore an im- placable hatred to the very memory of the Carthaginians, and did their utmost to make it appear odious in the eyes of all mankind. They were entirely void of impartiality when they spoke of that nation, as manifestly appears from what Polybius relates of Fabius Pictor, one of their most celebrated writers, and the most antient of their historians. 2. All the subsequent Roman historians must have followed Fabius Pictor in this particular, since neither Diodorus Siculus nor Polybius have taken the least notice of Regulus's being sent to Rome, and suffering death afterwards at Carthage upon his return; though, had this been true, they would undoubtedly have related it, the Greeks bearing as great an aversion to the Carthaginians, as did the Romans. 3. From a fragment of Diodorus Siculus in the excerpta (W) of Valesius, it appears, that Regulus's sons, at the instigation of their mother, treated Hamilcar and Boftar, two

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a Polyb. i. i. Diod. Sic. i. xxiiii. in excerpt, Vales.

b Univerfi. hist. ubi. supra.

(W) The passage referred to imports in substance, that Regulus's widow, hearing of his death at Carthage, and supposing him to have died through want of necessaries, instigated her sons to use Hamilcar and Boftar, two Carthaginian generals, taken prisoners, and delivered into their hands by the senate, in order to exchange for their father, with the utmost inhumanity. They were confined in a streight a room, that they could not move, and kept without meat for five days together; insomuch that Boftar died of
two Carthaginian generals, taken prisoners, and delivered into her hands to exchange for her husband, with the utmost cruelty; insomuch, that one of them died. She was prompted to this, according to the same fragment, by a persuasion, that her husband died at Carthage for want of a proper care being taken of him, upon the news she received of his death there. This evidently supposes Regulus to have died in that city, without any other torture than what the want of necessaries occasioned. 4. Palmerius has accounted for the whole story, as related by the Roman writers, and the Greeks attached to the Roman interest, in such a manner, as to give some reason to believe, that they are neither of them to be entirely relied upon in their accounts of the sufferings and death of Regulus. Besides the authors cited in the twelfth volume of this work, it will be necessary to consult those referred to in the margin of grief and hunger. Hamilcar, in order to move her compassion, told her, that he had taken all possible care of her husband, who was committed to his custody at Carthage. But this not availing, she extended her barbarity so far, as to cause him to be shut up five days with the dead body of Boftar, allowing him all that time only sustenance barely sufficient to keep him alive. Being ready to expire through the fench of the dead body, and the other miseries he laboured under, this barbarous treatment was rumoured abroad by the meaner servants; which reaching the ears of the tribunes of the people, they had like to have caused the young men to be put to death for so execrable a fact, which disgraced the Roman name. They were therefore obliged, by way of atonement for the perpetration of so heinous a crime, to burn the body of Boftar, and fend his ashes to Carthage, as likewise to treat Hamilcar with lenity during the remainder of his confinement. Tuditanus in Gellius, in order to take off the odium of this barbarous action, and suit it more to the Roman taste, tells us, that Regulus died for want of sleep, which the Carthaginians, by various methods, deprived him of; and that this reaching Rome, his sons used some noble Carthaginian captives, delivered to them by the senate, in the same manner. This relation, partial and disguised as it is, gives great weight to the valuable fragment of Diodorus referred to, and at the same time renders Palmerius's notion of this affair not a little probable (22).

gin, in order to have an adequate idea, according to the Roman tradition, of the point we are now upon.

Both the Carthaginians and the Romans meet with a strong body of land-forces on board, not only to divert the enemy from executing the design they pretended to have formed, but also to retrieve their broken affairs in Africa. In the mean time, the Carthaginians besieged Clydea and Utica in vain, being obliged to retire from before those places by the approach of the Roman squadron, which had already plundered the island of Corfu, and left a garrison there. Having equipped a fleet of two hundred sail, they put to sea, in order to prevent the enemy from making a second descent; and coming up with them off cape Hermae, engaged them; but being routed, the Romans landed without opposition at Clydea, defeated the Carthaginians in a pitched battle near that place; and carrying off the remains of Regulus’s army, steered for Sicily. However, notwithstanding these victories, the Romans were greatly weakened. In the late engagement they had been worsted, had not the two thousand men left at Clydea, attacked the enemy’s rear unexpectedly, which obliged them to give way. In their passage to Sicily, they met with so dreadful a tempest, that out of three hundred and seventy odd vessels, of which their fleet was composed, eighty only escaped. Diodorus Siculus says, they lost three hundred and forty galleys, besides about three hundred transports. Eutropius affirms only eighty galleys to have remained out of four hundred and sixty-four; infomuch, that all the sea-coasts, from Camarina to Pachynum, were strewn

flayed with the dead bodies of men and horses, as well as the wrecks of ships. Immediately after this disaster, Carthalo, a Carthaginian commander, advancing to Agrigentum, laid siege to it, and soon made himself master of it. The town he laid in ashes, and demolished the walls, obliging the inhabitants to fly to Olympieum. The Carthaginians, apprised of this, immediately sent Afdrubal to Sicily, with a large reinforcement of troops and an hundred and fifty elephants. They likewise fitted out a squadron, with which they retook the island of Corsura; and though they had lost nine thousand men in the last action, besides five thousand in the naval engagement, they marched a strong body of forces, under the command of Hamilcar, into Mauritania and Numidia, to punish the people of those countries for showing a disposition to join the Romans. Hamilcar treated them with the utmost rigour and severity, causing all their chiefs to be crucified, putting great numbers of the poorer sort to the sword, and exacting from the rest a thousand talents of silver, besides twenty thousand head of cattle. In Sicily, the consuls puffed themselves of Cephalæum by treachery; but Carthalo forced them to raise the siege of Drepanum, and retire with great loss. The Carthaginians, however, soon after found themselves obliged to abandon Ieta, as likewise the territories of the Selinuntins, Petrinians, Enattarians, and Tyndarite. The Romans, landing afterwards an army in Sicily, laid siege (X) to Panormus, the capital of the Carthaginian dominions there; and making themselves masters of a fort or tower

(X) Panormus according to Diodorus, derived its name from its port or haven, which was the finest in Sicily. The Phœnicians probably called it Labrion, or Leptin, from being an harbour or flation for ships. Polybius tells us, that it was the capital of the Carthaginian dominions in Sicily; and if we may credit Thucydides, it was either of Panian or Phœnician extraction, being built in very early times either by the Phœnicians, who traded with the Aborigines of Sicily, or their poiserity, the most ancient Carthaginians. That it was the most eminent city the Carthaginians povessed in Sicily, at least for a considerable period of time, and the most resorted to, if not for the most part inhabited, by that nation, is evident from the great number of coin belonging to it, with Panian legends upon them Paruta and others exhibit many of these to our view, which serve to confirm the authorities above-mentioned. Some Sicilian writers will hav
tower by the sea-side, carried that part of the city called the New Town; but the inhabitants defending themselves with great bravery, they could not immediately reduce the other. However, forming the blockade of the place, they at last forced both it and the citadel to surrender for want of provisions. The Carthaginian fleet, posted to observe the enemy’s motions, fell in with one of their squadrons, and carried off many of their ships laden with money and other valuable effects. Both parties soon after put an end to the operations of the campaign, the consuls returning to Rome, and the Carthaginians retreating into winter-quarters; so that we hear of no hostilities betwixt them till the following spring.

The Carthaginians, notwithstanding all their disasters, suffered less at sea than the Romans. The prodigious losses the latter nation had sustained on that element, made them entertain thoughts of declining all preparations for the future against the Carthaginians there. The next year, losing above an hundred and fifty galleys more on the coasts of Sicily, they came to a resolution to lay aside all naval operations, and consequently left the Carthaginians masters of the sea. This was not their only misfortune; for in the late battle with Regulus, the elephants had made such havoc amongst them, that, for the two succeeding years, the Roman soldiers in Sicily durst not approach those furious animals within five or fix statia. This prevented the war from being carried on with any vigour during that term. The Romans, however, wrested Lipara, Himera, and Thermae, out of the hands of the Phoenicians and Damascus, to have founded it in the time of Isaac. In support of which notion they produce two Hebrew inscriptions, found at that place in the reign of William the second king of Sicily, importing, that some colonies of those nations settled there at that time, and called the place Panormus. But as few, if any, Hebrew inscriptions of that date are genuine, and as Panormus is a Greek, not a Hebrew name, we must be excused from subscribing to their opinion (23).

of the Carthaginians; but were obliged to raise the siege of Erêta. So slow a progress induced them to attempt making a figure once more by sea, hoping by this means to compensate for the terror, with which the elephants had struck their legions.

Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general in Sicily, perceiving how much afraid the Romans were of his elephants, marched out of Lilybæum, and advanced into the neighbourhood of Panormus, in order to draw the enemy to a battle. Cæcilius, who commanded the Roman forces in the town, seemed to be afraid of him, till he had passed the river running close by the city, when, having a great advantage over him, he attacked him with incredible fury. The fight was very obstinate for some time, and the Romans were even repulsed by the violence of the elephants; but at last the dart-men wounded these boisterous animals in such a manner, that they fell foul upon their own troops, and threw them into confusion. This being observed by the Roman general, he fell back with a body of fresh forces out of the town, and attacking the enemy in flank, gave them a total defeat. The Carthaginians lost a vast number of men in this action; it being one of the greatest overthrows they ever received in Sicily, besides many elephants, which were either killed or taken, and amongst the rest ten with their (Y) Indian leaders. The Carthaginian elephants could never after this battle


(Y) From the passage of Polybius here referred to, it is evident, that the Carthaginians, before the thirteenth year of the first Punic war, had an intercourse with India, as receiving elephants, and persons to manage and train them up, from thence. This greatly strengthens what Pliny intimates, viz. that the Carthaginians carried on a trade with the Indians, and imported from India many carbuncles of an inestimable value. This they must either have done by means of caravans going through the interior parts of Africa to the Arabian gulf, if not through Egypt to Persia and India, or by their own vessels trading to those parts, or lastly, by their communication with Tyre. The passage we are now considering seems likewise clearly to prove, that the Carthaginians trafficked with the Persians, since all caravans coming entirely by land from India to Carthage must necessarily pass through part of Persia; and we know, that the Persians dealt much in these animals. But that the Carthaginians were well known to the Persians in very early times, which we cannot
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tle make any impression upon the Roman troops; on which account the victory might justly have been looked upon as of vast consequence to them. According to Zonaras, the Carthaginian fleet, by being then in port, completed the ruin of the land-forces; for vast numbers of Aedrul's soldiers, endeavouring to make their escape on board the galleys, fell into the sea and were drowned. Diodorus intimates, that Aedrul was, in a manner, compelled by his own troops to venture an engagement with the enemy; that advancing to Panormus, he passed the river above-mentioned with great temerity, not taking the least precaution to secure himself against any attempts of the Romans; and that some merchants well conceive to have been in any other manner than by trading with them, is evident from Cambyses's intention to attack them, and from the embassy Darius sent them towards the close of his reign, already mentioned. Besides, that they were acquainted with the Persian gulf, is probable from what Pliny relates of one of their sea-commanders, who steered his course that way, in order to make discoveries in very early times. If they traded with those remote nations by caravans, they might likewise have gone through part of the country of the Garamantes and Ethiopia; which that they did, appears probable from Pliny and Strabo, who tell us, that the Indian, Garamantian, and Ethiopian carbuncles, by reason of their great plenty at Carthage, were called Carchedonian carbuncles; and that the Carthaginians received them from the Garamantes. After having weighed all these particulars, we cannot help thinking, that the Carthaginians sent caravans to the country of the Garamantes, Ethiopia, and Persea, as well as ships to the Red-sea, rather than that they had a communication with those parts of the world by means of the Tyrians. As a further proof of this, it may be considered, that Hanno, who is supposed to have written the periplus going under his name, one of their admirals, failed to the remotest coasts of Arabia from Cadiz, long before the age we are now treating of; and that Pliny intimates their commerce to have been so much more extensive than that of any other nation, that merchandise was paid to be the invention of the Picken, not of the Phoenicians. Dalec Campus, in his notes on Pliny, receives a great accession of strength from this passage of Polybius, and on his part illustrates this last-mentioned author, as well as Pliny. We shall refer what we have to say of elephants, and those nations, who first used them in war, for a future notes (24).

chants having brought a large quantity of wine into the camp; the Celtes got drunk, filling all parts with noise, disorder, and confusion; which Cæcilius observing, fell out of the town, put the Carthaginian army to the rout, and either killed or took prisoners a vast number of men. Sixty elephants, according to the same author, that fell into the hands of the Romans, were sent to Rome as a great curiosity. It may not be improper to remark, that this exploit concluded the thirteenth year of the first Punic war.  

The beginning of the following year, the Carthaginians received intelligence, that the Romans intended to form the siege of Lilybaeum, imagining, that the reduction of that place would put an end to this tedious and bloody war. As they looked upon the preservation of Lilybaeum, which was the only city they now possessed in Sicily, except Drepanum, to be of the utmost consequence to them, they reinforced the garrison with a large body of chosen troops, and finished the fortifications in such a manner, as to render the place almost impregnable. Notwithstanding which, the two consuls, Manlius and Attilius, invested the place; and, after having opened trenches before it, carried on the siege with great vigour. The Carthaginians some time before the beginning of this siege, had razed the city of Selinus, and transplanted the inhabitants to Lilybaeum; so that this last place was very populous when the Roman army appeared before it. The garrison was also very numerous, consisting of ten thousand mercenary Gauls and Greeks, besides a large detachment of Carthaginian forces, commanded by Hamilcar, an officer of great experience and bravery. Though the Romans soon demolished several of the outworks, and even made their approaches close to the body of the place, yet Hamilcar defended it with an intrepidity and resolution worthy of himself. He rebuilt, as it were in a moment, many forts, which the enemy had destroyed with their battering-engines; posted to every part of the town to give the necessary orders, prevent confusion, and animate the troops, as well as the citizens, by his presence; and lastly, made frequent, as well as vigorous fallies, upon the besiegers. According to Diodorus, in one of these fallies he killed ten thousand Romans upon the spot, put a great part of their army to flight, burnt many of their rams,
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rams, bailliæ, and catapults, and then entered triumphant-ly into the town. The Carthaginians in the mean time, finding her cavalry of no service in the defence of the place, sent them to Drepanum. Soon after the last disaster, a famine began to rage in the Roman camp, which in a short time introduced the plague there, of which, in a very few days, above ten thousand men were carried off. In fine, the besiegers, by such a train of calamities, coming, as it were, one upon the neck of another, lost more men than they could well have done in several pitched battles. This so greatly weakened, and at the same time dispirited, them, that had they not received an immediate supply both of troops and provisions from king Hiero, they must have been infallibly obliged to raise the siege.

But what the Romans could not effect by force, they attempted to accomplish by treachery. In order to which, they so far corrupted some of the leaders of the mercenaries, that they decoyed them into their camp, to concert with them the proper measures for having the place delivered into their hands. This might have proved fatal to the Carthaginians, had not one Alexon, an Achaian, discovered the whole conspiracy to Hamilcar; who, assembling all the remaining mercenary officers, acquainted them with the particulars of the horrid design, and, by his singular address, engaged them to persevere in their fidelity to the Carthaginians. Having secured this point, he prevailed upon them next to endeavour at inspiring the soldiers under their command with the same sentiments. He likewise sent one Hannibal, the son of the admiral of that name, who was crucified by his own men at Sulci in Sardinia, to keep the Gauls, with whom he was very popular, firm in the Carthaginian interest; whilst Alexon went to hinder the Greeks, among whom he was extremely beloved, from entering into the enemy’s measures. These military precautions had the desired effect; for the mercenary chiefs, returning soon after from the Roman camp, found their men so far from listening to their suggestions, that they drove them out of the place with the utmost fury (Z). Zonaras says, that the length of the siege,


Z) Zonaras intimates, that tho’ Hamilcar was apprized of the conspiracy, he did not judge it expedient to take any notice of
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The garrison receives a reinforcement of ten thousand men from Carthage.

The Carthaginians being informed, that the Romans had received a reinforcement from Hiero, though they could have no intelligence from the garrison, concluded, that the Romans pushed on the siege with vigour, and that consequently Hamilcar wanted some relief. They therefore sent one Hannibal with a supply of ten thousand men, who putting in at the island of Egusa, was obliged to stay there some time, in expectation of a fair wind. He was not detained long here, but soon happily made his way into the town. Having landed his troops, he passed in the night by the enemy’s camp to Drepanum, where he had a conference with his friend Adherbal, who commanded in that place. The subject of this conference undoubtedly was, how to open a communication betwixt Lillybæum and Drepanum. In consequence, as it is probable, of the measures there concerted, Hannibal, surnamed the Rhodian, was pitched upon to execute the plan formed by the two com-

Polyb. & Zonar. ubi sup.

of it, for fear of an open and public defection of the mercenaries; but having secured the fidelity of the officers, by paying them their arrears, and calmed the minds of the soldiers, by promising them speedy payment, which the Carthaginians enabled him to do, by sending him immediately a large sum of money for that purpose, he, by this means, avoided the danger that threatened him. The same author moreover relates, that the Romans received the commanders of the mercenaries, who were expelled the city by their own troop, with great kindness, gave them lands in Sicily, and other valuable effects, to compensate the loss they had sustained for their affection to them. This last particular is likely enough to be true; but as to the first, since it contradicts Polybius, we think no degree of credit is due to it (25).

(25) Zonar. ubi sup. c. 1c.
commanders above-mentioned. This he very luckily did for some time, and thereby greatly contributed to the support of the garrison of Lilybæum, as well as the service of the Carthaginian state in general; but was at last taken by some galleys detached from the Roman fleet, in the manner by us already related.

All communication betwixt Lilybæum and the other Carthaginian territories being thus cut off, the garrison was reduced to some extremities. However, at last a storm arose, which broke and rendered useless all the Roman battering-engines, and overturned many of the towers they had erected to facilitate the reduction of the town. This unexpected event prompted the Greek troops in garrison to attempt the destruction of the machines, which escaped the fury of the tempest; which they easily effected, and put a great number of Romans to the sword. The consuls, upon this unexpected blow, deflected from the attack of the town, turning the siege into a blockade, and drawing a line near the place, to prevent any succours being thrown into it. The besieged, on the other hand, repaired all the breaches made by the enemy, strengthened the fortifications with some new works, and receiving a fresh flow of spirits from the great success they had met with, were determined to defend the town to the last drop of blood.

Soon after this disaster, which greatly alarmed the Romans, Claudius the consul put to sea with a powerful fleet, having a design of surprising Drepanum. Upon his approach to that place, Adherbal, the commander there, was not a fight, little amazed to see a formidable squadron entering the port, especially considering the blow the Romans had lately received. However, he soon resumed his usual presence of mind, and, assembling his troops, made a pathetic speech to them, expatiating upon the hardships of a siege, which they must inevitably undergo, if they suffered the enemy to enter their harbour unattacked, and at the same time assuring them, that no doubt could be entertained of their vanquishing the Romans, considering the many advantages they had over them in point of situation, provided they fell upon

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k Polyb. & Diodor. ibid. Univer. hist. ubi sup.
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upon them immediately, and did their duty. The soldiers and seamen, greatly animated by this speech, required to be led instantly against the enemy. Upon which Adherbal, drawing up his squadron in line of battle near the rocks that lay on the coast, boldly advanced against Claudius, who was now entering the port. The engagement immediately began, and the fight was, for some time, obstinate and dubious; but at last the Carthaginians, by the lightness and activity of their vessels, by the disadvantageous situation of the Romans, who, through Claudius's prudence, were posted near the shore, and lastly, by reason of the Roman galleys being incapable, on account of their clumsy make, of charging the enemy in flank or rear, as occasion should require, obtained a complete victory. Ninety-three of the Roman galleys, if we may give credit to Polybius, with the greatest part of their crews, fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, who, it is said, did not lose a single man or galley in this glorious action. According to Diodorus, Claudius lost an hundred and seventeen ships, and twenty thousand men. Eutropius affirms ninety galleys to have been taken, and ninety, with all the troops on board, sunk in this fatal battle. And lastly, Orosius relates eight thousand men to have been killed or drowned, and twenty thousand taken prisoners. Claudius, with thirty vessels, made his escape (A) out of the fight to the camp at Lilybæum, bringing thither to the consuls the news (B) of his defeat; which was the greatest blow the Romans had received by sea since the commencement of this war.

Nothing

1 Idem ibid. Orof. & Zonar. ubi sup. Eutrop. l. ii. Flor. l ii. c. 2. sub fin. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. ii. c. 13. ex. 5 Val. Max. l. i. c. 4. ex. 3. & l. viii. c. 1. ex. 4.

(A) Frontinus tells us, that Claudius made his escape with twenty ships, which he adorned in a triumphal manner, and that means passed by some of the enemy's guard-ships without hurt, the Carthaginians on board believing him to have been victorious (26).

(B) We think it not improper to acquaint our readers here that they will find this rash man's character drawn at full length by Diodorus Siculus, in one of his fragments published by Velleius (27).

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Nothing was now celebrated at Carthage but the praises of Adherbal, who, at this juncture, was esteemed, both on account of his consummate prudence and personal valour, as one of the greatest heroes Carthage had ever produced; and indeed such an entire overthrow, given to a most proud and insulting enemy, could not but be in the highest degree grateful to all orders of men in that metropolis, and consequently render the general, to whom it was chiefly owing, greatly acceptable to all his fellow-citizens. As the Romans had amassed a vast quantity of provisions on board their fleet, Adherbal furnished Lilybaeum with a most plentiful supply, and filled all his magazines at Drepanum. In the mean time, Hamilcar found himself inspired with new vigour, not only by the unexpected success of Adherbal, but by his having destroyed all the enemy’s works and military engines, in the sally above-mentioned, wherein he was not a little favoured by the violent gust of wind, which rendered unquenchable the flames his Greek mercenaries had kindled amongst them. The Carthaginians likewise at this juncture, by ravaging the coasts of Italy and Sicily, reduced the natives to the extremest poverty. Soon after, Hanno, a Carthaginian officer, in a quinquereme, fell into the hands of Junius the consul, as he was fleeing with a new fleet for Lilybaeum. However this loss was soon repaired; for Adherbal, detaching Carthalo with an hundred galleys to observe the Roman squadrons and convoys sent to the relief of the camp before Lilybaeum, gained several advantages over them, and at last had the pleasure of seeing them totally destroyed by a storm. Besides many other places, Carthalo reduced Aegythalus, a strong castle the Romans had possessed themselves of. Diodorus tells us, that in the first sea-fight with Carthalo, the Romans had thirty-five thousand men killed, and as many taken prisoners; but this is scarcely credible. Notwithstanding all the losses the Romans had sustained, they continued the blockade of Lilybaeum, with great firmness, cantoning all their troops, in the neighbourhood, being determined, if possible, to carry the place. Carthalo, by some indiscrct actions, became so unpopular among the troops, that he had like to have occasioned an universal defection; which obliged the senate to recall him to Carthage. The Romans, being greatly dejected by their late frequent misfortunes at sea, resolved once more to lay aside all thoughts of opposing their rival upon the watery element. This revived the drooping spirits of the Carthaginian,
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thuginians, and encouraged them to entertain hopes of coping
with their formidable enemy once more by land. In order

which, they appointed Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas, the
head of the Barcan faction in Carthage, general of their forces.
This extraordinary person, by his future conduct both in

Sicily, Africa, and Spain, demonstrated himself to be the
greatest general, excepting his son Hannibal, who indeed out-
thined him, that ever appeared at the head of the Carthaginian armies m.

Hamilcar (C), receiving a charteblanche from the sen-
ate, to act as he should think proper for the service of the re-
public of Carthage, set sail from Carthage in the eighteenth
year of this war. According to Cornelius Nepos, he was a
perfect youth, when he took upon him the command of the

army; which, considering the bad situation of the Carthagi-
nian affairs, adds no small lustre to his first gallant achieve-
ments. Having put to death all the ringleaders and most
guilty of the mutineers, he ravaged the coasts of the Locris-
ans and Brutians, and then made a descent near Panormus
with all his forces. Upon his landing, he marked out a camp

betwixt


sup. Val. Max. L. i. c. 4. ex 3. Vide & Univer. hist. ubi

sup. &c. p. 673, 674, 675, &c.

(C) The surname of this famous general the Greek authors
write Barcas; but the Latin, Barca. It was common for the

Greeks to terminate the same proper name in as, that the Latins
did in a, and even such proper names as were of African extrac-
tion; witness Micippus, Micipha, &c. According to Silius and
others, this was the surname of a family, which was the noblest
in Carthage, being lineally descended from the ancient kings of
Tyre. The party in Carthage, that adhered to this Hamilcar,
was, from him, called the Barchine or Barcan faction, of which
Livy takes particular notice. Servius in direct terms affords this
name to appertain to a family; and Plutarch mentions one Ma-
herbal, or Adherbal, (who intimated to Hannibal, that he did
not know so well how to make a proper use of a victory, as to
get one) as a member of it. We may possibly have occasion to
speak further of this family in the next section (23).

(23) Sil. Ital. i. vi. Serv. in Æniv. ver. 632. Liv. L. xxii. c.
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betwixt Panormus and Eryx; which was of itself a sufficient proof of his great military capacity, since the spot of ground pitched upon seems, from the description given us of it by Polybius, to have been the most commodious for the end propofed, that could possibly be conceived. Soon after his encampment here, he detached some galleys, with a body of land-forces on board, to pillage the Roman allies. These executed their orders with great severity, making excursions as far as Cumae, and laying the country waste where-ever they moved. Upon their return, he marched with his army to the very walls of Panormus, though the enemy lay encamped but eight hundred paces from that city, and afterwards returned to his former camp. For some time the generals on both sides made it their whole business to observe each others motions. In short, by marches and counter-marches, by ren­counters and ambuscades, by military falsifications, and stratagems of all kinds, Hamilcar and the confuls trove who should shew the greatest skill and dexterity; which, though it greatly fatigued the soldiers, trained them up in military discipline, and formed them for action in the most perfect manner. But such a variety of motions, as was the result of this conduct, being too tedious for an historian to describe, Polybius has, in a great measure, omitted it.

Both the Carthaginian and Roman camps were, by art and nature, rendered impregnable; so that neither side could force the other to a battle. The military operations therefore, for a considerable period of time, consisted in re­counters betwixt parties, who, on both sides, behaved with very great bravery. The success of these skirmishes was dubious, sometimes one party being victorious, and sometimes the other. The Carthaginians, however, in general, from what we find in Polybius, seem rather to have had the advantage, especially as Diodorus intimates, that Hamilcar took a cattle of considerable strength in the territory of Catana, before he advanced to Eryx. If so, this ought undoubtedly to be ascribed to the incomparable conduct of Hamilcar; since, from the time he became their general, they performed feats, of which before they might justly have been thought incapable.

The Romans had, for some time past, desisted from all naval

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The Romans equip a privateer squadron, naval preparations, being deterred from them by the terrible disasters they had met with at sea; and confined themselves wholly to a land-war, thinking their land-forces much more than a match for those of Carthage. But finding themselves greatly mistaken in their views, by the excellent conduct of Hamilcar, and that, instead of carrying their point in Sicily, they were even themselves reduced to some extremities there by the enemy, they began to think of annoying them again by sea. In order to this, a fleet was first equipped by private persons. This privateer-squadron of galleys was of considerable force, and fitted out chiefly with a view of plundering the enemy's territories, and inuring the Romans to the sea, to which they were now, in a manner, strangers. They committed great depredations on the coasts of Africa; and entering the port of Hippo, notwithstanding the citizens had endeavoured to hinder their entrance, by shutting up the mouth of the harbour with a large and strong chain thrown across it, they laid the greatest part of the town, together with the shipping, in ashes. Having filled their vessels with spoils, they returned to Panormus, near which place they gave a considerable defeat to the enemy. In the mean time, one of the consuls pushed on the siege of Lilybaeum, and the other that of Drepanum. The Romans likewise dislodged the Carthaginians from the island of Columbia; which Hamilcar in vain attempted to retake. Fabius, who carried on the siege of Drepanum, afterwards, with incredible labour, joined this island to the continent, which greatly facilitated his approaches. Notwithstanding these advantages, the brave Hamilcar terribly harassed the enemy, not only making incursions into the very heart of the island, but plundering frequently the coasts of Italy, that lay opposite to Sicily. Nothing considerable, for some time, happened after this, except that a cartel was settled betwixt both parties for an exchange of prisoners. They were exchanged man for man; but the Carthaginian prisoners being by far most numerous, many of them were redeemed by money out of the hands of the Romans.

About three years after Hamilcar's arrival in Sicily, he made himself master of Eryx by surprize. The town was situate on the declivity of a mountain of the same name and had fallen again to the Romans since the reduction of

* Flor. i. ii. c. 2. ubi sup. c. 16.
it by Carthalo above-mentioned. What rendered this
action the more remarkable was, that the Romans had not
only a body of troops in the town, whom they might easi-
ly have supported, and the support of whom was of the high-
est consequence to them, but were likewise in possession
both of the top and foot of the mountain, where they had
forts defended by strong garrisons. By the possession of
this post, the Romans on the summit of the mountain lab-
oured under all the hardships and inconveniences of a
place closely besieged; notwithstanding which, they bore
all their calamities with wonderful patience, as well as be-
haved with incredible bravery and resolution. Hamilcar
maintained himself in the advantageous post he had gained
with equal bravery. However, as the Romans were masters
of the open country, he found himself sometimes streight-
tened for want of provisions, and with no small difficulty
preserved the avenue, keeping open a communication with
the sea, by means of which he, from time to time, receiv-
ed supplies. Fabius represents both parties as sinking under
the miseries they then endured; but Polybius, with greater
justice, and more agreeable to the faith of history, as tri-
umphing over them. Both sides continued in this melan-
choly situation for the space of two years. The Romans,
notwithstanding the difficulties they were reduced to, still
continued the blockade of Lilybaenum.

As the privateer squadron was only a prelude to the figure of
the Romans intended to make by sea, in the consulate of
C. Lutatius Catulus and A. Pothismus, they fitted out
another fleet of two hundred sail, which was likewise, in
a great measure, equipped at the expense of private persons.
The command of this armament was given to C. Lutatius,
with an intention to strike a home-stroke, and force fortune
to give a coup de grace to the Carthaginians. In the first
place the consul posseffed himself of the port of Drepanum
and all the other harbours in the neighbourhood of Lily-
bæum. Afterwards he took care to exercise his soldiers and
seamen with the utmost diligence, that they might be able
to look the enemy in the face, as firmly believing, that a
decisive action by sea must put an end to this long and bur-
denome war. Soon after their entrance in the haven of
Drepanum, the Romans attempted to form the town, and
might have succeeded in their attempt, had not the consul

been wounded; which occasioned some confusion, and gave the enemy an opportunity of repulsing them. Zonaras observes, that when the troops on both sides were drawn up in order of battle before the fight off the islands called Ægates, the place of rendezvous for the Carthaginian fleet, a blazing star or comet appeared, to the great terror of both parties; but seemed to point directly at the Carthaginians. Though the wind proved unfavourable to Lutatius when he came in sight of the enemy’s fleet, yet he resolved to attack them, since they expected every moment to be joined by Hamilcar, whose name was become terrible to the Romans. The Carthaginians, intending now to make their last effort by sea, had collected their whole naval power, consisting of four hundred sail. The Romans on this occasion, according to Polybius, fitted out two hundred galleys, as above observed; but Eutropius and Orofius make them to have been three hundred. Both fleets, coming in sight of each other, made the necessary dispositions for an engagement, which was to determine the fate of Sicily.

Though the galleys, of which the Carthaginian armament was composed, in number greatly exceeded those of the Romans, yet, in many respects, the Roman squadron was vastly superior to the Carthaginian; for whereas the forces on board the latter consisted, for the most part, of new levies, entirely raw and undisciplined, Lutatius had taken care to man the former with choice troops and able seamen, trained up in the most perfect manner. Besides, as his vessels were built after the model of the galley taken from Hannibal the Rhodian, in lightness and activity they far excelled those of the enemy. To which we may add, that the Carthaginians had the naval power of the Romans in the highest contempt, as having themselves, for some years, been masters at sea; and therefore, upon the first advice of the enemy’s motions, they, being vastly surprized, put to sea a fleet fitted out in haste, manned only with mercenaries, who had neither courage, experience, nor zeal for the flate, in whose service they were engaged. Hanno therefore made but a faint resistance, his forces being routed at the first onset. Florus says, that the Carthaginian fleet was so heavy laden with troops, baggage, arms, provisions, &c.

that the whole city of Carthage seemed to have been on board, and that the vessels could not move with any freedom; which greatly contributed to Hanno’s defeat. The loss of the Carthaginians on this melancholy occasion seems greatly to be exaggerated by Eutropius, who tells us, that they had seventy-three ships taken, an hundred twenty-five sunk, thirty-two thousand men made prisoners, thirteen thousand killed or drowned, and that an immense quantity of gold and silver fell into the victors hands. Orofius differs not much from him. But Polybius, who undoubtedly comes nearer the truth, affirms, that the Romans (D) sunk only fifty of the Carthaginian vessels, and took seventy with their crews, the rest making off in great confusion to the isle of Hiera. Lutatius, following his blow, advanced to the city of Eryx; where engaging the Carthaginians, he cut off two thousand men. This last action concluded the operations of the first Punic war.

The Romans, naturally insolent in prosperity, were followed by a related with their victory, that Lutatius inlisted upon Hamilcar’s delivering up his arms to him; but this haughty demand was rejected with the scorn and indignation it deserved, that great captain protesting, “That he would suffer all extremities, rather than give up those arms to his country’s enemies, with which he had been entrusted for its preservation.” The consul, however, understanding that Hamilcar was invested with full powers to sign a treaty with him, and being desirous of having the honour of putting an end to a war, which had cost both republics such an immense quantity of blood and treasure, before the expiration

*D* Idem ibid. ut & Lucius Aemel. in lib. memorial. c. 46.

(D) According to Diodorus, the Roman fleet, ships of war and transports, amounted to a thousand sail and the Carthaginian only to two hundred and fifty. But this contradicts all other authors, and is highly improbable. The less credit is to be given to Diodorus in this particular, as he depends entirely upon Philinus, a writer of such partiality, that his authority is not to be regarded. The same author affirms, that the Romans lost eighty ships, and had six thousand men taken prisoners in this action; which considering the relation of it given us by other historians, seems absolutely impossible (28).

tion of his office, he concluded a peace with that general, provided the senate and people of Rome would ratify it upon the following terms: "That the Carthaginians should immediately evacuate Sicily; that they should never for the future make war upon Hiero, or any other ally of the Romans; that they should restore all the Roman prisoners in their custody without ransom, but redeem their own with money; and lastly, that, within twenty years, they should pay the Romans two thousand two hundred Euboic talents of the purest silver." Zonaras intimates, that the senate of Carthage sent a deputation directly to Lutatius to sue for peace: but he must give way to the superior authority of Polybius and Cornelius Nepos, who affirm, that Hamilcar Barcas had the management of the whole transaction. The people of Rome, greatly puffed up with their unexpected success, and looking upon the republic of Carthage as now lying at their mercy, refused to ratify the treaty, till they had sent ten deputies to Sicily, to inform them thoroughly of the situation of affairs there, who, in conjunction with the consuls, agreed to the ratification of it, upon condition the four following additional articles were inserted in it: "That the Carthaginians should encrease the above-stipulated sum with two hundred talents; that a thousand talents should be paid immediately, and the remaining sum in ten years time; that the Carthaginians should not approach with their long ships either the coasts of Italy, or any territories belonging to the allies of the Romans; that they should not make levies either in the dominions of the Romans, or those of their allies; and lastly, that they should abandon all the little islands betwixt Sicily and the coast of Italy." As these hard conditions were extorted from Hamilcar by the Romans, because they saw him not in a situation to refuse them, he, from this moment, conceived an implacable hatred to that nation. In fine, he was determined to conclude a peace with them upon any terms, to give his country time to breathe, that he might have an opportunity of hereafter chastising them for the unparalleled insolence they had been guilty of through the whole course, and more particularly at the conclusion, of this war. Authors are not entirely

entirely agreed about the precise duration of the first Punic war. Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, and Zonaras, say, it continued twenty-four years; whereas Orofius, Eutropius, Synclerus and others, affirm it to have lasted twenty-three years only, with whom Gellius, as he makes it to have commenced A. U. C. 490, seems to agree. Be this as it will, both sides suffered extremely by it, the Romans having lost, since their first putting to sea, seven hundred ships, and the Carthaginians five hundred. We shall not here transcribe the reflections Polybius makes upon the power of both states in this war, since our readers may so easily have recourse to that excellent historian; but content ourselves with observing, that though, in his opinion, the Roman soldiers were far superior to the Carthaginian in valour and resolution, yet he allows Hamilcar, for his conduct and bravery, to have been the greatest captain of the age.

The Carthaginians were no sooner got out of this bloody and expensive war, than they found themselves engaged in another, which had like to have proved fatal to them. The mercenary troops, that had served under Hamilcar in Sicily, and distinguished themselves greatly on all occasions, upon their return to Africa, found the state of Carthage so drained, that, far from being able to give them the largesse and rewards promised by Hamilcar, it could not pay them their arrears. This, with some other concurring causes, occasioned a war (E), which, for three years and a half, preyed upon the very vitals of the republic, and was attended with such instances of cruelty and barbarity, as are scarce to be paralleled in history. The ancient historians call it the Libyan or African war, and sometimes the war with the

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(E) Diodorus Siculus in this point differs from Polybius; for he tells us, that this bloody war continued four years and four months. But as this is asserted in one of his fragments, all of which are greatly corrupted, and consequently liable in need of many emendations, we shall not scruple giving the preference to Polybius, who affirms, that this war lasted three years and an half (30).

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The mercenary troops of the Carthaginians greatly disdained, on account of not receiving their full pay, as soon as Hamilcar had put the last hand to the treaty abovementioned, he retired, with the forces which were in Eryx, to Lilybaeum, and there resigned his commission, leaving to Gisco, the commandant of that place, the care of transporting them to Africa. Gisco, being an officer of great penetration, as though he had foreseen what would happen, did not ship them off all at once, but in small and separate parties, that those who came first might be paid off, and sent home, before the arrival of the rest. The Carthaginians at home, however, did not act with the same forecast and precaution. As they were almost entirely exhausted by the last war, and the immense sum of money, in consequence of peace, paid to the Romans, they judged it would be a laudable action to save something to the public, not considering the injustice, as well as imprudence, of the measure they were going to pursue in order to this. They therefore did not pay the mercenaries in proportion as they arrived, thinking it more proper to wait till they all came together, with a view of obtaining from the whole body a remission of some part of their arrears; but being soon made sensible of their wrong conduct on this occasion, by the frequent disorders these barbarians committed in the city, they, with some difficulty, prevailed upon the officers to take up their quarters at Sicca, and canton their troops in that neighbourhood, giving them a sum of money for their present subsistence, and promising to adjust their pretensions, when the rest of their comrades came from Sicily. For some time they refused to begin their march, because the Carthaginians were not disposed to permit their wives and children to stay in Carthage, as they

w Vide Polyb. i. p. 67—83. Diod Sic. l. xxv. in excerp. Rhodoman. & Haschel.
they desired, believing, that this would be an inducement to the soldiers to return often to Carthage, and consequently deprive them of the benefits they had proposed to themselves from their departure. However, this difficulty was at last got over; and all the mercenaries already arrived in Africa, with their wives, children, and baggage, marched to Sicca. Polybius looks upon this step as an oversight in the Carthaginians, since, had the women and children remained in Carthage, they would have been as so many hostages for the future good behaviour of the soldiers: and indeed that such an advantage would have more than counterbalanced the inconvenience arising from an opposite conduct, hinted at by the same author, notwithstanding the fierceness of the African troops, required no uncommon degree of sagacity to apprehend.

Being now wholly immersed in idleness, to which they had long being strangers, a neglect of discipline ensued, and of course a petulant and licentious spirit immediately took place. They were now determined not to acquiesce in receiving their bare pay, but to insist upon the rewards Hamilcar had promised them, and even to compel the state of Carthage to comply with their demands by force of arms. The Senate being apprised of the mutinous disposition of the soldiers, dispatched Hanno, one of the suffetes, to pacify them. Upon his arrival at Sicca, he behaved in a very preposterous and imprudent manner. He expatiated largely upon the poverty of the state, and the heavy taxes with which the citizens of Carthage were loaded; and therefore, instead of answering their high expectations, he desired them to be satisfied with receiving part of their pay, and remit the remainder to serve the pressing exigencies of the public.

Nothing could have been more impolitic than this conduct of Hanno, excepting that of the Carthaginians, in employing a person so unqualified for the business he went upon. In the first place, he exposed his country’s weakness to the contempt of the mercenaries, and then farther inflamed them against it, by refusing to comply with their just pretensions, when they seemed determined to insist upon a compliance with the most extravagant. But this person’s conduct was all of a piece, both in civil and military capacity, as will appear in the course of this war: so that Carthage must

must have been ruined, had she not had so able a captain as
Hamilcar to support her in the time of this her great distress.
In fine, the mercenaries being highly exasperated, that neither
Hamilcar, nor any other of the principal officers, who com-
manded them in Sicily, who were the best judges of their
merit, appeared on this occasion, but only this Hanno, a
person utterly unknown, and above all others disagreeable to
them, had immediately recourse to arms. Assembling there-
fore in a body, to the number of twenty thousand men, they
advanced to Tunes, and immediately encamped before that
city.

As Polybius's history is interspersed throughout with the
finest political maxims and reflections, so scarce any part of
it abounds more with them than describing the beginning of
the Libyan war. It is superfluous to give these at large, be-
cause the author is in every one's hands; and therefore we
shall only observe, that though, in some respects, he ap-
proves of the Carthaginian practice, of making up their ar-
nies chiefly of mercenaries, yet in the main he condemns
that practice, and demonstrates from the breaking out of
this war, as well as from the nature of the thing, that
an observance of the fundamental axiom on which they
proceeded, might sometimes produce disfavour effects. They
imagined, that by drawing their forces from different
nations, who did not understand one another, they
should prevent all conspiracies, intrigues, and combina-
tions against the state, and undoubtedly this had a tendency to the
end proposed. But what Aristotle has observed of their con-
fstitution in general, viz. that it was more wisely framed to
prevent inconveniences than remedy them, may be applied
to this particular custom; for though the evil guarded against
by it was frequently by this means prevented, yet when it
happened, the consequence could scarce fail of being deplo-
able, since it was next to impossible for any officers to
persuade a soldiery, composed of so many nations in any
tongue, to listen to the dictates of reason. As Polybius has
set this point in a strong light, we shall refer our readers to
him, and now return to the history.

The Carthaginians, being greatly alarmed at the ap-
proach of so formidable a body to Tunes, made large con-
cessions to the mercenaries, in order to bring them back to
their duty. They ordered them supplies of provisions at
their own prices, and sent a deputation of senatores them-
selfs.
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elves to confer with their chiefs, and, if possible, to satisfy them. Far from being softened, they grew more insolent upon these concessions, taking them for the effects of fear and weakness in the Carthaginians. As this powerful corps consisted of Iberians, Gauls, Ligurians, natives of the Balearic islands, Greeks, and Africans, who were strangers to one another's language, the Carthaginians found it next to impossible to treat with them. Many of them likewise being slaves and defectors, and consequently expecting capital punishment, either for this rebellion, or some other enormous crime, did their utmost to prevent all friendly intercourse with the state of Carthage. They moreover considered that republic as destitute of troops, and themselves as the best soldiers in the world, having performed many notable exploits in Sicily, and been trained up there in the art of war by the most celebrated captain of the age. These considerations, for some time, made them entirely averse to all thoughts of an accommodation. They rose in their demands, without the least regard to reason, justice, or moderation. They practised every knavery that could be thought of to extort money from their masters. When one point was gained, they immediately had recourse to a new artifice, on which to ground some fresh pretension. Was their pay settled beyond the agreement made with them, they still would be reimbursed for the losses, which they pretended to have sustained, either (E) by the death of horses, the excessive price they had, at certain times, paid for their bread-corn, or their short allowance of provifions at those seasons. They insisted also upon the recompence due to their merit, so often promised; and that, in all these points, they should have immediate satisfaction given them. The Carthaginians, finding themselves obliged to make a virtue of necessity, shewed a disposition to satisfy them in all points, how unreasonable soever, and agreed to refer themselves to the opinion of some general in Sicily, who had commanded them there, as they all along desired, leaving the choice

(E) According to Diodorus Siculus, the mercenaries insisted upon being paid for every one of their body who fell in Sicily, as well as for the loss of their horses here mentioned; which that historian looked upon as a very unjust and unreasonable demand

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(30) Diod. Sic. in loc. jam laudat.
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choice of such commander entirely to them. Accordingly they pitched upon Giisco, a person greatly beloved by them, to mediate this affair, believing Hamilcar to have been a principal cause of the ill treatment they had met with, since he never appeared amongst them, and, according to the general opinion, had voluntarily resigned his commission. Giisco soon arrived at Tunes with money to pay the troops; and after conferring with the officers, and the several nations apart, he harangued them in a mild and infinuating manner, put them in mind of the long time they had been in the Carthaginian service, the considerable sums they had received from the republic; and, in short, gave them to understand, that their reasonable demands would be complied with; at the same time desiring them to recede from all exorbitant claims, and rest satisfied with their pay. This made such an impression upon the minds of the soldiery, that a treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when Spendius and Mathos, two of the principal mutineers, occasioned a tumult in every part of the camp. Spendius was by nation a Campanian, who had been a slave at Rome, and fled to the Carthaginians. He was a strong, lusty, and extremely bold fellow. The apprehensions he was under of being delivered into the hands of his old master, by whom he was sure to be hanged or crucified, his crime meriting capital punishment by the Roman laws, if a pacification took place, prompted him to break off the accommodation. Mathos was an African, and free-born; but as he had been active in raising the rebellion, and was well acquainted with the implacable disposition of the Carthaginians, he knew that a peace must infallibly prove his ruin. He therefore very warmly espoused the interests of Spendius, and incited unto the Africans the danger of concluding a treaty at that juncture, as this could not but leave them fainfully exposed to the rage of the Carthaginians. "The Gauls, Iberians, Ligurians, and Greeks," said he, after having received their arrears, will be dismissed, and from thenceforth enjoy an uninterrupted repose amongst their countrymen at home, whereas you, being left alone, will have the whole guilt of the rebellion imputed to you, and, destitute of support, fall an easy sacrifice to the resentment of your imperious masters." This gave a new turn to affairs, and so incensed the Africans, who were much more numerous than the troops of any other nation, that they immediately assembled in a tumultuous manner. The foreigners
foreigners soon joined them, being inspired by Spendidius with an equal degree of fury. Nothing now was heard amongst them, but the most bitter oaths and horrid impreca tions uttered against Gisco and the Carthaginians. Whoever offered to make any remonstrance, or lend an ear to temperate counsels, was floned to death by the enraged multitude; nay, many persons lost their lives, barely for presuming to speak, before the purport of their discourse could be known, or any one could from thence with certainty infer, whether they were in the interest of the Carthaginians or Spendidius. As the state of Carthage had very impolitely supplied the malecontents with plenty of wine, and all kinds of provisions, they indulged themselves with great freedom; and being at this very juncture heated (F) with wine, which they had drank to great excess, they gave a full vent to their rage and insolence, threatening the African republic with utter destruction. In fine, no one having the courage to open his mouth in favour of peace, the troops made choice of Spendidius and Mathos to head them in the intended expedition b.

In the midst of these commotions, Gisco behaved with great firmness and intrepidity. That general had too much

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(F) We learn from Polyænus, that the Libyans or Africans were much addicted to drunkenness; which Himilco, a Carthagian general, being apprized of, found an opportunity of intoxicating their troops in a war the Carthaginians had with that people, and, by this stratagem, gained a signal advantage over them. Possibly the Carthaginians might have something of that kind in view at this time, when they supplied the mercenaries with such quantities of wine. If they had not, they were in the highest degree impolitic to furnish their enemies with wine at this juncture, as well as all sorts of provisions. Be this as it will, they seem to have been infatuated, their conduct, from the conclusion of the first Punic war, having been nothing but a series of blunders and mistakes. We shall not, however, here expatiate upon this topic, but refer our curious readers to Polybius, whose judicious reflections and observations cannot fail of giving them ample satisfaction (31).

(31) Polyæn. Ital. I. v. c. 10. ex. 1

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much courage, and too great a regard for his country's welfare, to delist from all possible attempts to reduce the mutineers to reason, notwithstanding his present dangerous situation. He left no methods untried to soften the officers, and calm the minds of the soldiery, though at the same time he kept up an air of dignity and command, giving them to understand, that Carthage was not in such low circumstances as they imagined. But the many false steps the Carthaginians had been guilty of since the commencement of these troubles, as well as before, defeated his good intentions, and rendered ineffectual all his endeavours. The torrent of sedition was now become so strong and rapid, that there was no possibility of stemming it, or keeping it within any bounds. A scarcity of provisions succeeding their late plenty and profusion, the troops, in an insolent manner, demanded of Gisco an immediate supply, who, to reprove their insolence, bade them go to Mathos their captain for it. Such an accident as this, considering the present disposition of the malecontents, could not but set the whole camp in a flame. "Shall "he with impunity," said they, "not only refuse "redressing our just grievances and complaints, but "turn even our wants and necessities into ridicule?" In a moment therefore they seized upon the military chest, dividing the money amongst themselves in part of their arrears, put the person of Gisco under arrest, and treated him, as well as his attendants, with the utmost indignities. Mathos and Spendius, to destroy the remotest hopes of a reconciliation with Carthage, applauded the courage and resolution of their men, loaded the unhappy Gisco, and his followers, with irons, and formally declared war against the Carthaginians. All the cities of Africa, to whom they had sent deputies, to exhort them to recover their liberty, soon came over to them, except Utica and Hippo Dyarrhythus, or, as Polybius calls it, Hippacra. By this means their army being greatly encreased, they divided it into two bodies; with one of which they moved towards Utica, whilst the other marched to Hippo, in order to besiege both those places. The Carthaginians in the mean time found themselves read to sink under the preffure of their misfortunes, their city having never before been exposed to such imminent dan
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er. Every thing at present seemed to conspire to their ruin. After they had been harassed four-and-twenty years by a most cruel and destructive foreign war, they entertained hopes of enjoying some repose, and re-establishing their affairs; instead of which, a numerous army arises out of their own bowels, threatening them with immediate destruction. All the citizens of Carthage drew their particular subsistence from the rents or revenues of their lands, and the public expences from the tribute paid from Africa; all which they were not only deprived of at once, but, what is much worse, had it turned entirely against them. They were deftute of arms and forces either for sea or land; of all necessary preparations for the sustaining of a siege, or the equipping of a fleet. They suffered all the calamities incident to the most ruinous civil war, and, to complete their misery, had not the least prospect of receiving assistance from any foreign friend or ally.

Such was the present melancholy situation of affairs at Carthage, which the Carthaginians had, in a great measure, themselves occasioned, by their numerous instances of cruelty, injustice, and ill conduct. During the last war, they had most tyrannically oppressed all the African nations subject to them, by imposing excessive tributes upon them, in the exaction of which no allowance was made for poverty, or the extremes of misery. They never sent such governors into the provinces as were likely to win the affections of the people by their lenity and moderation; but such only as would most fleece them, in order to fit out fleets, and raise armies, and by that means the most administer to the ambition of the republic, where Hanno at that time governed with almost an absolute sway. This being considered, it cannot certainly appear strange, that the Africans were so easily prevailed upon to engage in this rebellion. At the very first signal that was made, it broke out, and in a moment became general. The women, who had often, with the greatest affliction, seen their husbands and fathers dragged to prison for non-payment of the most unreasonable taxes and imposts, as likewise suffering cruel deaths for the slightest crimes, showed themselves every-where extremely active in forwarding a revolt. They not only entered into an association to an-

*Polyb. & Diodor. ubi sup.*
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noy, by all possible methods, so barbarous and inhuman an enemy, but likewise with pleasure gave up all their ornaments to contribute towards the expences of the war. Mathos and Spendius therefore, by such reasonable and large supplies, found themselves enabled, not only to animate their soldiers by a prompt payment of the sums promised them, but likewise to settle a sufficient fund for all the future exigencies of the army; in which, says Polybius, they acted like wise men, who do not only look to the present occasion, but likewise extend their views to futurity.

The Carthaginians, notwithstanding their deplorable circumstances, did not despond, but pursued all the measures necessary to put themselves into a posture of defense. As Hanno had already distinguished himself in their service, by conquering a territory of good extent on the confines of Hecatompolis, they appointed him commander in chief of all their forces. Troops they levied both for land and sea-service, horse as well as foot. All citizens capable of bearing arms, were mustered; the horse exercised with great diligence and application; mercenaries invited from all parts; many new galleys built, and all the old ones refitted. In short, the most extraordinary efforts were made, not only to repel all the attempts of the mutineers, but even to reduce them to reason by force of arms.

In the mean time, Mathos and Spendius, having an army of seventy thousand men at their devotion, began the military operations. They laid siege to Utica and Hippacra at one and the same time, and pushed on both those sieges with the utmost vigour. But as they were carried on by detachments drawn from the army for that purpose, they remained with the main body of their forces at Tunis, and thereby cut off all communication betwixt Carthage and the continent of Africa. This greatly frightened the Carthaginians, whose capital was thereby held in a kind of blockade. The Africans likewise harassed them by perpetual alarms, advancing to the very walls of Carthage by day, as well as by night, and treating with the utmost cruelty every Carthaginian that fell into their hands.

Hanno,

\(^{d}\) Polyb. ubi sip. \(^{e}\) Idem ibid. \(^{f}\) Polyb. ubi sip
Hanno, a general more to be esteemed for his diligence in making military preparations, than his conduct in time of action, notwithstanding the reputation he had acquired by the conquest above-mentioned, marched to the relief of Utica with a good body of forces, an hundred elephants, and a large train of battering-engines. Having taken a view of the enemy, he immediately attacked their intrenchments, and, after an obstinate dispute, by the help of his elephants, forced them, and made himself master of their camp. As the (G) elephants did great execution,

(G) If we remember right, no mention is made by the antient historians of the Carthaginians using elephants in war, till the time of the first Punic war. It is certain Plutarch takes no notice of them, when he gives us a description of the arrangement of the Carthaginian forces just before the battle on the banks of the Crimeus; nor Diodorus, when he describes the dispositions of the Carthaginian armies before their various engagements with Dionyfus and Agathocles. This countenances Gilbertus Cuperus’s opinion, who afferts, that elephants never formed part of an army in Europe, till after the time of Alexander the Great, who took many of those animals from Porus an Indian king; which occasioned their being known and used by his successors afterwards in Greece; for if their military use had been known by the Sicilians before, or even at that period of time, that people would most certainly have joined them with their other forces in some of the earliest wars they were engaged in; which, from the silence of all historians mentioning the Sicilian wars, it is plain they never did. It follows therefore, that they were not used in Sicily before the interval above mentioned, which was the most likely part of Europe for them to be known in, by reason of its vicinity to Libya, which produced them. It seems to follow likewise, that the Carthaginians did not intermix them with their troops before that period, since history could not have omitted taking notice of so formidable a part of their armies, had they been a part of them; especially as we find afterwards, that almost in all battles wherein they were concerned, they were, in a manner, the sole cause of victory. We cannot help farther remarking, that, unless we are greatly deceived, no mention is made of armed chariots after the introduction of elephants into military engagements, nor of elephants before the last time armed chariots are mentioned in any battles the Carthaginians had with their enemies. This, if true, as we persuade ourselves it is, will point out to us the interval, in which chariots were first diffused, and elephants introduced amongst the Carthaginians, viz. betwixt the year before Christ 309, when Agathocles defeated Hanno and Bomilcar, the last time we hear of chariots.
execution, the mercenaries lost a vast number of men in this action, and consequently the advantage gained was so considerable, that it might have proved decisive, had Hanno made a proper use of it. But not entertaining a right idea of those veteran troops, who had learned, under the conduct of Hamilcar in Sicily, to fly before an enemy, face about, and attack their pursuers, in one and the same day, as occasion should require, he imagined riots in the Carthaginian armies, and the year 262, before the Christian æra, when the Romans routed Hanno before Agrigentum, the first time we find elephants mentioned in them; and not only so, but likewise fully prove, that the custom of fighting with elephants was adopted by the people under consideration in the room of that which before prevailed of engaging with chariots. What strengthens this is, that those nations, who, it is probable, knew nothing of elephants, as the Britons, Gauls, &c. had chariots in use amongst them, till they were conquered by the Romans, as is evident from Diodorus, Caesar, and Dio. Pyrrhus was the first who brought them into Italy; and that the Romans had little or no knowledge of them for a considerable time after that prince’s death, appears from the defeat Regulus received from Xantippus, occasioned, in a great measure, by the Carthaginian elephants, of which the Romans were so much afraid, that, for two years afterwards, they durst not look the enemy in the face in Sicily. It likewise further appears from the overthrow Caecilius gave Adsdrubal near Panormus, when he took most of the elephants, and sent them to Rome, as a great curiosity. According to Pausanias, the Indians in Asia, and the Libyans in Africa, were the first nations that used elephants in battles, others only esteeming them on account of the ivory they produced. The Persians, Lydians, and neighbouring nations, antiently intermixed camels with their troops, as in after-ages they did elephants. Though from Herodotus, Plato, and others, it is sufficiently evident, that Egypt produced elephants, particularly that part of it bordering upon Ethiopia; yet they were not known in that country as military animals, till the time of the Ptolemies. From Egypt, it is probable, the practice of fighting with them spread into Cyrenaica, the people of which region, in all likelihood, might communicate it to their neighbours the Carthaginians. Neither the Jews, Assyrians, Babylonians, Phœnicians, Arabs, Ethiopians, nor even the Medes and Persians, ever brought elephants into the field before the reign of Alexander the Great. King Juba in Philostratus intimates, that the Moors and Libyans, in very early times, fought with elephants; which notion seems likewise to be countenanced by Ælian. Lucretius affirms the Carthaginians to have invented this method of fighting
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ned himself to have routed a body of raw, undisciplined Africans and Numidians, who, upon any defeat, generally retired into the heart of the country; and therefore entering the town, lay there in great security, his troops in the mean time, ordered to guard the camp, being every where off their duty. The mercenaries, who, after Hanno's victory, had rallied their shattered forces upon a neighbouring eminence, strong by its situation,

ing; but as such an opinion runs counter to the whole stream of antiquity, we shall pay no regard to it (32).

According to Dr. Hyde, the most usual name of the elephant in India is bari or bri; from whence, it is probable, the Latin words barrus, barritus, ebur, &c. were derived. Isidore adds some weight to this, when he tells us, that, in the Indian language, an elephant is called barro. Martinus makes the elephant to be named in the Chaldee beira; which probably was likewise the Ethiopic name, or nearly related to it; since there is a great affinity betwixt the Ethiopic and the Chaldee; and, in confirmation of this sentiment, Horace's scholiast interprets the word barri of the elephants of Ethiopia. The animal under consideration went likewise almost all over the east by the appellation phil or pil, and even in Egypt and Ethiopia; though, in the last country, that animal is now called nage, and by the Copts delphinos. In some parts of India the elephants were named bolare, according to Arrian; in others, if Ælian may be credited, prasit and tautare, from the names of the places where they were produced. The Moors and Carthaginians styled an elephant cæfar, as we learn from Spartan and Servius. Some derive the word elephas or Ærac from phil, with the Arabic article al prefixed; others from the Hebrew verb alaph, he learned, the elephant, according to Pliny, Arrian, and others, being an animal of surprising docility; and lastly, others from the Hebrew aleph or eleph, signifying an ox, a leader, or indeed any large quadruped. Helychius uses the


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ation, and covered with a wood, where they had posted themselves, being informed of this, poured down upon them, cut many of them off, forced the rest to fly into

the words pirifas and elephas as synonymous terms. So much for the name (33).

The Carthaginians generally posted these animals in front, in order to strike the greater terror into the enemy, as we learn from the manner in which Xantippus, Hannibal, Mago, &c. drew up their armies. This seems a further proof, that they immediately succeeded armed chariots, which had the same situation assigned them in the Carthaginian armies. Sometimes, however, they were distributed in both wings, as appears from Livy. The elephants made use of by the Carthaginians in battles were generally, if not always, Indian elephants, which much exceeded the Libyan in strength and magnitude. Each of these had a wooden tower fastened to his back, with twenty-two warriors in it, and an Indian to manage the beast, which he did with the utmost dexterity. The Libyan elephants were not able to carry above five or seven men, as Gesner and Aldrovandus have proved from Livy, Pline, and Solinus. In the first book of the Maccabees, Antiochus Eupator is said to have brought against the Jews several Indian elephants, with towers on their backs, containing thirty-two men a-piece, with an Indian guide. Philostratus says, that an Indian elephant as much exceeded in size one of Libya, as this last did a Nyfæan horse; and Pline tells us, that the African elephants were so much afraid of the Indian, that they could not bear the sight of them; which is confirmed by Livy and Polybius, who intimate, that the Libyan elephants could neither bear the noise nor smell of the Indian. These last animals, according to Ælian, were nine cubits high, and five broad. The Romans called the elephant bos Luca, or bos Lucana, because they first saw that creature in Lucania, and used the word bos to denote any great animal. That nation first placed elephants in their armies in the year of Rome 555, in the consulate of P. Sulpicius Galba and C. Aurelius Cotta. As the Carthaginian soldiers were exercised by their officers, so their elephants were trained up and exercised by the Indian guides. By their monstrous size, filthy smell, terrible noise,

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into the town, retook and plundered the camp, and seized upon all the provisions, military stores, &c. brought from Carthage to the relief of the besieged. Nor was this the only error committed by Hanno; another instance of his military incapacity soon discovered itself. Notwithstanding he lay encamped in the most advantageous manner near a town called Gorza (H), at which place

noise, and prodigious strength, as well as the efforts of the garrisons on their backs, they generally threw the enemy into confusion, and made great havoc among them. The Indians, that managed them, appeared in a dress the most proper to heighten the confirmation of the enemy, and began the fight with the utmost fury. No horses but the Numidian, which were accustomed to them, could approach the Indian elephants; and therefore the enemy's cavalry was soon put to the rout by them. Sometimes, by being pierced with darts, they became so enraged, as to turn upon their own men, treading vast numbers of the soldiers to death, which was their common method of destroying those they attacked; though sometimes with their trunk or proboscis they dispatched them. The Romans also sometimes, by firing the cattles on their backs, forced them to recoil upon their own troops, which, in such a case, they did not fail of putting into disorder. When this happened, the Carthaginians themselves were obliged to kill them; which they did very expeditiously, by a method Afdrubal discovered, and which we find described by Livy. These are the principal points relating to the manner of fighting with elephants, particularly amongst the Carthaginians, as far as we can collect from the authors, who have been the most explicit on this subject. The natural history of the elephant our readers may expect from us in another note (34).

(H) It may be collected from Polybius, that the town of Gorza was situated in the neighbourhood of Utica, and not far from the illitus or neck of land joining the peninsula, on which Carthage stood, to the continent of Africa, though the situation of it cannot be precisely determined. It is probable the Punic name was Goza or

place he twice overthrew the enemy, and had it in his power to have totally ruined them, he yet neglected to improve those advantages, and even suffered the mercenaries to possess themselves of the isthmus, which joined the peninsula, on which Carthage stood, to the continent of Africa.

Such repeated mistakes, which had almost proved fatal to the republic, highly displeased the Carthaginians, and induced them once more to place Hamilcar Barcas at the head of the forces. This could not but be extremely mortifying to Hanno, who had always been an inveterate enemy to the Barchine faction, and of course infuse new life into Hamilcar and his adherents, who undoubtedly, during Hanno's influence, were excluded from all posts in the administration. Hamilcar, in all respects, answered the high idea his countrymen had entertained of him. He marched against the enemy with an army of about ten thousand men, horse and foot, and seventy elephants, all the troops the Carthaginians could at that time assemble for their defence; which is a full proof of the great extremities to which they were then reduced. As Mathos, after he had made himself master of the isthmus, had posted proper detachments in two passes on two hills facing the continent, and guarded the bridge over the Bagrada, which, through Hanno's neglect, he had taken, Hamilcar saw little probability of engaging him upon equal terms, or indeed of coming at him. He was therefore obliged to have recourse to a stratagem.

\(^d\) Polyb. ubi. sup.

or Gaza, since the Greeks frequently inserted the letter R or P in such proper names, as appears from Bochart; and Gaza or Goza (a permutation of vowels especially O and A, being very common in the Hebrew and Phcenician proper names, when written and pronounced by the Greeks) was the Carthaginian name of a town in Sicily, as well as the Phcenician name of a fortress in Palestine, or, as the prophet calls it, Pelesteth. Be this as it will, that not only Gaz or Goza, but likewise Chorfa or Gorza, is the Punic proper name of a place, cannot be denied, after a perusal of Bochart. No author, either antient or modern, if we remember right, except Polybius in this passage, has so much as mentioned it (35).

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tagam at this critical conjunction, especially as Mathos lay encamped with his army at a village near the bridge, and watched the enemy's motions with the utmost vigilance. Observing that, upon the blowing of certain winds, the mouth of the river was choked up with sand, which formed a kind of bar, and rendered the river passable, though with no small difficulty, as long as those winds continued, he halted for some time at the river's mouth, without communicating to any person his design. As soon as the wind favoured his intended project, he passed the river privately by night, without the least opposition, neither his own men, nor the mercenaries, dreaming of any such attempt. Immediately after his passage, he drew up the troops in order of battle, and advancing into the plain, where his elephants were capable of acting, moved towards Mathos, who was posted at the village near the bridge. This action greatly redounded to Hamilcar's glory, being of so daring a nature, that it equally surprised the malecontents and the Carthaginians.

The Africans being informed, that Hamilcar succeeded Hanno in the command of the Carthaginian army, that he had already passed the Bagrada, and was marching at the head of his forces to attack their camp, were thrown into the utmost consternation. They very well knew, that they had now to deal not with a man of Hanno's genius, but with the greatest captain of the age: a captain, from whom they themselves had learned the art of war, and who was infinitely superior to all their generals in every branch of it. However, Spendius, receiving intelligence of the enemy's motions, drew a body of ten thousand men out of Matho's camp, with which he attended Hamilcar on one side, and ordered fifteen thousand from Utica to observe him on the other, thinking by this means to surround the Carthaginians, and cut off both their army and general at one single stroke. Hamilcar in the mean time advanced with great intrepidity, his troops being ranged in the following manner: the elephants were posted in front, then came the cavalry, and after them the light-armed infantry, being supported by the targeteers, who brought up the rear. But observing the mercenaries to approach him with great temerity, though at the same time with resolution, and as much confidence as if they had been sure of victory, he changed his

* Idem ibid.
his order of battle in a precipitate manner; still retiring before the enemy, as though he was afraid of them. This motion answered the end proposed; for the mercenaries, looking upon it as the effect of fear, and consequently as a tacit acknowledgment of their valour and superiority, fell upon him with great fury, but without any discipline or order. Hamilcar therefore facing about in an instant, and his horse behaving with extraordinary bravery, the enemy were soon put to flight; when meeting a body of their own men coming to their relief, and mistaking them for the Carthaginians, they engaged them; upon which a dreadful slaughter ensued. In fine, Hamilcar gave the malecontents a total overthrow, in which they had six thousand men killed, and two thousand taken prisoners. The rest fled, some to the town at the bridge, and others to the camp at Utica. Hamilcar did not give the enemy time to recover from their defeat, as Hanno before had done, but pursued them with great ardour to the village near the bridge before-mentioned; which he entered without opposition, the mercenaries flying in great confusion to Tunes. Many towns, which had revolted to the enemy, terrified by this defeat, submitted to the Carthaginians; others Hamilcar reduced by force. In short, the Carthaginians, finding that Hamilcar had seized many of the enemy's advantageous posts, were greatly animated by his conduct, and doubted not but he would soon put a happy conclusion to this destructive war.

Notwithstanding these disasters, Mathos pushed on the siege of Hippo with great vigour, and appointed Spendius and Autaritus, commander of the Gauls, with a strong body of troops, to observe the motions of Hamilcar, advising them above all things to guard against a surprize; which, considering the abilities of that general, as well as his superiority in horse and elephants, was a very wholesome admonition. At the same time, he solicited the Numidians and neighbouring Africans to send him a proper number of recruits, exhorting them to make their utmost efforts at the present juncture, which seemed to be the only opportunity left them of recovering their liberty, to assert their independency, and throw off the yoke of the Carthaginians. Spendius and Autaritus therefore, at the head of a choice detachment of six thousand men, drawn out of the camp at Tunes, and two thousand Gallic horse, attended Hamilcar, approaching

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ing him as near as they could with safety, and keeping close to the skirts of the mountains, as they had been advised. At last Spendius, having received a strong reinforcement of Africans and Numidians, and possesing himself of all the heights surrounding the plain, in which Hamilcar lay encamped, resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of attacking him. Accordingly he placed the Numidians in the rear and the Africans in front, whilst he himself, with his first detachment, was resolved to charge the enemy in flank; and having made this disposition, boldly advanced towards the Carthaginians. Had a battle ensued, Hamilcar and his whole army must, in all human probability, have been totally ruined; but here his good fortune interposing, saved them both. It happened, that at that time one Naravasus, a young Numidian nobleman, eminent for his personal merit, commanded a body of Numidians in the enemy's army. This nobleman, before the breaking out of the present war, had been a great promoter of the Carthaginian interest, on account of the friendship, that had subsisted many years betwixt his father and that nation; and, being now charmed with the great worth of Hamilcar, was determined to renew his former good understanding with Carthage, and not suffer so brave a man to be sacrificed. He therefore, with an hundred Numidian horse, approached the Carthaginian lines, acquainting one of their advanced guards, that he had something of importance to communicate to the general. As the Carthaginians shewed themselves a little diffident of him, he immediately dismounted, and, leaving his horse and arms with the guard that escorted him, went directly to Hamilcar's tent, without the least distrust or suspicion. He then informed Hamilcar, that he was well disposed towards the Carthaginian nation in general, but that to contract a friendship with him, for whom he had the most profound veneration and esteem, was the height of his ambition. Hamilcar, greatly admiring his generous, polite, and gallant an action, made him an equal return of gallantry, politeness, and generosity. He made him his absolute confident in all points whatsoever. He took him for his companion, imparting to him his most secret designs; and, to crown all, afterwards gave him his daughter in marriage. Upon the fame of this event, two thousand Numidians came over in a body to Hamilcar, who, strengthened by such a reasonable reinforcement, found himself in a condition to give Spendius and Autaritus battle. The fight was obstinate and bloody, and the victory for a long time in suspense;
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suspense; but, the young Numidian most eminently distinguishing himself, and the Carthaginian elephants bearing down all before them, the mercenaries were at last entirely overthrown. Spendius and Autaritus escaped by flight, but left ten thousand of their men dead upon the spot, besides four thousand taken prisoners. All the prisoners, who were willing to take on in the Carthaginian service, Hamilcar received amongst his troops, supplying them with the arms of the soldiers, who had fallen in the engagement. To the rest he gave free liberty to go where ever they pleased, on condition that they should never for the future bear arms against the Carthaginians. However, he thought proper to acquaint them, that as many violators of this agreement as should hereafter fall into his hands, must expect to suffer death without mercy.

Matthew, Spendius, and Autaritus, the chiefs of the malecontents, fearing that this affected lenity of Hamilcar might occasion a defection among their troops, thought the only expedient left them to prevent it would be, to put them upon some action so execrable and shocking in its own nature, as should deprive them of all hopes of ever being reconciled to the enemy. Accordingly, having assembled them in a formal manner, as though something of moment was to have been imparted to them, a messenger, as had been before concerted, appeared with fictitious letters from the mercenaries in Sardinia, who had followed the example of the Africans, giving them advice of a secret design formed by some of their comrades, in conjunction with Gisco, to rescue that general, and all his attendants, out of prison at Tunes, where they had been so long detained. Spendius on this occasion made a speech to the soldiers, wherein he exhorted them not to be imposed upon by Hamilcar's pretended clemency, since this was only intended for a bait to decoy their whole body into his hands, that he might take vengeance of them all at once. He further advised them to have a narrow eye upon Gisco, inquisitive, that the escape of an officer of such influence and capacity might be attended with the most fatal consequences. He had scarce finished, when another courier arrived, as was given out, from Tunes, intimating, that the plot was upon the point of being carried into execution. Hereupon Autaritus, addressing himself to the soldiers, moved, in support of what Spendius had advanced, that

Polyb, ubi sup.
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whoever should shew any disposition to repose the least confidence in the Carthaginian promises or insinuations, should be deemed a traitor; and in fine, gave it as his opinion, that Gisco, and all the Carthaginians with him, ought immediately to be put to death. Autaritus, being very popular in the army, and supposed to have a perfect knowledge of the Carthaginians, as having resided long amongst them, and being a perfect master of their language, was listened to with great attention. His speech in fine made such an impression, that the whole assembly expressed themselves of the same sentiments, though some of every nation joined in a petition, that as Gisco had been a common friend and benefactor to them all, he might be dispatched without any torture; but the gross of the army being composed of such a variety of nations, and not understanding the matter of the petition, no regard was paid to it. In conformity therefore to that savage brutality so natural to them, the mercenaries firststoned to death all the prisoners they had taken from the Carthaginians in the late engagements, who were soon after interred by their relations; and then, at the command of Spendius, executed Gisco, and seven hundred Carthaginians with him, as the vilest malefactors. Their heads were cut off, their bodies dismembered, and afterwards thrown breathing into a hole prepared for them. The Carthaginians, being apprised of these inhuman cruelties, were most sensibly touched with them, and ordered their generals to retaliate them upon the murderers with the utmost severity. In the mean time, Hamilcar sending an herald to demand the remains of his countrymen, in order to pay them the last sad office, received for answer, that whoever presumed hereafter to come upon that errand, should meet with Gisco’s fate. They moreover came to an immediate resolution to treat all such Carthaginians as should fall into their hands with the same barbarity. As for their countrymen in the Carthaginian service, who should happen to be taken prisoners, they passed a decree, first to cut off their hands, and then send them to Carthage; which bloody resolution they executed with great rigour and punctuality. Such infernal practices as these, so contrary to the laws of nature and all nations, can never be sufficiently detested. However, as they are on one side sufficient proofs of the more than ferine disposition of the Africans, they may on the other likewise be con-
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sidered as strong intimations of Carthaginian oppression, since human nature, wicked as it is, seems scarce capable of such cruelties, except it be in the highest degree irritated and inflamed. This reflection, so naturally occurring to us from what has been just related, we could not avoid. As for others, a large field for which must necessarily open itself to all our curious and intelligent readers, we are obliged to pass them by untouched; at the same time observing, that a perusal of Polybius, in the point before us, will in a good measure supply our deficiency in this particular h.

Hamilcar, being determined to revenge the barbarous treatment of his countrymen, ordered Hanno, who, it seems, at that time commanded a separate body, to join him, that they might act with the greater vigour against the enemy. In order to deter the malcontents from such enormous proceeding for the future, he threw all the prisoners that fell into his hands, to wild beasts, to be devoured by them, being convinced, that compassion served only to render them more fierce and untractable. And now, when the Carthaginians were just beginning, as it were, to breathe, and recover their spirits, several unlucky accidents concurred again to depress them. By reason of a misunderstanding betwixt the generals, nothing could be undertaken against the enemy; a great supply of provisions and military stores, of which they were in extreme necessity, coming to them from Emporium by sea, were all cast away in a storm; Sardinia, which had always served them as a magazine in their greatest frights, was totally lost, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe; and, to complete all their other misfortunes, they received intelligence of the defection of Utica and Hippacra, the two only cities which, till then, had preserved their allegiance, and always adhered inviolably to the republic, even when Agathocles and the Romans made their descents in Africa. The citizens, not satisfied with entering into an alliance with Mathos and Spendius, massacred the Carthaginian garrisons, consisting of five hundred men, throwing their bodies over the walls; nay, to imitate their good allies in all their amiable qualities, they refused them burial, though the Carthaginians, by their embassadors, in most pressing terms desired this favour of them. The mercenaries, animated by

\[\text{\footnote{Mem. ii. & Diod. Sic. in excerpt. Vals.}}\]
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by such success, advanced to the very walls of Carthage, with an intention to lay siege to that city.

The Carthaginians, being apprised of the division betwixt their generals, and seeing the fatal effects of it, resolved to separate them, but left the determination of this point entirely to the army, who having had long experience of the great merit of Hamilcar, continued him in his command; upon which Hanno was recalled a second time to Carthage, and Hannibal, an officer more agreeable to Hamilcar, sent to supply his place. Upon Hannibal's arrival in the camp, affairs soon began to take a happy turn. There being now a perfect harmony betwixt the commanders, the operations were not clogged as formerly; they sent out detachments to plunder and lay waste the country, in order to cut off all subsistence from the enemy; which they happily effected, destroying or carrying off all the forage and provisions. This, however, did not entirely relieve the garrison of Carthage, which was reduced to great extremities. The Carthaginians therefore were obliged to have recourse to their friends, and particularly to Hiero king of Syracuse; who granted what was demanded of him, both now and throughout the whole course of this war. That prince, as Polybius observes, acted according to the maxims of true policy on this occasion; since, if Carthage had been now destroyed, Rome would have had no rival to contend with in any future times, and therefore he himself might soon have lain at the mercy of the Romans, without a possibility of being relieved by any neighbouring power.

They also applied to the Romans for assistance at this critical juncture, though they had, since the conclusion of the last treaty, disoblige[

Polyb. ubi sup. k Idem ibid. & Zonar. ubi sup.

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men and ships to Rome, and that in so handsome a manner, as gave the Romans entire satisfaction. The Romans therefore, not to be behind-hand with them in point of politenes, at this time sent them all the prisoners, that still remained in their hands since the late war, without ransom, ordered their merchants to assist Carthage with what it wanted, and prohibited all manner of commerce with the Africans. At the same time both the malecontents of Africa and Sardinia offered to submit to them, and to put them into the immediate possession both of Sardinia and the town of Utica; which overture they refused. These instances of success animating the Carthaginians, they bore the fatigues of the siege with great alacrity. In fine, Mathos and Spendius, being extremely harassed by Hamilcar, who, by stratagems and encounters, daily cut off great numbers of their men, and so frightened for want of provisions, that they apprehended a speedy famine, found themselves obliged to abandon the siege.

NOTWITHSTANDING this disgrace, the generals of the malecontents took the field with an army of fifty thousand effective men, having been joined by one Zarxas, the head of an African hord or canton, with all his people capable of bearing arms. They watched Hamilcar’s motions, but kept on the hills, carefully avoiding coming down into the plains, on account of Naravafus’s Numidian horse and the Carthaginian elephants. Hamilcar, being much superior to any of their generals in every branch of the military art, frequently outwitted them; sometimes disposessing them of their advantageous posts; at other times drawing them into ambuscades; and often defeating them in encounters, by which means he cut off abundance of their men. If any of their soldiers straggled ever so little from the main body of the army, they certainly fell into his hands, and were thrown by him to wild beasts, that he might, in some measure, retaliate the inhuman cruelty of Spendius. In short, he harassed them a thousand ways; which, as it greatly dejected them, so it inspired his own troops with fresh courage and vigour. At last, he surprized them when they least expected it, and shut them up in a post, which was so situated, that it was impossible for them to get out of it. Here he kept them straitly besieged, lying at ease in his camp, and being plentifully supplied with all kinds of

1 Polyb. ubi sup. Zonar. l. viii. c. 17. Appian. in Iberic.
of necessaries. The mercenaries, not daring to venture a battle, and finding themselves not able to get off, began to fortify their camp, and surround it with ditches and entrenchments. Conscious of their enormous guilt, they despaired of mercy, and therefore concluded it would be to no purpose to make any overtures to Hamilcar. They were soon so sorely pressed by famine, that they were obliged to eat one another; Divine Providence, says Polybius, thus avenging upon themselves the inhumanity they had exercised on others. As they could not entertain the least thought of peace, or of coming to an accommodation, after having been so deeply concerned in such bloody scenes, and knew what punishments would be inflicted upon them; in case they fell alive into the hands of the enemy, they saw they had no resource left, and therefore prepared themselves for the measures despair should dictate to them. The forces they looked for from Tunes came not to their aid as was expected, and the famine made daily large strides amongst them. They first found themselves under the necessity of eating their prisoners, then their slaves, and last of all their comrades. Prompted therefore to it by the extremity of misery they suffered, they insisted, that Spendius, Autaritus, and Zarxas, their leaders, should in person make propasals to Hamilcar, and to that end have a conference with him. Accordingly, having obtained a safe conduct from him, a treaty was agreed upon, and peace concluded, upon the following terms: That ten of the ringleaders of the malecontents should be left entirely to the mercy of the Carthaginians; and that the troops should all be disarmed, every man retiring only in a single coat. The treaty was no sooner concluded, than Hamilcar seized upon the negotiators themselves, by virtue of the first article; which favoured not a little of Punic subtlety. The army being informed, that their chiefs were under arrest, and at the same time ignorant of the articles of the treaty, had immediately recourse to arms, suspecting that they were betrayed; but Hamilcar, drawing out his army in order of battle, immediately surrounded them, and either cut them to pieces, or trod them to death with his elephants. The place, where this bloody tragedy was acted, was called Prion (I).

The

(I) Polybius says this place was called Prion, from the similitude its figure bore to that of a saw, the Greek word πόριος prion, signifying that instrument. But this notion, at first sight, appears highly
The number of the wretches, who perished, amounted to above forty thousand m.

After this complete victory, Hamilcar, Hannibal, and Naravasus, scoured the country, and many of the revolted towns returned to their obedience. According to the plan of operations, Hamilcar, immediately invested Tunes, into which place Mathos (K) retired with all his remaining forces. Hannibal's quarter was on the road leading to Carthage, and Hamilcar's on the opposite side. The army was no sooner encamped, than Hamilcar caused Spandius and the rest of the prisoners, to be led out in view of the besieged, and crucified near the walls. Mathos, by this, was apprised of the fate he must expect to meet with, and therefore undoubtedly rendered much more attentive to his own defence. Observing, that Hannibal did not keep so good a guard as he ought, he

m Polyb. ubi sup.

ly improbable, not to say ridiculous; for, to omit the absurdity of supposing this particular spot to resemble a saw, how can it enter into any person's head, that the Carthaginians should give Greek names to their towns and villages? All the other names of towns, this author mentions here, are apparently Punic or Phænician; and therefore it is but reasonable, nay natural, to conclude, that this must be so too. The word ἄνδρι peri or pri, fruit, is undoubtedly the original from whence Prion is to be deduced, since Bochart has demonstrated some names of places near Carthage to have been derived from thence, and since many antient authors confine to evince, that this country abounded with spots of ground surprising-ly fruitful. Add to this, that the rabbinical word נֶרֶב prion signifies a garden; which, no doubt, is so called by the rabbins, on account of its fruitfulness or fertility. We cannot take upon us to affirm how near exactly this place was to Carthage; but, according to Polybius, it must have been in the neighbourhood of Tunes (36).

(K) Sir Walter Raleigh, M Rollin, &c. call this African captain Matho; whereas his true name is Mathos, since the original word in Polybius is ΜΑΘΩΣ. So ΛΟΘΩΣ, the proper name of a mountain in Macedonia, in Latin and the modern languages is Athos. Many other examples might be produced to support what is here advanced (37).

he made a sally, attacked his quarters, killed many of his men, took several prisoners, among whom was Hannibal himself, and plundered his camp. Taking the body of Sennius from the cross on which it was fixed, he substituted Hannibal there in its place; and thirty Carthaginian prisoners of distinction, who all expired in exquisite torture, were crucified round him; fortune, as Polybius expresses it, giving both sides an opportunity of vying with each other in point of cruelty. Hamilcar being at some distance from his colleague, it was some time before his misfortune reached him, and the road between them being impassable, had he received earlier intelligence of the situation of affairs on that side, he could not have moved with any expedition to his assistance. He therefore immediately decamped, and posted himself along the sea-coast, near the mouth of the river Bagrada.

The Carthaginians were greatly terrified at this last disaster; however, they omitted no means necessary for their preservation. They sent thirty senators, with Hanno at the head of them, to consult with Hamilcar about the proper measures to be taken for speedily terminating this cruel and unnatural war, conjuring in the most pressing manner Hanno to be reconciled to Hamilcar, and to sacrifice his private resentment to the public welfare. This, with some difficulty, was complied with, and the two generals came to a full resolution to act in concert for the good of the republic. The senate at the same time ordered all the youth capable of bearing arms, to be pressed into the service, by which means a strong reinforcement being sent to Hamilcar, he soon found himself in a condition to act offensively; so that the Carthaginian affairs began to have a better aspect. Hamilcar defeated the enemy in all his encounters with them, drew Mathos into frequent ambuscades, and gave him one notable overthrow near Leptis. This reduced him to the necessity of hazarding a decisive battle with the Carthaginians, which proved fatal to him. The leaders on both sides animated their troops, as going to decide their respective fates; upon which an engagement immediately ensued. Victory was not long in suspense, the mercenaries flying almost upon the first onset. Most of their army fell upon the field of battle, and in the pursuit, Mathos, with a few, escaping to a neighbouring town, where he was taken, and carried alive to Carthage.
All the revolted towns, except Utica, and Hippo, which had behaved in such a manner, as to exclude themselves from all hopes of mercy, returned to their duty upon this defeat. Hamilcar, sitting down before those cities, soon reduced them and thereby concluded this war. Mathos, having adorned the public triumph, was led to execution, and finishted, by a painful and ignominious death, a life, that had been polluted with the blackest treasons and unparalleled barbarities. From the excesses of cruelty committed in it, Polybius tells us, that this war generally went amongst the Greeks by the name of the inexpiable war. The same excellent author from hence remarks, that those states must be exposed to the greatest dangers, which hire for their defence a body of foreigners, who are not attached to them either by interest or affection.

During the Libyan war, the mercenaries in Sardinia declared against the Carthaginians, excited thereto by the example of Mathos and Spendorius in Africa. They seized upon the person of Bostar, who commanded in the citadel of Olbia, and massacre both him and the Carthaginian garrison. The senate, apprised of this, sent one Hanno, with a strong reinforcement of troops, to bring the mutineers to reason. Hanno, upon his arrival, was abandoned by his men, who joined the mercenaries, and soon after only crucified him, but put to the sword all the Carthaginians they could meet with in the island, and possessed themselves of all the strong places there, though, in a short time they were expelled from thence by the natives, and forced to take shelter in Italy. The Romans, notwithstanding the friendship they had lately expressed for the Carthaginians, gave countenance and protection to these fugitives, and thereby greatly deviated from those maxims of justice and honour their own writers celebrate them so much for. In fine, they sent the confid Sempronius, on triveling pretences, with a fleet, to reinstate those malecontents, and take possession of Sardinia; which the Carthaginians, being now in a manner exhausted, were obliged to cede to them. Not content with this iniquitous act, they obliged the Carthaginians to defray the expense of their armament, and besides extorted from them a sum of twelve hundred talents. Such a perfidious conduct as this could not fail of heighten

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ning the aversion Hamilcar had already conceived to them, and did not a little contribute to the second Punic war, and to those dreadful devastations, which Hannibal afterwards committed in Italy.

Polybius tells us, that when the Carthaginians made preparations to reduce Sardinia, the Romans pretended to be under terrible apprehensions of their power, as though these preparations had been intended to subvert their republic; and therefore from hence took occasion to declare war against them. This plainly demonstrates, that the Romans at that time were determined to flick at nothing, in order to gratify their ambition, and that they had then a refined genius for villainy. The motives that prompted them to act in a friendly manner towards Carthage, when that state was in danger of being overturned by its rebellious subjects, were undoubtedly far different from the specious pretense they offered to impose upon the world, viz. a principal of honour. They probably considered, that if the Carthaginians were reduced to the last gasp by the barbarians, with whom they were then engaged in war, they would, by a little kindness, be induced to submit to them at a critical a conjunction. They likewise, in all probability, were afraid, that the mercenaries would find their way again into Sicily, where they had behaved with such bravery, could they have made themselves masters of Carthage, and have dislodged them from thence; both or either of which considerations were sufficient to determine their conduct as above related. Be this as it will, that the friendly offices the Romans did the Carthaginians in the time of their great distresses were of the fruit of political views, and did not proceed from any noble or generous sentiments, is abundantly evident, not only from their subsequent conduct, but even from several hints given us by their own prejudiced historians.

In order, no doubt, to palliate the conduct of the Romans on this occasion, we are told by some of their writers, that, by the treaty concluded at the end of the first Punic war, the Carthaginians made a cession of Sardinia, as well as Sicily, to the Romans. But, notwithstanding the authority of these writers, this is utterly improbable; for some writers endeavor to palliate this, but in vain.

for, if so, why did not the Romans take immediate possession of it, since the Carthaginians were too weak to oppose them, otherwise they would not have made peace upon such advantageous terms? And that they did not take possession of it, is evident from Polybius, an author infinitely superior to those here hinted at, when he assures us, that the mercenary troops in that island rebelled against their masters the Carthaginians. But what serves sufficiently to explain the disposition of the Romans towards the Carthaginians, is an incident that happened soon after, viz. the rebellion of the Corfi, Sardi, and Ligurians, which the Romans pretended to have been fomented by the Carthaginians, in order to have an opportunity of picking a quarrel with that nation, though Hanno, a young Carthaginian lord, by his great spirit and vivacity, parried the blow. However, some time after, without any tolerable colour or pretext, they assumed to themselves the power of prescribing limits to the Carthaginian conquests in Spain, obliging Afdrubal to engage himself by treaty not to pass the Iberus. Such points of conduct need no comment; they render most glaring the motives the just and upright Romans acted upon.

HAMILCAR, by the happy conclusion of the Libyan war, did not only restore tranquillity to the republic, but greatly extended the Carthaginian conquests in Africa. Finding his country not in a condition to enter into an immediate war with Rome, he formed a scheme to put it upon a level with that imperious republic, which was, to make an entire conquest of Spain, that the Carthaginians might have troops capable of coping with the Romans. In order to facilitate the execution of this scheme, he inspired both his son-in-law Afdrubal and his son Hannibal with an implaceable aversion to the Romans, the great blasters of his and his country’s grandeur. Afdrubal did not live to be a scourge to the Romans; but Hannibal brought that proud nation to the very brink of destruction. Immediately after the troubles in Africa were appeased, the senate sent Hamilcar upon an expedition against the Numidians, notwithstanding his son-in-law Naravatus was of that nation; which renders it probable, that the Carthaginians had an intention

intention to punish them for joining their discontented mercenaries. Be that as it will, Hamilcar gave fresh proofs of his courage and abilities in this expedition, since, by his valour and conduct, he finished it so much to the satisfaction of the republic, that the command of the army destined to act against Spain was given him. Hannibal his son, at that time but nine years of age, begged, with the utmost importance, to attend him on this occasion, for that purpose employing all the soothing arts so common to children of his age, and which have so much power over a loving father. Hamilcar therefore granted his request but ordered him to put his hand upon the altar, and swear, that he would be an irreconcilable enemy to the Romans, and act as such as soon as his age would permit him. He likewise took with him Asdrubal, after he had bestowed his daughter in marriage upon him. Nepos intimates, that he was obliged to this step, because the censor took Asdrubal from him, upon a report, that he was more familiar with that youth than was consistent with modesty. However, that biographer at the same time insinuates this report to have been a calumny, and tells us, that, by the Carthaginian laws, it was not permitted any person to separate the son-in-law from the father-in-law. The military preparations being completed, Hamilcar advanced with a powerful army to Abyla (L), and crossing the frights of Hercules, landed in Spain without opposition. He began the operations by incursions into the enemy’s country, fixing his head-quarters at Gades, now Cadiz, the capital of the Carthaginian acquisitions in Spain. According to Appian and Polybius, he had two views in this war: first, to put Carthage in a situation to revenge the indignities received from the Romans; and secondly, to have an opportunity of being absent from home, the Carthaginian state being at that time miserably distracted by two potent factions, over one of which presided Hanno, Hamilcar’s inveterate enemy.

(L) Abyla, the pillar of Hercules on the African side, is opposite to the other in Spain called Calpe. They are both considerable mountains, and have a narrow sea betwixt them, called anti-ently Fretum Herculeum, the frights of Hercules, but, by the moderns, the frights of Gibraltar. Marcianus Heracleota, Silius Italicus, and others, take particular notice of them (38).

enemy. However, by the great success he met with, and the vaunt reputation he had already acquired, he animated his friends at home, enabling them to carry every point there, and would undoubtedly have come soon to blows with the Romans, had not death prevented his design from taking effect (M).

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(M) According to Diodorus Siculus, after his landing in Spain, he reduced the city of Tartessus, and gave a memorable defeat to Idolatus, general of the Celts and Iberians, putting a great number of his men, together with himself and his brother, to the sword. Many of the Celtic nobility likewise perished in the action. Out of the prisoners Hamilcar selected three thousand, whom he incorporated with his own troops. But Indortes, one of the Celtic or Iberian general officers, collecting the remains of the army, and receiving a considerable reinforcement, assembled a body of fifty thousand men, with which he intended to give Hamilcar battle. However, his men, consisting partly of veterans terrified by the Iaft overthrow, and partly of new-raised levies, fled, upon the first appearance of the enemy, to a neighbouring eminence, where the Carthaginians surrounded them, and for some time closely beleaguered them. Indortes, by a stratagem, and by the favour of the night, found means to make his escape; but the greatest part of his army was either cut off, or obliged to surrender at discretion. At last Indortes himself fell into Hamilcar's hands, who, according to the same author, first put out his eyes, and then, after many insults, crucified him. But this we can scarcely give credit to, since it is so inconsistent with the character of that general, as given us by Polybius, except we will suppose, that this Indortes had been guilty of some monstrous piece of cruelty towards the Carthaginians. Ten thousand Celtic and Iberian prisoners, that would not take on in the Carthaginian service, Diodorus likewise tells us, Hamilcar set at liberty without ransom; which countenances the supposition just hinted at. Many cities he also reduced, partly by force, and partly by composition; and had probably made a vast progress, had he not received an express from Carthage, with advice, that a part of Numidia had rebelled against the Carthaginians. This obliged him to weaken his army, by sending a strong detachment, under his son-in-law Aedrulbal, to reduce the rebels. Aedrulbal soon obliged them to return to their duty, after having put eight thousand of them to the sword, and taking two thousand prisoners. In the mean time, Hamilcar made himself master of several towns, and built
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Our hero commanded in Spain nine years, and during that interval, subdued many warlike nations there. In the course of so long a war, considering how rich a country Spain was, an immense quantity of treasure must necessarily fall into his hands. This he distributed in the most politic manner, partly amongst the troops, and partly amongst the great men of Carthage; by which means he secured his interest with both those powerful bodies. We have received no particular detail of the actions he was concerned in, during the term above-mentioned, to be depended upon, only an account of that wherein he fell. The Vettones or Vettones, a nation of Lusitania, being incensed at the devastations committed in their country by the Carthaginians, drew out all their forces, with an intention to give Hamilcar battle. They were joined by many other petty nations, with their reguli at the head of them, who had built a large city from its situation called by the Greeks Acra Leuca, or the White citadel. Some time afterwards he laid siege to Helice with part of his army, putting the rest into winter-quarters at Acra Leuca. Orifon, prince of the country, being informed, that Hamilcar had sent the best part of his army, and all his elephants, to Acra Leuca, advanced with his forces towards the Carthaginians, pretending, that he came with a design to join them, and thereby facilitate the conquest of the remaining part of the country. Hamilcar, giving too much credit to him, was surprized, his body of troops before the town utterly ruined, himself obliged to fly one way, and his sons Afdrubal and Hannibal another, that they might not all fall into the enemy's hands. The two last arrived at Acra Leuca, Hamilcar only being pursued by Orifon; but the pursuit was so hot, that he was obliged to attempt passing a rapid river, in the midst of which, by the violence of the stream, he was forced from his horse, and drowned. This is the account given by Diodorus Siculus, which abounds with so many improbable particulars, and is so contradictory to the character of that excellent general, as given us even by that author himself, that no great stress is to be laid upon it. However, we must desire our readers to observe, that the fragments of this useful and excellent author are not, for the most part, of equal authority with that part of the body of his history preferred to us, being much more corrupted, and consequently standing in need of many more emendations. That this is true of the fragment we have here given our readers a translation of, will appear from an attentive perusal of it, since its parts do not hang together in a proper manner (39).

had been plundered and laid under contribution in the same manner. To compass their end, they made use of the following stratagem: they sent before them a vast number of waggons filled with fascines, pitch, sulphur, and other such-like combustible materials, and drawn by oxen, their troops following under arms, and marching in battle-array. The Carthaginians at first ridiculed this seemingly coarse stratagem; but at last the Spaniards, upon their approaching Hamilcar, set fire to these vehicles, driving the beasts amongst the enemy, who soon found themselves obliged to quit their ranks. The Vettones and their allies, observing this, charged them with such bravery, that they soon put them to flight, killing many upon the spot, amongst whom was the general himself. This relation we have extracted from Appian, Nepos, Frontinus, and Zonaras; but must own, that most, if not all, the circumstances of it are omitted by Polybius. That excellent historian only tells us in general, that Hamilcar came to an end worthy his exalted character, dying gloriously in the field of battle at the head of his troops. And indeed was not Polybius’s authority sufficient to support him in the point before us, yet the nature of the thing plainly enough confutes the other writers; for is it possible to imagine, that so expert and famed a general as Hamilcar, a general who was so perfect a master of the military art, who, by an infinity of the most refined stratagems, had so frequently outwitted the greatest captains of the age, should at last be over-reached by so mean an artifice? This, we say, is incompatible with the character of that commander, as given us by Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and even these very authors themselves; for which reason we must caution our readers not to be over-hasty in giving their assent to it. Upon Hamilcar’s death, the army elected his son-in-law Aemilius, then the Carthaginian admiral, to succeed him ¹ (N).


(N) Diodorus Siculus says, that Aemilius built two cities in Spain, and endeavoured to make a greater figure than even his father-in-law Hamilcar had done. Upon the first advice of that general’s death, continues our author, he advanced with an army
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THE senate, being apprised of the choice the army had made, after they had confirmed it, sent a strong reinforce-ment of troops to Afdrubal, to enable him not only to pre-serve, but to extend, their conquests. As the new general had been trained up in the art of war by Hamilcar, under whom he had served so many campaigns, the people in general entertained an high idea of him, though Hanno and his adherents did their utmost to depreciate his merit. Afdrubal answered their expectations, behaving with such wisdom and address, as enabled him to support Hamilcar's friends both at Carthage and in the army. To secure his predeceesor's acquisitions, he built a city, which, by the advantage of its situation, the commodiousness of its harbours, its fortifications, and flow of wealth, which its great commerce produced, became afterwards one of the most considerable cities in the world. Some people, at that time, called it the New city, others Carthage, nothing being more common in that age, as well as many of the pre-ceding, than to denominate new-built cities after the names of those to which their founders belonged. It is known at this day by the name of Carthagena, from whence one of the principal fortresses of the Spaniards in the West-Indies at present is so called u.

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of fifty thousand foot, all veteran troops, six thousand horse, and two hundred elephants, to attack Orifion, whom, after a bloody contesl, he entirely defeated, cutting to pieces a great part of his forces. Twelve cities, in consequence of his victory, immediately surrendereed to him, and soon after all the others in Spain, that remained unfushed. Having had such a happy run of success, to crown all, he married a Spanish prince's daughter; which sec-ured his conquests to him. The fame author adds, that, after he had commanded nine years in Spain, he was assassinated by one of his own servants; and intimates, that at, or near, the time of his death, the Carthaginian army consisted of sixty thousand foot, eight thousand horse, and two hundred elephants. As this fragment is a continuation of the preceding, some particulars in it are of a very dubious authority; and indeed our readers them-selves will easily perceive this, upon their perusal of it, though others, that agree with the most approved authors, will, without any scruple, be admitted (40).

(40) Diod. Sic. ubi sup.
The History of the Carthaginians. Book III.

The Romans, receiving intelligence of the great progress the Carthaginians made in Spain, began to have a watchful eye over them. They could not but imagine, that both Hamilcar and Asdrubal had something more grand in view than the reduction of Spain, and had formed a remote design, vast in its nature, which they proposed gradually putting in execution. They were not long at a loss to find out whom this must be levelled at, as easily discovering, that their republic was, of all other states, the most diametrically opposite in point of views and interest to that of the Carthaginians. As they took for granted, that their rivals never lost sight of their grand scheme, though the execution of it might be at a great distance, they began to reproach themselves for their indolence and sloth, which had thrown them into a kind of lethargy, especially as the Carthaginians now, with the utmost rapidity, pushed on their conquests in Spain, which might one day be turned against them. They however, at this juncture, seemed afraid of coming to an open rupture with them, on account of the apprehensions they were under of an invasion from the Gauls, who, according to common fame, were advancing with a formidable army to the very gates of Rome. At present therefore they judged it expedient to have recourse to milder methods; and, in conformity to their plan, partly by menaces, and partly by persuasion, prevailed upon Asdrubal to conclude a new treaty with them. The articles of it were, 1. That the Carthaginians should not pass the Iberus. 2. That Saguntum, a colony of Zacynthians, and a city between the Iberus and that part of Spain subject to the Carthaginians, as well as the other Greek colonies there, should enjoy their ancient rights and privileges. The Saguntines afforded the Romans something of a pretext for this unjustifiable procedure, since they implored the protection of Rome, which republic, they heard, was superior in power to that of Carthage, and kept a curb upon it. Zonaras intimates, that about this time the Carthaginians had formed a design of attacking the Romans, but were by that people terrified into a pacific disposition. Asdrubal took care not to pass beyond the limits stipulated by the treaty, though he still pushed on his conquests, and made himself master of all that part of Spain extending from the western ocean to the Iberus, within five days journey of the Pyrenees. He made it his endeavour to render himself
himself popular amongst the reguli of Spain, by his engaging address and affable deportment. His endeavours were not unsuccessful; for, by his persuasive methods, he brought over more effectually those reguli to the interest of Carthage, than he could have done by force of arms. He did not fail, however, exerting himself sometimes in a military way, tho' the other was, in the main, the most effectual. Having governed the Carthaginian dominions in Spain eight years, he was treacherously murdered by a Gaul, whose master he had put to death. The murder was perpetrated in public; and the assassin, being seized by the guards, and put to the torture, expressed so strong a satisfaction in the thoughts of his having executed his revenge so successfully, that he seemed to infilt all the terror of his torments. This, however, notwithstanding the youth of Hannibal, occasioned no revolution in the state of affairs.

Asdrubal, three years before his death, had written to Carthage, to desire, that Hannibal, then twenty-two years of age, might be sent to him. Hanno, the inveterate enemy of the Barchine family, opposed this with all his might, representing, in a most ill-natured speech to the senate, handed down to us by Livy, that this was entirely improper. The substance of it was, "that though Asdrubal's request seemed in itself reasonable, yet he could, by no means, give his consent to it." "Asdrubal," said he, "accompanied Hamilcar in his expeditions, spent the flour of his youth with him, and was abused by him; and now he would have young Hannibal in the same manner subservient to him. This ought not to be granted." "Besides," added he, "this young man has all the pride and thirst after arbitrary power of the Barchine family transfused into him. Instead therefore of putting him at the head of the army, where he will be, in a manner, master of all our properties, he ought to be kept under the eye of the magistrates, and the power of the laws, that he may learn obedience, and a modesty, which should teach him to look upon himself as on a level with other men." He concluded with observing, "that this spark might one day rise to a conflagration, which would occasion the ruin of the republic." However, the Barchine faction prevailed, and Hannibal was sent to the army in Spain.

\[w\] Idem ibid. ut & Zonar. ubi sup. c. 19. \[x\] Idem ibid. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. c. 3.
Hannibal, upon his first arrival in the camp, discovered indications of an extraordinary courage and greatness of mind. He drew upon himself the eyes of the whole army, who fancied they saw Hamilcar his father survive in him. From his first appearance in the army, every one perceived, that he meditated a war against the Romans, which was considered as the effect of his father’s disposition. The great resemblance he bore to Hamilcar rendered him extremely agreeable to the army; but his personal good qualities endeared him still more to them. Every talent and qualification he seemed to possess, that can contribute towards constituting the great man. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance surprising; his courage in the greatest dangers intrepid, his presence of mind in the heat of battle admirable, and his disposition equally suited to command or obey. This could not but render him the darling both of the officers and soldiers. Under Afladrubal he made three campaigns, that general always employing him in enterprises of the greatest importance, as thinking him the best qualified for the execution of them. The soldiers likewise reposed the utmost confidence in him, esteeming him superior to all the other commanders in conduct and personal bravery, though he was then but in the twenty-third year of his age. In short, after Afladrubal’s death, the army immediately saluted him general, with the highest demonstrations of joy, and the sincerest attachment to his person; and the senate, as well as people of Carthage, confirmed this election, in a manner that shewed them to have been entirely at his devotion; though it must be owned, Hanno and his faction were secretly averse to him. He had no sooner taken upon him the command of the troops, being then in the twenty-sixth year of his age, than he made the proper dispositions to prosecute the war with vigour, having the pleasure to find all the officers approve of the plan of operations he proposed to them.

As the suffrages, both of the army and republic, conurred to raise Hannibal to the supreme command upon the death of Afladrubal, he must, of course, have been extremely popular at Carthage. It is therefore probable, that about the time of his being elected general, or soon after, to heighten his credit and authority, he was advanced to the first dignity of the state, that

that of one of the suffetes, which was sometimes conferred upon generals. In support of this notion, Cornelius Nepos informs us, that Hannibal was chosen praetor of Carthage, upon the conclusion of the second Punic war, twenty-two years after he had been nominated king there; which brings that event pretty near the period we are now upon.

Hannibal had no sooner taken upon him the command of the forces, than he put himself in motion. As though Italy had been the province allotted him, and he had been appointed to make war upon the Romans, he turned secretly his whole views to that country, and left no time, for fear of being prevented by death, as his father and brother-in-law had been. Though he was determined to attack Saguntum, he thought it at present more expedient not to seem to have an eye directly upon that place, but to reduce some provinces, that would facilitate the conquest of it, believing the Romans could not from thence penetrate his designs. Accordingly he marched against the Olcades, a nation not far distant from the Iberus, and soon made himself master of Althæa, their capital; upon which all their other towns immediately submitted. All the plunder taken in this expedition he distributed amongst the troops, which greatly animated them, and then retired to new Carthage, where he put them into winter-quarters. Here he soon after paid the army all their arrears; by which the soldiers became in such a manner attached to him, that they were absolutely at his devotion. This first instance of success rendered his name terrible to the neighbouring nations of Spain, who were not in a state of amity with Carthage.

The next campaign he opened with the siege of Salman-ctica, and soon possessed himself of it. Then he advanced to Vaccæi, Arbucala, which, being a place of great strength, very populous, and defended by a numerous garrison, made a vigorous resistance; but was at last forced to surrender. Soon after this event, some fugitives, who had made their escape out of Salmanctica, before it was obliged to capitulate, joining a body of the Olcades, excited the Carpetani, one of the most powerful nations in Spain, to declare against the Carthaginians. Their army amounted to an hundred thousand fighting men, with which they proposed to attack Hannibal in his return from the country of the Vaccæi, which, it seems, he subdued this

\[\text{Idem ibid. Vide & Univerf. hist. ubi sup p. 179.}\]
\[\text{Polyb. 1. iii. Liv. 1. xxii. sub init.}\]
this campaign, drawing gradually nearer the point he had in view b.

Hannibal, being informed of the enemies design, and knowing himself to be much inferior to them, was determined to avoid a battle, which he had great reason to imagine would prove fatal to him. In order to this, he moved with the utmost prudence and circumspection, covering himself with the Tagus in such a manner, that the Spaniards could not come at him. At last he passed it in the dead-time of the night with his whole army, the enemy not entertaining the least suspicion of such an attempt. The Spaniards interpreted this as a flight, and therefore, looking upon themselves as invincible, they immediately resolved to pursue him, and, in consequence of this resolution, passed the river without any order or discipline. This was what Hannibal wanted; and, as he had foreseen it, he disposed his army in a proper manner to fall upon them when in the midst of the river. Forty elephants he posted on the bank, and ordered his horse to charge the Spanish infantry, as soon as they were advanced into the middle of the stream. The Carthaginian cavalry, being well mounted, kept their post firm, notwithstanding the rapidity of the torrent; whereas the enemy's foot were borne down by it, and besides, entering the water in a straggling disorderly manner, they were incapable of making any resistance. Great numbers of them therefore were cut to pieces in the water, without opposition, by Hannibal's horse, and others, that landed, trod to death by his elephants. Most of those who collected themselves into a body upon this disaster, and strove to gain the opposite bank, were charged by Hannibal himself, at the head of his Carthaginian phalanx, with which he had entered the water for that purpose, and, for the most part, either cut to pieces, or drowned. Hannibal, after this, laid waste the whole country of the Carpetani, who, terrified by so great a defeat, thought proper to submit to the conqueror. Nothing now remained but Saguntum to give any obstruction to the Carthaginian arms c.

The Carthaginian general, however, thought the season was not yet come for him to lay siege to that city, and therefore did not, for some time, approach it, carefully avoiding every thing that might occasion a rupture with the Romans. His intention was to furnish himself with all things necessary for so important an enterprise before he entered upon it, according

b Idem ibid.  
c Idem ibid.
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According to the advice he had received from his brother-in-law Aedrual. In consequence of which, he pushed on his conquests, in a manner, to the very gates of Saguntum, and, by his singular address, took care to secure these conquests, before he gave the Romans an opportunity of declaring war against the Carthaginians.

In the mean time, the Saguntines, being greatly alarmed at the continued successes of Hannibal, did not know how to avoid the impending storm, any otherwise than by apprising the Romans of what had happened in Spain, and applying to them for speedy relief. They therefore dispatched deputies in all haste to Rome, to inform the Senate of the great progress made by Hannibal in Spain, and to desire immediate succours against him. What induced them chiefly to take this step was, an attempt Hannibal made to embroil them with their neighbours the Turdetani, or, according to Appian, the Torboletæ, that, by espousing the interest of that people, he might be enabled to pick a quarrel with them. Appian intimates, that the Torboletæ made excursions upon the Saganine territories, where they committed great depredations. As soon as the Saguntine deputies arrived at Rome, and communicated their message to the Senate, all the members of that illustrious assembly expressed a prodigious concern for their Spanish allies, and came to a resolution to send embassadors to Hannibal, to expostulate with him about his conduct, with orders, in case he did not give ear to their complaints, to proceed directly to Carthage, and insist upon that republic's withdrawing its troops from the territories of their confederates in Spain. But this resolution not being prefently executed, whilst the Romans were amusing themselves with frivolous consultations, advice was brought, that Hannibal had not only passed the Iberus, but actually invested Saguntum. The Senators were divided in their sentiments on this occasion: some were for coming to a vigorous resolution, and sending one of the consuls, with a powerful army, to Africa, and the other to Spain; others were for employing the whole force of the republic in driving Hannibal out of Spain; and lastly, others gave it as their opinion, that nothing should be undertaken against Carthage, till all pacific methods had been tried, and no redress could be had but by force of arms. This motion, being the most safe, as well as rational and equitable, prevailed; and accordingly P. Valerius

The Saguntines apply to the Romans for relief.

X 2

4 Idem ibid.
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rius Flaccus and Q. Bœbius Tamphilus were dispatched with all possible expedition to the Carthaginian camp before Saguntum.

In the mean time, Hannibal pushed on the siege of Saguntum, promising himself great advantages from the reduction of that place. He was convinced, that this would enable him to put his favourite scheme in execution, and even accomplish it; that he should deprive the Romans of all means of carrying the war into Spain; that this new conquest would serve as a barrier to the old ones; that no enemy would be left behind him, a circumstance which would render him much more secure and un molested; that he should there find treasure sufficient to defray the expence of his projected war with the Romans; that the plunder of the city would inspire his soldiers with greater ardour, and make them follow him with the utmost alacrity; and that, lastly, thereby he should win the people of Carthage over to his interest. These considerations had such an effect upon him, that he was present at all the works, conducted every particular measure in the siege, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers, as much as the meanest soldier. With the commencement of this siege we shall conclude this section, and begin our next with an account of the reduction of Saguntum, which was the immediate cause of the second Punic war.

The history of the Carthaginians, from the beginning of the second Punic war, to the destruction of Carthage by Æmilianus.

The consul Lutatius, at the conclusion of the first Punic war, had behaved with such insolence to Hamilcar Barcas, when, for some time, he insisted, that the Carthaginian troops, under his command, should deliver up their arms to the Romans, and even pass under the jugum, that the Carthaginian general, from that moment probably, conceived an aversion to him, and his whole nation. Nothing could have been more inconsistent with true magnanimity and greatness of soul, than such a conduct, and consequently more disagreeable to a person of heroic and generous sentiments. Hamilcar therefore could not but deeply resent an action so infamous in its nature, and look upon the people countenancing it as void of honour, as strangers to all those amiable qualities, from which military virtue is inseparable. That this notion is founded upon truth, sufficiently appears from Cornelius Nepos, who tells us, that Hamilcar professed he would rather die, than return home loaded with the ignominy a compliance with such a proposal must fix upon him. We may therefore conclude this to have been a remote cause of the second Punic war.

Hamilcar likewise condemned himself for having so tamely given up Sicily to the Romans. Being endued with that greatness of soul so natural to a true lover of his country, he reflected, with the utmost regret, upon that action, which, in every light, he considered as dishonourable, and too precipitate. This undoubtedly excited him to meditate revenge upon that nation, which occasioned so false a step, and consequently determined him to embrace the first opportunity that offered of attacking the Romans.

But what the most effectually contributed to the war we are going to enter upon, was the injustice of the Romans, who, taking advantage of the weakness of the Carthaginians, after
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after the Libyan war was terminated, dispossession that nation of Sardinia, and extorted a vast sum of money from them. The great success of the Carthaginians in Spain likewise heightened the animosity betwixt the two states, and consequently disposed both of them to a rupture. The train therefore for a bloody contest betwixt them was laid before the siege of Saguntum c.

The cession of Sardinia to the Romans, and the payment of the vast sums to that rapacious nation, in compliance with their unjust demands, after Carthage had been so drained by the Libyan war, incensed Hamilcar Barca, or, as some call him, Boccor, to the last degree. He saw that there was no end of such extortions, and therefore came to a full resolution, not only to endeavour at securing his country from such depredations for the future, but even to take ample vengeance of the Romans for their perfidious conduct in this particular. He therefore inspired his four sons, Adrubic, Hannibal, Hamilcar, and Mago, with an implacable hatred to that proud republic, which was the object of his aversion, declaring publicly, that he looked upon them as four lions whelps brought up for the destruction of the Romans. Hannibal only survived nearly to execute the vast project his father had formed, and probably was the only one of them endued with a genius fit for the execution of it. From hence it appears, that the grand spring, which set Carthage in motion against Rome at this juncture, was the disposition Hamilcar had transfused into his family, as well as the majority of the citizens of Carthage d.

Hamilcar’s resentment therefore may be looked upon as the chief impulsive cause of the second Punic war. That great general was of too heroic a spirit, and too strongly attached to the interest of his country, not to make use of all proper means to restore it to its former grandeur. As this could not be done without humbling the Romans, it is no wonder, especially considering the affronts he had in person received from them, that he should bend all his thoughts that way. In fine, after his great achievements had raised his reputation to so high a pitch at Carthage, that he was looked upon there as a second Mars, it is no wonder he should have interest enough to lay the foundations of a second war with the Romans e.

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c Idem ibid.  
e Liv. & Polyb. ubi sup.
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The great success the Carthaginians had in Spain, we may, with Polybius, likewise look upon as a concurring impulsive cause of the second Punic war; for this did not only encrease the jealousy of the Romans, and strongly excite them to a rupture, but also dispose the Carthaginians thereto, as it furnished them with such copious supplies both of men and money, which enabled them to put their favourite scheme in execution. The Greek writers frequently call this the Hannibal war. The interval betwixt it and the first Punic war consisted of twenty-three years.

But to return to our history: The Saguntines were a colony, partly of the Zacynthians, and partly of the Rutuli from the city of Ardea. According to Livy, they were not of long standing in Spain, though they soon grew immensely rich there, the province in which they were seated being extremely fertile. Their city was situated on the Carthaginian side of the Iberus, about a mile from the sea, near a ridge of mountains, that separated Spain from Celtiberia, and in a country where, by the late treaty, the Carthaginians were permitted to make war, though this city was expressly excepted from all hostilities by that treaty. As soon as Hannibal approached their frontiers, he detached a party to lay waste the territory adjacent to the city, and then made a disposition to attack it in three places at once. With his battering-engines he made the utmost efforts to beat down the wall, whilst his troops were in readiness to storm the city upon the first breach made. The Saguntines defended themselves with inexpressible bravery, making frequent forays upon the besiegers, and destroying many of their men, though they were scarce sensible of this loss, since Hannibal's army consisted of an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. The besieged however suffered extremely in these actions, losing as many men as the Carthaginians; which rendered their condition almost desperate. However, their fate was for some time respite, by a wound Hannibal received in his thigh from a javelin, as he was viewing some of the works; which occasioned such a consternation amongst his troops, that the enemy were upon the point of making themselves masters of all his works and military machines. Till the wound was cured, a sort of cessation of arms ensued, tho' the besiegers still maintained their posts, carried on their approaches, and perfected their works. After Hannibal's recovery, hostilities recommenced with double fury, the Saguntines opposing the enemy with undaunted resolution, and Hannibal
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Hannibal pushing on his attacks with the utmost vigour. At last the besiegers, after having laid a great part of the wall level with the ground, and demolished three towers, by which the body of the place lay entirely exposed, made an assault with unparalleled bravery, thinking, that now a fair opportunity offered of taking the town sword in hand. The besieged, on the other hand, considering, that every thing valuable to them lay at stake, exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner. They drew up their forces in order of battle in the space betwixt the ruins of the walls and the town, and disputed every inch of ground with such incredible valour, that the place where the engagement happened was covered with dead bodies. In short, hope and despair so animated both parties, that the greatest efforts were made on each side. However, at last despair prevailed, the Saguntines forcing the Carthaginians not only to abandon the breach, but to flee to their camp with prodigious slaughter. Livy tells us, that a kind of dart or mis- sive weapon, called falarica (A), was of singular service to the Saguntines on this occasion.

(A) The description of the falarica, as it may be collected from Livy and other authors, is as follows: The falarica was a kind of large dart, or misive weapon, discharged by the parties posted in wooden towers upon the enemy. These wooden towers were called fale, as we learn from Juvenal, Servius, and others; so that the weapon undoubtedly derived its name from those machines. It had an oblong shaft, round and even every-where, but towards the end, where it had a square piece of iron, bound about with tow, besmeared with pitch. The iron head, resembling that of the Roman pilam or javelin, was three foot long, that it might be capable of penetrating the strongest armour, and, through it, of doing execution; which it frequently did. As the combustible part of it was set on fire before it was thrown upon the enemy, and this fire must have been greatly increased by the air fanning it in its motion, in case it killed not the person it fixed upon, but only stuck in his armour, it could not fail of throwing him into the greatest consternation; since, in order to preserve himself from the flames, he must have lain under the necessity of disarming himself, and consequently of leaving himself entirely exposed to the future efforts of the enemy. To render this weapon the more terrible, by making the fire inextinguishable, the tow, according to Pomponius Sabinus and Vegetius, was anointed.
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It appears from Zonaras and others, that, in pursuance of the resolution above-mentioned, the Romans sent ed or beflamed likewise with sulphur, resin, bitumen, and burning oil. This dart was sometimes discharged out of the balista with an inconceivable force, and did not only destroy men in the manner just mentioned, but likewise frequently consumed the enemies wooden towers, against which it was levelled. The falara was either magna or parva, as we have before observed of the balista. From the particulars already laid down, it cannot but appear probable, that this weapon was of oriental extraction; and therefore it can by no means be deemed absurd to deduce the name itself from the east. Feltus, as hinted above, intimates, that the dart here described derived its name from the towers called fallæ, from whence it was discharged; and that falæ, in the Etruscan language, signified high. We may therefore either deduce it from the verb φάλάν phala, mirabilis, excelsus, arduus, excellens sicut, or from ἀλα alah, ascendit, alatus, elevatus sicut, with a complete vau prefixed, which will make it ἀλα ἀλα or phala. That the eastern nations, particularly the Hebrews and Arabs, used vau and fe, or phe, sometimes in such a manner, without any signification annexed to it, may be proved by many instances; so that there is nothing forced or unnatural in the latter etymon, if the first should not satisfy our readers. From one or both of these words, (for it is very possible that the former may have been originally formed from the latter) the Greek φάλαξ, crixa, eminens in mari petra, ornamentum in fummitate galeæ, &c. is to be drawn. Feltus and others farther countenance this notion, by calling the wooden towers we are now upon loci extruci. By adding to either of the verbs above-mentioned any of the following radixes, ἁράρας viz. harag, interficit, ἁράρας hharag, motus sicut, ἄραρας hharac, uscit, ἀραράς arac, longus sicut, from whence ἀραράς arica, longa, may be formed the word falara; in which case the name will aptly enough answer to the nature and office of the weapon here described. It is probable, that the Saguntines either learned the use of the falara from their neighbours the Carthaginians, or the Phœnician colonies settled antiently in Spain. We shall only further observe upon this head, that the falara is called ἀραράς ἀραράς, a kind or species of lance, by Ἕσφυχιος (1).

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sent deputies to Hannibal at his camp before Saguntum (B), who arrived there about the time we are now upon. According to these authors, Hannibal avoided giving them an audience, and that in a refined politic manner. He employed certain Spaniards, whom he could confide in, to meet the Roman ministers at some distance from the camp, and, accosting them as friends, to assure them, that it would on no account be safe to approach nearer the camp, since the general himself was absent, and the barbarous nations, which formed the Carthaginian army, had such an antipathy to the Romans, that they would undoubtedly massacre them, if an opportunity offered. Livy intimates, that Hannibal dispatched messengers to the sea-side to meet the deputies above-mentioned, and acquaint them in his name, that it was by no means proper for them to trust their persons with those fierce nations, of which his army was composed; and that the multiplicity of his affairs would not permit him then to hear their proposals. Polybius, on the other hand, affirms, that the Roman deputation found Hannibal in his winter quarters at New Carthage, a little before he had formed the siege of Saguntum; and that, being admit-

(B) Saguntum being first built and peopled by a colony of Zacynthians; it is no difficult matter to account for its name. It was probably called by the citizens ZAKYNOΣ or ZAKYNNOΣ, Zacynthus or Zacynth; which, in old Latin, was Sacuntus, Sacuntum, or Saguntus. Saguntum, the ancient Latins using C, in the same manner as those of the classic period of time did G, as we learn from Terentianus, the columna rostrata of Dullius, Quintilian, &c. In confirmation of this notion, it may be further observed, that some of the oldest editions of Aurelius Victor, for Saguntum, have Zagunthus; which reading receives some strength from Priscian. Silius Italicus likewise calls it Saguntus; which word approaches very near what we would have the original name. According to Appian, after Hannibal had taken it, he brought thither a colony from Carthage, and called it Spartagene. There seem to have been, in ancient times, two cities of this name in Spain, on the ruins of one of which at present islands Siguenza, a city of New Castile, situate upon the river Henares. The inhabitants of Saguntum are greatly celebrated, for their constancy and fidelity to the Romans, by most of the Roman historians (2).

admitted to an audience, they advised him not to attack the Saguntines, whom the Romans had taken under their protection; nor infringe the late treaty concluded with Afdrubal, by passing the Iberus. Hannibal, according to the same historian, being then successful in all his enterprises, fired with ambition, and mortally hating the Romans, with some emotion, replied, that the Romans themselves had already given just grounds for a rupture, by oppressing several of the principal inhabitants of Saguntum, after the citizens had applied to them, upon the breaking out of a sedition in the city, to make up all differences between the contending parties by a just and impartial arbitration; and that as the Carthaginians, in imitation of their ancestors, always thought it incumbent upon them to succour the oppressed, he would revenge so perfidious an action, unless the Romans gave immediate satisfaction to the persons injured. At the same time he dispatched an express to Carthage, informing the senate, that the Saguntines, grown insolent by their alliance with Rome, and spirited up by their allies, made irruptions into the Carthaginian territories, desiring instructions how to act in so critical a situation. Livy says, that the Roman deputies, being denied access to Hannibal, failed directly to Carthage, to demand satisfaction there; but that Hannibal took care to send advice to the leaders of the Barchine faction of what had happened, and to prepare their minds for giving the Romans such a reception as he desired; in consequence of which, they were dismissed from Carthage, without any satisfactory answer. Whether any of these jarring relations be true, or which of them is so, we shall not take upon us at present to determine. However, we cannot avoid observing, that Polybius has probability on his side; for it is much more likely, that a general, so famed for politeness and address as Hannibal was, should confer with the Roman deputation, in his turn expostulate with them, and impute the approaching rupture to their principals, as is, generally speaking, the practice of civilized states at this day, than to behave in so rude and savage a manner towards them, as the Roman historians, and their adherents, suggest. Certain it is, that these last authors deserve very little credit, when they deliver any thing, that affects the character either of Hannibal, or his enemy Hanno, since it is their constant endeavour to paint the former in the blackest
blackest colours, and to represent the latter, with his partizans, as the only virtuous members of the state of Carthage. They were so greatly obliged to Hanno for his kind disposition towards them, or at least his aversion to their enemies, and received so much of the treatment they deserved from Hannibal, that it is no wonder they should labour so heartily to depreciate the one, and exalt the other; though this was done at the expense of truth, as well as of their own reputation, since many of their insinuations relating to the characters of both these Carthaginians are absolutely inconsistent with the accounts of their actions, which they themselves have handed down to us. As we cannot therefore but look upon Polybius as the most impartial and unprejudiced, as well as the most rational and probable historian, we shall supercede that tedious declamatory harangue of Hanno to the senate of Carthage, in order to prejudice them against Hannibal, and the Barchine family, given us by Livy; notwithstanding which, in order to preserve consistency, and render our history uniform throughout, we must follow this last historian with respect to order of time, and suppose the Roman deputies to have found Hannibal employed in the siege at present under consideration. The majority of the senate and people being closely attached to Hannibal, neither the Roman faction in Carthage, nor the deputies sent from Rome to put them in motion, could prevent the destruction of Saguntum.

But to return to the military operations: After the late repulse, Hannibal, finding his troops greatly fatigued, remained for some days in a state of inaction, but disposed guards in proper places to defend his works and machines from all attempts of the enemy. In the mean time, in a speech he made to his soldiers, he endeavoured to raise their courage, by inspiring them with a detestation of the enemy, by promising them great rewards, if they did their duty, and lastly, by affuring them of the plunder of the place, in case it was taken by storm. The garrison likewise kept quiet within the town, and took the opportunity of this cessation of arms to build a counter-wall opposite to the breach the Carthaginians had made. Hannibal's troops, greatly

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greatly animated by the hopes of sharing the plunder of the
town, made a vigorous attack, being encouraged by their
general, who had placed himself on the top of a moveable
tower, overlooking all the works of the besieged, and the
whole city. In fine, Hannibal, having cleared the breach
of the soldiers posted there for its defence, and demolished
the new wall, by the assistance of five hundred Africans ap-
pointed to undermine it, entered the town without oppo-
sition; and posseffing himself of an eminence near the cita-
del, drew a line of circumvallation round it, and planted
his artillery against it. The Saguntines however did all that
could be expected from men animated by despair; they
erected a new wall to support that part of the city, which
the enemy had not yet made themselves masters of; they
disputed every inch of ground with the utmost bravery;
and repulsed the besiegers in many attacks. However, being
not a little straitened for want of provisions, they found
themselves reduced to great extremities, especially as they
had no prospect of foreign aid, the Romans seeming to have
entirely deferted them. But they were, for the present,
relieved by an expedition Hannibal undertook against the
Carpetani and Oretani, who shewed a disposition to shake
off the Carthaginian yoke. The besieged however did not
reap any great advantages from this expedition, since Ma-
herbal, the son of Himilco, whom Hannibal left to com-
mand the forces before Saguntum in his absence, pushed on
the siege with as much vigour as Hannibal himself could
have done. Battering the new wall incessantly with his
rams, he made such a breach in it, that Hannibal, returning
sooner than was expected, having quaffed the conspiracy of
the aforesaid nations in embryo, immediately stormed the
citadel. After a warm dispute, Hannibal making a lodg-
ment, posseffed himself of part of it, the Saguntines, with
no small difficulty, maintaining themselves in the other b.

WHILST affairs were in this melancholy situation, one And 
Alcon a Saguntine went privately by night, unknown to it.
his countrymen, to the Carthaginian camp, where, by his
tears and supplications, he endeavoured to move Hannibal’s
compassion towards the unhappy citizens of Saguntum. He
could however make no impression upon that general. The
conditions he insisted upon were; That they should give am-
ple satisfaction to the Turdetani; That they should deliver up

a Polyb. & Liv. ubi supra.
up all their treasure to the Carthaginians; and that they should retire, with only their cloaths upon their backs, to the place the Carthaginians should assign them for their habitation. These conditions appeared so intolerable to Alcon, that he durst not propose them to the garrison of Saguntum; and therefore remained in Hannibal's camp. But one Alorcus, a Spaniard, then in the Carthaginian service, though expressing a great regard and esteem for the miserable inhabitants of that unfortunate city, undertook to convey the Carthaginian general's proposals to them. This he did, endeavouring at the same time to prevail upon that unhappy people to embrace them; but they were so harsh, that the Saguntines could not so much as think of accepting them. Before they gave their final answer, the principal senators, bringing their gold and silver, and that of the public treasury, into the market-place, threw both into a fire lighted for that purpose, and afterwards themselves. At the same time a tower, which had been battered by Hannibal's rams, falling with a dreadful noise, the Carthaginians entered the town by the breach, soon made themselves masters of it and the citadel, and cut to pieces all the inhabitants, who were of age to bear arms. Livy relates, that vast numbers of the Saguntines, without distinction of sex or age, were massacred; and that many, taken prisoners, became the property of the soldiery. According to Frontinus, Hannibal, by a stratagem, drew the garrison out of the town, and put them all to the sword. Zonaras tells us, that Hannibal took the city in the following manner: He applied a machine to the wall, which overtopped it, and was filled with armed men, some of whom were in fight, and others concealed. Whilst the Saguntines warmly engaged those in fight, the others concealed undermined the wall; which falling, gave the Carthaginians an opportunity of advancing into the town, and threw the Saguntines into such a consternation, that they immediately retired into the citadel. Upon their application to Hannibal, finding him averse to moderation, and themselves destitute of any prospect of assistance from the Romans, they desired some days to deliberate upon the measures they were to take; which being granted, in that interval they committed every thing valuable to the flames; persuaded the poor helpless people to lay violent
violent hands on themselves; and then, making a sally on the besiegers, were all put to the sword. 1

Notwithstanding the fire above-mentioned, the Carthaginians got a very rich booty. Hannibal did not reserve to himself any part of this, but applied it solely to the carrying on of his enterprises. Polybius remarks, that the taking of Saguntum was of signal service to him in the execution of the scheme he had formed, as it stimulated his soldiers to further conquests by the sight of so much booty, and a prospect of more; as likewise by engaging the principal persons of Carthage to second his views; which the large presents he was enabled to make them from such rich spoils could not fail of doing. He also from hence laid the foundations of a future fund to supply all his exigencies in the accomplishment of the vast project he had so long been intent upon.

The news of the taking of Saguntum had scarce reached Carthage, when embassadors arrived there from Rome, demanding of the senate and people, whether the Spanish expedition had been undertaken by their order, or Hannibal, contrary to their approbation, had been the sole author of it. One of the Carthaginian senators, the best qualified for this purpose, by order of the senate, endeavoured to vindicate Hannibal's conduct, or rather that of the republic, on this occasion. He made very slight mention of the last treaty Aëstrubal had concluded with the Romans, only endeavouring to draw a parallel betwixt it and the peace granted the Carthaginians by the consul Lutatius after the battle off the islands Aegates. He insisted, that as the senate and people of Rome had taken the liberty to insert some additional articles in that treaty, so the Carthaginian senate and people had an equal right to make what alterations they thought proper in that Aëstrubal had concluded with the Romans. He further acquainted them, that the Carthaginians were not strangers to the ambitious designs of their republic; and that they might enter upon the execution of them as soon as they pleased, without giving any concern or uneasiness to his state. In short, he gave them to understand, that the senate and people, notwithstanding the efforts of Hanno and his faction, were of the same sentiments with Hannibal,

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Hannibal, in relation to the affair of Saguntum, and entirely approved of what he had done. Upon which Q. Fabius, the senor of the embassy, declared war against the Carthaginians, in the manner already related by us in a former part of this history.

In order to give our readers an adequate idea of the justice with which this war was entered upon, we must beg leave to observe, that the Carthaginians had, in reality, a right to call the Romans to an account for their former instances of oppression; but made use of a pretended motive, not so consistent with the dictates of equity, to vindicate, or at least to palliate, their conduct on the present occasion. The iniquitous conquest of Sardinia, and perfidious exaction of the immense sum above-mentioned from the Carthaginians, undoubtedly authorized that nation to make reprisals upon the Romans, whenever they found themselves in a capacity of so doing; and the Romans, by intermeddling with the affairs of Spain, without any other cause, than to give check to the Carthaginian conquests there, did, with reason, highly irritate the state of Carthage. But then, on the other hand, it must be allowed, that no just parallel could be drawn between the treaty of peace concluded by the Romans with Aedrubal, and that granted the Carthaginians by Lutatius. In the former, no mention was made of the senate and people of Carthage; but Aedrubal acted, as tho' he had been invested with full powers to sign whatever articles he should judge proper for the good of the republic; which afterwards gave a sort of sanction to what he had done, by an acquiescence in it: whereas to the latter, Lutatius expressly added a clause, importing, that the treaty should be valid, provided the senate and people of Rome thought proper to ratify it. Here therefore, with Polybius, we cannot but acknowledge, that the Carthaginian pretext was mere chicane, void of the least shadow of reason or justice to support it. But, with regard to one of the articles of the treaty of Lutatius, which the Romans urged as a condemnation of the destruction of Saguntum, we own ourselves not so entirely of that author's sentiments. The article was to this effect; "That neither party should injure or molest the allies of the other," which he extends to all those with whom an alliance might be contracted in any future times, though, in our opinion, no necessity appears.

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pears for admitting such a supposition, at least except such an alliance had been contracted by the mutual consent of both parties; for otherwise, each nation might have entered into a confederacy with the declared enemies of the other, and then, by virtue of this article, have forced their old friends to make peace with their new confederates; which would undoubtedly have been contrary to the true intent and meaning of it, as well as the general tenor of the treaty; since it would have given the more formidable power an opportunity of extorting a compliance with the most ruinous conditions from the other. It is probable, notwithstanding the silence of the Roman historians on this head, that the article we are now upon furnished the Romans with a pretext to countenance the Sardinian rebels above-mentioned, and to pursue their interest, in order to make themselves masters of Sardinia; since it appears from Livy, that they understood it in the sense of Polybius, which seems to authorize such an action. It is certain the perfidious conduct they were guilty of towards the Carthaginians at that time, gives ground to suspect them capable of wresting the treaty of Lutatius in such a manner, to serve so villainous a purpose; and therefore justifies our not entirely agreeing with Polybius in the above-mentioned particular. But as it will, as the treaty of Lutatius was infringed by the reduction of Sardinia, the Romans had no reason to condemn any subsequent conduct of the Carthaginians for its not squaring with the articles of that treaty. Besides, as the Sicilian peace bore no relation to the Carthaginian conquests in Spain, which were made long afterwards, they had no right to prescribe limits to those conquests, which they did, by obliging Asdrubal not to pass the Iberus. Add to this, that it does not appear from history, that the Carthaginians ever ratified, with an oath, the articles Asdrubal signed by his own authority, but only concealed their disapprobation of that action, till a proper opportunity of discovering it offered; and therefore the Carthaginians could not, with so much justice, be charged with perjury, by concurring with Hannibal in the destruction of Saguntum, as the Romans with a second violation of the treaty of Lutatius, by extorting a compliance with such hard terms from Asdrubal, when the necessity of his affairs would not permit him to refuse it. In confirmation of what has been advanced,
advanced, it may be farther observed, that the Romans had not obliged themselves, by any implicit covenant prior to the pretended treaty with Afdrubal, to fix the Iberus as a boundary to any future acquisitions or discoveries they might make in Spain; besides which, nothing could have the least tendency to palliate their treatment of the Carthaginians on that occasion. However, it must be owned, that the Carthaginians would have acted more generously, by assigning the unjust cession they found themselves forced to make of Sardinia, and the immense sum of money at the same time iniquitously exacted from them, as the chief motives that prompted them to desire a rupture with the Romans. But they were doubtless hindered from this by some political views, which, they thought, it might be for their interest to keep concealed; than which scarce any practice has been more common in all ages; and we have had recent instances of princes publishing a manifesto, immediately before a declaration of war, filled with frivolous pretexts rather than the real causes of their hostile intentions.

Appian seems to intimate, that Hannibal, in order to provide for his own safety, was obliged to attack the Saguntines, and come to blows with the Romans. Notwithstanding he was elected general by the army after the death of Afdrubal, and had his election confirmed by the senate and people of Carthage, yet, according to this author, Hanno’s faction, taking advantage of his youth, endeavoured to inspire the giddy populace with sentiments to his prejudice. His friends, perceiving the wicked suggestions of that faction beginning in a short time to take some effect, apprised him of it, desirous of him by no means to forget them, but to exert himself in order to promote their interest, and consequently his own. This, adds the same author, Hannibal had foreseen; and being sensible, that whatever attacks seemed levelled at his friends, were principally intended against him, notwithstanding the great services his family had done the state of Carthage, he thought, that the only expedient to prevent civil dissentions, and hinder Hanno’s infinuations from making any impression upon the minds of the populace to his disadvantage, would be to enter upon a war with Rome. An enterprize of such importance as this, he very well knew, would engage all the public attention, and of course greatly contribute towards stifling the cabals and schemes, that might have been formed.

1 Vide Liv. & Polyb. ubi supra.
formed against him, especially as the generality, both of the senate and people, were eagerly bent upon such a war. Besides, the fears and anxieties arising in their minds for the success of an Italian expedition, would naturally render them cautious of changing hands at home. Appian, we say, mentions this as one of the motives that induced Hannibal to lay siege to Saguntum; which may possibly be true. But we must own, that neither Polybius nor Livy takes any notice of it. That another motive, as the first author relates, was a desire to immortalize his name, will be granted by all, who consider the genius of that general, as described to us by the best writers. But whatever might prompt him to the siege above-mentioned, he met with a courage and resolution in the Saguntines worthy of himself. After a most gallant defence, they fell in the manner already related, the very women from the ramparts, with astonishing intrepidity, beholding the slaughter of their husbands and relations, and massacring all the children, that had escaped the flames, to prevent their falling into the enemy’s hands. Some writers intimate, that, before the last sally, the Saguntines melted lead with their gold and silver, imagining, that such a mixed mass could not be of any great service to the Carthaginians; and that Hannibal would have found it more difficult still to have carried the place, had not the citizens been reduced to the last extremity by famine. The Carthaginian general did not think proper to raze the city, but transplanted thither a colony from Carthage. Thus the Saguntines, after a siege of eight months, fell a sacrifice to Hannibal’s resentment, being marked out for destruction, on account of their singular fidelity and attachment to the Romans.

The Carthaginians, or at least the Barchine faction, received the Roman declaration of war from Fabius with great joy and acclamations, assuring him they would carry it on with the utmost vigour and alacrity, and make all possible efforts to revenge the repeated extortions, the sinner designs, the unjust invasions, and the haughty behaviour of his redeemer, public. In consequence of this step, Fabius, and his companions, returned home, taking Spain in their way, as they had been ordered by the senate. Upon their arrival there, they endeavoured to draw the Spaniards subject to Carthage from

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from their allegiance, to detach the allies of that state from its interest, and to enter into an alliance with as many of the Spanish nations, as were disposed to accept either the friendship or protection of the Roman republic, pursuant to the instructions they had received before their departure from Rome. The Bargusii, being desirous of shaking off the Carthaginian yoke, gave the Roman embassadors a kind reception; which not a little influenced many other neighbouring cantons. But this success was not lasting; for the Volsci, upon Fabius's application to them, made him this smart reply: "With what face can you, Romans, offer to solicit us to prefer your friendship to that of the Carthaginians, since your treachery to the brave Saguntines, who did so, exceeded even the cruelty of that barbarous enemy, who destroyed them? Seek for allies, where the fate of Saguntum is not known. The destruction of that city will serve for a lively lesson to the people of Spain, to take care how they ever repose any confidence in the Romans." After which, the embassadors, being commanded to leave the territories of the Volsci, found themselves obliged to retire out of Spain, without accomplishing their design. Neither did they meet with any better success in Gaul; for when they desired the Gauls to refuse the Carthaginians a passage through their country into Italy, they could by no means prevail upon them to grant their request. Hannibal had before postponed them in favour of the Carthaginians; which he found it no difficult matter to do, they having, on various accounts, conceived an aversion to the Romans.

After the reduction of Saguntum, Hannibal put his African troops into winter-quarters at New Carthage; but permitted the Spaniards, in order to gain their affection, to retire to their respective habitations. During the winter, he remained in a state of inaction, but made several very wise regulations for the security of the Carthaginian dominions both in Spain and Africa. He transported into Africa, for the defence of that country, a body of Spaniards, consisting of Thersitae, Maftiani, and Olcades, amounting to twelve hundred horse, and thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty foot, to which were added some companies raised in the Balearic islands. These it was thought proper to place, for the most part, in the provinces of Metagonium, and city of Carthage. He posted four thousand Metagonitae likewise in Carthage.

Hannibal puts both Spain and Africa into a posture of defence.

a I iv. Polyb & Zonar. ubi sup.
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Carthage, not only to defend that metropolis, in case of need, but likewise to serve as hostages for the good behaviour of their countrymen. Hannibal appointed his brother Afdrubal to command in Spain, leaving him, besides a sufficient naval force, a powerful army, to preserve the Carthaginian acquisitions there. The African corps, destined to act in Spain under the command of Afdrubal, was composed of four hundred and fifty African and Libyphoenician cavalry, eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty Massylian, Massylyan, Macian, and Mauritanian foot, besides three hundred (C) Lorigeta, eighteen hundred Numidians, three hundred Ligurians, five hundred Balearic slingers, and above twenty elephants. These particulars, Polybius tells us, he extracted from some tables of records of copper, engraved by Hannibal himself when in Italy, and left by him at Lacinium (D). After such a prudent disposition, which had a natural tendency to render both Spain and Africa entirely dependent on Carthage,

(C) It is evident from Livy, that Polybius's text here stands in need of an emendation. We find in no author the word Lorigeta, ἈΟΡΙΤΑΙ as the name of a people; but the Ilergetes, whom Livy takes notice of here, and whom Polybius had mentioned just before, were a people of Spain, frequently described by ancient writers. In the room therefore of ἈΟΡΙΤΑΙ, we ought to substitute ἈΟΡΙΤΙΤΟΙ, nothing being more easy, than for some letters, and parts of letters, to be defaced by time, or a variety of contingencies. As Livy closely followed Polybius, we doubt not but ἈΟΡΙΤΙΤΟΙ is the true reading (3).

(D) The Lacinium, here mentioned by Polybius, must, we apprehend, have been the name of a town near the Lacinian promontory in Calabria, taken notice of by several authors. From this curious passage of Polybius, as well as from Livy, it seems to appear that Hannibal left behind him an account of the principal, if not all the transactions he was concerned in there. But here a question may arise, in what language was this account left written or engraved? To which we must beg leave to answer, that our readers may determine for themselves, when they have considered the principal arguments that may be offered in favour both of the Greek and Carthaginian languages which we shall here lay down for their perusal. In behalf of the Greek it may be urged, first, that Hannibal intended his tables should be understood by the natives of the country wherein they were left. Now the Greek was the tongue of Magna Græcia, and consequently of the Bruttii, in whose territory Lacinium was situated. Secondly,
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thage, as well as more closely to cement the people of those countries by mutual bonds of friendship, he made the necessary preparations to pass the Iberus. But before he attempted this, he judged it expedient to win the Cisalpine Gauls over to his interest, that he might not only have a free passage through their country, but likewise receive a reinforcement from them when there. This he effected, partly by distributing some gold amongst their chiefs, and partly by heightening their aversion to the Romans. Having received intelligence, that the Gauls were ready to join him, and before discharged

Secondly, Hannibal understood Greek, having been taught it by Sofillus the Lacedaemonian, and composed some pieces himself in that language. Thirdly, Sofillus attended Hannibal in his expeditions, and wrote a history of them in Greek, from whence, it is probable, the inscriptions on these tables of copper, mentioned by Polybius, were taken. Fourthly, as Polybius understood these inscriptions, and made extracts from them, it is natural to suppose, that they must have been in Greek. On the other hand, it may be said, first, that the Greek language had been expelled Carthage before Hannibal’s time; and that the Carthaginians ever retained such an aversion to the Greeks, that it cannot be supposed the language of that nation should afterwards have been introduced amongst them. Secondly, that though Hannibal, for his own private amusement, studied the Greek tongue, he was too wise to far to thwart the genius of his countrymen, as to leave a journal or history of his Italian wars in it, especially as he had a faction against him at Carthage. Thirdly, that the Carthaginian and Etruscan languages must have been related, the Etruscans being descended from the Pelasgi and Phænecians; and it is well known, that the Etruscan was the ancient language of Magna Græcia, that country having been antiently a part of Etruscan. Fourthly, the Carthaginians had, for many generations, an intercourse with the people of Magna Græcia; and several coins of that country, particularly of the Thurians, have characters upon them resembling the Etruscan, and even the Carthaginian. From hence it is probable, the inhabitants of Magna Græcia understood something of the Carthaginian tongue; which renders it likely, that the language of Hannibal’s tables must have been the Carthaginian. But this we leave our readers to decide (4).

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discharged his vows made to Hercules at Gades, as well as engaged himself by new ones, provided success attended his arms in the ensuing expedition, he immediately put himself in motion. As his emissaries, arrived from Gaul, informed him, that tho' the passage of the Alps was difficult, it was far from being impracticable, he began to look upon the Carthaginians as already masters of Italy.

Having therefore completed his military preparations, and got every thing in readiness for the intended expedition, early in the spring he moved out of his winter-quarters, advancing at the head of all his forces to Etoiffa, and from thence to the Iberus. Here, we are told, Hannibal had a remarkable dream, which gave him great hopes of success in the enterprise he was going to enter upon. That general, according to the authors referred to, imagined himself, in his sleep, summoned to a council of the gods, who commanded him to begin his march for Italy without delay. At the same time there appeared to him a youth incircled with glory, who said, that Jupiter had appointed him his guide, with orders to conduct him and his troops to Italy, strictly enjoining him never to draw his eyes from off him; which injunction he, for some time, obeyed: but at last, having the curiosity to look behind him, he saw a serpent of a monstrous size moving with great celerity, overthrowing all the trees, shrubs, &c. in its way, and attended by a dreadful tempest, with violent claps of thunder. He then asked his guide, What such a prodigy could portend? who told him, it prefaged the dreadful devastations, that should be committed in Italy by his troops, desiring him to pursue his journey, and not to be too inquisitive, nor pry too deeply into what the fates had decreed. Upon his passing the Iberus, several beasts, of a species utterly unknown, likewise appeared to him, seeming to shew the way to his troops. The Romans, about the same time, were as greatly dispirited by bad omens, as Hannibal found himself animated by good ones. An ox spoke audibly with an human voice at Rome, just before the commencement of this war; another threw itself from the top of a house into the Tiber, and was drowned, during the public diversions; many places were struck with lightning; blood flowed from many statues, and from the shield of one of the legionaries; and lastly, a wolf carried off a sword out of the camp.

* Idem ibid.
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camp. Whether these occurrences are to be esteemed as so many fictions, entirely owing to that credulity and superstiti-
on, to which both the Romans and Carthaginians were so much addicted, or as real events, intended by Providence as
prelages of those dreadful convulsions, which afterwards hap-
pened in the Roman and Carthaginian states, we shall not
take upon us to determine; but only observe, that many argu-
ments may be offered in support of each opinion. How-
ever, as the histories of almost all nations are interspersed
with such relations, as Scripture itself gives countenance
to some of them, and as the authors cited here are of no mean
authority, we doubt not but our curious readers will at least
excuse what has been inserted in this place p.

Before Hannibal began the operations of the campaign,
he thought it incumbent on him to inflame the life and vigour into
the soldiery, nothing but that being now wanting, since the
senate and people of Carthage, at the instigation of Adrabling,
had given him an unlimited commission, which left him in
full power to act as he should think fit for the good of the
Republic. In an harangue therefore he acquainted the army,
that such was the insolence of the Romans, that they inflicted
upon having him, and all the general officers, delivered up
to them; that Italy was one of the most fertile and delicious
countries in the world; that he had just concluded a treaty
with the Cisalpine Gauls, through whose countries they must
pass, who would not only supply them with all necessaries,
but join them with a good body of troops, bearing a mortal
hatred to the Romans; so that they ought to look upon
themselves as morally certain of success. The soldiery, an-
mated by this speech, loudly proclaimed their confidence in
his conduct, at the same time declaring themselves ready to
follow him whithersoever he should think proper to lead them,
and to spend the last drop of their blood in executing the
project he had formed. Finding it therefore time to enter
upon action, he took a review of his army, consisting of
ninety thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, of various
nations, besides a good number of elephants; and then,
without the least obstruction, passed the Ilerus q.

Max. l. i. c. 7. Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 5, 6, 7. Dan. c. ii. ver. 29,
&c.

q Liv. Polyb. & Zonar. ubi sup.
The Ilergetes and Bargufi were the first cantons he ob- liged to submit to the Carthaginians, and soon after the A'renosii and Ausetani, people whose territories extended as far as the Pyrenees. Nevertheless, as he reduced seve-
ral towns by force, these conquests cost him abundance of men. Before he proceeded farther on his march, he con-
ituted Hanno governor of the country betwixt the Pyr-
enees and the Iberus, which included the territory of the Bargufi, enjoining him to have a watchful eye over that people, whose former conduct gave him reason to suspeet, that still they were secretly well-wishers to the Romans. To support Hanno in his new post, he left him a body of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse; and in order to ingratiate himself with the Spaniards, that he might be the more readily supplied with what recruits he should want in Italy, he dismissed about the like number of them to their respective habitations, and gave the greatest encour-
gagement to those that continued in the Carthaginian ser-
vice. Upon a muster of his forces, after they were weak-
ened by floges, desertion, mortality, and the aforesaid dif-
miffion and detachment, he found them to amount to fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, all veteran troops, and the best in the world. As they had left all their heavy baggage with Hanno, and were light-armed, Hannibal easily crossed the Pyrenees, passed by Rufcino, the Rouffillon of the moderns, a frontier town of the Gauls, and arrived on the banks of the Rhone without oppo-
sition.

For some time however he was retarded in his march by the jealousy of the Gauls; for that nation, hearing that the Carthaginian army, then encamped at Illiberis, a city of Gallia Narbonensis, had reduced the country immediately beyond the Pyrenees, and left strong garrisons there to keep the natives in awe, entertained vehement suspicions, that Hannibal had a design upon them, notwithstanding his pre-text of invading Italy. But upon his decamping speedily from Illiberis, giving them the strongest assurances of his amicable intentions towards them, and making a few pre-
sents to their reguli, they permitted him to continue his route without the least molestation. Upon his approaching the banks of the Rhone, the greatest part of the Volvea (E), a

Liv. & Polyb. ubi sup
(E), a nation inhabiting the tract contiguous to that river, withdrew, with all their effects, to the opposite bank, the other neighbouring Gauls being his friends, and giving him all the assistance they were able. The Gauls on the other side, taking umbrage at the approach of so formidable a power, had assembled all their forces, with an intent to dispute the passage of the river; which Hannibal perceiving, and finding it nowhere fordable in sight of the enemy, he began to be in pain for the success of the expedition; but his good fortune still attending him, he at last carried his point by a stratagem, and dispersed the Gallic forces in the manner by us already related. But, after all, the greatest difficulty was how to waft over the elephants. Some affirm this to have been done in the following manner: a float of timber two hundred foot long, and fifty broad, was thrown from the bank of the river, being fixed thereto, by large ropes, and quite covered over with earth; so that the elephants, deceived with this appearance, thought themselves upon firm ground. From the first float they proceeded to a second, which was built in the same form, but only an hundred foot long, and fastened to the former by chains, that were easily loosened. The female elephants were put upon the first float, and the males followed. As soon as they got upon the second float, it was loosened from the first, and, by the help of small boats, towed to the opposite shore. After this, it was sent back to fetch those which were left behind. Some threw their guides, and fell into the water, but they at last got safe to shore; so that out of forty-eight, not a single elephant was drowned. Others say, that Hannibal ordered them all to be drawn together on the bank of the river, when one of the guides, by his direction, having irritated the fiercest of them, leaped into the river, and swam to the opposite side, being hotly pursued by the enraged beast, that immediately rushed

(E) The Volcae, or Volcae Auricomii, according to Strabo, were a nation, that inhabited the country contiguous to one side of the Rhodanus or the Rhone; but had nothing to do on the other, as Livy here affirms. Nemausus, the Nîmes of the moderns, was their capital. Mela, Pliny and Ptolemy, take particular notice of them (5).

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ruished into the (F) water after him with the utmost fury; upon which all the rest followed. Hannibal spent five days in passing the river, though vast numbers of the Gauls, by their assistance, facilitated the execution of the plan he had formed.

(F) But this, with Livy, we cannot help thinking improbable; especially since it is remarked by Polybius, that elephants were exceedingly afraid of the water; inasmuch that though they were taught an exact obedience to their guides, yet these could never prevail upon them to go into the water without the utmost difficulty. That excellent author adds, that, on the present occasion, these beasts were at first so terrified, that they ran from one side of the float to the other; but seeing themselves surrounded with water, the fear of that element kept them in order. However, some of them, he tells us, were so extremely scared, that, being in the middle of the stream, they leaped into it, tho' breathing freely, and discharging their stomachs of the water taken in, by the assistance of their trunks, which they held above water, they were thereby preferred.

Though, according to Polybius here, the elephant is afraid of passing deep and rapid waters, yet, if Ælian may be credited, that animal takes delight in the marshes, being, for the most part, in moist places. The Indians therefore, employed in taking their wheals, (for vast numbers of these they train up for use) generally go to such places, where they seldom fail of finding them. In summer-time the elephant covers himself with mud, to avoid the heat, receiving more refreshment from hence, than from being in the shade (5).

In confirmation of what Polybius affirms, it may be observed, that, according to naturalists, the elephant is a vast animal, of a make entirely unfit for swimming. He drinks much, Aristotle affording us, that there have been some elephants, that have been seen to drink fourteen amphoras of the Macedonian measure, that is, if we will believe Budæus, about one eighth part of a Paris hoghead. It is remarkable, that this animal always disturbs the water before he drinks, as if this was a way to make it more nourishing, or to add a certain taint to it, and take away the sweetness of it, which is not sufficiently pungent to his tongue. Ælian intimates, that the sight of the sea terrifies the elephant; and that, in order to get him on ship-board, recourse is sometimes had to such an artifice as that here mentioned; which notion he undoubtedly received from the very passage of Polybius we are now upon (6).

The wild elephant chiefly feeds upon rushes, ivy, the tender tops

formed. The elephants were not wafted over, till the day after the defeat of the Gauls, who attempted to dispute his passage. The particulars here laid down, added to those already related in a former part of our history, make up a full and ample description of this remarkable achievement.

WHILST


tops of palms, the young shoots of other trees, plants, &c. We are told, that when wild elephants find themselves necessitated to pass a river, that is not extremely deep, the younger swim over first, after which the others ford it, the females carrying their young on their trunks. These animals herd together in great numbers in India, and are hunted by the Indians, partly on account of the ivory they produce, and partly for other reasons. We find a full and particular description of the Indian manner of hunting them in Agatharchides Cnidianus, and Ælian (7).

Of all quadrupeds the elephant is the largest; the male is much higher and stronger than the female, being sometimes in India nine cubits high, and capable of carrying a tower on his back, with thirty two warriors in it. With one stroke of his trunk he kills a camel or an horse, and has been known to draw two calc cannons fastened together with cables, and weighing each three thousand pounds, five hundred paces, with his teeth. The Indian elephants are either black or of a mouse-colour; but some white ones are found in Ethiopia. According to Ptolemy, all the Ethiopian elephants were formerly of that colour. Some few were likewise produced in India, and looked upon as great curiosities by the princes of that country. It is remarkable, that this animal has a particular aversion to a sow. The grunting of that creature, as well as the squeaking of a young pig, strikes him with terror. A ram likewise he has an antipathy to. But his two worst enemies are the dragon and the rhinoceros; the latter frequently worthing him in combat, and the former as often destroying him by fucking all the blood out of his veins. Ælian tells us, that these dragons strangle the elephant first. However, the blood, that they imbibe, kills them. Some authors affirm, that the female elephant goes two years with her young; and that the elephant is reckoned in his prime at sixty years of age. Some elephants have been known to live above two hundred, three hundred and fifty, and even four hundred years; for which reason that animal was a symbol of

(7) Ælian. l. vii. c. 6. & l. x. c. 17. & l. vii. c. 15. Agatharchides Cnidianus apud Phot. in biblioth. p. 1354.
WHILST the elephants were crossing over, Hannibal detached five hundred Numidian horse to get intelligence of the enemy, who, he was informed, approached the banks of the Rhone with a powerful army, in order to give him battle. These, falling in with a party of three hundred Roman and Gallic horse, sent out by Scipio upon the same design, a rencontre immediately ensued, which, after a brisk dispute, ended in favour of the Romans, though the loss was pretty equal on both sides. As Hannibal had drawn up his troops in order of battle, and the Roman detachment pursued his cavalry to the camp, Scipio was soon acquainted with the disposition of the Carthaginian army; which encouraged of eternity amongst the antients, and, as such, may be seen on the reverses of several antique coins (8).

Though the elephant is naturally a quiet and inoffensive animal, yet he is terrible when provoked: nothing can stand before him; he overfets trees, houses and walls; he tramples under foot every thing that comes in his way; he overthrows whole squadrons. His arms are his trunk, and his teeth his horns, for some of the antients call them. His trunk is a long, hollow carilage, like a large trumpet, hanging between his teeth, and frequently serves him for hands. His teeth are the ivory so well known to us, being of the nature of horn, and may be softened. There have been elephants teeth seen as large as a man’s thigh, and a fathom in length. When they quarrel amongst themselves, they strike one another with their teeth, as bulls do with their horns. However, the elephant never uses his strength, but when compelled to it. He creates no terror in other creatures. If he is obliged to pass through a herd of other beasts, he puts them gently out of his way with his trunk, to make way for him. He feeds in the fields and meadows; and the weakest and tamest animals, with impunity, play before him. If Ælian may be credited, the elephant is quite ravished and transported at the sight of a beautiful woman. He takes great delight likewise, accord-
couraged him to move with all possible expedition towards Hannibal, in order to attack him. That general was, for some time, in suspense, whether he should engage the Romans,
ing to the same author, in beautiful flowers, particularly those that emit fragrant odours, which are exceeding grateful to him (9).

Of all animals the elephant comes nearest to man in sagacity, docility, address, clemency, prudence, equity, and, according to some authors, even religion. His modesty, fidelity, chastity, &c. are likewise greatly celebrated by the antients. He understands the language of his guide, and of the country where he is produced. Pliny mentions one that understood Greek, and could write that language. Ælian tells us he saw another that wrote Latin, and, whilst writing, behaved with great attention. In Hadrian's time, Arrian saw an elephant playing on a cymbal, and others dancing about him. That they worship the sun, moon and stars, and even are not void of some sense of moral duties, is attested by several good authors. In short, so many things of this kind are related of them, as would seem fabulous, were they not delivered by grave writers. The antients gave them both names and surnames. The names were generally such as great warriors had gone by, viz. Patroclus, Ajax, &c. They frequently bore a singular affection to their guides, of which we are supplied with some surprizing instances by antiquity (10).

The natural parts of the elephant are under his belly, like those of a horse; but his testicles lie concealed in his loins. The female elephant receives the male lying on her back, contrary to the nature of other beasts; and he never courts her as long as any one appears in sight. When he is heated with lust, he beats down trees, walls, and every thing that approaches him, butting with his forehead like a ram. We are told he copulates but once in his whole life, and that about the twentieth year of his age. Others say, that the male is capable of propagating his species at ten years old, and the female at five; and that the male covers the female once every three years. The females bring forth only one at a time, which immediately sucks the dam with its mouth, and not the trunk. The elephant sleeps in an erect posture; and, when he is tired, leans against a tree, which being cut in two, he falls to the ground, and cannot rise, and by this means is sometimes

mans, or continue his march for Italy; but was soon determined to the latter, by the arrival of Magilus, a prince of the Boii, who brought rich presents with him, and offered to conduct the Carthaginians over the Alps. In consequence

times taken by the Indians and Ethiopians. Wild elephants are likewise caught sometimes by the help of a female elephant, which is ready for the male, and put into some narrow place between barricades, where the elephant engages himself, and is taken. They are also taken in deep ditches, dug particularly for that purpose, and covered with a little earth scattered over hurdles, which close the open part of them. A nation inhabiting that part of Ethiopia to the west of the Nile, and not far from the line, used formerly to eat great numbers of those they took; for which reason they were called Elephantophagi by Agatharchides Cnidius, and others. To what has been before mentioned, with regard to the elephants food, we may add, that some of them could eat at once nine Macedonian medimni of barley, besides a great quantity of leaves and young branches of trees. They feed likewise upon legumes, hay, herbs, &c. as the tamest animals. They drink a vast quantity of liquor at once, as has been observed; but, to make amends for this, they can go eight days, without taking any liquid whatsoever. Though the wild elephants drank only water, those that were trained up for war had either wine mixed with their water, or a liquor composed of water, rice, sugar, &c. which infused new life and vigour into them, and made them exert themselves in such a manner, that nothing could stand before them. We read in the Maccabees, that the elephants of Antiochus Eupator's army had the blood of grapes and mulberries sewn them, that thereby they might be animated to the combat, to accustom them, as is were, to the sight of blood; as likewise that it was usual to intoxicate them, by giving them wine mixed with incense, or with parcels of incense; which parcels were dipped in the wine, in order to make the fumes of it the stronger, and consequently more proper to intoxicate the elephants. Ælian says, that the only parts of the elephant used for food by the Elephantophagi, were his proboscis, his lips, and the marrow of his horns. The same author affirms the fat of the elephant to be a preservative against all venomous animals, which will not approach any thing anointed with it. We read in Philostratus of bulls and oxen, resembling the elephant in size, skin and colour, common in Ethiopia (11).

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quence of the resolution he had taken, the next day he de-
camped, commanding his horse to move towards the sea-
coast, in order to prevent any sudden irruption from thence;
the foot followed at some distance, whilst he himself waited
for the coming up of the elephants, and the guides that con-
ducted them. That his troops might bear the fatigues of so
long and painful a march with the greater alacrity, Hanni-
bal, the day before he began it, in the presence of them
all, gave an audience to Magillus, who assured him by an
interpreter, that his subjects ardently desired to see him;
that both they, and the neighbouring Gauls, were ready
to join him upon his first arrival amongst them; that he
himself would take care to conduct his army through places
where they should meet with a plentiful supply of provi-
sions; and that he would soon bring them safe to Italy, which
was one of the finest countries in the world. And then,
after the prince was withdrawn, Hannibal, in a speech to
them, magnified extremely this deputation from the Boii;
exalted,

History affords us surprising instances of the dexterity of the
elephant: in the public theatres at Rome, elephants danced upon
ropes. They sat down in a formal manner to a feast, helping
themselves, in a decent manner, to what they wanted, with their
trunks. Forty of them carried lamps or torches before Julius
Caesar to the capitol, and from thence home, a representation
of which we have upon an ancient coin taken notice of by Span-
heim. Some authors tell us, that, notwithstanding the antipathy
betwixt swine and the elephant, pork cures that animal of ulcers,
and other disorders; and that the tiger, a potent enemy, is fre-
quently too hard for him. Thus we have enumerated the prin-
cipal qualities and properties of the elephant; which is sufficient
to give our readers a general idea of that creature, and conseq-
uently answers our purpose; tho' we might fill a volume by repeating
what has been laid down by various authors on this subject. We
shall conclude the whole by observing, that an elephant is called
fyll in the Islandic tongue, and phill in the Turkish; and that
Reland seems to derive the word baro or barro above-mentioned
from the Persic barou, which signifies a castle, tower, bulwark,
&c. (12).

328. Ælian. l. xv. c. 7. Reland. in differt. miscel. p. 3. Nicol.
Smith in itinerar. Constantinopol. tom. xxii. collect. Petr. Van-
der Aa.
extolled, with just praises, the bravery which his forces had hitherto shewn; and exhorted them to sustain, to the last, their reputation and glory. The soldiers, greatly animated hereby, protested they were ready to execute all his measures. Nothing could have happened more favourable to Hannibal's affairs, than the arrival of Magillus, since there was no room to doubt the sincerity of his intentions, the Boii bearing an implacable hatred to the Romans, and having even come to an open rupture with them, upon the first news, that Italy was threatened with an invasion from the Carthaginians 1.

Four days Hannibal continued his march, crossing through the midst of Gaul, and moving northwards, with his horses and elephants posted in the rear; not because this was the shortest way to the Alps, but because it kept them at a considerable distance from the sea, and consequently enabled him to avoid Scipio, with whom he chose to decline an engagement, in pursuance of the advice given him by Magillus, that he might march his army, without any diminution, into Italy. Advancing towards the country of the Allobroges, he found two brothers disputing about the sovereignty of a territory, where he encamped. Brancus, the elder brother, was driven from his throne by the younger part of his subjects, who espoused his younger brother's interest. Hannibal, being made arbiter of this dispute, re-inflated Brancus in the possession of his dominions; who thereupon, out of a sense of gratitude, supplied his troops with everything they wanted, particularly arms, of which they stood in great need, their old ones being, in a manner, worn out by long service; which was, as Polybius observes, the same thing as furnishing him with a proper number of recruits. He likewise escorted him through the countries of the Tricantini, Voconiti, and Tricorii, as far as the river Drunetia, now the Durance; from whence he reached the foot of the Alps without opposition 2.

As, in a former part of this work, we have given a large account of Hannibal's passing the Alps, we shall have no occasion to expatiate upon that head here. Nothing further is requisite to be done, than to insert all the most

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1 Polyb. l. iii. Liv. l. xxi. 2 Liv. & Polyb. ubi supra. Zonar. ubi supra.
material circumstances and occurrences, relative to so famous a transaction, that have been hitherto omitted. This we shall do from those writers, whose authority is the most esteemed, and who have been the most particular in their descriptions of it; which, we hope, will not be unacceptable to our readers.

Notwithstanding most, if not all, of the barbarous nations, through whom Hannibal was to pass, had a mortal aversion to the Romans, yet, as they were incapable of friendship or fidelity, he frequently found both himself and his army in the most imminent danger of being cut off, and particularly at his beginning to ascend the Alps, soon after his escorte had left him. Being however informed, that the enemy only kept guard in the day-time, he found means to encamp not far from them; and, about the first watch of the night, ordering a great number of fires to be made in his camp, as though all his troops remained there, he moved, at the head of a choice detachment, to some passes in the neighbourhood, which the enemy had abandoned, their main body always retiring at night to a town at some distance. These he immediately seized upon, and soon after gave them a defeat, killing vast numbers of them upon the spot; upon which, advancing to the town, he found it deserted by the inhabitants. Here he met with plenty of cattle, and other provisions, with which, for three days together, he refreshed his forces. Continuing his march to the summit of the Alps, he encountered with many other difficulties. The sight of these mountains, which seemed to touch the skies, that were all covered with snow, and where nothing appeared to the eye but a few tottering cottages, scattered here and there on the sharp tops of inaccessible rocks; nothing but meagre flocks almost perished with cold, and hairy men of a savage and fiery aspect; this dismal spectacle, we say, renewed the terror, which the distant prospect of this ridge of mountains had raised, and struck a prodigious damp on the hearts of the soldiery. Besides which, the whole army was brought upon the verge of destruction by the perfidy of a Gallic nation, who, under the specious appearance of friends, persuaded Hannibal to commit himself to their conduct, promising to shew him the best and most expeditious way to the summit of the Alps. But these faithless guides, having

\* Univers. hist. ubi supra, p. 189, 190, &c.
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having led him into a steep pass, out of which they thought it would be impossible for him to make his escape, facing about on a sudden, charged him with great fury, being supported by vast numbers of their countrymen, who, till that time, had kept themselves concealed, but now rushed out from an eminence, that commanded this pass, where they had placed an ambuscade. However, Hannibal, by the wife disposition of his forces, as well as the affluence of his elephants, and bravery of his infantry, who greatly distinguished themselves on this occasion, at last dispersed them; and, having surmounted all other difficulties, the ninth day from his beginning the ascent, arrived at the top of the mountains. It must be observed, that Hannibal was, in a great measure, obliged to the elephants for his escaping all the disasters the enemy threatened him with, since wherever these huge animals appeared, the Gauls were struck with such terror, that they immediately took to their heels; by which means the Carthaginian general gained the summit of the Alps with the less molestation.

Here Hannibal halted for two days, to refresh his wearied troops, which were greatly disheartened by the snow that had lately fallen. In order to animate them to make another effort with alacrity, from one of the highest hills he gave them a prospect of the fruitful plains watered by the Po, the day before he decamped. He likewise pointed towards the place where Rome stood, which, he assured them, a battle or two would make them masters of, and consequently put a glorious period to all their toils. This inspired them with such vigour, that they seemed to have forgot all the fatigues they had undergone, and to think of nothing but taking possession of that haughty city, whose conduct towards their state had been nothing but one continued series of insults since the conclusion of the Sicilian war.

They therefore pursued their march; but the difficulty began to be the and danger increased, in proportion as they approached Alps. nearer the end of the descent. We are told, that, about this time, Hannibal meditated a return home; but, from the main conduct and genius of that general, this seems highly improbable. To omit many particulars, they came at


z Liv. & Polyb. ubi sup.
at last to a path naturally very steep and craggy, which being made more so by the late falling in of the earth, terminated in a frightful precipice above a thousand foot deep. In fine, Hannibal found it would be impossible for him to accomplish his design, without cutting a way into the rock itself, through which his men, horses, and elephants, might pass; which, with immense labour, he effected. Approaching therefore gradually the Infubrian foot of the Alps, he detached some parties of his horse to forage, there appearing now some spots of pasture, where the ground was not covered with snow. Livy informs us, that, in order to open and enlarge the path above-mentioned, all the trees thereof were cut down, and piled round the rock, after which fire was set to them. The wind, by good fortune, blowing hard, a fierce flame soon broke out; so that the rock glowed like the very coals with which it was surrounded. Then Hannibal, according to the same author, caused a great quantity of vinegar to be poured on the rock; which piercing into the veins of it, that were now cracked by the intense heat of the fire, calcined and softened it. In this manner, taking a large compass about, in order that the descent might be easier, he cut a way along the rock, which opened a free passage to the forces, baggage, and elephants, as above observed. As Polybius has passed over in silence the use Hannibal made of vinegar on this occasion, many reject that incident as fictitious. However, Pliny mentions one extraordinary quality of vinegar, viz. its being able to break rocks and stones, after fire had been applied to them, and found ineffectual. And that the walls, or at least a strong tower, of the city Eleuthera in Crete, after a continued operation for several nights, were thrown down by the force of vinegar, is attested by Dio. Appian likewise, and Ammianus Marcellinus, attest the fact we have, from Livy, here taken notice of. But, admitting this acid to be endowed with such a quality, it seems difficult to conceive how Hannibal could procure a quantity of it sufficient for his purpose in so mountainous and barren a country.

Three days after this, Hannibal gained the fruitful plains of Infubria, where, taking a review of his army, he found...
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found, that, in five months and a half's march, (for so long was it since he had set out from New Carthage) he had lost, by sickness, desertion, fatigue, and various engagements, thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; so that it amounted at present to no (G) more than twenty-six thousand effective men. Of the soldiers missing, above twenty thousand had perished since his departure from the Rhodanus. And here, that we may have a clearer idea of Hannibal's march, it will be proper to give the names and distances of some of the principal places, through which that general passed in his way to Italy; which we shall beg leave to transcribe from Polybius. From New Carthage to the Ilerus were computed two thousand six hundred stadia; from the Ilerus to Emporium, a small maritime town, which separated Spain from the Gauls, according to Strabo, sixteen hundred stadia; from Emporium to the banks of the Rhodanus, sixteen hundred stadia; from the Rhodanus to the Alps, fourteen hundred stadia; from the Alps to the plains of Insubria, twelve hundred stadia. In all eight thousand four hundred stadia, making much about a thousand English miles a.

Upon Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he, for some time, encamped at the foot of the mountains, in order to give his troops some rest, they having suffered extremely in their passage over the Alps. He first took care to refresh them, and

a Polyb. ubi sup. p. 159. Strab. I. ii.

(G) We have followed Polybius in this particular, since he tells us, he extracted this account from the column at Lacinium, which specified the number of forces here mentioned. It is highly probable, as Livy followed Polybius in most points, that this column is the altar, that author tells us, Hannibal erected in the temple of Juno Lacinia, whereon he engraved the general account of his great achievements in Greek and Punic letters. We do not learn from this testimony of Livy, in what language these memoirs were written; but as either the Greek or Punic, or rather both, bids the fairest for it, Livy's authority confirms what we have lately suggested on that head. Polybius, it is certain, has been entirely silent as to this particular; and therefore Livy's authority is not decisive. However, with what we have lately advanced, it is nearly, if not absolutely, so (13).

and afterwards to recruit his cavalry, that he might be ready
to enter upon action. He then solicited the Taurini, who
were at war with the Insubres, to enter into an alliance with
him. Upon their refusal to conclude a treaty with him, he
entered their territories in an hostile manner; and sitting
down before Taurinum, their capital city, after a siege of
three days, took it by storm, putting all, that made any
resistance, to the sword. This struck all the neighbouring
Gauls with such terror, that coming in to him as one man,
they surrendered at discretion. By this first instance of suc-
cess, he had not only his army plentifully supplied with all
kinds of provisions, but likewise strongly reinforced by great
numbers of these Gauls, who took on in the Carthaginian
service. The rest of the Gauls would, in all probability,
have done the same thing, had they not been awed by the
terror of the Roman arms, which were now approaching.
Hannibal therefore thought his wisest course would be to
march up directly into their country without loss of time,
and make some important attempt; such as might encou-
rage those, who shewed a disposition to join him, to put
themselves under his protection.

In the mean time, Hannibal received intelligence, that
Scipio had crossed the Po with his legions, and was advan-
cing, with all possible celerity, to give him battle. This,
at first, he could scarcely believe; thinking it impossible,
that he should return from Gaul to Italy, cross Etruria,
pass the Po, and be ready to receive him, in so short a
time. What gave him this notion, was an information
from those he could confide in, that the passage from Ma-
filia, now Marselles, to Etruria, by sea, was extremely
difficult and tedious; and the way to the last place from the
Alps, by land, almost impracticable. Scipio, on his side,
was as much surprized at Hannibal’s expeditious march, and
rapid progress. The news of his arrival in Italy, and the
conquests he had already made there, so alarmed the people
at Rome, that they dispatched an express to Sempronius at
Lilybæum, to repair, with the utmost expedition, to the
relief of his distressed country. Having received an ac-
count of the posture of affairs, he embarked immediately
for Rome with the naval forces, leaving orders with the re-
spective tribunes to draw together what troops they could

\[ b \text{ Liv. & Polyb, ubi sup.} \]
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out of their several garrisons, fixing a day for them to rendezvous at Ariminum, now Rimini, a town situated near the coast of the Adriatic, on the edge of the plains watered by the Po on the south. Hannibal, besides the method made use of to animate his soldiers formerly mentioned, in a set speech, put them in mind of their glorious achievements, and of the great difficulties they had surmounted. He told them, the Romans had never yet engaged men acted by despair, nor such warriors as themselves, who had marched from the pillars of Hercules, through the fiercest nations, into the very heart of Italy. His own superiority to Scipio in military experience and exploits, he infinuated, they were not strangers to. They could not but be sensible, he went on, that he was almost born, at least educated, in his father Hamilcar's tent; that he was the conqueror of Spain, of Gaul, of the inhabitants of the Alps, and, what is still more, of the Alps themselves; that, by a little bravery, they would make themselves masters of Rome, and consequently of all the Roman acquisitions in Sicily, of which that ambitious republic had deprived their ancestors. Lastly, he roused their indignation against the insolence of the Romans, who had the assurance to demand, that both he, and the other officers employed in the reduction of Saguntum, should be delivered into their hands, in order to be put to the most exquisite torture; endeavouring to inspire them with a just abhorrence and detestation of such a proud and imperious people, who imagined, that all things ought to obey them, and that they had a right to give laws to the whole world.

In the mean time, Scipio, advancing to the Ticinus, threw a bridge over that river, and immediately erected a fort to defend it against all attempts of the enemy. It is not improbable, that he called it Ticinum, after the name of the river, and that this was the original of the city of Pavia, which, in the most antient authors, is called Ticinum. Whilst the Romans were employed in raising this fort, Hannibal detached Maheral, with a body of five hundred Numidian horse, to lay waste the territories of those nations, that were in alliance with Rome; but gave him orders to spare the Gauls, and excite the various princes of that people, if possible, to a revolt. The Roman army, having

\[ \text{Idem ibid.} \]
having passed the Ticinus, advanced to a village of Infubria, five miles from the fort they had built, and there encamped upon some heights, in sight of the Carthaginians. Hannibal, upon this motion, called in the Numidian detachment under Maherent, and made the proper dispositions to attack the enemy. Before the signal was given, he thought it requisite to animate his troops with fresh promises; which having done, cleaving with a stone the skull of the lamb he was sacrificing, he prayed to Jupiter to dath to pieces his head in like manner, in case he did not give his soldiers the rewards he had promised them. This rendered his troops impatient to come to blows with the enemy, especially as two ill omens had just filled their army with terror and consternation. In the first place, a wolf had stolen into the Roman camp, and cruelly mangled some of the soldiers, without receiving the least harm from those who endeavoured to kill it; and secondly, a swarm of bees had pitched upon a tree near the praetorium, or general's tent. However, Scipio moved at the head of his forces into the plain, where Hannibal had drawn up his troops in order of battle; and, advancing with his dartmen and cavalry to take a view of the number and posture of the enemy, fell in with the whole body of the Carthaginian horse, commanded by Hannibal himself; upon which the fight immediately began. As we have already given a full account of this battle, it will be unnecessary to be prolix here in our description of it. We shall therefore only observe, that Hannibal posted in the centre of his cavalry the troopers who rode with bridles, and the Numidian horse on the wings, in order to surround the enemy; that the action was very hot and bloody, victory continuing, for a long time, in suspense; that many troopers on both sides, in the heat of the action, dismounted, and fought on foot; but that at last the Numidians charged the Romans in flank with such fury, that they broke them, put their centre into disorder, and wounded the confab himself; which obliged the Romans, after having lost the greatest part of their army, to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. The immediate consequence of which victory was, that Scipio repassed the Ticinus in great confusion, broke down the bridge he had lately thrown cross that river, and left six hundred men in the fort to the mercy of the enemy, who surrendered at discretion to Hannibal upon his approach. It is agreed
agreed that Hannibal owed this first victory to his superiority in cavalry, and the disposition of the ground where the engagement happened, no place being more proper for such troops to act in, than those large open plains lying between the Po and the Alps.

Hannibal, having thus driven the enemy out of the field, pursued them as far as the bridge above-mentioned; them as far, but finding it broke down, he marched up the river for two days, till he came to the banks of the Po. Here he dispatched Mago, with the light Spanish horse, to move after the Romans; who, having rallied their shattered forces, and repassed the Po, were encamped at Placentia. Asdrubal immediately crossed that river on a bridge of boats, and was followed by Hannibal with the gross of the army, after he had given an audience to the deputies that came to him from several Gallic nations. These nations, immediately upon Scipio’s defeat, entering into an alliance with Hannibal, not only reinforced the Carthaginians by inlifting in their army, but supplied them plentifully with all sorts of necessaries. Having given a most kind reception to the deputies above-mentioned, and concluded a treaty with them, he pursued his march with great expedition, soon joining Mago, who had advanced a days march beyond the Po, towards Placentia, where he halted, till Hannibal came up. Upon the junction of their forces, the two Carthaginian generals advanced to Placentia, and offered the Romans battle. But they judging it proper to decline accepting the challenge, the Carthaginians encamped ten miles from them, where a body of Gallic defectors from the confuls army came over to them, after they had cut to pieces a good number of the Romans. As the Boii likewise, about the same time, were guilty of an action equally black and perfidious, Scipio feared a general insurrection of the Gauls; and therefore removing from the neighbourhood of their country, he passed the Trebia, a small river which falls into the Po, taking post on an eminence near that river, on the frontiers of his allies. Here he encamped, being determined to remain in a state of inaction, till the arrival of his colleague Sempronius with the forces from Sicily.

Hannibal

Hannibal, being apprised of the consul's departure from Placentia, sent the Numidian horse to harass him in his march, himself moving, with the main body of the army, to support them, in case of need. The Numidians, finding the Roman camp deserted, set fire to it; which gave the consul an opportunity of making his retreat without any loss: whereas, had not the Numidians spent their time in so trifling an action, they might have cut off a great part of the Roman army. However, they made such speed, that they arrived upon the banks of the Trebia, before the rear of the Romans had entirely passed that river, and put to the sword, or made prisoners, all the stragglers they found upon their arrival there. Soon after, Hannibal coming up, encamped in sight of the Roman army, on the opposite bank; and having, by his spies, soon learned the character of Sempronius, who had joined Scipio, and, during the disorder that general laboured under by reason of his wound, had the sole command of the Roman forces, formed a scheme to intrap him. In fine, Sempronius, being of a rash, though ambitious, disposition, contrary to the sentiments of Scipio, was resolved, at all events, to venture an engagement with Hannibal. To this he was farther excited by the scarcity of provisions prevailing in the Roman camp; whilst the Carthaginians enjoyed the greatest plenty and affluence, Hannibal having lately seized the principal Roman magazine at Castridium, a city betrayed to him by Publius a Brundusian. As a body of Numidians, by Hannibal's orders, were ravaging the country of the Gauls in alliance with the Romans, he detached his cavalry in quest of them, who, coming up with them, gained an inconsiderable advantage over them; which so puffed up the consul, that, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, it being now about the winter solstice, he commanded his troops to be ready at an hour's warning to pass the river, and attack the Carthaginian camp. Hannibal, in the mean time, posted Mago, with a detachment of two thousand horse and foot, in ambuscade, on the steep banks of a rivulet running between the two camps; and then detached a body of Numidian cavalry to pass the Trebia, and infilt the enemy, with orders to repass it upon the first motion of their army, and, if possible, to draw the Romans after them. This stratagem had the desired effect; for Sempronius, not being able to bear seeing himself braved in this manner, dispatched all his horse, supported by
his dart-men, after the Numidians, himself following with the rest of the army. Upon this motion, a battle ensued, wherein, partly by the wise disposition of the Carthaginian forces Hannibal had made, partly through the great imprudence of Sempronius, and partly by the bravery of his troops (H), Hannibal entirely defeated the Romans, in the manner by us already related. Almost the whole Roman army, except a body of ten thousand men, who made their retreat to Placentia, were either slain, or taken prisoners. The Gauls, in the Carthaginian service, suffered pretty much in the action; but the Carthaginians sustained no considerable loss, except that of their horses and elephants, all of which left, but one, perished by the cold and in the battle. The Roman army consisted of sixteen thousand legionaries,

(H) We are told by the Roman authors, that the Carthaginians, at Hannibal’s command, anointed their bodies with oil before the engagement began, making use of this expedient as a preservative against the cold, a vast quantity of snow having fallen the day before. In like manner Xenophon tells us, that Cyrus’s troops anointed themselves with oil before large fires, when snow two cubits deep had fallen in Armenia. Frontinus infers, that, on such occasions, the ancients sometimes used oil and wine mixed. It appears from Virgil, Dionysius Halicarnassensis, &c. that wrestlers increased their strength and vigour, by applying oil to their bodies in the manner above-mentioned. In allusion to which custom, the antient Christian writers sometimes called the Holy Spirit ΑΑΕΙΠΙΤΗΣ, or The Anointer; because he supplies good Christians with an ample degree of courage and power in their spiritual warfare. The pastors of the Christian church have likewise that name given them by some of the Greek fathers, on account of the assistance they afford the flocks committed to their care, in their struggle with their spiritual enemies. That the antient Romans, as well as the Carthaginians, used oil for the ends just hinted at, is evident from many authors. Pliny relates, that when a person asked Augustus in his extreme old age, how he came to preserve such vigour of body and mind so long? he answered, Insta mulso, foris oleo, i.e. By refreshing myself inwardly with wine, and outwardly with oil (14).

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naries, twenty thousand auxiliary forces, some companies of the Cœnomanii, and four thousand Roman horse; Hannibal’s of twenty thousand Gallic, Spanish and African infantry, eight thousand Spanish and Balearic slingers, and ten thousand Gallic and Numidian cavalry. The Carthaginians pursued the routed enemy, with great ardour, as far as the Trebia; but did not think proper to pass that river immediately, on account of the excessive cold. The next night Scipio decamped, and retired likewise with great precipitation to Placentia.

It is evident, that what principally contributed to the defeat of the Roman army, was their inferiority in horse; for the Carthaginian cavalry amounted to ten thousand, whereas that of the Romans did not exceed four thousand; and this body, small as it was, could not act with vigour, being soon thrown into confusion by the enemy’s elephants. The horses could neither bear the sight nor smell of those monstrous animals, and therefore were, in the highest degree, terrified upon their approach. Scipio undoubtedly had acquainted Sempronius with the danger he was in from the enemy’s superiority in horse; since he had left the battle of Ticinus just before by the weakness of his cavalry, and urged this among other topics, as a reason for him to decline an engagement. But Sempronius, being infatuated by his rashness, as well as ambition, was deaf to all salutary admonitions, and, in consequence of this infatuation, brought upon the Romans the signal loss and disgrace above-mentioned.

The Carthaginians, upon Fabius’s declaration of war, proposed to act by sea as well as land, against the Romans, and their allies; and therefore, besides all their military preparations above-mentioned, fitted out twenty galleys, with a thousand soldiers on board, to ravage the coasts of Italy. Nine of these seized upon the islands of Lipari, and eight upon the island of Vulcannia, the other three not being able to approach the shore, by reason of the tide’s being against them. They likewise equipped a fleet of thirty-five quinqueremes, with a sufficient land-force on board, to possess themselves

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Polyb. & Liv. ubi sup.
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themselves of Lilybæum. This last attempt however mis-carried, the Carthaginians being defeated by the Romans, and losing seven of their vessels, together with seventeen hundred of their men taken prisoners, amongst whom were three Carthaginian noblemen. From the coast of Sicily, Sempronius, with the Roman and Syracusan squadrons, failed to Melita, now Malta, and had the island, together with the Carthaginian forces in it, surrendered to him by Hæmilcar, the son of Gisco, the governor. From Melita the consul steered his course to the island of Vulcania, thinking to meet with the Carthaginian fleet; but he was disappointed in his expectation, the Carthaginians having before failed to the coasts of Italy, and plundered the territory of the city of Vibo, threatening at the same time to attack that city itself; which the consul being apprised of when he returned to Sicily, and likewise receiving letters from Rome by an express, notifying to him Hannibal's arrival in Italy, with orders to return home with all possible expedition, he found himself obliged to alter his measures. He immediately therefore dispatched Sextus Pomponius, with twenty-five long ships, to protect the maritime coasts of Italy from the insults of the Carthaginian squadron; and hastened himself to Ariminum, from whence he proceeded to the Trebia, where he met with the misfortune above related.

WHilst Hannibal was pushing on his conquests in Italy, Hanno, who commanded in Spain, received intelligence, that the Romans, under the command of Cneius Scipio, had advanced as far as the Iberus, and reduced all the country betwixt that river and the Pyrenees. Upon this advice, Hanno assembled his forces, and marched to the city of Cissa, where he encamped in fight of the Romans. The vicinity of the two armies soon brought on a general action, wherein the Carthaginians were totally routed. Hanno himself was taken prisoner, together with Indibilis, a Spanish prince, entirely devoted to the Carthaginians. Their camp was forced, six thousand of them slain, and two thousand taken prisoners. All the heavy baggage Hannibal left with Hanno before his departure for Italy, fell a prey to the Romans; and many of the Spanish nations concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Scipio upon this defeat. However, this did not discourage the Carthaginians; for Afdrubal, another Cartha-

ginian commander, hearing that the Roman seamen and marines had dispersed themselves about the country, without any order or discipline, immediately passed the Iberus with a body of eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse, fell upon them unexpectedly, and put the greatest part of them to the sword, pursuing the rest to their fleet. Nothing of moment happened afterwards this campaign in Spain, Aedrual taking up his winter-quarters at new Carthage, as soon as he had ended this expedition; and the Romans theirs at Tarraco, after Scipio had divided the booty got from the Carthaginians by the late victory amongst his troops.

The Romans, having received an account of the two terrible blows given them by Hannibal upon the Ticinus and the Trebia, were struck with the utmost terror and consternation. However, they made vigorous preparations to continue the war. In the mean time Scipio removed from Placentia to Cremona, where he put his troops into winter-quarters. Hannibal, after the action upon the Trebia, ordered the Numidians, Celtiberians, and Lusitanians, to make incursions into the Roman territories, where they committed great depredations: and not contented with this, he formed a design to make himself master of a Roman fortres in the neighbourhood of Placentia; but miscarried in the attempt. He likewise reduced Victumvæ, making the garrison prisoners of war; which concluded the operations of this campaign. But, during his state of inaction, he took care to refresh his troops, and win the affections of the Gauls, as well as the allies of the Romans. He therefore declared to the Gallic and Italian prisoners he had taken, that he had no intention to make war upon their nations, being determined to restore them to their liberty, and protect them against the Romans. To confirm them in the idea he was desirous they should entertain of him, he disniffed them, without demanding the least ransom.

During the winter, Hannibal’s troops were reinforced by a considerable body of Gauls, Ligurians, and Etruscans, who, for various reasons, thought proper to abandon the Romans. Hannibal however reposed no great trust in his auxiliaries, but rather entertained a suspicion of them; on which account he disguised himself this winter in the manner already related. He was the better enabled to do this by the variety

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1 Polyb. i. iii. Liv. i. xxii. sub fin. Appian. in Iberic. Polyb. ibid. c. 72. Liv. ibid. c. 57:
variety of languages he understood, amongst which Zonaras mentions the Latin. By this conduct he found, that the most effectual way for him to secure himself, was to change the theatre of the war, and march into Etruria. This he did, after a brisk encounter with Sempronius, wherein many fell on both sides, as we have already observed in a former part of this history 1.

Hannibal having, to the great surprize of all, crossed the Apennines, and penetrated into Etruria, received intelligence, that the new consul Flaminius lay encamped, with the Roman army, under the walls of Arretium. Pursuant to the plan of operations laid down, he moved directly that way, in order to inform himself of the Roman general's capacity and designs, as well as the course and situation of the country. As his troops had been greatly harassed by the late fatiguing march, he halted some time in the neighbourhood of Faenulae to refresh them. Here he learned the true character of Flaminius, that he was a good orator, but entirely ignorant of the military art: in fine, that he was rash, proud, and of a fierce disposition. This gave Hannibal no small encouragement, not doubting but he should soon be able to bring him to a battle. Hannibal, in the first step he took, says Polybius, acted like a wise commander, since it ought to be the chief study of a general to discover the genius of his antagonist, in order to take advantage of his foible. To inflame the impetuous spirit of Flaminius, the Carthaginian general advanced towards Arretium, taking the way to Rome, and leaving the Roman army behind him, destroying all the country, through which he moved, with fire and sword. As that part of Etruria abounded with corn, cattle, all sorts of provisions, in fine, with all the elegancies, as well as necessaries, of life, being one of the richest and most fertile spots of ground in Italy, the Romans, and their allies, sustained an incredible loss on this occasion.

Flaminius was not of a temper to continue inactive in his camp, though Hannibal should have lain still, and given him no provocation; but when he beheld the territories of the allies of Rome ravaged in so dreadful a manner, he lost all patience, thinking it would reflect the greatest dishonour upon him,

him, should he permit Hannibal to continue his devastations with impunity, and even advance to the very walls of Rome without opposition. He resolved therefore immediately to attack the Carthaginians; and so furiously was he bent upon this, that when the officers of the army, in a council of war, endeavoured to prevail upon him to wait the arrival of his colleague, he rushed out of the council in a rage, giving orders to the army instantly to begin their march. "Yes truly, said he, we ought to act still before the walls of Arretium, since this is our native country, and here are our habitations! We ought to let Hannibal escape out of our hands, and destroy all the country, to the very walls of Rome, with fire and sword! We ought, by no means, to move from hence, till the conscript fathers send for C. Flaminius from Arretium, as they formerly did for Camillus from Veii!" He mounted his horse in such a hurry, that he fell from him; which was considered as a bad omen. This, however, made no impression upon him. Immediately after this, a messenger came to acquaint him, that the ensigns stuck so fast in the ground, that the soldiers could not pull them out. Upon which, turning towards him, "Doth thou bring me a letter likewise, said he, from the senate, prohibiting me to act against the Carthaginians? Go tell them, they may dig the ensigns up, if their hands are so benumbed with fear, that they cannot pull them out." As though therefore he had been certain of victory, he immediately decamped, approaching Hannibal with the utmost temerity, in order to attack him.

In the mean time Hannibal kept on, still advancing towards Rome, having Cortona on the left-hand, and the lake Thraesiumenus on the right. At last, observing the disposition of the ground to be very commodious for his purpose, he put himself into a posture to receive Flaminius, who was upon the point of coming up with him. The lake Thraesiumenus, and the mountains of Cortona, form a very narrow defile, which leads into a large valley, lined on both sides with hills of a considerable height, and closed at the outlet by a steep hill, of difficult access. Upon this hill Hannibal encamped with his Spanish and African troops, posting the Baleares and light-armed infantry, which were drawn up in one long line, in

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Hannibal defeats the Romans at the lake Thraesiumenus.

Polyb. i. iii. c. 75—78—85. Liv. i. xxii. c. 7. Appian. de bell. Hannib. Zonar. ubi sup. c. 23.
in ambuscade, at the foot of the hill on the right-side of the valley, and lining with the Gallic cavalry the left-side of it, in such manner, that they extended as far as the entrance of the defile. Hannibal, having thus in the night surrounded the valley with his forces, lay still, as though he had no intention to engage. This farther excited the consul to fall upon the Carthaginians as soon as possible; for which end he so eagerly pursed them, that the following night he advanced to the valley, and entered it the next morning, moving with his vanguard at a small distance from the lake Thrasymenus above-mentioned. Hannibal, now observing, that the greatest part of Flaminius's troops marched in disorder, and were so near him, that his men could not fail of doing great execution amongst them, provided they instantaneously charged them with vigour, ordered them to be attacked in front, in rear, and in flank, at the same time. As the Roman officers could not see which way to lead their men, nor discover the enemy that charged them, by reason of a thick fog from the lake, the confusional army was, in a moment, thrown into confusion. Flaminius however did his utmost to animate his men, exhorting them to cut themselves a passage with their swords through the midst of the enemy; but the tumult, which reigned everywhere, the dreadful shouts of the enemy, and the fog that was risen, prevented his being seen or heard. However, the Romans, seeing the impossibility of saving themselves by flight, and a little recovering themselves upon the dissipation of the fog, for some time fought with unparalleled bravery; but Flaminius himself being slain by an inhuman, they began to give ground, and at last betook themselves to a precipitate flight. The Roman army, according to Appian, consisted of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; of which fifteen thousand (twenty thousand, says Appian) fell upon the field of battle, and six thousand, that retreated to a town in Etruria, surrendered the next day at discretion to Mahurbal. According to Valerius Maximus, Eutropius, and Orosius, five and twenty thousand Romans perished in this action. Hannibal lost only fifteen hundred men on this occasion, most of whom were Gauls, though great numbers, both of his soldiers and the Romans, died afterwards of their wounds. He commanded the strictest search to be made for the body of Flaminius, in order to give it a decent interment; but it could not be found.
He likewise solemnized the funerals of thirty of his chief officers, who had been slain in the action; but was at a loss how to dispatch a courier to Carthage, with an account of the glorious victory he had gained. All the other principal particulars relating to the defeat of the Romans at the lake Thrasymenus, our readers will find in a proper place.

Hannibal, being informed, that the consul Servilius had detached a body of four, or, according to Appian, eight thousand horse from Ariminum, to reinforce his colleague in Etruria, sent out Maherbal, with all the cavalry, and some of the infantry, to attack him. The Roman detachment consisted of chosen men, and was commanded by (I) Centenius a patrician. Maherbal had the good fortune to meet with him, and, after a short dispute, entirely defeated him. Two thousand of the Romans were laid dead upon the spot, the rest retiring to a neighbouring eminence, where being surrounded by Maherbal, they were obliged the next day to surrender at discretion. This blow, happening within a few days after the defeat at the lake Thrasymenus, almost gave a finishing stroke to the Roman affairs. Appian tells us, that the people in Rome were so alarmed on this occasion, that they expected an immediate visit from Hannibal; and therefore not only posted great numbers of dartsmen on the ramparts to defend them, but likewise armed even the old men with the arms taken from their enemies in former wars, and hung up as trophies in their temples. Hannibal however, now thinking himself so much superior to the Romans, that they would not be able hereafter to make head against him, did not advance to Rome, but moved towards the territory of Adria, taking his route through Umbria and Picenum. As he plundered all the country through which he marched, upon his arrival in the territory of Adria, he was loaded with booty.

(I) We cannot forbear expressing our surprize, that Isaac Casaubon, in his Latin version of Polybius, should prefer the name Centronius to Centenius, since, in the original, it is Centenius. That very learned man might have been convinced by Sigonio, in his excellent scholia upon Livy, that, tho' some ancient copies of this last author have in one place Centronius, Centenius was the name of the general here mentioned. To what Sigonio has said, we shall only beg leave to add, that Appian and Zonaras both call this præfectus Centenius; which is a confirmation of that great man's opinion (15).

booty. Spoletum he attacked in his march; but was repul-
sed with great loss. From thence approaching the frontiers of
Aeolia, he ravaged the adjacent territories, viz. the
country of the Marsi, Marrucini, Peligni, together with the
districts of Arpi and Luceria. The consul Cn. Servilius
did nothing memorable this campaign. He had only a few
flight skirmishes with the Gauls, and made himself master of an
inconsiderable town. However, he thought proper to
move towards Rome, to cover that capital from any attempts
of the Carthaginians. Polybius tells us, that Hannibal treated
the allies of the Romans with the utmost cruelty in this
expedition, which that author attributes to the invincible
aversion he had been inspired with by his father Hamilcar
to the Romans.

The Carthaginian army at this time was very sickly, Hannibal
being troubled with a scorbutic disorder, called by the
Greeks Lemecphoros. This seemed owing to the unwhol-
some encampments they had been obliged to make, and
their march through so many morasses. As both the horses
and men were infected with it, Hannibal found it abso-
lutely necessary to repose his troops for some time in the
territory of Adria, which was a most pleasant and fruitful
country. In his various engagements with the Romans,
he had taken a great number of their arms, with which he
now armed his men after the Roman manner. Being now
likewise master of that part of the country bordering on
the sea, he found means to send an express to Carthage,
with the news of the glorious progress of his arms. The
Carthaginians received this news with the most joyful accla-
mations, at the same time coming to a resolution to rein-
force, with a proper number of troops, their armies both
in Italy and Spain. They also had frequent consultations
how they might send them a plentiful supply of all neces-
saries with the utmost expedition, being determined to pro-
secute the war with all possible vigour.

Hannibal, having refreshed his army, and over-run
the territory of the Praetutii, Ferentani, Daunii, Meffapii, into Com-
and, in fine, the whole province of Apulia, encamped
near Ibonium. In the mean time Fabius, for his singular
virtue and abilities surnamed Maximus, was elected dicta-

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\[ \text{Herof. &c. ubi sup. Frontin. Strat. i. ii. c. 5. ex. 24. Vide &} \]
\[ \text{Univ. hist. vol. xii. p. 204. 205. &c.} \]
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tor at Rome, and had the absolute command of the Roman army given him. Fabius ordered the consul Servilius to watch the motions of the Carthaginians by sea, whilst he, with the legions, and his general of the horse, advanced to Ægae, to have an eye upon Hannibal. The cunning Carthaginian made a great variety of movements, and had recourse to an infinity of stratagems, in order to draw the Roman general to a battle, which it was his highest interest to do; but all his endeavours proved ineffectual. Hannibal therefore, having before ravaged all the country bordering on the Adriatic, crossed the Apennines, and entered into Samnium, where he likewise committed great devastations. He plundered the territory of Beneventum, took the strong city of Venu sia, and laid siege to Telesia, a town at the foot of the Apennines. Fabius still kept pace with him, tho' he did not think proper to approach the Carthaginians nearer than a day's march, being determined to decline an engagement. Hannibal, being convinced, that a state of inaction must prove fatal to him, in order to draw Fabius to a battle, marched his army into Campania, by the advice of some of the Italian prisoners he had dismissed after the late battle, and who now had joined him. Accordingly he ordered his guides to conduct him to the territory of Casinum, being informed, that, if he could make himself master of this, he should cut off all communication betwixt the Romans and their allies on that side. Livy tells us, that Hannibal, not having the true pronunciation of the Latin, named Casilinum, instead of Casinum, to his guides; who thereupon pursued a different route, leading him through the districts of Alilae, Calatia, and Cales, into that of Stella, where finding himself surrounded on all sides by mountains and rivers, he enquired in what part of the world he was; and received for answer from his guides, that he should lodge that night at Casilinum; when discovering the mistake, he put to death the principal of them, and detached Maerbal, with a body of horse, to plunder the territory of Falernum. That general, penetrating as far as the waters of Sinuessa, destroyed all the country, as he advanced, with fire and sword, the Numidians making a terrible slaughter of the poor country people. However, the Campanians continued firm in their obedience to the Romans. Hannibal afterwards, encamping upon the Vulturnus, ravaged the whole province in a most dreadful manner, Fabius not offering to stir, though he beheld
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beheld these devastations from the top of mount Massicus, where he had posted himself to observe the motions of the Carthaginian army. This greatly incensed both the Roman troops, and his general of the horse, against him.

All methods had been now tried in vain by Hannibal to bring Fabius to a battle. He had at first advanced to his very intrenchments at Ægeæ, and braved him; he had upbraided him and his troops with having lost the value of their ancestors, tho' at the same time he inwardly fretted to find himself engaged with a general of so different a genius from Sempronius and Flaminius; he had endeavoured to rouze him by frequent removals from place to place, by laying waste the lands, plundering the cities, and burning the villages and towns. He, at one time, would decamp with the utmost precipitation, and at another quite stop short in some remote valley, to see whether he could not rush out, and surprize him in the plain; but, notwithstanding all his artifices, all his marches, countermarches, and finesse, the dictator inflexibly adhered to his first resolution, and thereby gave the crafty Carthaginian to understand, that the Romans, instructed by their defeats, had at last made choice of a general capable of opposing Hannibal.

As Campania was a country more agreeable to the eye, than proper for the subsistence of an army, and the Carthaginians would have been forced to have taken up their winter-quarters amongst morasses, rocks and sands, had they remained any considerable time longer there, Hannibal began to think of decamping. To this he was farther excited by an apprehension, that the Romans would receive plentiful supplies from Capua, and the richest countries in Italy. That he might not therefore consume idly the provisions he had amassed for the winter-season, nor lose the immensely rich spoils gotten in the provinces he had ravaged, he began his march out of Campania towards the decline of summer, and purposed it for some time with great expedition.

It being natural to suppose, that Hannibal would return the same way he came, and Fabius being apprised of this by his spies, the Roman general ordered a detachment of four thousand men to advance, and possess themselves of the pass on mount Erithanos, exhorting them to behave with

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with bravery, when an opportunity of engaging the Carthaginians offered. After this, Fabius, that he might the more easily annoy Hannibal in his march, threw another body of troops into Caelinum, a small town situated on the Vulturnus, which separated the territories of Falernum from those of Capua, and at the same time took post with the main body of his army on mount Callicula. From hence he sent a party of four hundred horse, under the command of L. Hostilius Mancinus, to reconnoitre the enemy, with orders to retire upon the first news of their approach. Mancinus, paying no regard to his orders, skirmished with several straggling parties of Numidians, who, retiring before him, drew him on by degrees nearer the Carthaginian camp; which Cartalo, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, observing, pursued him, at the head of a good body of horse, five miles, and at last coming up with him, cut him off, with the greatest part of his men. The rest fled to Cales, from whence, through several by-paths, they made their escape to Fabius, bringing him the melancholy news of the disaster that had befallen them.

Hannibal, with his forces, soon arrived at the foot of the mountains, where he encamped. Soon after, an action happened between him and Fabius, wherein he lost eight hundred men, and the Romans two hundred. But here he found himself involved in great difficulties, being pent up in such a manner, by reason of the Romans having seized upon Caelinum and Callicula, that it seemed impossible for him to make his escape. Now he found, that his own arts were put in practice against him, and that he had fallen into much the same snare he had laid for Flaminius at the lake Thasymenus. Fabius, in the mean time, thinking he had his enemy in his power, was making the proper dispositions for an attack the next morning. At this critical conjuncture, Hannibal, by the assiduity of two thousand wild and tame oxen, with torches, faggots, and dry vine-branches, tied to their horns, and driven quietly in the dead of the night, to the top of the hill, where the Romans lay encamped, found means to gain the passes above mentioned, which opened a way for him to Alliae. We are told, that, before he communicated this stratagem to his general officers, he maffacred five thousand Italian prisoners, to prevent it taking air by their means as well as to hinder their joining the enemy, if his design should fail.

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should miscarry. By this singular contrivance, Hannibal eluded all the efforts of Fabius, and preferred both himself and his army, when they were upon the very brink of destruction. It is certainly glorious for a general to turn his very errors to his advantage, and make them subservient to his fame. For the particulars of this stratagem we must refer our readers to the Roman history.

As soon as day-light appeared, Hannibal observed, that his light-armed troops were advanced to the summit of the mountain, on which was the defile he had forced the Romans to abandon by the stratagem above-mentioned. Here they met with a strong body of the Romans, who had ascended the hill in the night; so that they were in danger of being all cut to pieces, especially as the enemy had found means to surround them. Upon this, Hannibal detached a party of Spaniards to bring them off, which he imagined them capable of doing, as they were more used to craggy rocks and precipices, as well as more active and nimble, than the Romans. Accordingly, the Spaniards charged the Romans with so much bravery, that they put them to flight, killed a thousand of them upon the spot, and covered the retreat of their companions in such a manner, that scarce a man was lost on this occasion.

Hannibal, upon his arrival near the confines of Samnium, made a motion, as tho’ his intention had been to pass through that province towards Rome; but, wheeling about on a sudden, he fell into the country of the Pelleni, which he ravaged a second time. From thence he retired into Apulia, and took possession of a defenceless town called Gerion; which the inhabitants abandoned upon his approach. This is Livy’s account. But, according to Polybius, who calls the place (K) Geronium, making it about


(K) We believe, with Gronovius, that the true name of this town was Geronium, and consequently that Livy’s text ought to be emended. This seems to appear, not only from the superior authority of Polybius, but likewise from Peutinger’s table, in which the place under consideration is called Geronium. Other reasons might be offered, were there any occasion for them (16).

(16) Vide Polyb. l. iii. c. 101. & l. v. c. 108.
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about twenty-five miles distant from Luceria, it stood a siege, and was at last taken by storm. Hannibal, if we chuse to follow the same author, put all the inhabitants to the sword; but made granaries of the houses, lodged his troops under the walls, and fortified his camp with a re- trenchment. From hence he sent two thirds of his army to gather in the corn of the province, which was extremely fertile, ordering them by turns to relieve daily the other third part that remained with him. This he had always drawn up in battalia, not only to protect the others, but likewise to prevent the enemy from making any attempt upon his camp. In the mean time Fabius, being sent for to Rome, left the command of the army to Minucius, his general of the horse, with orders to observe the motions of Hannibal at a proper distance; but by no means to engage him.

Minucius, being of a contrary disposition to Fabius, resolved not to keep in the path, which that general had chalked out for him. Being therefore informed, that the greatest part of the Carthaginian army was dispersed over the territory of Gerunium, in order to forage, and that Hannibal himself lay encamped with the other part under the walls of that place, he took post on an eminence called Calela, in the neighbourhood of Larinum, not far from Hannibal’s camp. Hannibal, receiving intelligence of the enemy’s approach, recalled part of his foragers, and pos- sessed himself of an ascent about two miles from Gerunium, imagining, that this post would enable him to secure his other foragers from all insults. The night after his arrival here, he sent two thousand of his light-armed troops to seize upon a rising ground close by the Roman camp; which they effectcd without opposition. But, the next morning, Minucius detached a body of his light-armed forces to dislodge them from thence; which, after a brisk action, they did, putting many of them to the sword, and dispersing the rest. Animated by this first instance of success, Minucius attacked the Carthaginian foragers, cut many of them to pieces, and, in a rencounter, had the advantage over Hannibal. These things being known at Rome, greatly sunk the credit of Fabius, and occasioned there...

there a general condemnation of his conduct; nay, as Hannibal had artfully spared his lands in the general devastation, some began to entertain a suspicion of his having kept a secret correspondence with the Carthaginians. The people and senate of Rome however did not take the command of the army absolutely from him; but gave Minucius an equal authority with the dictator. After Fabius’s return to the army, the two generals agreed to divide the forces, that each of them might have his separate corps, Fabius, on account of his superior skill in the military art, and that he might be able to preserve at least one part of the army, not being disposed to give his consent to an alternate command.

Nothing could be more agreeable to Hannibal, than to hear of the disgrace of Fabius, whose measures he so much dreaded. He flattered himself, that the dissension between the two commanders, and the rashness of Minucius, would throw an opportunity into his hands of embarrassing the Roman affairs more than ever. He resolved therefore to lay a snare for Minucius; which fortune soon pointed out to him a method of doing. Fabius encamped on the hills, after his usual manner; and Minucius in the plain, near the Carthaginians. Hannibal in the mean time observing a small rising ground between him and Minucius, by which either might incommode the other, formed a design to make himself master of it, not doubting but this would bring on an action between them. In order to which, he laid an ambush of five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, divided into parties of two and three hundred men each, posted in different places near this eminence. He then commanded a body of his light-armed men to advance, and take possession of that post; which Minucius endeavouring to prevent, fell into the ambush, and had been cut off with all his men, if Fabius had not rushed from the hills, like a torrent, to his assistance in the critical moment, and forced Hannibal to retire. Hannibal is reported to have said on this occasion, “That he had over come Minucius, and Fabius him.” Hannibal, after this action, fortified his camp, seized upon the eminence above mentioned,

mentioned, drew a line round it, and then continued in a state of inaction till the following campaign.

During these transactions in Italy, Cannus Scipio, having, as we observed, conquered all the Spanish cantons from the Pyrenees to the Iberus, put his troops into winter-quarters at Tarraco. Aemilius, however, as we at the same time informed our readers, gave the Romans a considerable blow towards the close of the campaign; the consequence of which, according to Livy, was, that the Ilergetes, who had left in Scipio’s hands hostages for their fidelity, declared for the Carthaginians. Scipio, being apprised of this, assembled a body of forces, and immediately invested their capital city Athanagia. He pushed on the siege with such vigour, though in the midst of winter, that the Ilergetes found themselves obliged to have recourse to his clemency. Asdrubal being then at too great a distance to afford them speedy succours. As the principal author of the revolt was fled, Scipio was more readily induced to pardon them. Having therefore exacted a sum of money from them for their perfidy, and compelled them to give him new hostages for their future good behaviour, he took them again into favour. From hence he marched against the Aufetani, allies of the Carthaginians, seated near the Iberus, and had driven before their metropolis. During this siege, he drew a great body of the neighbouring Spaniards, particularly of the Laccetani, who came to the assistance of the Aufetani, into an ambuscade he laid for them, putting twelve thousand of them to the sword, and dispersing the rest. However, he could not reduce the city for the space of thirty days, on account of the rigour of the season, which was such, that the Roman engines of battery could not play upon it. At last, Amusitus, their prince, having found means to retire to Asdrubal, the garrison delivered up the place to Scipio for twenty talents of silver; after which that general moved again into his winter-quarters. In the mean time Asdrubal reinforced the squadron, his brother had left him, with ten galleys, so that it now consisted of forty-five ships of the line; and gave the command of it to one Hamicar, an officer who had distinguished himself on various

various occasions. Hamilcar, pursuant to his orders, put
to sea, with an intention to coast along, till he came to
the mouth of the Ierus, where Afdrubal was to meet him
at the head of the land-forces, that they might in concert,
begin the operations of the campaign. Scipio, receiving in-
telligence of their design, and at the same time hearing,
that Afdrubal was already in motion, immediately fitted
out a fleet of five-and-thirty sail, putting the flower of his
land-forces on board. Upon his arrival near the mouth of
the Ierus, he dispatched two Maffilian vessels to reconnoit-
tre the enemy, who brought him advice that their squa-
dron of galleys actually rode at anchor in the mouth of the
river; upon which he made the necessary dispositions to at-
tack it. Afdrubal, receiving timely notice of this, drew
up his army in order of battle on the shore, to assist, or
at least to animate, his naval forces; but they were not
able to withstand the efforts of the Romans, who, after a
warm dispute, entirely defeated them, forced all the vessels
on shore, killed great numbers of the seamen and marines,
and carried off thirty-five galleys. From this time, the Car-
thaginian affairs began to wear a bad aspect in Spain.

The Carthaginians, receiving intelligence of this blow,
equipped another fleet of seventy sail with the utmost ex-
pedition, knowing of what vast consequence it was to them
to be masters of the sea. With this, according to Polybius,
they put in at one of the ports of Sardinia, and pro-
ceeded from thence to Pisa, where the admiral proposed to
have a conference with Hannibal. But Servilius, who
commanded a Roman squadron of an hundred and twenty
galleys, prevented that intercourse, the Carthagini-
ans thinking proper to sheer off upon his approach, and
return to Carthage. Servilius, for some time, gave them
chace; but finding himself not able to come up with them,
he left off the pursuit, and steered his course for Cercina, a
small island on the coast of the Regio Syrtica; which he
laid under contribution. From thence he failed to Cossyra,
another little island, not far from Carthage; which he easily
made himself master of, and left a garrison in the town.
After this he set sail for Sicily, and arrived safe with his squa-
dron in the harbour of Lilybæum.

\[ Polyb. I. iii. c. 95. Liv. I. xxii. c. 19, 21, 22. Zonar. 4 \]
ix. c. 1.
\[ Polyb. & Liv. ubi sup. \]
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In the mean time Scipio made a good use of his late naval victory. He first advanced to Honosca, which he closely besieged both by sea and land, took it by storm and levelled it with the ground. Then he made a descent in Africa, ravaged all the country about Carthage, and burnt several houses adjoining to the haven and the wall. Loaded with spoil, he departed from thence to Longuntica, where he found a vast quantity of spartum, a shrub much used in the navigating of ships, amassed by Asdrubal, which he either carried off for his own use, or burnt. Afterwards he landed a body of forces in the island Ebusus, now Yvica, plundered it, and burnt some streets of its capital city; but could not reduce the town. However, he concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of this, and the other Balearic islands. Upon the fame of these exploits, Livy tells us, an hundred and twenty different cantons of Spaniards submitted to the Romans, who penetrated as far as the Saltus Caetulonensis, Asdrubal retiring before them into Lusitania, and those parts of Spain bordering upon the ocean.

Whilst the Carthaginian affairs were in such a melancholy situation in Spain, Mandonius, a perfen of distinction amongst the Ilernates, advanced to the frontiers of some of the allies of Rome, with a design to plunder them. Scipio, being apprised of this, detached a body of three thousand Romans, with some Spanish auxiliaries, to attack him; which they did so effectually, that they overthrew him, and drove him from those frontiers with great loss. Upon this, he applied to Asdrubal for assistance, who presently marched with all his forces to support him. Scipio, being acquainted with this motion, ordered all the Celtiberian princes in the Roman interest to assemble their forces, and fall upon the Carthaginians. In compliance with this order, they made an irruption into the Carthaginian territories with a powerful army, took three fortresses there by assault, and gave Asdrubal two notable overthrows, killing him above fifteen thousand men, and taking four thousand prisoners. Nothing further material happened in Spain this campaign, except that the two Scipios passed the Iberus, and penetrated into the Carthaginian dominions as far as the gates of Saguntum, a particular account of which has been already given.

But

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But to return to the armies in Italy: Hannibal remained quiet in his winter-quarters; till the following spring, and before the season for action came on, had the pleasure to hear of Fabius’s being recalled to Rome, upon the expiration of his office, which was limited to six months. The consuls, Cn. Servilius Geminus, and M. Attilius Regulus, who succeeded him, in all things regulated their conduct according to the model Fabius had laid down. Upon their arrival in the army, they cut off several parties of Hannibal’s foragers; but declined a general action, though he made use of all the art and cunning he was master of to draw them to one. Hannibal therefore found himself so frightened for want of provisions, that he had once thoughts of retiring into Gaul; but was diverted from this design by a suspicion, that such a retreat would look so much like a flight, that it might be an inducement to his allies to desert him. His safety now seemed entirely to depend upon the measures the two new consuls, C. Terentius Varro, and L. Æmilius Paulus, should pursue. If they steadily adhered to Fabius’s plan of operations, he must be irrecoverably lost; whereas, by a departure from it, they might throw the game once more into his hands. His hopes were not a little raised, when he received intelligence from his spies, that Varro in disposition and genius, nearly resembled Sempronius, Flamininus, and Minucius; that there was a perfect want of harmony betwixt him and his colleague Paulus; and that he was obtruded by the plebeians upon the senate, who had a very indifferent opinion of him. Notwithstanding therefore the Roman army this year consisted of eight legions, besides the troops of their allies, in all making about eighty-six thousand effective men, he was far from desponding, especially as he believed, that however numerous it might be, two thirds of the troops composing it, being new levies, would not be capable of coping with his veterans. The event justified the sentiments he entertained, as we shall see immediately.

Hannibal had not only learned the true character of the Roman army, but likewise discovered his grand design. He had received advice, that this consul, before he left Rome, declared in public, that he would fall upon the enemy the very first opportunity, and put an end to the war; adding, that

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that it would never be terminated, so long as men of Fabius's complexion should be at the head of the Roman armies. He had not been long in the Roman camp, before one of his detachments routed a body of Carthaginians, killing seventeen hundred of them upon the spot; which greatly encreased his boldness and arrogance. Hannibal considered this loss as a real advantage, not doubting but it would spur him on to a battle, which he wanted extremely; for he was reduced to such a scarcity of provisioins at Geranium, that he found it impossible to subsist there ten days longer; and the Spaniards already meditated a desertion, which could not but prove fatal to him. But his good fortune at this crisis interposed, and threw in his way an antagonist, that extricated him out of all the difficulties in which he was involved.  

After several movements, the two armies came in sight of each other near Cannæ, a village and castle of Apulia, situated on the river Aufidus. Hannibal had taken the castle, which commanded all that part of Apulia, and seized therein one of the enemies principal magazines, before the approach of the Roman army. He had likewise taken care to encamp in a smooth and open plain, proper for his cavalry, in which the main strength of his forces consisted, to act in. Paulus, considering Hannibal's great superiority in horse, was for drawing the Carthaginians to an irregular spot of ground, where the infantry might have the principal share in the action; but Varro being of another opinion, that salutary design was dropped; which proved the total ruin of the Romans. As soon as the consuls appeared, Hannibal moved towards them at the head of his horse, and began an attack with great bravery; but the Romans, intermixing some of the legionaries with their light-armed troops, sustained the first shock of the enemy with much firmness, and, being duly supported by their cavalry, repulsed them with considerable loss. This a little discouraged Hannibal, especially as the night rendered him incapable of renewing the charge. However, to remove all impressions of terror, that might have seized upon his soldiers minds upon that event, he judged it expedient to re-animate them the next day by an harangue, which was to the following effect: "Return thanks to the gods, said he, for having brought

a Liv. ubi sup.
brought the enemy hither, that we may triumph over them; and, in the next place, make proper acknowledgments to me, for having forced them to come to a battle with us upon the most disadvantageous terms. After three glorious victories already won, is not the remembrance of your own actions sufficient to inspire you with courage? By your former renowned achievements, you have made yourselves masters of the open country; but another victory will put all the cities, as well as all the riches and power, of the Romans into your hands. It is not words that we stand in need of, but action; and I doubt not but, by the favour of the gods, you will soon find my promises fulfilled, and your moft sanguine expectations answered.” The army, receiving fresh life and vigour from this speech of their general, both by their voice and gesture, declared themselves to be entirely at his devotion. After which, remanding them all to their respective posts, he commanded them to be ready the next morning to enter upon action.

Having already given a full and particular account of the battle of Cannae as well as of the dispositions of both armies at that battle, we shall here only endeavour to revive in our readers minds a general idea of that most memorable event, by reciting some of the most remarkable circumstances of it, and pointing at some of the principal causes, that determined victory to declare in favour of the Carthaginians.

We have before observed, that Paulus was for declining an engagement, being well assured, that a state of inaction must ruin Hannibal; but not being able to prevail upon his colleague to fall in with his sentiments, he then proposed fighting the enemy on such a spot of ground, as would enable the infantry, in which the Romans were much superior to Hannibal, to have the principal share in the action; but Varro, hurried away by his rashness and impetuosity of mind, was deaf to both these salutary proposals; and, being greatly exasperated, that a party of Numidians should dare to inflict his camp, the next day of his command, he advanced into the plains of the Aufidus, to attack the Carthaginian army. This was the very thing that Hannibal wished for, who therefore moved towards him with great alacrity.

alacrity. He had before passed the river, and drawn up his army in order of battle at a small distance from the Romans, having posted himself in such a manner, that the (L) wind Vulturnus, which rises at certain stated times, should blow directly in the faces of the Romans during the fight.

(L) The wind Vulturnus blew south-south-eaft, or south-east, and was the most common of all other winds at Capua. The old Etruscan name of that city, as we learn from Livy and others, was Vulturnus, or Vulturnum, being, in all probability, so called from its founder. This founder was undoubtedly deified by the inhabitants of his city after his death, and looked upon there, and perhaps through all Campania, as a tutelar deity. That the Etruscan inhabitants of Campania worshipped the god Vulturnus, or Vulturnus, is past all doubt, as likewise that he was a deity peculiar to them. As Capua or Vulturnum lay south-east of Etruria, it is no wonder the Etruscans should call the south-east wind, especially since it blew so frequently there, Vulturnus; and from them that name passed to the Romans. That it was an Etruscan proper name, appears both from what we have just observed, and from its beginning with the word Vul or Vol, in common with many other Etruscan proper names, viz. Volumnus, Vulturna, Volta, &c. The Etruscans wrote it, in all likelihood, Ful-Turne, or Fal-Turne; since, instead of the V consonant, they used the Æolic digamma, as appears from the Eugubian tables; and terminated those words in E, that the Romans did in US. Let this be admitted, and it must be allowed probable, that Ful, or Fal, was a term of honour, signifying high, sublime, &c. especially as we have evinced in a former note, that this word, in the Etruscan language, had that signification. Our notion, in this particular, will appear still more agreeable to truth, if we farther consider, that all the proper names, of which this word makes one part of the composition, were either applied to deities, great men, or something which apparently bore an analogy to the aforesaid signification. And as for the word Turne, or Turnus, that was a proper name of Latium in the ages preceding the Trojan war, when the language of that country agreed in many, if not most, points with the Etruscan; and consequentlily it might have been a proper name in use likewise amongst the Etruscans. Be that as it will, it is certain Turan, which comes extremely near it, as consisting of the same radicals, was an Etruscan proper name, as we learn from an inscription upon an antique Etruscan patera. We own indeed, that Raphael Maffæus Volterratus affirms the word Vola to have signified a city in the old Etruscan tongue, which runs counter to what we have offered; but as this assertion has nothing to support it but that writer's bare authority, which, in the point before us, is of no weight, we cannot advise our readers to pay any regard to it. That the word
fight, and cover them with dust. On his left he had the river Ausidus, and placing his cavalry in the wings, he formed his main body of the Spanish and Gallic infantry, which he posted in the centre, with half the African heavy-armed foot on their right, and half on their left, on the same line with the cavalry. Having made this disposition, he caused the Spanish and Gallic infantry to move towards the enemy in such a manner, as to form a large crescent, that there might be no interval between them and the African foot, that were to support them. Adrubic was posted on the right, Hanno on the left, and Hannibal, with his brother Mago, commanded the main body. The Africans, says Livy, seemed to be a body of Romans, Hannibal having been enabled to arm them after the Roman manner by the

word Fal or Ful signified high, as likewise that the old Etruscan language was at first oriental, is confirmed by the proper name Volaterre, or, as the Etruscans probably wrote it, Ful-tir, Fulter, i.e. an height or eminence, or an height or eminence strong by its situation; which exactly answers to the situation of that place, as described by Dionysius Halicarnassensis and Strabo (17).

Zonaras observes, that the wind Vulturinus greatly contributed to the defeat of the Romans; since, till that began to blow, which, he says, was about noon, the Carthaginians had no prospect of victory. Hannibal, according to the same author, soon after he arrived upon the banks of the Ausidus, ploughed up all the sandy soil there, that, by having it more immediately exposed to the heat of the sun, clouds of dust and sand from thence might the more easily be blown into the faces of the Romans (18).

The Sirocco, answering to the Vulturinus, at present blows in several parts of Italy for many days together; and when this happens, the atmosphere is extremely heated, which renders the place most disagreeable, and sometimes almost intolerable. A Tramontana, or cold north-east wind, frequently succeeds the Sirocco; which occasions a great mortality among the Italians from the mal di petto, &c.


(18) Zonar. l. ix. c. 2.
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the spoils taken from the enemy in the battles of Trebia, and the lake Thrasymenus. The Gauls and Spaniards used the same sort of shields; but their swords were different, those of the Spaniards being short, and well-pointed, fit either to cut or thrust; whereas those of the Gauls were long and broad, designed for a downright cutting blow. The Gauls were naked from their waist upwards, and thereby rendered capable of giving a blow with the greater force. The Spaniards were clad in white linen-calfocks, bordered with purple, after the manner of their country; which strange habits, together with the vast size of body these nations were eminent for, exhibited an appearance, that not a little intimidated the Romans. Five hundred Numidians came over in a body to the Romans, with their shields thrown behind their backs, in the form of defencers, before the beginning of the action. Upon their arrival at the Roman camp, they dismounted, and laid down all their arms, except the swords they had concealed under their coats of mail. The consuls had not then time to examine them; and therefore Varro ordered them to be placed behind the army, till the conclusion of the engagement. Here they remained quiet, till the dispute grew very warm, when the Romans were so pressed on all sides, that they could not observe them; but then, supplying themselves with the bucklers, that lay scattered on the field of battle amongst the heaps of the slain, and making use of their own swords, they attacked the enemy's rear, killing many, and striking the rest of the Romans posted there with the greatest terror. Thus Hannibal, by this refined artifice, found means to lay an ambuscade for the enemy in a plain, and behind their backs, when such a stratagem seemed absolutely impracticable. The consular army was disposed much in the same manner as in other engagements: Paulus commanded the right wing, Varro the left, and the proconsuls, Marcus Attilius and Cneius Servilius, the main body. The signal of battle being given, both armies moved with great ardour to the attack; but the wind Vulturinus blew so strongly in the faces of the Romans, that they had their eyes filled with dust, and could scarce see the enemy. After the light-armed troops had engaged, Asdrubal, at the head of the Spanish and Gallic horse in the left wing, charged the Roman in the right wing, commanded by Paulus, with such fury, that, after a warm dispute, he broke and dispersed them; and having left, to pursue the scattered
scattered squadrons, only such forces as were necessary to prevent them from rallying, he advanced to the relief of the main body. Paulus, being wounded, at the first onset, by a Balearic slinger, found himself obliged to dismount; which induced the cavalry under his conduct to do the same. Hannibal, observing this motion, is reported to have said, "I would much rather the confus had delivered his men to me bound," intimating thereby, that he looked upon them now as in his power and himself as sure of victory. Nor can it be doubted but that this accident was of fatal consequence to the Roman cavalry posted in the right wing. In the mean time the Spanish and Gallic infantry, forming the large crescent abovementioned, being hotly charged by the Roman legions, after a brave resistance, by Hannibal's direction, gave ground, and retired through the interval they had left in the centre of the line. The Romans pursued them with the utmost eagerness and confusion, as Hannibal had foreseen; whereupon the African infantry, which was fresh, well-armed, and in good order, wheeled about on a sudden towards that void space, in which the Romans, who were already fatigued, had thrown themselves in disorder, and attacked them vigorously on both sides, without allowing them either space or time to form themselves. Whilst matters were in this situation, Alcibiades, with his victorious horse, coming up, charged the rear of the Roman infantry, which, being pushed on all sides by the enemy's horse and foot, was at last almost entirely cut to pieces, after having fought with unparalleled bravery. Two quaestors, twenty-one military tribunes, many who had either been consuls or praetors, Minucius, late general of the horse to Fabius, Servilius, one of the proconsuls that commanded the main body, and the consul Emilius Paulus, all fell in the action, covered with wounds and glory. Neither did the left wing of the Roman army meet with a much better fate; for Alcibiades, according to some authors hinted at by Polybius, before he advanced to the relief of the main body, by reinforcing the right wing under Hanno, enabled the Numidian cavalry posted there entirely to defeat it. Varro, the author of this terrible destruction, escaped to Venulium, with only seventy horse, being soon after joined by three hundred of the allies. Of the ten thousand men left by Paulus to guard the camp, immediately after the battle, two thousand were put to the sword, and the rest surrendered at discretion.
In fine, very few of the Romans escaped either the carnage or captivity. Hannibal, upon a review of his forces after the battle, found, that he had lost only four thousand Gauls, fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans, and about two hundred horse. Such was the defeat at Cannæ, the greatest the Romans had hitherto ever received.

The superiority of the Carthaginians in horse must be allowed to have been the principal cause of this terrible overthrow. Hannibal's army consisted of ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot; whereas the Roman cavalry did not exceed six thousand, though, in the confusar army, the infantry amounted to eighty thousand men. The strange and astonishing figure made by the Spaniards and Gauls, together with the activity of the former, and fierceness of the latter, did not a little contribute towards throwing the enemy into confusion, as is even allowed by Livy himself. The body of Numidians, that attacked the Roman rear, and the accident, which attended Paulus's wound above-mentioned, were also of singular service to Hannibal on that auspicious day the battle of Cannæ was fought. The confidence the Carthaginian troops reposed in Hannibal, looking upon him as a general absolutely invincible, likewise animated them to a prodigious degree, and consequently enabled them to exert themselves in a most extraordinary manner. Hannibal did his utmost to inspire them with a contempt of the Romans on all occasions; which had the desired effect. We are told, that when Mago, whom he had sent to view the enemy, assured him, that the Romans were extremely numerous, he replied, "As numerous as they are, I give thee my word, brother, thou canst not find one amongst them, whose name is Mago." And having thus said, he burst out into a great laughter, as did all the general officers that attended him; which induced the soldiers to believe, that he thought himself sure of victory, and of course so raised their spirits, that nothing could stand before them. The arming his Africans in the Roman manner was also a wise expedient made use of by Hannibal, as it enabled those troops to attack

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tack and reft the Romans in their own way, and, of course, not a little condued to the victory. These, we say, and many more concurring causes of the defeat at Cannæ, might be produced, and expatiated upon; but we think it sufficient barely to have touched upon the circumstances here mentioned, not at the same time forgetting to observe, that Hannibal himself, by the wise disposition of his forces, by his singular address, presence of mind, vigilance, and personal bravery, during the heat of the action, contributed more towards this unparalleled overthrow, than all the other concurring causes that can be assigned.

The immediate consequence of this victory, as Hannibal had foreseen, was a disposition of that part of Italy, called the old province, Magna Graecia, Tarentum, Arpi, and part of the territory of Capua, to submit to him. The neighbouring provinces likewise discovered an inclination to throw off the Roman yoke; but had a mind to see, whether Hannibal was absolutely in a condition to protect them, before they declared themselves. All the Carthaginian officers, except Maherbal, advised Hannibal to give his troops some repose after the great fatigues and hard service they had lately gone through; but Maherbal, on the contrary, pressed him to take directly the route to Rome at the head of his horse, promising him, that, within five days, they should sup in the capitol. Hannibal answered, "That he deferred commendation for the ardour he shewed; but that an affair of such importance required mature deliberation." To whom Maherbal replied, "I perceive the gods have not endued the same person with all shining talents. You know, Hannibal, how to conquer; but not how to make the best use of a victory." Livy (M) seems to fall in with Maherbal's notion, and

h Idem ibid.

(M) Most of the Roman historians follow Livy in this particular, though this adds no weight to that author's notion. Zonaras tells us, that Hannibal himself was so chagrined afterwards at his conduct on this occasion, that he fell into a deep melancholy, often crying out in a doleful tone, O Cannæ! Cannæ! However, Zonaras's authority is not capable of overthrowing the reasons offered to prove this improbable (19).

(19) Zonar. l. ix. c. 2.
looks upon Hannibal as guilty of a capital error on this occasion; but others, as we have elsewhere taken notice, entertained different sentiments of this point of that renowned general’s conduct; for which, besides those already mentioned, they assign the following reasons: 1. Hannibal was one of the most consummate generals antiquity ever produced; a vast military genius; a person of the greatest prudence, forecast and penetration, as the whole series of his actions, as well as the character of him, that may be gathered from the Roman writers themselves, prejudiced as they were, clearly demonstrates. It is therefore highly improbable, that, in this single instance, he should either have failed to make choice of the best expedients, or been wanting in readiness to put his designs in execution. 2. They are disposed to judge favourably of him from the authority, or, at least, the silence, of Polybius, who, speaking of the memorable consequences of this famous battle, says, that the Carthaginians believed they should possess themselves of Rome at the first assault; but he gives us no room to suppose, that such a project was feasible, nor that Hannibal did wrong in not attempting to put it in execution. 3. That as his infantry, before the battle of Cannae, did not amount to above forty thousand men, he had not strength sufficient to undertake the siege of Rome, especially as that city was very populous, strongly fortified, and defended by a garrison of two legions. This will appear in a stronger light, if we consider, that his infantry must have been considerably weakened by the loss he sustained in the action at Cannae, which amounted, on their part only, to five thousand five hundred men.

Hannibal was destitute of battering-engines, ammunition, and all things necessary for the carrying on of a siege; and consequentially, on this account, as well as the paucity of his troops, he must have been incapable of attacking in form so large a city as Rome. In proof of what is here advanced, it may be observed, that, for want of the necessaries above-mentioned, even after his victory at the lake Thasymenus, he miscarried in his attempt upon Spoletum, a town of no great strength; and after this at Cannae, was forced to raise the siege of Casilinum, a little inconsiderable city. 5. Not any of the Italian nations had yet declared for him; so that, had he miscarried in the attempt, he must have been utterly ruined. These reasons, with others that might be offered, seem
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seem to render dubious the opinion of those, who have espoused Maherbal’s side of the question i.

When Hannibal had thoroughly pillaged the Roman camp, he thought proper to march into Samnium, being informed, that the Hirpini, and other neighbouring nations, were disposed to enter into an alliance with the Carthaginians. He first advanced to Compa, which opened its gates to him, and admitted a Carthaginian garrison. In this place he left his heavy baggage, as well as the immense plunder he had amassed. After which, ordering his brother Mago, with a body of troops destined for that purpose, to polishes himself of all the fortresses of that country, he moved into Campania, the most delicious province of Italy. The humanity Hannibal had all along shewn the Italian prisoners, as well as the fame of the complete victory lately obtained, wrought so powerfully upon the Lucani, Brutii, and Apulians, that they expressed an eager desire of being taken under his protection; nay, even the Campanians themselves, a nation more obliged to Rome than any in Italy, except the Latins, being strangely affected with the gallant behaviour and good fortune of Hannibal, discovered an inclination to abandon their natural friends; of which the Carthaginian general receiving intelligence, he bent his march towards Capua, not doubting but that, by means of the popular faction which then prevailed there, he should easily make himself master of that important place k.

Some of the leading men in Capua had offered to deliver the city into Hannibal’s hands immediately after the battle of the lake Trasymenus; which induced that general to march his army to their frontiers, instead of advancing to Rome, as some think he might have done; tho’ at that time, he was so narrowly watched by Fabius, that his partizans in Capua could not find an opportunity of executing the design they had formed. But, at the present juncture, the popular faction bearing an absolute sway in the city, and being entirely at the devotion of one Pacuvius Calavius, an ambitious nobleman, on account of his known attachment to Hannibal, the Carthaginian party put themselves again in motion.

motion. Calavius having, by artful management, brought the senate under the power of the populace, and prevented the latter from massacring the former, as they intended to do, by this means united the whole city in favour of the Carthaginians; and the battle of Cannae happening soon after this union was effected, Calavius thought he might, without any obstruction, introduce them into the city. However, three hundred Capuan youths being at that time serving the Romans in Sicily, it was agreed to send a deputation to Varro, to learn the situation of the Roman affairs, that they might not only go upon sure grounds, but likewise have an opportunity of obliging the parents of the above-mentioned youths, by getting them out of the hands of the Romans. Varro continued still to act in character, that is, with the utmost imprudence; for he represented the Roman state as unable to support itself, much less to furnish them with the necessary succours; and therefore advised them to make war upon the Carthaginians with their own forces, that, by such a reasonable diversion, they might administer some relief to their old and faithful friends. This ill-judged representation and advice made such an impression upon the deputies, that, when they returned home, they advised their fellow-citizens immediately to conclude a treaty with Hannibal. They therefore entered into an alliance with him upon the following conditions: That the Campanians should be governed by their own laws; that the Carthaginians should not arrogate to themselves the least dominion in Capua, but live there upon the foot of friends; and lastly, that Hannibal should give them three hundred Roman prisoners, such as they should chuse, to be exchanged with the same number of Capuan youths in the service of Rome. One Decius Magius however, a person of distinction in the city, did his utmost to obstruct the negociation, by reminding his countrymen of the fatal consequence of changing old friends with new ones, from the example of Pyrrhus and the Tarentines; nay, when the Carthaginian troops were about to enter the town, he would fain have prevailed upon his countrymen to rally out upon them, and cut them to pieces, that they might thereby have made some sort of reparation to the Romans for the great injury offered them. Hannibal was so incensed at this conduct of Magius, that he insisted upon having him delivered into his hands; which being granted, he put him on board a ship, in order to send him to Carthage; but being driven
driven by stress of weather into the port of Cyrene, Ptolemy Philopater took him under his protection. Perolla, the son of Calavius, likewise for some time expressed a great aversion to Hannibal, and was even upon the point of assassinating him. However, Hannibal at last look peaceable possession of Capua, and fixed there his winter-quarters. Livy tells us, that Hannibal, in his march to Capua, passed by Neapolis, now Naples; and that a body of horse falling out of the town upon one of the Carthaginian parties, that advanced to the walls, was drawn into an ambuscade, and almost entirely cut off, with one Hegeas, who commanded it; but that Hannibal could not form the siege of the place; which sufficiently justifies what has been hinted above. The same author likewise informs us, that Virius Sabius, one of the Campanian deputies sent to Varro, endeavoured to persuade the Capuans to a rupture with the Romans, by urging, that they had now not only a fine opportunity of shaking off the Roman yoke, but likewise of making themselves masters of all Italy; since Hannibal would undoubtedly return to Africa, when he had demolished that proud republic he had so justly contracted such an aversion to, and conclude a treaty with them upon their own terms. It was however agreed, our author goes on, that the same deputies should be dispatched to Rome, and propose this condition as the basis of a future friendship between the two cities, viz. that from thence-forth one of the consuls should be a Campanian; which was rejected with the utmost indignation, and the deputies ordered immediately to depart Rome. Marius Blosius, praetor of the city, greatly distinguished himself at Hannibal’s entry into Capua, commanding the citizens, with their wives and children, in a body, to meet him at some distance from the town. The night after his entry, Hannibal invited Calavius, with his son Perolla, and Jubellius Taureas, an officer of uncommon merit, to sup with him; and the day following gave the Campanians flattering assurances of making their city the metropolis of Italy. By these steps, and in this manner, did Hannibal make himself master of Capua; which being an event of no small importance to him, and the boundary, as we may style it, of his great success, we could not avoid being thus explicit and particular in our account of it.

WHILST

k Liv. 1. xxiii. c. 2—11. Zonar. ubi sup. c. 3. Plut. in Hannib.
WHilst Hannibal was pushing on the war in Italy with the utmost vigour, the state of Carthage sent two fleets to the coasts of Sicily. One of these ravaged the maritime part of Hiero’s territories, because that prince was in alliance with Rome, whilst the other stood off of the islands Ægates, in order to observe the motions of the Romans. The admiral of this last squadron had orders to attack Lilybæum both by sea and land, as soon as the Romans advanced to the relief of king Hiero; of which T. Otacilius, the prœfect, being apprised, he dispatched an express to Rome for a speedy reinforcement of ships; but the senate, considering the deplorable condition the republic now was in, did not think proper to comply with his request. He therefore found himself obliged to stand upon the defensive, lest he should expose the Roman dominions in Sicily to an invasion.

NOTWITHSTANDING the implacable hatred Hannibal bore the Romans, he dispatched Carthalo to Rome, to treat with the senate there about a redemption of the prisoners taken in the battle of Cannæ. Though the sum demanded for these prisoners was far from being exorbitant, the conscript fathers refused the payment of it. The reasons alleged for this refusal by the Romans, have been already given; but the true one seems to have been the extreme poverty of the Roman state at this melancholy juncture. Hannibal, upon Carthalo’s return, sent all the Roman prisoners of distinction to Carthage, and treated the others in the manner by us related in a former part of this history (N).

Soon


(N) Appian and Zonaras intimate, that Hannibal sold some of the Roman captives for slaves, and slew a vast number of the manner sort of them, with whose bodies he made a bridge over a river, which facilitated a passage for his troops. But this last instance of cruelty seems highly improbable, especially considering the partiality of the historians from whom it comes, and that it is passed over in silence by Polybius. That excellent author, amongst other things, observes, that the senate at Rome imagined, that a compliance with Hannibal’s proposal would look like a tacit acknowledgment of his great superiority, and therefore declined it.
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Soon after Capua had made its submission, many cities of the Brutii opened their gates to Hannibal, who ordered his brother Mago to take possession of them. Mago was then dispatched to Carthage, with the important news of the great victory obtained at Cannae, and the happy consequences of it. Upon his arrival there, he acquainted the senate, that Hannibal had defeated six Roman generals, four of which were consuls, one dictator, and the other general of horse to the dictator; that he had engaged six confederate armies, killed two consuls, wounded one, and driven another out of the field, with scarce fifty men to attend him; that he had routed the general of the horse, who was of equal power with the consuls; that the dictator was esteemed as the only general fit to command an army, merely because he had not had the courage to engage him. As a demonstrative proof of what he advanced, he produced, according to some authors, three buffels and an half of rings of Roman knights and senators. He likewise subjoined, that Capua, a city that was not only the metropolis of Campania, but, since the defeat of the Romans at Cannae, of Italy itself, had submitted to Hannibal. For such unparalleled successes, he moved, that thanks should be returned to the immortal gods, and that an immediate reinforcement should be sent to Hannibal, who, being in the closing with it. Livy affirns, that many of the Roman prisoners were bought of Hannibal by the Greeks; which may possibly be true. But that great numbers of them were put to a vast variety of the most exquisite tortures, purely to gratify the cruel and vindictive disposition of that general, as Eutropius suggests, will not be so easily admitted by our candid readers, for the reasons above assigned. We must beg leave to remark here, that, according to Diodorus Siculus, none of the Roman captives could be forced, by the most grievous sufferings, to lift up their hands against their friends and relations, when Hannibal would have obliged them to act the part of gladiators, for the entertainment of his troops; though Livy affirms the contrary, as will further appear from what we have extracted from that historian on this occasion, in the passage of the Universal history here referred to. The disagreement therefore of two such eminent authors, and the silence of Polybius on this head, seem to evince many, if not all, the instances of cruelty laid to Hannibal's charge at this juncture, to have been entirely fabulous (20).

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the heart of an enemy's country, wanted both men and money, especially as his troops must have greatly suffered in the various engagements they had had with the enemy. All ranks and degrees of people being struck with an extraordinary joy on this happy occasion, Himilco, the chief the Barcan faction, fanstiny, that a fair opportunity of insulting Hanno now offered, addressed himself to him in the following terms:

"Do you still, Hanno, repent of the war we are embarked in with Rome? Forbid, by all means, the appointment of a day of thanksgiving to the immortal gods, for so many signal advantages obtained! Come, for once let us hear a Roman senator declaim in the senate-house at Carthage"! Hanno, notwithstanding this provocation, without any emotion, according to Livy, replied, "That he still entertained the same sentiments as formerly, in relation to the war; that he should not cease blaming their invincible general's conduct, till his glorious victories had procured them a tolerable peace; that the mighty exploits on which Hannibal's creatures expatiated so much, supposing them real, could only give him joy, in proportion as they were made subservient to such a peace; that however, as it was preposterous in Hannibal to solicit such succours, as could only be deemed necessary for a general in desperate circumstances, at the same time that he was amusing them with an account of the rapid conquests he had made, he could not help looking upon those exploits as perfectly chimerical and imaginary". Then turning to Mago and Himilco, he asked them, "Whether a single member of any one of the thirty-five tribes had come over to Hannibal, or any of the Latin nations declared for him, after the so-much cried up victory at Cannae"? To which Mago answering in the negative; "It is evident then, replied Hanno, that the Romans are still very strong. But pray, what degree of courage are they inspired with? What hopes or expectations have they of carrying on the war with success, to animate them"? Of which question Mago professing himself incapable of giving a proper solution; "How! says Hanno; nothing can be more easy than this. Have the Romans sent embassadors to enter into a negotiation with Hannibal? Has any mention been made of a peace at Rome"? No, replied Mago. Why then I find, subjoined Hanno, "we have the fame happy prospect before us now, that we had the first day Hannibal entered Italy. In what a fine situation were we, when Lutatius
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"Lutatius gave us that memorable defeat off of the islands "Ægates, which destroyed all our hopes, and reduced us to "the necessity of suing for an ignominious peace? This "may be again our case; and therefore I am for concluding "an advantageous peace with Rome, whilst our affairs wear "a tolerable aspect, lest, upon some disastuer, it should not "be in our power to do fo". Hanno therefore, with all his adherents, opposed the continuation of the war, and consequently voted against sending Hannibal any succours; but the majority of the senate considering this merely as the effect of prejudice and jealousy, the Barcan faction prevailed, and orders were given to furnish the army in Italy with a proper reinforcement of troops, as well as an ample supply of money and provisions. A body of four thoufa. Numidians, with forty elephants, was first defined for that country; a large detachment of Spanish forces was appointed to follow the Numidians; and that these left troops might be ready in due time, Mago set out immediately for Spain, to raise twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, there. The Carthaginians proposed to recruit, with these new levies, not only Hannibal's army, but that likewise which acted in Spain a.

As soon as Hannibal had possession himself of Capua, he attempted, both by promises and menaces, to make himself master of Naples; but the Neapolitans being proof against all his efforts, he advanced to Nola, and summoned that city, threatening its inhabitants with the utmost extremities, if they did not immediately surrender. The senate, at least the leading men in it, was wholly in the Roman interest; but the Carthaginians being masters of the open country, and in high reputation by the advantages they had gained, the populace was entirely at Hannibal's devotion. The former therefore, in order to carry their point, pretended to be in a disposition to surrender the city to Hannibal; but at the same time insinuated, that, before this could be done, it would be proper to come to some terms of agreement with him. Under the pretense therefore of entering into a negotiation with the Carthaginian general, the senate of Nola found means to spin out the time, and send, with all possible expedition, messengers to Marcellus, the Roman praetor, acquainting him with the situation of affairs, and that the city would be obliged to capitulate, except

except he instantly marched to its relief. Marcellus, leaving Casilinum, where he was then posted, advanced to Calatia; and having passed the Vulturnus, moved, with surprising celerity, through the districts of Satricula and Trebia, in order to succour Nola. Hannibal drew off upon his approach, and made a fresh attempt upon Naples; but without effect. After this, he laid siege to Nuceria, and starved it to a surrender. One of the articles of the capitulation was, that the inhabitants should be permitted to march out with all their cloaths, though disarmed. Thirty senators, and most of the people of fashion, retired to Capua; but were refused admission there, because they did not at first open their gates to Hannibal; but they met with a kind reception at Cumae. Hannibal gave Nuceria up to his soldiers to be plundered, and afterwards burnt it. Marcellus, the Roman praetor, having thrown himself with a body of troops, into Nola, was under no apprehension for the safety of that place, though the Carthaginian army, after the destruction of Nuceria, encamped before it. The populace ardently desired to deliver it up to Hannibal; but Marcellus prevented the Carthaginian from possessing himself of it, by gaining over to the Roman interest L. Bantius, the chief of the Carthaginian faction. This he did, partly by the force of adulation and condescension, ordering the liciters to give him admission, as often as he desired it; and partly by dint of presents, desiring him to accept of a fine horse, and five hundred bigati (O). Hannibal drew up the Carthaginian army in order of battle before the walls, as Marcellus did the Roman forces within the town. His parties had frequent skirmishes with those of the Romans.

(O) The bigati, or nummi bigati, were silver pieces of money, with the figure of a chariot drawn by a pair of horses stamped upon them; and the quadrigati, or nummi quadrigati, others with that of one drawn by two pair of horses, as we learn from Pliny. According to the same author, the Phrygians invented the former kind of chariots, and Erichthonius the latter. Let this be admitted, and it will seem to follow, that the Romans had these chariots introduced amongst them by their neighbours the Etruscans, who were descended from the Lydians and Phrygians, since they were used at Rome before that city had any intercourse with the Greeks. Many Roman denarii, particularly of those coined in the times of the republic, with such images on their reverses, are...
mans, though neither side sustained any considerable loss. By his emissaries, he engaged the populace to seize upon the gates, as soon as Marcellus had rallied out of them with his whole force, as he had received intelligence the Roman general designed to do; by which means the Romans would have been hemmed in betwixt the garrison and the Carthaginian army, and consequently must all have been cut off. Marcellus, being informed of this, divided his army into three bodies, which he posted at three gates fronting the enemy; having before issued out an order, forbidding any of the citizens to flit out of their houses. Hannibal, in the mean time observing, that no parties were posted on the ramparts for their defence, immediately concluded, that his whole scheme was unravelled, and Marcellus now engaged with the citizens. He therefore ordered his scaling-ladders to be brought immediately to the walls, and began the attack. The moment this happened, Marcellus, at the head of a choice body of veterans, fallying out of the middle gate, fell upon the Carthaginians with such fury, that he put them into disorder. Hannibal, little dreaming of such a fall, with some difficulty rallied his troops, and made head against the enemy. During this conflict, the two other bodies fallyed out of the other gates, and attacked the rear of the Carthaginians; which struck Hannibal with such terror, that he retired into his lines, and soon after drew off from before the town. Though the Carthaginians, even according to the Roman accounts, did not lose much above two thousand men on this occasion, yet the Romans looked up on this action, as one of the most considerable in its consequences to them, of all that happened during the whole course of the war, since it demonstrated Hannibal not to be invincible. Hannibal, advancing to Acerræ, made the proper dispositions to besiege it; but the inhabitants abandoning it, he laid it in ashes. From thence he moved to Caetinum,
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Casilinum, which he immediately invested. The garrison defended itself with inexpressible bravery; neither could Hannibal have ever made himself master of it, had not famine forced it to surrender. Before the Carthaginian general presented himself before the town, he detached a body of Gætulians, under the command of their captain Ibalca, to prevail upon the inhabitants, if possible, by fair means, to receive a Carthaginian garrison; but, if this could not be effected, they had orders to attempt storming it. Ibalca, upon his approach, finding a profound silence, and no enemy appearing, imagined the place to be abandoned; and therefore made the necessary preparations to force open the gates: which being observed by two cohorts that garrisoned the city, they, according to orders received, issued out in a moment, repulsed the Gætulians, and made great slaughter of them. Maheralb afterwards assaulted it with a greater force; but was obliged to retire with considerable loss. Lasty, Hannibal himself, with his whole army, formed the siege of it; but lost abundance of men, without making any considerable progress. However, he at last found means to surround almost the whole garrison, in a sally they made, with his elephants, and cut to pieces most of them, the rest securing their retreat by favour of the night. The next day Hannibal to inspire his troops with the greater ardor, promised to the soldier, who first mounted the ramparts, a golden mural crown; and declared, "That it was matter of surprize to him, that an inconsiderable town, situated in a plain, should be able to baffle the efforts of that army which took Saguntum, and defeated the Romans at Canae, Thrasymenus, and Trebia." Notwithstanding which, the garrison made so vigorous a defence, that he found himself obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, and, after leaving a small body of troops to guard his lines, to put his army into winter-quarters at Capua.

The pleasures of Capua prejudicial to Hannibal.

It is intimated by the Roman historians, that Capua proved the destruction of Hannibal. Here it was, according to these authors, that those soldiers, who had been long injured to the greatest fatigues, and braved the most formidable dangers, were vanquished by luxury, and a flow of pleasures, with which the minds of the Capuans, who were immersed

Plut. in Marcel. Paul. Oros, l. iv. c. 16.
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messed in a profusion of the most charming delights, had long been corrupted. Livy in particular intimates, that Hannibal’s delicious abode at Capua was a reproach to his former conduct, and infinitely more prejudicial to his affairs, than the false step he was guilty of, in not marching directly to Rome after the battle of Cannae; for this last error, according to that historian, might seem only to have retarded his victory; whereas the former rendered him absolutely incapable of conquering. This, we say, is the sentiment of Livy, and has been adopted by several later writers; but whether or no it is entirely agreeable to truth, will, if we consider things with due attention, perhaps admit of some dispute.

For though we should allow, that the martial genius of the Carthaginians was impaired by the bewitching retirement at Capua, yet it cannot reasonably be supposed, that the bad success, which afterwards attended Hannibal’s arms, ought to be ascribed to this, as its principal cause. The frequent defeats that general afterwards gave the Romans, the several towns he reduced in sight of the Roman armies, the bravery with which he maintained himself in Italy for fourteen years after this event, in spite of the continued efforts of the enemy, will not admit of such a supposition. But Livy himself puts this beyond dispute; that author points out to us a cause of the declension of the Carthaginian affairs in Italy, different from the delights of Capua.

We have before observed from him, that the senate and people of Carthage ordered four thousand Numidian horse, forty elephants, and a considerable body of Spanish infantry, with a proper sum of money, to be sent to Italy, in order to enable Hannibal to maintain and extend his conquests there. Had this ample supply been sent him with an expedition equal to the spirit with which it was granted, the Romans would have had no opportunity of reflecting upon Hannibal, on account of his conduct at Capua. That general would, in all human probability, have obliged the haughty

haughty rival of the Carthaginian republic to have submitted to the superior force of his arms the next campaign. But, notwithstanding the influence of the Barcan faction, Hanno, and his adherents, found means not only to retard the march of the intended succours, but even to diminish them. Mago, through the artifices of that infatuated party, could obtain an order for only twelve thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; and even with this body of troops, inconsiderable as it was, he was sent to Spain. Hannibal, being thus deflected by his country, through the intrigues of a profligate and abandoned faction, who had come to a resolution to sacrifice the state, of which they were members, to their private resentment, found himself obliged to be on the defensive, his army being reduced to twenty-six thousand foot, and nine thousand horse. As the Romans therefore, notwithstanding the difficulties they were reduced to, sent every year two consular armies into the field, fully recruited, and in good order; as neither the Gauls nor Italians were natural allies of the Carthaginians, and consequently would scarce fail of abandoning them, as soon as fortune began to declare against them; there is no need to have recourse to the pleasures of Capua, in order to account for Hannibal's being driven out of Italy.

At the return of the spring, Hannibal drew his forces out of their winter-quarters, and resumed the siege of Catilinium. He did not however push this on with vigour, as knowing, that the place must soon surrender through want of provisions. The famine raged so grievously amongst the citizens, that they were obliged, for some time, to feed upon the most loathsome animals. Valerius Maximus tells us, that one of them gave another an hundred Roman denarii for a single mouse; which supported him, till Hannibal granted the garrison a capitulation; but the person who sold it, in the mean time, perished with hunger. Pliny and Frontinus affirm, that this mouse was purchased with two hundred Roman denarii; and with these authors Livy, in the main, agrees. Marcellus, not being able to attempt raising the siege, by reason of an inundation of the Vulturnus, the troops in garrison were forced to have recourse to Hannibals clemency, who, induced thereto by their brave defence, permitted them to march out of the town, upon the

\[\text{Vide Univer. hist. vol. xii p. 228. & alib.}\]
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the freemen's paying seven ounces of gold an head. Livy says, that, till the gold was paid, the Carthaginian general kept them in chains; but afterwards, with great honour, conducted them to Cumæ. Of the Prænestine garrison, which, at the beginning of the siege, consisted of five hundred and seventy men, near one half arrived safe at Prænesta, with their praetor Manicius, the rest having been destroyed by sickness, famine, and the other casualties of war. Hannibal restored Casilinum to the Campanians, leaving there a Carthaginian garrison of seven hundred men, to defend the place against the Romans, in case they should think proper, after his departure, to attack it. Then, to complete the reduction of that part of Italy, in conjunction with the greatest part of the Bruttii, he laid siege to Petilia, the only city of that nation, which held out against him. The Petilini immediately applied to the Romans for succours in the most pressing manner; but the perplexed state of affairs would not permit the republic to assist them. Notwithstanding which, they defended themselves for several months against the reiterated attacks of the whole Carthaginian army, with incredible bravery and resolution 1.

During these transactions in Italy, the war was carried on with great vigour in Spain. For some time Africulous, the Carthaginian general there, kept himself upon the defensive, not being in a condition to face either the Roman fleet under Publius Scipio, or the land-forces commanded by Cneius. However, at last receiving a reinforcement of four thousand foot, and five hundred horse, from Carthage, he ventured to move out of the fastnesses, wherein he had before posted himself, and advanced towards the enemy's camp. He likewise gave orders to have his fleet repaired, to protect the maritime parts of the Carthaginian provinces, and the islands adjacent to them, from all insults of the enemy; but, before this was in a condition to put to sea, he received intelligence, that several captains of ships had gone over to the Romans. These captains, it seems, had been severely reprimanded for abandoning the fleet upon the Iberus, through cowardice, the last year; which they not being able to brook, had, from that time, meditated a revolt from the Carthaginians. Not content with what they had already done, they endeavoured to

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to excite the Carpefi to a defection; in which they so far succeeded, that several towns were drawn off from their obedience to the Carthaginians, and another, that refused to join them, reduced by force. This unexpected rebellion proved very prejudicial to Adrupal, and a reasonable diversion in favour of the Romans; for the Carthaginian general, leaving the Romans to themselves, advanced, at the head of his whole army, into the enemy's territories, with a design to attack Galbus, the Carpefi general, who lay encamped under the walls of the town he had lately possessed himself of. He therefore first sent away his light-armed troops to reconnoitre the rebels, and draw them to an engagement, detaching immediately afterwards part of his infantry to ravage the neighbouring country, and cut off all the straggling parties of the enemy, that should be found dispersed there; by which means many of the Carpefi were killed, others put to flight, and their camp alarmed at the same time. However, their forces being very numerous, they were so far from being terrified at this motion, that they instantly issued out of their camp in a body, dancing and skipping after their manner, with an intention to fall directly upon the Carthaginians. This sudden instance of courage so damped the spirits of Adrupal's main body, with which he was advancing to attack Galbus's camp, that he thought it proper to take post on an eminence, in itself of difficult access, but rendered more so by a river, which secured him from the enemy. Here he was rejoined by the two above-mentioned detachments, equally struck with terror at the enemy's approach; nay, under such terrible apprehensions were the Carthaginians at this juncture, that, notwithstanding their camp might have been looked upon as in accessible, Adrupal fortified it with an intrenchment, in order to cover it the more effectually from all attempts of the barbarians. Some skirmishes happened whilst the two armies lay so near one another; but without any considerable loss on either side. Livy tells us that the Numidian cavalry were not so good as the Carpefi; nor the Mauritanian dartmen as the Carpefi targeteers, who, in activity, were equal to them, and in strength, as well as courage, excelled them. Galbus, finding it impossible either to draw the enemy out of their camp, or force the intrenchment that covered it, seized upon Afena, a town where Adrupal had fixed his principal magazine, when he first
first entered upon the Carthaginian frontiers, and easily made himself master of the open country round about it. Asdrubal, finding the enemy, not a little elated with their late successes, soon after to disperse themselves in small parties over the country, and to lay aside all discipline, both in their detachments and their camp, advanced out of his trenches, with his army drawn up in order of battle, and immediately fell upon them. The Carthagians, not expecting so sudden an onset, being in confusion, and having a good part of their forces then roving about the country, were easily routed by the Carthaginians, who continued the slaughter a great part of the day. In fine, the whole body of the barbarians in the camp, except a small party, that escaped, by a vigorous sally, to the mountains and woods, was put to the sword; which threw the Carthagians into such a consternation, that the next day the whole nation submitted to Asdrubal. Soon after a courier arrived from Carthage, with orders to Asdrubal to begin his march for Italy without delay. This changed the face of affairs in Spain; for the Spaniards, upon the publication of this news, considered the Carthaginians as not in a condition to protect them; and of course began to turn their eyes towards the Romans. Asdrubal therefore dispatched an express to Carthage, giving the republic an account how prejudicial the bare rumour of his departure had been to it; at the same time adding, that if the late orders were put in execution, the Romans would be masters of Spain, before he had passed the Iberus. To support what he advanced, he declared, that after he had drawn the forces assigned him out of the Carthaginian provinces there, neither garrisons nor a general would be left capable of giving any opposition to the Romans; that, besides this, the natives were not well affected to the Carthaginians; and that therefore it would be at least proper for him to defer his march, till a successor arrived in Spain, with a strong body of forces, to preserve the Carthaginian acquisitions there; since, whatever success might attend their arms against the Romans, the disposition of the Spaniards themselves would require no small number of troops to be distributed amongst them. But, notwithstanding this just remonstrance, the state of Carthage persisted in its former resolution, looking upon it as a matter of the utmost consequence to support Hannibal. However, it so far complied with Asdrubal’s request, as to send Himilco, with a competent army, and a considerable naval reinforcement, into
into Spain, to watch the motions both of the natives and the Romans.

HAMILCO, having transported his forces to Spain, took care immediately to put himself into a situation not to fear any insults of the Spaniards. He fortified his camp, drew his ships on shore, and surrounded them with a ditch and a wall. After this, he hastened with the utmost expedition through the territories of several cantons, either open enemies to the Carthaginians, or disposed to be so, to Asdrubal’s camp, escorted by a choice detachment of horse. After he had imparted the orders of the senate to that general, and received from him instructions how to carry on the war in Spain, he returned to his own camp in safety, the extreme celerity, with which he posted through the territories of the above-mentioned Spanish cantons, not giving any of them an opportunity of discovering him. Before Asdrubal began his march for Italy, he furnished himself with large sums of money, which he exacted from the Spaniards subject to, and in alliance with, Carthage, being sensible, that Hannibal could never have reached the Alps, had he not been powerfully supported by gold. At last, having got all things in readiness for the enterprise he was going upon, he assembled all his forces, and advanced to the Iberus. In the mean time he received intelligence, that the Romans, apprised of his approach, had laid siege to Ibera, a town deriving its name from the river on which it stood, and the richest in all that part of Spain. To induce them therefore to raise that siege, he sat down before another town, which had lately submitted to the Romans. This had the desired effect; for the Romans, leaving Ibera, immediately moved towards him, and encamped upon a spot about five miles distant from him. The consequence of this action was a decisive battle, wherein Asdrubal gave proofs of an extraordinary military genius, though fortune declared against him. The Spaniards in his army, not relishing an Italian expedition, took to their heels at the first onset; the Mauritanian and Numidian horse made but a faint resistance; so that the rout was general, and the slaughter dreadful. Asdrubal did all that could be expected from the most consummate general; he continued to give his orders with the greatest presence of mind, and to animate his men by his example.

example, till all things became desperate; but, not being able to rally his troops, he found himself obliged to leave the field of battle and his camp to the enemy, together with the vast sums of money he had amassed for the Italian expedition. According to Eutropius and Orosius, the Carthaginians had twenty-five thousand men killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners, in the action. Zonaras intimates, that Cneius was so posted with a body of troops, that very few of the Carthaginians found it possible to make their escape. After this blow, all the Spaniards, who had before been wavering in their fidelity to Carthage, declared for the victors. Afdrubal, in the mean time, collecting the remains of his shattered army, was so far from being in a condition to attempt succouring Hannibal, that, with great difficulty, he maintained himself in Spain.

Our readers will easily perceive, that this account of the Spanish affairs, during the period we are now upon, is chiefly extracted from Livy; though they may at the same time discover, that we have inferred several circumstances not taken notice of by that historian, with which we have been supplied by other ancient writers. They are not therefore to be surprized, if they should meet with several improbabilities, and even inconsistencies, in the relation; since Livy must be allowed to have been most unreasonably prejudiced against the Carthaginian republic, as well as in favour of his own. Fabius Pictor, Valerius Antias, and others, from whom he compiled his history, were of the same disposition with himself in this particular. What truth therefore can be expected from them in a description of any great transactions, wherein the Carthaginians bore a principal part? The improbabilities and inconsistencies just hinted at are so glaring, that they cannot escape the eye of any attentive reader; for which reason it is superfluous, would the nature of our design permit, to recite them. However, thus much is apparent from what the above-mentioned authors have transmitted to posterity in the point before us, viz. that the defeat of Afdrubal, in a great measure, ruined Hannibal's affairs in Italy, though it was not attended with such fatal consequences in Spain as Livy suggests. That historian himself puts this last observation beyond
beyond dispute, in some subsequent parts of his work. How
greatly then are we to regret the loss of that part of Poly-
bius's excellent history treating of these campaigns in Spain!
This, had it been extant, would undoubtedly have set us
right in every important particular relating to them. But
to return to the Carthaginian affairs in Italy.

HIMILCO, who commanded the Carthaginian forces be-
fore Petilia, carried on the siege of that place with great
vigour, battering the walls with the utmost fury, and har-
assing the garrison by continual assaults. However, the
Petiliani defended themselves in a very gallant manner,
derroying great numbers of the besiegers, though they
were but an handful of men. But what not a little con-
tributed to the defence of the place, was the bravery of the
women, who distinguished themselves as much as the men
on this occasion. They made frequent sallies, burnt the ene-
my's works, and retired triumphantly into the town. Not-
withstanding which, Hannibal, having cut off all com-
unication betwixt them and the neighbouring country, they
were so greatly pressed by famine, that they found them-
selves obliged to send all the useless people out of the city,
who, according to Appian, were immediately butchered
by the Carthaginians in the fight of the garrison. At last,
they resolved to make a sally with their whole force, which
they accordingly did; but the greatest part of them,
through hunger and fatigue, not having strength enough
either to make use of their arms, or retire into the town,
were put to the sword. However, eight hundred of them
cut their way through the enemy, and escaped in a body to
the Romans, who, after the conclusion of this war, rein-
fated them in their former possessions, and always took
t care to distinguish them by such marks of esteem, as their
singular fidelity entitled them to.

As likewise
Confentia,
Croton, Loc-
ciri, and
other cities,

AFTER the reduction of Petilia, Hannibal, having been
rejoined by Himilco's detachment, advanced to Confectia;
which soon surrendered to him. Locri opened its gates up-
on the first summons, the principal citizens having, for
some time, kept a secret correspondence with the Brutii,
who had united themselves with the Carthaginian army.
Croto, which was, in a manner, deserted by its inhabi-

* Liv. i. xxvi. & alib.  
* Liv. i. xxiii. c. 35. Appian in
Iberic. Val. Max. i. vi. c. 6. Plut. ubi sup.
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...tants, and several other cities of Magna Graecia, did the like. Rhegium, though attacked by Hannibal with all his forces, held out bravely, and baffled all the efforts of the Carthaginians. Sicily in the mean time wavered in its fidelity to the Romans, the defeat at Cannae giving it such an idea of the Carthaginian power, that it could not avoid discovering an inclination to follow the example of the Italians. Even the family of Hiero was not entirely free from this disposition; for Gelon, the heir apparent to the crown of Syracuse, despising Hiero's old age, declared for Hannibal; and had not death taken him so opportunely, that Hiero himself was suspected of hastening his fate, he might have made a powerful diversion in favour of the Carthaginians.

ZONARAS intimates, that somewhere about the period we are now upon, the dictator Junius, with a powerful corps, attended Hannibal, and mimicked all his motions. He encamped, decamped, refreshed his troops at the same time, and in the same manner, the subtle Carthaginian did; insomuch that the movements of both armies corresponded in every particular. Hannibal, observing this, immediately began to confer, how he might reap some advantage from the whimsical conduct of the dictator. He was not long at a loss for a stratagem on this occasion: the first dark, tempestuous night that happened, he detached a good body of forces out of his camp, ordering them to take post in some place at a small distance from it, and to harass the Romans all night with continual skirmishes and alarms, if Junius made the same movement. With the other part of the army he reposed himself in the camp till morning, and then recalled the above-mentioned detachment, commanding every man of it immediately to take his natural rest. This artifice, according to our author, had the desired effect; for Junius, at the beginning of the night, observing a large body of troops to march out of Hannibal's camp, and perceiving every thing there still afterwards, imagined the whole Carthaginian army to have been in motion; and therefore drew all the forces out of his own camp, to observe the enemy. The commander of the Carthaginian detachment, in pursuance of his orders, kept the Romans in action the whole night, and then retired into the camp, to repose his troops. Upon Junius's doing

\[\text{Liv. ubi sup. c. 30. Diod Sic. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Vales.}\]
doing the same, Hannibal, with his fresh corps, fell upon
the wearied Romans, now asleep, and not dreaming of any
attack, forced their camp, put great numbers of them to
the sword, and dispersed the rest. The darkness of the
night, as well as the tempestuous weather, did not a little
contribute to the happy success of this stratagem, since the
Roman general was thereby rendered incapable, either of
discovering the number, or penetrating the design, of the
Carthaginians.

In the mean time a courier arrived at Carthage from the
army in Spain, with letters from Aedrual, importing
that he had received a total defeat, and that the greatest
part of Spain had revolted to the Romans. The senate and
people were thunderstruck at this melancholy advice,
which, for the present, disconcerted all their measures.
Mago was upon the point of setting out for Italy, with a
reinforcement of twelve thousand foot, and fifteen hun-
dred horse, and twenty elephants, besides a pecuniary sup-
ply of a thousand talents in silver; but his departure, up-
on the reception of this mortifying news, was counter-
manded, and he ordered to hold himself in readiness to em-
barque for Spain at a minute’s warning. Whilst matters
were in this ferment at Carthage, embassadours arrived there
from Sardinia, inviting the Carthaginians, in the name of
Hamscora, who, at that time, bore the chief sway there,
and the other Sardinian prime nobility, to send over a body
of troops, in order to take possession of that island. These
embassadours intimated, “That the Romans had scarce
any forces there; that the praetor Cornelius, a person
of distinguished merit, had left the island; that a new
one, perfectly raw and unacquainted with the genius of
the Sardi, as well as their manners and constitution, was
expected; that the Sardi were tired of the Roman go-
vernment, and extremely incensed against their imperi-
ous and avaricious masters, for their grievous exactions
the last year; in fine, that nothing was wanting to in-
duce them to shake off the Roman yoke, but an encour-
gagement thereto from some powerful state, that would
take them under its protection.” This embassy a little
revived the drooping spirits of the Carthaginians, who there-
upon immediately sent Mago to Spain with the aboveaid
succours.

2 Zonar. 1. ix. c. 3.
 succours, and dispatched Afdrubal, surnamed Calvus, with the like number of forces to support the Sardi.

Whilst the two potent republics of Carthage and Rome were thus contending for superiority, the eyes of all the neighbouring states were fixed upon them. Amongst the rest, Philip, king of Macedon, had observed, with great attention, the progress of this war. This in point of prudence, he thought himself obliged to, as he was a neighbour to Italy, being separated from it only by the Ionian sea. At first, he was equally inclined to both parties; but finding Hannibal the favourite of fortune, he came to a resolution to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Carthaginian. To this end he sent an embassy, with Xenophanes, one of his ministers, at the head of it, to Hannibal's camp in Campania. This embassy happened to fall into the hands of the Romans, and was conducted to the praetor Valerius Levinus, in his camp at Nuceria; but Xenophanes, by his address, pretending he came to propose a treaty of friendship to the Romans, found means to pursue his rout; and, upon arriving at Hannibal's headquarters, concluded a treaty with him, which, together with the preamble to it, was couched in the following terms: "Copy of the treaty concluded between Hannibal, general of the Carthaginian army, Mago, Myrcan, Bar, mocar, all the senators of Carthage, together with the whole body of forces then present, on the one side; and Xenophanes, son of Cleomachus, an Athenian, minister plenipotentiary of Philip, son of Demetrius, king of Macedon, the Macedonian nation, and their allies, on the other. The articles of this treaty are agreed upon in the most solemn manner by both the contracting powers, in the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; of the Daemon of Carthage, Hercules, and Iolaus; of Mars, Triton, and Neptune; of those divinities who are confederates with Carthage; of the Sun, Moon, and Earth; of the Rivers, Meadows, and Waters; of the tutelary deities of Carthage, Macedon, and Greece; and lastly, of those deities, who, presiding in war, assist at, and superintend, the signing of the present treaty, Hannibal, general of the Carthaginian forces, the senators above-mentioned, and the whole Carthaginian.

—Liv. ubi sup. c. 32.
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"Carthaginian army, declare this, according to the mutual intention of both parties, to be a treaty of amity, by virtue of which the contracting powers are, from henceforth, obliged to treat each other as friends and brethren. In consequence therefore of this convention, king Philip, the Macedonian nation, and the Greeks their allies, engage themselves to defend and support, to the utmost of their power, the lords the Carthaginians (P), Hannibal their general, all the senators and forces with him, all governors of provinces under the dominion of Carthage, who govern by the same laws, the people of Utica, and all other cities and nations subject to the Carthaginian empire; all who bear arms in their service; all cities in alliance with them in Italy, Gaul, and Liguria; and all that shall hereafter become their allies in those countries. On the other hand, the Carthaginian armies, the inhabitants of Utica, all the cities and states subject to Carthage, all the Carthaginian allies, and their troops, all the nations of Italy, Gaul, and Liguria, that are in a state of amity with the Carthaginians, or that shall hereafter enter into an alliance with them, solemnly oblige themselves to preserve from all injuries and insults, and strenuously to support, Philip king of Macedon, the Macedonian nation, together with the Greeks their allies. No clandestine practices shall be carried on by either party to the prejudice of the other. Both powers shall, with the utmost sincerity and alacrity, act against the enemies of

(P) We have translated here the οἱ ΚΤΠΙΟΙ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ of Polybius, the lords the Carthaginians, and not Carthaginian lords; since the last expression seems to refer only to the senate and the suffetes; whereas the former includes likewise the people, who, at the signing of this treaty, were the most powerful part of the republic of Carthage; and that this alliance was concluded by Philip's ministers with the whole republic of Carthage, not with the senate and suffetes, in exclusion of the plebeians, no one can doubt. So we see in the treaty of Utrecht, to omit several others of late date, the states general are styled the lords the states general. However, we do not pretend to insist upon the truth of this translation, only offer it as a conjecture to our learned readers, leaving it to them either to admit of it, or reject it, as they shall think proper (22).

(22) Polyb. 1. vii.
"Carthage and king Philip, except such kings, cities or
ports, as shall have contracted a friendship with either of
them. The Romans shall be looked upon as a common
enemy, till such time as the gods shall be pleased happily
to terminate the war already commenced. King Philip,
the Macedonian nation, and the Greeks their allies, shall
supply the Carthaginians with all necessaries, in order to
carry on this war, in such manner as shall be hereafter
settled by a particular convention. If Heaven should not
vouchsafe success to the arms of the high allies, but they
should be obliged to enter into a negotiation with the
enemy, and even conclude a peace with them, they shall
all be comprehended in that treaty. The Romans shall
never be permitted to have any footing in the island of
Corcyra, nor to exercise any dominion over the inhabitants
of Apollonia, Epidamnus, Pharus, Dimilae, Parthus,
and Attinania. They shall be obliged to deliver up to
Demetrius Pharius all his friends and relations, who shall
be found in any part of their territories. If the Romans
shall hereafter declare war against either of the contracting
powers, they shall mutually assist each other, as occasion
shall require. The same thing shall be done by both par-
ties, if any other power comes to a rupture with either
of them, except it be a king, state, or city, with which
the other was before in alliance. It shall be lawful either
to cancel any of the articles of this treaty, or add new
ones to it, by the mutual consent of both parties, if it
shall hereafter be judged expedient so to do ⅔.

This copy of the articles of the offensive and defensive
alliance concluded betwixt the Carthaginians and Philip king
of Macedon, preserved to us by Polybius, is a most curious
and valuable fragment of antiquity, as serving not only to
give us a good idea of the most noted objects of the Cartha-
ginian worship, but likewise to exhibit to our view the form
and manner in which that nation drew up their treaties; for
it appears pretty plain from Polybius, that the Carthaginians
were looked upon as the chief party concerned in this en-
gagement; and that the preparing of the instrument we have
given our readers here a translation of, was entirely left to
Hannibal. It likewise further appears, that Livy has not so
much given us the articles of this treaty, as certain inferences
and conclusions drawn from those articles, some of which
were,
were, in all probability, false, taken from Fabius Pictor, Valerius Antias, and others, who, in few particulars relating to the Carthaginians, paid the greatest regard to truth. For these reasons, we could not prevail upon ourselves to omit the insertion of a translation of the copy above-mentioned in this work, which, we doubt not, will oblige all the curious and inquisitive among our readers.

When the Macedonian embassadors returned home, Hannibal sent three ministers with them, viz. Gisco, Bostar, and Mago, in order to bring him king Philip's ratification of the above-mentioned treaty. They had a vessel waiting for them, privately stationed near the temple of Juno Lacinia in Calabria; but were scarce got out to sea, when they were despaired by the Romans. Some light galleys of Corcyra, being detached from the Roman squadron, then cruising off the coasts of Calabria, soon came up with them, and obliged the vessel they were on board immediately to surrender. In this emergency, Xenophanes had recourse to another fallacy, assuring, "That all the passes and high ways in Campania were so guarded by the Carthaginian parties, that he found it impossible to go to Rome, as he was ordered," but without effect; for the Carthaginian ministers were betrayed by their language and habits, by which means the Romans discovered the whole secret, sent both the Carthaginian and Macedonian embassadors prisoners to Rome, and diverted the impending storm this formidable league threatened them with, in the manner related by us in a former part of this history.

About this time Hannibal received intelligence, that the Campanians, who had assembled an army of four thousand men to act in favour of the Carthaginians, had been entirely defeated by Gracchus at Hamæ, to which place they had advanced, in order to seize upon Cumæ, with the loss of above two thousand men, together with Marius Alfinus their commander, and thirty-four colours. He therefore, without loss of time, marched to Hamæ; but, upon his arrival there, found only the carcasses of the Campanians who fell in the last action, with which the ground was strewed, the enemy having retired, immediately after the battle, to Cumæ. For

the present, Hannibal re-occupied his former camp upon mount Tifata; but, at the solicitation of the Campanians, after having ravaged all the country about Cumæ, he laid siege to that city. Having applied an high moveable tower to the walls of the place, he made a vigorous assault; but the Roman consul, who had thrown himself into the town, having raised one upon the walls, that overtopped this, and posted some men in it, who discharged a great number of flaming torches, besides a vast quantity of other combustible materials set on fire, upon the besiegers, the Carthaginians were put into disorder; which being observed by the garrison, a strong party fell out of the town, put them to the rout, and pursued them as far as their camp, which was about a mile distant. Livy tells us, that Hannibal lost fourteen hundred men on this occasion upon the spot, besides forty taken prisoners. However, the next day the Carthaginian drew up his army in order of battle betwixt his camp and the town, in order to draw the Romans to an engagement; but the consul declining this, he immediately decamped, and took post again upon mount Tifata. Whilst these things happened, Hanno was defeated at Grumentum in Lucania by T. Sempronius Longus, and lost four thousand men upon the field of battle, besides forty-one colours. After this blow, Hanno abandoned Lucania to the enemy, and retreated into the country of the Brutii. Upon these repeated instances of ill success, three towns of the Hirpini revolted from the Carthaginians to the Romans, who took a thousand prisoners there, and caused them all to be sold under the spear. A little before these disasters happened, Asdrubal, surnamed Calvus, set sail from Carthage, with the armament under his command, for Sardinia; but received great damage from a storm he met with in his passage, and was obliged to put in at one of the ports of the Balearic islands. Here he staid a while, in order to refit his fleet; which gave the Romans time to make head against the Carthaginians in Sardinia, and consequently not a little contributed to the signal overthrow Asdrubal soon after received in that island.

Philip, king of Macedon, being informed, that his emissaries, bidded by the Carthaginian ministers sent by Hannibal, had fallen into the hands of the Romans, sent Heraclitus Scotinus, Crito Berræus, and Sositheus Magne, vantage over three Hannibals.

Liv. I. xxiii. c. 35, & seq. Plut. in Hannib.
three noblemen he could confide in, to conclude a fresh treaty with that general. This they happily performed; but, as the summer was spent in this negotiation, Philip could not put himself soon enough in motion to make any diversion in favour of the Carthaginians. Hannibal therefore now began considerably to lose ground. Fabius, having passed the Vulturnus, in conjunction with his colleague, took the cities of Combalteria, Trebula, and Anfticula, by assault, making the Carthaginian garrisons therein prisoners of war.

In the mean time, Hannibal kept a secret correspondence with the populace of Nola, who were at his devotion, engaging them to deliver the city into his hands; which being communicated to Fabius, he sent the proconsul Marcellus with a body of troops thither, to garrison the place, and protect the nobility, who were in the Roman interest; and, in the mean time, posted himself betwixt Nola and the Carthaginian camp upon mount Tifata, in order to cut off all communication betwixt them. Marcellus likewise made frequent incursions into the territories of the Hirpini and the Samnites Caudini, where he committed great depredations. This induced the Hirpini and the Samnites to send deputies to Hannibal, reproaching him with his indolence, and telling him, That Marcellus seemed rather to be the conqueror at Canæ than Hannibal. To whom Hannibal replied, That as the blow given the Romans at Canæ had eclipsed all his other victories, so they should soon see the glory of that obscured by another more illustrious achievement; and then, dismissing them with magnificent presents, he advanced towards Nola, after having left a sufficient body of troops to guard his camp on mount Tifata. Upon his approach, he sent Hannō, with a detachment of the forces, to persuade the Nolans to surrender their city to the Carthaginians. To which end, by Marcellus’s permission, he had a conference with Herennius Bassus, and Herius Petrius, two persons of the first distinction in the place; but without effect. Hannibal therefore, sitting down before the city, made the necessary dispositions for attacking it with the utmost vigour; which Marcellus observing, fellied out upon his forces with such fury, that the action then had become general, had not the combatants on both sides been obliged to draw off by a violent storm. On this occasion the Carthaginians, according to Livy, lost thirty men; but the Romans not one. Two days afterwards, a bloody engagement happened within a mile
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a mile of Nola, wherein the Carthaginians were worsted, being driven out of the field of battle, with the loss of a thousand men killed, and sixteen hundred made prisoners, besides nineteen military ensigns, two elephants, &c. taken, and four of the last-mentioned animals slain. A body of near thirteen hundred Spanish and Numidian horse, immediately after this defeat, defected to the Romans; which was a great loss to Hannibal, as these were some of his veteran troops, that had attended him in all his expeditions. Fabius, now laying aside his usual caution, penetrated into the very heart of Campania; and hearing of Hannibal’s retreat into Apulia, moved towards Capua, destroying all the country, as he advanced, with fire and sword; which concluded the operations of this campaign in Italy.

In the mean time, Afdrubal being detained in one of the ports of the Balearic islands by the accident above-mentioned, Manlius landed his forces at Caralis, and, upon taking a review of them, found them to consist of twenty-two thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. At the head of this army he marched into the enemy’s territories, and encamped near Hamthicora, the Sardinian general, who, being gone into the district of the Pellidi Sardi, to assemble all the youth there able to bear arms, in order to reinforce his troops, had left his son Hioftus to command in his absence. Hioftus, being a rash young man, ventured an engagement with Manlius, wherein he had the misfortune to be overthrown, having thirty thousand of his men killed upon the spot, and thirteen hundred taken prisoners. The body assembled by Hamthicora, upon this melancholy news, immediately dispersed itself over the fields and woods; but, at last, retired to a city called Cornus, the capital of the aforesaid district. Sardinia now must have been totally lost, had not Afdrubal arrived in the critical moment with his forces sent from Carthage for the support of the Sardi. Hamthicora soon joined him with all the Sardinian troops he could draw together; and, immediately after this junction, the confederates advanced into the territories of the Roman allies, laying waste the whole country through which they moved. Their intention was to have marched

1 Liv. ubi sup. c. 38—43. Appian. in Hannib. Plut. in Hannib. in Fab. & in Marcel. Flor. i. ii. c. 6. Luc. Ampel. in lib. memorial. c. 46.
marched directly to Caralis, and seized upon that capital but Manlius came up with them before they could put their design in execution. After some flight skirmishes betwixt the advanced guards of the two armies, a general action ensued, wherein the Sardi were soon put to the rout; but the Carthaginians continued the fight with extraordinary bravery, informing that victory hung in suspense for above the space of four hours. However, they were at last entirely defeated, and dispersed beyond a possibility of rallying. Twelve thousand of the Sardi, and three thousand Carthaginians, fell in this battle; seven hundred of both nations were made prisoners, and nineteen colours taken. Mago, a near relation of Hannibal, Hanno, another Carthaginian nobleman, the chief fomenter of all these troubles in Sardinia, and Asdrubal the general, were in the number of the latter; but Hioftus, the son of Hamnicora, in that of the former, which threw his father into such an excess of grief, that he laid violent hands on himself. The shattered remains of the Carthaginian and Sardinian army fled to Corbus, and, upon the first summons of the conqueror, surrendered at discretion. All the cities and fortresses likewise, either in the Carthaginian jurisdiction, or that of Hamnicora, in a few days made their submission to Manlius: who soon set sail from Caralis for the coast of Italy, with the prisoners, as well as vast booty, he had acquired in this successful expedition 5.

Asdrubal had no sooner landed his troops in Sardinia, as already related, than he sent the fleet back to Africa, the admiral of which, in his passage, was attacked by a Roman squadron of fifty sail, under the command of T. Otaelius the praetor; who, having ravaged the maritime part of the territory of Carthage, was steering his course towards Sardinia, in quest of this very fleet. The Romans, took seven Carthaginian galleys, with their crews, the rest escaping by steering off in time, and by favour of a tempest, that arose during the heat of the action. About this time Bomilcar arrived at Locri with a reinforcement of troops, forty elephants, and a considerable supply of provisions and military stores, from Carthage. After a short stay here, he joined Hanno, who, at that time, lay encamped in the country of the Brutii, having narrowly escaped being cut off by Appius, who,

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who, having suddenly passed the freights of Reggio, unexpectedly advanced to the gates of Locri, in order to have surprized him. Appius took post in the neighbourhood of Locri immediately after Bomilcar's departure; so that the city, being abandoned by the Carthaginians, opened its gates to him. However, he missed his principal aim, and, without making any new attempts, soon after returned to Meffana.

The Carthaginians, according to Livy, sustained this state of year a very considerable loss in Spain. Adrubaal, Mago, and Hamilcar the son of Bomilcar, three Carthaginian generals, laid siege to Illiturgi, which had revolted to the Romans. The Romans, with no small difficulty, forced their way through the enemy's three camps, and supplied their allies with all things necessary, when they were upon the point of surrendering for want of such a supply. This encouraged the Scipios to venture a battle with the Carthaginians, whose army consisted of sixty thousand men, though theirs did not amount to above sixteen thousand. Adrubaal's camp, being by far the most considerable, was first attacked by the Romans; which being observed by Mago and Hamilcar, they advanced, each of them at the head of his respective corps, to support him. But, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, according to the same author, all the Carthaginian camps were forced, and their army overthrown, with the loss of above sixteen thousand men upon the spot, three thousand made prisoners, five elephants slain, besides a thousand horses, sixty military ensigns, and five elephants taken. The consequence of this defeat was the raising the siege of Illiturgi, from whence the Carthaginians retired with great precipitation to Incibili, and in a short time found means so to recruit their forces out of the Spanish provinces, that they ventured another engagement with the Scipios; but their unhappy fate still attending them, they were routed again, and driven out of the field of battle, with the loss of thirteen thousand men killed in the action and the pursuit. Three thousand prisoners, above forty colours, and nine elephants, fell into the hands of the victors. After this battle, adds Livy, all the different nations of Spain revolted to the Romans.

Our readers will be beforehand with us in observing with what improbabilities, not to say absurdities, this narration of Livy is clogged. How can it be supposed possible for Aedrulba, after the complete defeat he met with in Spain only the last year, to assemble another army of sixty thousand men so soon in the same country, especially since the Carthaginians had reinforced their troops in Italy, and sent a very considerable body of forces to invade Sardinia? If Aedrulba, after the terrible blow he received last year, could scarce maintain himself in any part of Spain, as this author himself expressly affirms, what probability is there, that, in the space of a very few months only, he should have become so prodigiously superior in strength to his conquerors the Romans, especially since the Spaniards in general had declared against him? Lastly, admitting all this to be true, can it be imagined, that immediately after the second fatal overthrow mentioned here by our author, the Carthaginian general could form so numerous an army out of the Spanish nations, who had before espoused the Roman interest? The inconsistencies couched in these queries are certainly so glaring, that it would be entirely needless to expatiate upon them; and therefore we shall content ourselves with having barely hinted at them here, as thinking this sufficient to confirm what we have elsewhere observed of the partiality of this historian, or at least of those he extracted his materials from.*

No considerable movements happened during the time the troops on both sides lay in winter-quarters. The citadel of Croton however was abandoned to the people of Locri, allies of the Carthaginians, after the conclusion of the campaign. Hannibal took up his winter-quarters at Arpi, and the consul Sempronius his at Luceria. Each commander kept a watchful eye upon his antagonist, and endeavoured to animate his men, the Carthaginian and Roman parties frequently skirmishing with one another.

About this time Hannibal found means to raise commotions in Sicily, which turned out not a little to his advantage. After the death of Hiero, by several artful steps, he fixed his grandson Hieronymus, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Syracuse, in the interest of the Carthaginians. Some authors relate, that this young prince reigned only thirteen

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* Vide Liv. i. xxiii. c. 29. & c. 49. ¹ Liv. i. xxiv. c. 1—4.
thirteen months; that, after he came to the crown, he shewed a most abandoned disposition; and that many prodigies at Syracuse preceded his accession. Polybius however differs from these authors, in relation to his character; though he allows, that he was a weak and unjust prince. Soon after he had entered into a league with Hannibal and the state of Carthage, he was affianced by the direction of Indigemenes, one of the officers of his guards. But, for the particulars of this horrid action, as well as the effect it had upon the affairs of Carthage and Syracuse, we must refer our readers to former parts of this history.

The Capuans, hearing of the vast preparations made in all the Roman provinces for the vigorous prosecution of this war, no less than eighteen legions being destined for the service of the current year, were thrown into a great consternation, especially as they knew themselves, to be above all others, obnoxious to the Romans. They therefore, in the most pressing terms, entreated Hannibal to move immediately to their assistance, and prevent the Romans from taking post before their city. Hannibal, in compliance with their request, advanced with all expedition to mount Tifata near Capua, where the former year he had encamped; and, after leaving one body of Spaniards and Numidians to defend the advantageous spot of ground he had then possessed himself of, and another to reinforce the garrison of Capua, he marched to the lake Avernus, under the pretence of sacrificing to the gods, but, in reality, to attempt making himself master of Puteoli, into which Fabius had, some time before, thrown a body of troops. Having ravaged the territory of Cumæ, as far as the promontory of Misenum, he prefented himself before Puteoli, and summoned the garrison, consisting of six thousand men, to surrender; but finding the Romans determined to defend themselves to the last drop of blood, and that the place was, in a manner, impregnable, he thought proper to retire. Soon after this repulse, the populace of Nola, upon his approach towards their city, sent to Hannibal, desiring of him some forces to defend them against the senate, who were friends to the Romans. But Marcellus, having with great difficulty passed the Vulturines, reinforced the garrison of Nola with six thousand

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foot, and three hundred horse, and thereby prevented the Carthaginian from being admitted into the place. In the mean time Hanno, marching out of the country of the Brutii, encamped within three miles of Beneventum, upon the river Calor; which Gracchus being informed of, moved at the head of a large detachment, consisting chiefly of slaves, and pitched his tents within a mile of him. This vicinity of the two camps soon brought on a general action, wherein the Carthaginians were defeated, with very considerable loss. During these transactions in the neighbourhood of Beneventum, Hannibal appeared again before Nola; but Marcellus, having joined the proprietor Pomponius, and ordered Claudius Nero, with a strong body of horse, to fall upon the enemy's rear, attacked him. After a brisk dispute, the Roman gained the advantage, and might have entirely overthrown the Carthaginian, could Nero have executed his orders; but the commander having, by some unforeseen accident, been hindered from coming up with the enemy in time, nothing decisive happened on either side. Hannibal soon after drew his forces from before Nola, and receded towards Tarentum.

Hanno, after the disgrace he had received near Beneventum, retired into Lucania, where meeting with a body of Romans sent by Gracchus to ravage the country, soon dispersed them, putting a great number of them to the sword; which made him some amends for his former disaster. Fabius and Marcellus now jointly carried on the siege of Casilinum, which they pushed so vigorously, that it was at last obliged to capitulate. Fabius granted them a capitulation, the chief article of which was, that they should have leave to retire to Capua; but Marcellus, Roman like, broke this, massacring many of them, and sending all the rest, except fifty, that escaped to Fabius, prisoners to Rome. After this exploit, the Romans, in a very heroic manner, destroyed with fire and sword the whole country of the Caudine Samnites, carried off from thence an immense quantity of plunder, and took by storm the cities Compuleria, Telefsa, Compa, Melae, Fulla, and Orbitantium. Blandae in Lucania, and Anca in Apulia, likewise underwent the same fate. Hanno, with the booty he

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he got in the late action, arrived safe in the country of the Brutii, the Roman forces in those parts not being strong enough to intercept him.

Whilst Hannibal was encamped on the lake Avernus, five young Tarentine noblemen, that had been taken prisoners in the battles of the lake Thrasymenus and Cannae, and dismissed, with great politenes, by that general, arrived there as embassadors from the city of Tarentum. They told him, "That, in return for his kindnes to them, they had prevailed upon the Tarentines to prefer his friendship to that of the Romans; and that they would open their gates to him upon his presenting himself before the town." Hannibal, relying upon this assurance, soon after advanced into the neighbourhood of Tarentum; but finding that nobody offered to stir, the prœtor Valerius having thrown a body of troops into the place just before, he bent his march to Salapia, ordering vast quantities of provifions, amassed in the territories of Metapontum and Heraclea, to be brought thither. Having an intention to fix there his winter-quarters, he likewise sent detachments of Moors and Numidians to carry off every thing valuable, that could be found in the district of Salentum, and the adjacent woody parts of Apulia. Amongst other things, that were the produce of the country, they brought off a large number of wild horfes, four thousand of which, being tamed, were very serviceable to Hannibal in the remounting of his cavalry.

From the continent of Italy, we should now pass over to the island of Sicily, which was the theatre of very considerable transactions during this period, according to Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch. But as so full and ample an account of these transactions has been given in a former part of this work, that not a single circumstance of note relative thereto has been omitted, we cannot so much as touch upon them, without being guilty of a repetition. We hope therefore it will be deemed sufficient for us to have hinted to our readers, that the affairs of Sicily, however interwoven with those of other nations, do most properly belong to the history of Syracuse.

D 4 Notwith-


p Liv. ubi sup. c. 13. & c. 20.

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Notwithstanding the losses the Carthaginians sustained the last year in Spain, Afdrubal and Mago, the beginning of this campaign, defeated a strong body of Spaniards; which might have been of bad consequence to the Romans, had not Publius advanced with all expedition to the Iberos, in order to support his confederates. The Romans encamped at Castrum Altum, a place famous for the death of the great Hamilcar. Though this was a fortres of great strength, and a bundantly stored with provisions, Publius, finding all the adjacent country possested by the enemy, and his troops greatly harassed by their horde, soon decamped, and posted himself on a spot not so much exposed to their insults. The Carthaginians cut off above two thousand Romans, in various rencounters, during Publius's short stay at Castrum Altum. Publius, soon after his arrival in his new camp, which he immediately fortified with a retrenchment, went, with a detachment of his light-armed troops, to reconnoitre some of the neighbouring places; which being observed by the Carthaginian general, he advanced, at the head of his forces, to attack him, and had surprised him in a plain, had he not had the precaution to retire in time to an eminence, where he defended himself, till his brother Cneius came to his relief. Caftulo, a strong and noble city of Spain, and so strictly allied with the Carthaginians, that Afdrubal had taken him a wife from thence, now revolted to the Romans. The Carthaginians, not discouraged at this, laid siege to Illiturgi, wherein was a Roman garrison, which was in great danger of surrendering to them for want of provisions. Cneius, hearing of this, forced his way through the enemy's camp into the town, supplied it plentifully, with every thing needful, and the next day sallying out upon the enemy, killed so many of them, that, in the two actions, they lost twelve thousand men upon the spot, and took above ten thousand prisoners, together with thirty-two colours; and all this with a single legion only. The Carthaginians, being thus obliged to abandon the siege of Illiturgi, marched from thence to attack Bigerra, another city in alliance with Rome; but Cneius forced them to raise this likewise, without striking a stroke. Afterwards the Carthaginian general moved to Munda, whither he was followed by the Romans. Here both armies engaged for four hours, when the Romans would have been victorious, had not Scipio been wounded in the thigh by a javelin; which so disheartened
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Tenred his troops, that he was obliged to found a retreat. In this action the Carthaginian troops, according to Livy, as well as the elephants, were driven back to their refrenchment, where thirty-nine of those huge animals perished by the enemy's darts. Twelve thousand Carthaginians lost their lives on the field of battle, and three thousand of them, with fifty-seven military ensigns, fell into the enemy's hands. Then the Carthaginians retreated with great precipitation to Oringis, and were pursued by the Romans. There Cneius, being carried in a litter, again attacked Asdrubal, and entirely routed him; but did not make such a carnage as in the former engagements, because the Carthaginian forces were not at that time so numerous. Notwithstanding all the disasters, Mago speedily raised such a number of recruits, as enabled his brother to look the Romans again in the face. Another battle ensued, wherein the Romans met with their usual success. Above eight thousand Carthaginians, with eight elephants were slain, and about one thousand, with fifty-eight military ensigns, and three elephants taken. Mænicapto and Civismaro, two famous kings of the Gauls, who came to assist their allies the Carthaginians, likewise fell in this battle. A vast number of gold rings, chains for the neck, bracelets, and other Gallic spoils, also came into the possession of the victors. The Romans, having now driven the enemy out of the field, advanced to Saguntum, forced the Carthaginian garrison to abandon it, and then restored it to the ancient inhabitants, that had survived the calamities of their country. As for the Turdetani, who had been the occasion of this bloody war, Cneius caused them to be sold by auction, and afterwards razed their city. Such is the account Livy has given us of the military operations this year in Spain; which is just as consistent with itself, as that extraordinary relation of the action near Syracuse, in the beginning of the first Punic war, Philinus vouchsafed his countrymen, according to which, the conquered were victors, and the conquerors vanquished; or, as the conduct of some of our neighbours in a late war, when they sung Te Deum for a defeat. In short, our readers will, from a cursory view of this account, be fully convinced, that consistency and impartiality are qualifications not essential even to those, who are reputed the best Roman historians.

Philinus apud Polyb. 1. i. sub init. Liv. ubi sup. c. 41—43.
Vide Univerf. hist. vol. xii. p. 242.
The following spring Hannibal received intelligence, that Cassius Albinus, who abandoned the Roman interest after the battle of Cannae, had offered to deliver up Arpi into the hands of the Romans for a sum of money. This news did not at all displease the Carthaginian, who had long suspected Albinus of holding a correspondence with the enemy; since such a conduct could not fail of giving him an opportunity of seizing upon the immense treasures that wealthy citizen of Arpi possessed; but, that he might seem not so much influenced by avarice as resentment, as soon as he got Albinus’s riches into his coffers, he burnt his wife and children alive. This story depends upon the authority of Livy, and is as probable as some of the preceding. Appian calls this traitor Dafius, and tells us, that he was descended from Diomedes of Argos, the founder of Arpi. According to the same historian, he had like to have been destroyed by the Romans, for making such a villainous proposal to them, and afterwards wandered about as a vagabond, in continual fear of being cut off either by the Carthaginian or Roman parties. Hannibal immediately put a garrison of five thousand Carthaginians into the city above-mentioned, who were joined by a body of three thousand citizens, in order to secure it against any attack of the Romans. However, the Fabii, having guarded all the avenues to it, surprised it in the manner already related. About a thousand Spaniards, at the beginning of the attempt, went over in a body to the Romans, and prevailed upon them to permit the Carthaginian garrison to retire. In pursuit of the capitulation, those troops were conducted by a Roman escorte to Hannibal’s camp at Salapia, without the least injury offered them. This is Livy’s account. But Appian relates, that the Fabii did not reduce Arpi by force, but, by means of some traitors, had it delivered to them; and that they put all the Carthaginians found therein to the sword. Nothing further very material, except what has been already taken notice of in the Roman history, happened this campaign in Italy.

The Romans this year entered into an alliance with Syphax, a Numidian prince, who had suddenly conceived an aversion to the Carthaginians. In consequence of the treaty concluded betwixt the two powers, the Romans sent

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* Liv. ubi sup. c. 45, 46, 47. Appian in Hannib. Univers. hist. ubi sup. p. 243, 244, &c.
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Q. Statorius into Africa, to train up a body of Numidian infantry after the Roman manner. This, above all things, Syphax desired, the Numidians having, till that time, brought only cavalry into the field; which rendered them incapable of coping with the Carthaginians. Statorius, upon his arrival in Numidia, soon enrolled a considerable body of foot out of Syphax's youth. These he taught to keep their ranks, follow their colours, advance or retreat with order and swiftness, and, in fine, to form all the evolutions and movements of the military art after the Roman model; so that in a short time Syphax had a body of infantry, which he could entirely depend upon. The Carthaginians, finding the Numidian forces beginning to desert in great numbers, and fearing the fatal effects such a formidable union might produce, dispatched embassadors to Gala, king of the Massyli, another Numidian prince, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance to him. They insinuated, "That, out of regard to his own safety, he ought to join them without loss of time, before either Syphax could transport any troops into Spain, or the Romans into Africa; that Syphax was, at present, void of all support from the Romans, and might therefore be easily crushed." Gala, at the instigation of his son Masinissa, then but seventeen years of age, cloathed with the proposal, and sent an army to assist his new allies. Masinissa, to whose conduct that army was committed, gave Syphax two such total overthrows, the first in conjunction with the Carthaginians, and the second with the Massylian forces only, that he found it impossible to make a diversion afterwards in favour of the Romans.

The transactions in Spain this year are scarce worth relating. Nothing of the least moment passed there, except that the Romans took a body of Celtiberians into their service, and sent three hundred persons of the most distinguished families in Spain to Italy, to encourage a desertion among their countrymen in Hannibal's army. Appian relates, that this scheme took some effect; but at the same time intimates, that Hannibal himself made use of the same method of acting, in order to draw off the Spaniards incorporated with the Roman forces with equal success. The Celtiberians, who took on in the Roman service, were allowed

\[\text{the Romans take a body of Celtiberians into their service.}\]

\[\text{Appian. in Iberic. Liv. ubi sup. c. 47, 48, 49.}\]
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lowed the same pay, that their countrymen received from
the Carthaginians ".

THOUGH Hannibal stood upon the defensive the last cam-
paign, towards the close of it, some inconsiderable cities
of the Salentines surrendered to him. However, to com-
penate this, the Thurians and Confentini revolted from him
to the Romans. This revolt might have been attended with
more fatal consequences, had not Hanno overthrown a bo-
dy of Roman forces under the command of L Pomponius
Veientanus in Lucania, after they had made dreadful incu-
fions into the country of the Brutii, pillaging and laying
waste all before them. The commander himself was taken
prisoner in the action, and a great part of his men cut off;
which prevented several petty states from abandoning the
Carthaginian interest, though a few small towns of Lucania,
after that defeat, opened their gates to Scempronius. In the
mean time Phileas, who had a long time resided at Rome
as minister from Tarentum, a man of a turbulent and re-
less disposition, retired privately from Rome, with some
Tarentine hostages, whom he had affixed to make their es-
cape; but being closely pursued, they were all taken near
Tarracina, brought back to Rome, whipped publicly then in
the comitium, and afterwards thrown headlong from the
Tarentine rock. This barbarity extremely incensed the Ta-
rentines, who before were far from being well affected to
the Romans. Some of their young nobility therefore, the
principal of whom were Nicon and Philomenes, formed a
design to massacre the Roman troops in garrison, and de-
fer the city up to the Carthaginians. Hannibal, being in-
formed of this, moved with his forces towards Tarentum.
As soon as the approach of the Carthaginian army reached
the ears of the conspirators, Nicon and Philomenes, with
a party that they could confide in, went privately by night
out of the city, under pretence of being engaged the next
day in a hunting-match. Nicon and Philomenes, as had
been before concerted, rode up so near Hannibal's lines
that they were seized by one of his advanced guards, their
associates having taken care before to disperse themselves in
the neighbouring woods. At first they refused to give any
account of themselves; but only intimated, that they had
something of moment to impart to the general. Being there-
fore

" Liv. 1. xxiv. sub fin. Appian. in Hannib. Oros. l. iv. c. 16.
fore conducted to him, they desired to have a private conference with him; which was immediately granted. They then gave him a full account of the disposition of the Tarentines, exclaiming bitterly at the same time against the Romans. Hannibal received them with great kindness, commended their resolution, loaded them with promises, and agreed to have a second conference with them. In order to blind the Romans, as well as the people of Tarentum, and conceal the true end of this excursion, he ordered several head of cattle to be driven out of the camp, that they might fall into the hands of his new friends, and be carried by them into the town; which being done, both the Romans, and the citizens, were extremely pleased at the success that had attended the supposed hunting-match, as well as excursion upon the enemy (for this likewise Nicon and Philomenes related to them); insomuch that neither of them entertained the least suspicion of what had been really transacted. So considerable a booty as they brought with them, enabled them to invite both their countrymen, and the Romans, to frequent entertainments; which not only paved the way to a second hunting-match, but likewise excited great numbers of the citizens to turn marauders in hopes of meeting with the same success; and this served to render the design of the Tarentine leaders still more impenetrable. At the second conference, Nicon and Philomenes concluded a treaty with Hannibal on the part of the Tarentines, the terms of which were to the following effect: "That the Carthaginians should not exact any tribute from the Tarentines, nor exercise any dominion over them; but, on the contrary, maintain them in the possession of all their privileges; that they should send a garrison into the city, to deliver the inhabitants from the Roman yoke; that it should be lawful for them to plunder all the Roman houses in Tarentum, and put every Roman they could meet with to the sword; and lastly, that the Tarentines should have free access to Hannibal, whenever they approached his camp, in order to confer with him." By virtue of this last article, Nicon and Philomenes often visited Hannibal; which they found it no difficult matter to do, as Philomenes had contracted an intimacy with Caius Livius, the Roman commandant, by the venison he gave him, as well as the splendid manner in which he frequently regaled him, and won over to his interest the captain of the Roman guard posted
posted at the gate Temenis. That he might effectually secure that guard, his constant practice was to make a present to the captain, as well as the soldiers, either of some venison he took in hunting, or some cattle, that he was supplied with by Hannibal; in so much that he had ingress and egress at pleasure, the gate being opened to him whenever he approached it, upon a whistle, or some other signal given. The heads of the conspiracy receiving intelligence, that Livius had appointed a day for a feast, to which all his officers and friends were invited, in the museum, a place near the forum, they, after having held a consultation with Hannibal, pitched upon that day for the execution of their design. According to the plan of operations agreed upon between the Carthaginian and his new allies, when the time drew nigh, he ordered a body of ten thousand men, horse and foot, to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment’s warning. To hinder the Romans from conceiving any distrust from the long stay he made in his present camp, he caused it to be given out, that he had for some time, laboured under an indisposition, which had detained him there. At last, his troops having supplied themselves with provisions for four days, began their march at the fourth watch of the night, with their general himself at the head of them. He detached a party of Numidians to reconnoitre the enemy, with orders to advance thirty stadia before the rest, to scour the country as far as the gates of Tarentum, in order to prevent the enemy from discovering his forces, and to make them believe, that an inconsiderable party only had advanced out of the Carthaginian camp for the sake of plunder. This had the desired effect; for advice being brought to Livius, then in the height of his entertainment, that a detachment of Numidians were laying waste the country within sight of the town, he commanded some of his troops to drive them from thence the next morning, without giving himself any further trouble, for the present, about them. In the mean time Hannibal contrived matters so, as to take post before the town about midnight, on the side of the gate Temenis. Whilst affairs were in this situation, Tragicus and Nicon, Philomenes serving as a guide to Hannibal in this expedition, found means to secure all the avenues leading to the forum, which it was no difficult matter to do, Livius having intoxicated himself, that he could think of nothing but taking his repose. Hannibal advertised his friends in the city of his arrival by a great fire, which he caused to be lighted;
ed; and was informed by them, that the plot within doors was ripe for execution, by the same signal, as had been before concerted betwixt them. Upon this, he sent Philomenes, with a thousand Africans, to possess himself of the gate Tcemenis. Philomenes acquainted the guard posted there, that he had brought them a wild boar, and therefore desired a speedy admission. Upon their opening the gate, the Africans entered, and put them all to the sword; whilst Hannibal, with the main body of his troops, found a passage through another gate, by Nicon's assistance, into the town. All the Carthaginian and Tarentine forces met, as had been appointed, in the forum; from whence Hannibal sent a detachment of two thousand Gauls, divided into three bodies, each commanded by two Tarentine captains, into three different parts of the town, to secure every post of importance. After this disposition, he issued out an order, enjoining all the citizens not to flit out of their houses; at the same time affixing them of his protection. The Tarentines, finding the Carthaginians entered, were at first thrown into the utmost consternation; but when some of their own nobility told them, that Hannibal was come to deliver them from a proud and insulting enemy, and to restore them to their former liberty, their fears soon subsided. Livius, upon the first alarm, being so drunk, that he was incapable of giving out his orders at so critical a conjuncture in a proper manner, withdrew himself, with his family, into the port, notwithstanding the conspirators had taken care to place a guard before his house, where getting on board a Roman vessel, he made his escape to the citadel. In the mean time Hannibal commanded every Tarentine to post over his door the word TARENTINI, that the citizens might be distinguished from the Romans, and then gave up all the Roman houses to his soldiers to be plundered, with a permission to put to the sword every Roman, that should fall into their hands. That the Romans might be struck with the greater terror, as well as the more effectually massacred, Philomenes had caused Roman trumpets to be blown towards the citadel, which stood in the mouth of the harbour, as well as in other parts of the town, imagining, that this artifice would draw them thither, where troops were prepared to fall upon them. A considerable number of Romans lost their lives by this device; but many of them retired into the citadel, which Hannibal immediately blocked up. As he had drawn up his forces in order
order of battle, to support the detachments sent to plunder the Romans, if they met with any resistance, there was little blood shed on the Carthaginian side. When he found the city entirely at his devotion, he ordered the citizens to appear before him unarmed, and made them a speech, filled with assurances of his kind intentions towards them; which was answered with the loudest acclamations. In order to secure the city from the insults of the Roman garrison in the citadel, Hannibal surrounded the former with a line, which, in a manner, cut off all communication betwixt it and the latter. However, he could not effect this without a considerable opposition from the enemy. During the time his men were at work upon it, one very brisk action happened, wherein the Romans were defeated, and lost a great number of men. Hannibal, after this, carried on the siege of the citadel with inconceivable vigour; but the Romans, receiving a strong reinforcement from Metapontum, made a furious sally upon the besiegers, and destroyed the greatest part both of their works and military machines. This made the Carthaginians despair of taking it at present by force; so that they drew off from before it. Hannibal, upon this disappointment, assembling the Tarentines, told them, they would never become masters of the citadel, unless they could cut off all supplies from the Romans by sea. This they were sensible of; but as the Romans kept their ships blocked up in the port, they thought it would be impossible to exclude them from the dominion of the sea. But Hannibal, by dint of genius, surmounted this difficulty; for observing, that ships of a moderate size might be drawn on shore, and conveyed through the middle of the city into the sea on another side, he made use of this expedient to annoy the enemy. The Tarentines therefore, shutting up the citadel on all sides, both by sea and land, soon reduced the Roman garrison to great extremities. Hannibal then, leaving some troops in the city, to support the Tarentines against any attack or surprize of the enemy, returned to the camp he had marked out upon the Galesus immediately after he was admitted into the town. Here he continued in a state of inaction, till the commencement of the next campaign.

According to Appian, the name of the person, who introduced the Carthaginians into Tarentum, was Cononius, and

and that of the Roman commandant Junius Cononeus, says the same author, being extremely fond of hunting, prevailed upon the guard posted at one of the gates to let him out and in whenever he pleased in the night, under the pretence, that he was obliged to pursue his favourite diversion in the night-time, for fear of the enemy's parties. By this device, he found means frequently to confer with Hannibal; and at last enabled a body of Carthaginians, dressed like hunters, but with coats of mail and swords under their hunting habits, to take post in the town; who, being soon joined by a greater number of forces, that lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, easily made themselves masters of the place. Five thousand Romans, together with a body of Tarentines in the Roman interest, retired into the citadel. These troops, being reinforced by half of the garrison of Metapontum, repulsed the besiegers in all their attacks, burnt their works and military machines, and destroyed many of their men in the frequent successful sallies they made. This so discouraged Hannibal, that he retired into Apulia, leaving Hanno, with a body of forces, to keep the place blocked up. But the Romans, being masters of the sea, received copious supplies of all things necessary, and frighten the town and the Carthaginian camp in such manner, that Hannibal, upon his return, which happened soon after, found them almost reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions. He therefore put them into a method of conveying their ships out of the port into the sea on the southern side of the city. After this, the Tarentines and Carthaginians intercepted the Roman convoys by sea, and greatly distressed the garrison. At last receiving intelligence, that the troops in the citadel expected a large supply of corn from the Thuriuncs, they posted a squadron of galleys at a proper place in ambush, which, without much difficulty, seized upon the Thuriunc vessels, and made all the crews prisoners. The people of Thurium therefore sent deputies to Hannibal to redeem the captives, who, being by the Tarentines introduced to that general, found a most kind reception, and had their prisoners released without ransom. This made such an impression upon the minds of the deputies, that soon after they put Hannibal into the possession of their city, thos against the consent of the inhabitants, the garrison, upon the approach of the Carthaginians, retiring privately to Brundusium. As the reduction of the city of Tarentum was an event of the utmost importance to Hannibal and what,
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what, in all probability, not a little contributed to the pro-
tracting of this destructive war, we thought ourselves obliged
to give our readers, in this place, a circumstantial account
of it, though, prolix as this may seem to be, it is but an ab-
bridgement of that to be found in Polybius, Livy, and Ap-
pian.

WHILST Hannibal lay encamped in the neighbourhood
of Tarentum, the consuls, towards the beginning of the fol-
lowing year, threatened Capua with a siege. This greatly
alarmed the Capuans, who were under dreadful apprehensions
of a famine, as the Romans had prevented them from cul-
vating their lands the preceding year. They therefore en-
treated Hannibal to send them a supply of provisions, before
the Romans had cut off the communication betwixt their
city and the places, where the Carthaginians, and their allies,
had erected magazines. Whereupon Hanno, in pursuance
of an order received from Hannibal, moving out of the
country of the Brutii, encamped upon an eminence about
three miles from Beneventum; and, having amassed a vast
quantity of corn, appointed a day for the Capuans to send
a proper number of waggons thither to carry it off. The con-
suls being informed of this, Fulvius marched with all expe-
dition to Beneventum, and from thence to Hanno’s camp,
which he immediately attacked, and, by the bravery of Vi-
bius, a centurion of the Pelignian troops, Valerius Flaccus,
tribune of the third legion, and T. Pedanius, the first cen-
turion of it, carried, after an obstinate resistance. Of the
Carthaginians, above six thousand were slain, and seven thou-
sand taken prisoners. A great number of Campanian pea-
sants, together with their waggons, and the corn Hanno had
collected for the use of the Capuans, as well as an immense
quantity of other plunder, fell into the hands of the Romans.
Hanno himself was not in the action, but at some small
distance from the camp, when it happened; but, being in-
formed of it by one Cominius Ceritus, he retired, with great
precipitation, into Brutium, attended only by a few of his
horse. This blow so terrified the Capuans, that the princi-
pal of them seemed afraid the enemy would as easily posse-
themselves of Capua, as they had before done of Arpi. How-
ever, in order to animate them to a vigorous defence, and
protect their territory from the incursions of the Roman
parties, Hannibal sent the garrison a reinforcement of two
thousand.
thousand men. In the mean time the Carthaginian garrison at Tarentum, in conjunction with the inhabitants, continued the siege of the citadel there, Hannibal, with his army, pursuing all the measures, that he thought necessary to facilitate the reduction of that place.

The body of troops left to defend Metapontum being so weakened by the large detachment sent to the citadel of Tarentum, that the Romans there were not in a condition to make head against the citizens, who were well affected to the Carthaginians, Hannibal found means to make himself master of that city. Appian tells us, that the Metapontini put all the Romans to the sword; and that Heraclea, a town situated between Metapontum and Tarentum, followed the example of those two cities. The Thurians likewise, being nearly related to the people of the two last-mentioned cities, as descended from the Achaians, and highly resenting the cruel treatment of the Tarentine hostages, meditated a revolt from the Romans. They therefore sent a deputation to Hanno and Mago, who then commanded a Carthaginian army in Bruttium, inviting them to come and take possession of Thurium. Atinius, the commandant, had but a small garrison, his chief dependence being upon the townsmen, whom he had armed and disciplined, that they might be the better enabled to support him, in case of a visit from the enemy. Hanno first presented himself before the town with a body of infantry, whilst Mago, with the cavalry, lay in ambuscade by favour of some eminences, which concealed him from the enemy’s parties, that were sent to reconnoitre the Carthaginians. Atinius therefore imagining, that he should be attacked only by a body of foot, and being ignorant of the conspiracy the Thurians had entered into, did not in the least doubt but that he should easily repulse the enemy. Hanno, as matters had been before concerted, retired upon the approach of the Romans, drawing both them and the Thurians insensibly to the foot of the eminences possessed by the Carthaginian horse; who immediately rushing down upon them with a great shout, the Thurians, according to agreement, took to their heels, and were received by the conspirators into the city. The Romans in the mean time, notwithstanding they were charged in front, in flank, and in rear, behav'd

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haved with great bravery; but being at last likewise put to
flight, upon their arrival at the town, they found themselves
denied admission, the conspirators on the walls crying out,
"That the Carthaginians, being mixed with the Romans,
would certainly enter, unless the gates were immediately
shut." They were all therefore cut to pieces, except
Atinius, with a few of his principal officers, whom the Thu-
rians saved from the general carnage, out of the great per-
sonal regard they had for that commandant, on account of
his mild and gentle government. After they had sent the
on board a galley, prepared for that purpose, to the next port
belonging to the Romans, the conspirators delivered Thurium
into the hands of the Carthaginians. In the mean time the
consuls moved towards Capua, in order to form the siege of
that important place.

Whilst the Romans were thus preparing to attack Han-
nibal in the most sensible part, they sustained an almost ir-
reparable loss by the death of Sempronius Gracchus. That
excellent commander, having made the necessary dispositions
for marching out of Lucania into the neighbourhood of Ca-
pua, with a body of Volones, to prevent the enemy from
throwing any succours into the place, was, by the treachery
of Flavius Lucanus, drawn into an ambuscade, and cut off,
with all the small party that attended him. Livy tells us,
that authors do not entirely agree in their accounts of that
general's death, some affirming, that he was massacred by two
troops of Numidians, as he repeated a sacrifice, which had
been attended by a very bad omen, at some distance from the
camp, before he left Lucania; others, that a Carthaginian
detachment put him, and three licitors, with some servants
attending them, to the sword, near the river Calor, in the
territory of Beneventum, as they were going to bathe them-
selves; and lastly, others, that he fell in the manner first
related. The Roman writers differ likewise as much in the
accounts they give us of his interment; some intimating,
that Hannibal celebrated his funeral obsequies with great pomp
and magnificence, the Spaniards distinguishing themselves a-
bove any other nation in the Carthaginian army on that oc-
casion; and others, that he sent the body to the Roman camp,
to be interred there. Be that as it will, Hannibal reaped
considerable

* Liv. ubi supra, c. 15. Appian. in Hannib.
considerable advantage from this accident, since it, for some
time, retarded the attack of Capua. 

However, the consuls at last approached that city, with an intention to invest it; of which the Capuans being informed, they ordered a detachment of foot out of the town, to make a sally upon the enemy. As the Romans plundered all the country, through which they moved, that detachment, supported by a body of Carthaginian cavalry, under the command of Mago, fell in with a numerous party of them, ravaging the adjacent territory without any order or discipline. These troops Mago routed at the first onset, laid fifteen hundred of them dead upon the spot, took many prisoners, recovered a vast quantity of booty, and dispersed the rest. This action so intimidated the consuls, that, for the present, they thought proper to stand upon the defensive, and so encouraged the Carthaginians and Capuans, that they frequently inflicted the enemy. Hannibal, upon advice of what had happened, immediately marched to Capua, and attacked the Romans. Soon after the beginning of the engagement, the questor Cornelius appeared with the body of troops formerly commanded by Sempronius, to the terror of both parties, each looking upon them as enemies. Under this apprehension, both armies drew off from the field of battle to their respective camps. The consuls, after the action, in which the Romans suffered most, divided their forces into two bodies, in order to oblige Hannibal to leave the territory of Capua. Fulvius, with one of them, retreated into the district of Cumæ, whilst Claudius took his march into Lucania. Hannibal pursued the latter; but was not able to come up with him. However, he met with a Roman corps of sixteen thousand men, under the conduct of M. Centenius Penula, who had signalized himself on many occasions as a centurion. This officer, being introduced to the senate by P. Cornelius Sulla the praetor, had the assurance to tell the conscript fathers, that, if they would trust him with only a body of five thousand men, he would turn the tables upon the Carthaginians, and give a good account of Hannibal. Instead of five thousand, they affixed him eight thousand, which, by the accession of volunteers in his march to Lucania, and many of the natives on his arrival there, he increased to double the number. Being a man of wonderful resolution,
he engaged the Carthaginians upon Hannibal's first offering
him battle; but, not being able to cope with that general,
after a fight of two hours, he was entirely defeated. As
Hannibal, by guarding all the passes and avenues in the
neighbourhood of his camp, had taken care to cut off their
retreat, all the Romans, except a thousand men, together
with their general, were slain. Notwithstanding which,
Claudius having taken a large compass, in order to get clear
of Hannibal, arrived once more before Capua, and, in
conjunction with his colleague, blocked up that city b.

Hannibal, ever intent upon taking advantage of the
foibles of the Roman generals, receiving intelligence from
his emissaries in Apulia, that Cn. Fulvius the praetor, being
elated with some late instances of success, despised the
enemy, and permitted a total relaxation of discipline to take
place amongst his troops, advanced to Herdonia, where the
Romans lay encamped. Upon his arrival there, he distrib-
uted three thousand light-armed troops in a woody spot of
ground, which concealed them from the enemy, and
detached Mago, with two thousand horse, to block up
all the passes and defiles on that part, where, he foresaw,
the enemy would endeavour to make off, in case they
were pursued. The praetor, being a man of a fickle temper,
was easily drawn by Hannibal into the ambuscade; where
being attacked in front, in rear, and in flank, and the
retreat cut off, the whole Roman corps, consisting of
eighteen thousand men, except the praetor, and two thou-
sand, who fled as soon as they saw victory incline to the
Carthaginians, were put to the sword. The two last blows
coming, as it were, one upon the neck of the other, threw
the Roman senate into a great consternation, and obliged
them to send M. Mutilus and C. Ecdotorius to the consuls,
with fresh instructions c.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, the consuls,
pursuant to an order received from the senate, made the
necessary dispositions for forming the siege of Capua. Han-
nibal, after the defeat of the enemy at Herdonia, returned
to Tarentum, where he attempted, both by force and
persuasion, to bring the Roman garrison in the citadel to a
capitulation; but all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he
turned off to Brundusium, to excite the citizens there to a
revolt.

a Liv. vii. cap. c. 18—22. b Liv. vii. cap. c. 2. Plut. in
hannib.
revolt; but being disappointed in this view, he entertained some thoughts of moving towards Capua, at the earnest desire of the citizens, who now sent a deputation to him. At this time the transactions in the island of Sicily were very considerable, and the Carthaginians exerted themselves there, notwithstanding the numerous armies they employed in Italy and Spain. However, as the particulars of these transactions do not fall under our province, we must refer our readers for them to the history of Syracuse, to which they properly belong.

About the time of the reduction of Syracuse, Otracilius ravaged the coasts of Africa. He sailed with eighty quinqueremes from Lillybæum to Utica; where entering the port in the night, he took a great number of vessels laden with corn. After which, he landed a body of forces, that ravaged all the adjacent territory; and then returned on board with a very considerable booty. The Carthaginians giving him no obstruction in this excursion, either by sea or land, he arrived safe at Lillybæum three days after he left the harbour of Utica, with an hundred and thirty transports, that conveyed the corn, and other spoils he had acquired, into that harbour. By such a reasonable supply, he was enabled to relieve the people of Syracuse, who, as well as the Roman garrison there, were, at that time, threatened with a famine.

The Carthaginians had this year three armies in Spain; one commanded by Afdrubal the son of Gisco, another by Mago, and the third by Afdrubal the brother of Hannibal. The two former generals encamped close together, about five days march from the Romans; and the latter posted himself at Anitorgis, a city much nearer the enemy. This obliged the Romans to divide likewise their forces. Cneius, with one third of the Roman troops, and a body of thirty thousand Celtiberian auxiliaries, advanced into the neighbourhood of Anitorgis, to observe the motions of Afdrubal the son of Hamilcar. The two armies encamped on opposite banks of the same river, with an intention soon to come to an engagement. Afdrubal, having a perfect knowledge of the Spanish perfidy, and being besides well skilled in the Celtiberian tongue, easily found means to bribe the Celtiberian troops to a delusion; which obliged Cneius to pass the Ebro.


*Liv. ubi sup.*
Iberus, and to secure himself, by keeping that river betwixt him and Afdrubal's army. In the mean time Mago, and the other Afdrubal, by the assistance of Masinissa, and Indibilis regulus of the Lactenari, gave the Romans a complete overthrow, and killed Publius. The same generals and princes, with their united forces, afterwards going in quest of Cneius, met with him on the top of an eminence, where, after a bloody action, they defeated him, put him to the sword, with a great number of his legionsaries, and forced the rest to fly to Publius's camp, which was guarded by a small body, under the command of one of his lieutenants called T. Fonteius. However, the Carthaginians, towards the close of the campaign, were unexpectedly overthrown by a young Roman knight named C. Martius, who had collected the remains of the Roman army, as we have elsewhere related. According to Claudius, who translated the Annales Aciliani out of the Greek into Latin, two Carthaginian camps were forced in twenty-four hours time by Martius, thirty-seven thousand Carthaginians killed, eighteen hundred made prisoners, besides many spoils taken, amongst which was a silver shield, weighing an hundred and thirty pounds, with the effigies of Afdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, upon it. Valerius Antias relates, that only Mago's camp was taken, when seven thousand of the enemy were put to the sword; and that, in a pitched battle, Martius defeated Afdrubal, killing ten thousand of his men, and making four thousand three hundred and thirty prisoners. Piso affirms, that the Romans drew the Carthaginians into an ambuscade, and by that means cut off five thousand of them. In short, from this specimen, we may form a true idea of the authors Livy followed; which is the reason of our inserting these last particulars here. Their relations, in the point before us, are plainly refuted both by the preceding and subsequent operations of the Carthaginian and Roman armies in Spain, as may be collected even from Livy himself; nay, that historian, partial as he is, allows some of these to have greatly exceeded the truth in their accounts of the numbers of the slain in the battles they have described; which is a tacit acknowledgment of his own partiality, and consequently a confirmation of what, in relation to the affairs of Spain during this period, we have so frequently observed. In

Clad. Val. Antias, & Piso apud Liv. l. xxv. sub fin. ut & is ibid. Vide & Appian. in Iberic.
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In the mean time the consuls, and the praetor Claudius, having drawn a line round Capua, pushed on the siege of that important place with the utmost vigour. The Capuans at first made frequent sallies, especially upon the workmen employed upon the said line, which was flanked with parapets and towers placed at proper distances. The Capuans, in this distress, sent messengers to Hannibal, complaining, "That they were deserted by him, and upon the point of surrendering to the Romans; at the same time conjuring the Carthaginian, by their fidelity to him, to send them speedy succours." This however could not induce Hannibal to abandon the blockade of the citadel of Tarentum; but being last informed by a Numidian horsemnan, who had passed through the Roman camp undiscovered in the night, that Capua was reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions, with some regret he moved from his camp upon the Galesus near Tarentum, to the relief of his beloved city. Though for some time, after the arrival of the Numidian, he remained in a state of suspense, not knowing whether the reduction of the citadel of Tarentum, or the relief of Capua, would turn out most to his advantage, yet, out of the singular affection he bore the Capuans, he at last came to a resolution to succour them. It is probable likewise, that he took this step in order to preserve his reputation amongst his allies; which, he imagined, could not be more effectually done, than by a vigorous support of those, who had so eminently distinguished themselves in his favour. Leaving therefore his baggage in Brutium, he advanced with a strong body of light-armed troops, together with thirty-three elephants, towards Capua, taking post in a valley behind mount Tifata. Here he did not continue long inactive; for he first took a fort called Galatia by storm, and then, without loss of time, attacked the Roman camp, the Capuans at the same instant, as had been before concerted betwixt them and Hannibal, making a vigorous sally with their whole garrison; but, after a warm dispute, both the Carthaginians and Capuans were repulsed, with considerable loss. Livy tells us, that in the heat of the action, the Spaniards and Numidians, together with the elephants, broke into the enemy's camp; that those huge animals, by overturning the Roman tents, and frightening the beasts of burden there, scattered terror wherever they moved; and that Hannibal, taking advantage of this confusion, ordered some
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Some of his men, who could speak Latin, to cry out, “That, since the Roman camp was taken, every soldier was at liberty to shift for himself as well as he could, and to fly to the neighbouring mountains.” However, the elephants being soon driven out of the camp by fire brought thither for that purpose, and Hannibal’s artifice defeated, the Romans recovered themselves, and obliged the enemy to retire. After this action, Hannibal, not being able either to draw the enemy to a battle, or force a passage through their camp into the town, laid aside all thoughts for the present of relieving Capua.

However, that general, ever active in forming of schemes for the annoyance of his enemies, at last hit upon an expedition, which, he doubted not, would infallibly answer his purpose. He proposed to march with such expedition to Rome, as to present himself at the walls of that metropolis, before the Romans could have any notice or suspicion of his design. In order to facilitate the execution of his project, Hannibal ordered his troops to supply themselves with provisions for ten days, and to get ready as many transports as would waft them over the Vulturnus in one night. But notwithstanding the privacy with which this whole affair was transacted, Fulvius, by means of his spies, received intelligence of Hannibal’s intended motion, and dispatched a courier to Rome, to give the senate early notice of his approach. As the Carthaginian did not march directly to Rome, but took a large compass, and sailed to ravage the countries, through which he moved, the Romans had time to make proper dispositions for the defence of their capital. However, many, even of the senators themselves, were struck with incredible terror at the appearance of the Carthaginian forces. Hannibal, having marched through the territories of Frusinum, Ferentinum, Anagnia, Labicum, Algidum, Tusculum, and Gabii, encamped on a commodious spot of ground within eight miles of Rome; his Numidian parties, that preceded the main body of the army, putting to the sword, or taking prisoners, all the Romans they met with in their rout. After a short stay here, he moved to the banks of the Anio, about three miles from the enemy’s capital; from whence, escorted by a choice detachment of two thousand horse, he advanced.
advanced to the very gates of Rome, in order to reconnoitre the enemy, and take a view of the situation of the city. But not meeting with the desired success, either in this excursion, or the attempts he afterwards made, Hannibal retired six miles from Rome, where he pitched his tents upon the Tutia. From hence he went to the grove of the goddess Feronia, where stood a temple sacred to her, enriched with the valuable oblations and presents of the Capenates, a people inhabiting that particular district; which he plundered. Livy affirms, that after Hannibal's departure, great heaps of brases were found in this grove, which his soldiers had left there, in the room of the treasure they had carried from thence, out of a religious motive. According to Strabo, a sacrifice was offered annually to the goddess Feronia, in the grove where she was worshipped, at the foot of the mountain Soracte, where her votaries walked unhurt over burning coals. On several Roman denarii, perforated in the cabinets of the curious, she is represented with a crown on her head. Hannibal, finding himself disappointed in his views, is said to have cried out, "That at one time his own will, and at another fortune, would not permit him to take Rome." Livy seems to intimate, that the route Hannibal took in his passage to Rome and retreat from it, could not be ascertained, some authors confounding them, though one of these, he believes, in his time, was certainly known. We shall not further expatiate upon this remarkable expedition, since all the particulars of moment relating to it, omitted by us here, will be found in a proper place.

Hannibal, instead of marching to the relief of Capua, the siege of which his late enterprize could not divert the enemy from, moved with such expedition to Rhegium, that he had like to have surpris'd that city. This little pleased the Capuans, who prevailed upon Bostrat and Hanno, the commanders of the Carthaginian forces in Capua, to press Hannibal, in the strongest and most moving terms, to attempt raising the siege of that city. Their letters however had no effect; for Hannibal either being not able or willing to relieve the place, it was obliged to surrender to the Romans, Seppius Laetus being at that time the mediatarius.

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diaestuticus, or chief magistrate, there. Vibius Virius, who had been the chief author of the late revolt, put an end to his life by poison, as did twenty-seven other senators. In what a shocking and inhuman manner Fulvius treated the Capuan senators, both before, and even after, the conscript fathers at Rome had granted them mercy, may be seen in a former part of this work. Nothing can give us a more lively idea of the cruelties and enormities a thirst after power may make a state capable of, than what even the partial Livy himself has transmitted down to posterity on this occasion, except the late villainous and unchristian behaviour of a most christian prince, as famous for his observance of solemn treaties, as either the Romans or Carthaginians were. The success of this siege gave the Romans a visible superiority over the Carthaginians, and disposed the Italian states in general to declare for their former masters 1.

Some time after the reduction of Capua, Afdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, being encamped at a place called Lapis Atri, in the country of the Ausetani, between Illiturgi and Mentisla, was informed, that Claudius Nero, who had been employed before Capua, was arrived in Spain with a strong reinforcement; and that the command of the army defined to act against the Carthaginians in Spain was given to him, in the room of L. Martius and T. Fonteius. Afdrubal soon after, by a false point of conduct, suffered himself to be shut up on an isthmus in such a manner, that he lay at the mercy of the enemy. However, he found means to extricate himself out of the difficulties, in which that error had involved him, though by none of the most honourable methods. This event so changed the face of affairs in Spain, that no person of distinction, except P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Publius, who had lately lost his life in Spain, offered himself a candidate for the proconsulate there. He was therefore chosen proconsul for Spain, and sent, with an additional body of troops, to carry on the war in that country. Soon after his arrival there, he received deputations from most of the Spanish nations, who discovered a greater inclination than ever to come to a close union with the Romans. When Scipio, amidst the applause and acclamations of all ranks and degrees of men at Rome, took upon himself the command of

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of the army in Spain, he was scarce twenty-four years of age.

Nothing of moment, except what has been already related, happened further this year in Spain. At the end of the year, Aedruba, the son of Gisco, extended his winter-quarters as far as Gades, and the ocean. Mago took up his above the Saltus Caustulonensis, in the maritime parts; and Aedruba, the son of Hamilcar, cantoned his body of troops in the neighbourhood of Saguntum. About this time the Carthaginians sent a squadron to Tarentum, to cut off all supplies from the Roman garrison in the citadel there; but they incommode their allies the Tarentines more than the enemy, since it was found impossible to convey, either by sea or land, a quantity of provisions, sufficient to support both the people of Tarentum, and the forces on board the Carthaginian galleys. Though the latter therefore for some time blocked up the citadel by sea, they could not carry their point, the Romans there being amply provided with all things necessary, and having a large train of military engines, wherewith to annoy the enemy. Hannibal, now finding the Carthaginian affairs going swiftly to decay in Italy, as well as Sicily and Spain, could not forbear curling Hanno, and his faction, for the detention of those succours, which had so long been promised him. This, which was effected by their artifice, did not only prevent the conquest of Italy, but proved the total ruin of the African republic, the hitherto formidable rival of Rome, as will more clearly appear in the future course of this history.

The next campaign the Romans made themselves masters of Salapia, by the assistance of one Blauius, a Salapian, who had always been a secret well-wisher to the Romans, and were defeated at sea by the Tarentines. As the particulars of this action have been already related, we shall not dwell upon them here; but only observe, that Hannibal lost a body of his best horse in it, which proved much more fatal to him, than the loss of Salapia, since his cavalry could never after this blow, if Livy may be credited, make head against that of the Romans, to which it had always been before superior. About this time a Tarentine squadron, commanded by Nicon, defeated a Roman fleet sent to supply the citadel with provisions, under the conduct of D. Quintius, who was killed in the action.

k Liv. ubi sup., c. 20, &c. Polyb. l. x. 1 ibid. ibid
The Romans drew four thousand robbers from Agathyrna to ravage Brutium.

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Action. But, to make amends for this disaster, a Roman detachment, consisting of two thousand men, fell upon four thousand Tarentine foragers, and, through the conduct and bravery of their leader C. Perius, entirely defeated them, putting the greatest part of them to the sword.

About this time, the Romans being resolved to chastise the Brutians for their attachment to the Carthaginians, Lævinus, the Roman general in Sicily, transported a body of four thousand men, consisting chiefly of robbers, from Agathyrna to Rhegium, in order to enable the garrison of this last city to lay waste the whole country of Brutium. As most of the men, of which this corps was formed, had been guilty of the most enormous crimes, and committed great depredations in Sicily for a considerable period of time, the Romans could not have pitched upon any troops more proper to execute such a design. Lævinus likewise served another wise end by sending this band of villains to Rhegium; for by this means he preserved the tranquillity and repose of the island of Sicily, which must have been greatly disturbed by the continuance of such a gang of banditti at Agathyrna.

Scipio, having taken care to get his naval forces in readiness to put to sea early in the spring, and appointed Tarraco the place of rendezvous for the forces of his Spanish allies, upon their assembling there, ordered the main body of the army to desist from thence to the Iberus, himself following at the head of five thousand Spaniards. Here he harangued the soldiery, insisting largely upon all those topics, that, he thought, would be the most apt to inspire them with resentment and resolution. After this, leaving M. Syllanus, with three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, to prevent all disorders in those parts of Spain, he passed the Iberus, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. As almost all the riches of Spain were deposited in New Carthage, a city situated like Old Carthage, upon a peninsula, betwixt a noble port and a lake, which last served as a fence to the western and northern parts of the wall, he formed a design upon it. To the attack of this place he was likewise further excited by the commodiousness of its harbour, which

m Liv. i. xxxvi. c. 39. Plut. in Marcia, Zonar. i. ix. c. 7.
• Liv. ubi sup. c. 40.
was capacious enough to receive any fleet, and so near the coast of Africa, that the Romans, when in possession of it, might easily make a descent on the Carthaginian territories there. Upon his arrival here, Scipio made a speech to his troops, importing, "That as all the wealth of the enemy amass'd in Spain, all their engines of battery and military machines, all the hostages of the Spaniards to the Carthaginians, which alone secured the fidelity of the former to the latter, together with the principal, if not only, granary the Carthaginians had in Spain, were lodged in that city, by the reduction of it they should in a manner terminate the war, at least in that part of the world, with their proud rival." Mago, who, according to some authors commanded in the town, or, as Valerius Antias will have it, Arme, upon Scipio's approach, made the necessary dispositions for a vigorous defence. He posted two thousand of the citizens in that part of the town which fronted the Roman camp, five hundred Carthaginians in the citadel, and five hundred more upon an eminence in the eastern part of the city. He likewise ordered another body to be ready to move, where-ever the efforts of the enemy should render their assistance necessary, at a moment's warning. The Romans did not only repulse the enemy in a sally they made upon them, but likewise pursued them with such ardour, that, had not Scipio caused a retreat to be founded, they had entered pell-mell with the Carthaginians into the town. This so intimidated the troops in garrison, that they abandoned many of their posts, and in a manner, deserted the ramparts; which when Scipio observed, advancing to an eminence called Mercurius Teutates, he immediately ordered a vigorous attack to be made on those parts of the wall, which were most exposed, his fleet at the same time forwarding the operations of the land-forces, by assaulting the town on the sea side. After a bloody and obstinate dispute, the Romans carried the place sword in hand, Scipio greatly animating his men, by flying from place to place to give his orders, as occasion required; and some fishermen of Tarraco enabling one of his detachments to enter the town on the side of the stagnum or moras, which seemed almost inaccessible. The commandant retired into the citadel; but was so vigorously pressed by the Romans, that he soon found himself obliged to surrender at discretion. Till the surrender of the citadel, the slaughter was
was general; but afterwards quarter was given, the soldiers being chiefly intent upon plunder. The Romans made ten thousand freemen, besides a prodigious number of women, children and slaves, prisoners, together with three hundred, or, according to others, seven hundred twenty-five Spanish hostages, whom the Roman general immediately dismissed. They found in the place an hundred and twenty of the greater catapults, two hundred eighty-one of the lesser; twenty-three of the larger balistae, fifty-two of the smaller; an inconceivable number of darts, and other missive weapons; besides many of the machines called scorpions, together with seventy-four military ensigns. An immense quantity of gold and silver, both in money and plate, fell into Scipio's hands. But as the authors Livy followed, particularly Silenus and Valerius Antias, greatly differed in this point, as well as with regard to the strength of the Carthaginian garrison, the number of captives, the quantity of shipping seized in the port, and the provisions, naval stores, &c. found on board, we shall beg leave to refer our readers, for their further satisfaction on those heads, to that writer himself, and to the circumstantial account we have already given of this glorious action in a former part of our history.

The Carthaginians, for some time, endeavoured to suppress the news of the blow they had received in Spain by the reduction of New Carthage, being apprehensive, that as soon as the Spaniards received intelligence of that unexpected event, they would, to a man, declare in favour of the Romans. But not being able long to conceal so remarkable a disgrace, they were obliged at last to own it, though they put as good a face upon the matter as they well could, in the present melancholy situation of affairs, in order to palliate their own shameful behaviour at the late attack. They gave out, "That Scipio had stolen the town by Surprize; that the conquest was of little importance, notwithstanding the young commander affected to cry it up as equivalent to a signal victory; and that, upon the approach of three Carthaginian generals, at the head..."
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"head of three victorious armies, he would presently be "thrown into a panic, and have his mind entirely occupi- "ed by the frightful idea of the havock lately made in "his family." Notwithstanding which suggestions, they "were perfectly sensible of the great loss they had "sustained, and of the fatal influence the reduction of so "important a fortress must necessarily have upon their "affairs. The polite as well as generous treatment the wife "of Mandonius, brother to Indibilis, regulus of the Iler- "getes, all the daughters of Indibilis, those of the principal "Spanish nobility, a young lady of the most attractive charms "betrothed to Allucius, prince of the Celtiberians, and Al- "lucius himself, met with from Scipio, will more naturally "fall under our observation, when we come to the history "of Spain; for which reason we shall content ourselves with "having barely mentioned it in this place p.

Marcus, after the taking of Salapia, advancing into Hannibal "Samnium, made himself master of Maronea and Melae, two "cities of that country, by assault. Three thousand Cartha- "ginian soldiers, left there by Hannibal, were all either killed "or taken prisoners. Two hundred and forty thousand bushels "of wheat, together with an hundred and ten thousand of bar- "ley, and some plunder, that the troops partook of, were "found in those fortresses; but this could by no means be "deemed a sufficient compensation for the great defeat Han- "nibal gave the proconsul Cn. Fulvius at Herdonea about the "same time. The Roman general, being apprized, that the "citizens of Herdonea shewed a disposition to abandon the "Carthaginian interest, moved that way, to encourage them "to declare themselves. Hannibal, by his spies, receiving in- "telligence of this motion, as well as the reason of it, ad- "vanced likewise into the neighbourhood of that city, with "such celerity, that Fulvius had no notice of his approach. "However, upon Hannibal's offering battle to the Romans, "an engagement ensued, wherein the legionaries behaved with "great bravery, till the Carthaginian found means to surround "them with his horse. Then they were soon thrown into con- "fusion, and driven out of the field, with the loss of thirteen "thousand men, the rest flying to Marcellus in Samnium by "different routes. After this victory, Hannibal burnt the "city of Herdonea, put to death as many of the nobility, who "had

p Polyb. Liv. & Appian. ubi sup.

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had kept a secret correspondence with Fulvius, as he could discover, and transplanted the body of the citizens to Metapontum and Thurii. Upon the first news of Fulvius's overthrow, Marcellus moved out of Samnium into Lucania, to give a check to the progress of the Carthaginian arms, and came up with Hannibal near the town of Numistri. Both siedes immediately shewed a disposition to fight, and drew up their armies in order of battle without delay. Hannibal posted his right wing on an eminence, and Marcellus his left close by the town. The action was very sharp, but not decisive, the night obliging both sides to retire. Hannibal, not judging it expedient to renew the attack the next morning, decamped in the night, bending his march for Venusia, where, in a few days, the Roman army arrived. Some slight skirmishes happened here betwixt the advanced guards of both parties; but nothing of moment was undertaken by either of the generals, they being wholly employed in watching one another's motions. A conspiracy, formed against the Roman troops in Capua, being detected, the conspirators received condign punishment. Syphax, about this time, sent an embassy to Rome, notifying to the senate certain advantages he had lately gained over the Carthaginians, with a declaration, that no power was considered by him in a more hostile light, than the state of Carthage, nor in a more friendly one, than that of Rome. Towards the close of this campaign, Hamilcar, with a Carthaginian squadron, consisting of forty galleys, hovered about the coasts of Sardinia; and, not meeting with any Roman fleet to oppose him, ravaged all the country about Olbia and Caralis. The Sicilian banditti above-mentioned, about this time, did not only destroy with fire and sword a good part of Brutium, but likewise laid siege to the city of Caulonia 9.

Hannibal, having taken up his winter-quarters near Canusium, used all possible means to excite the people of that city to a revolt from the Romans; which reaching the ears of Marcellus, he advanced to Canusium, encamped over against Hannibal, and soon found means to draw him to a battle. The contending armies, being separated by the night, at first parted upon equal terms; but the next day, the encounter being renewed, Hannibal worsted the Romans. This extremely chagrined Marcellus, who hitherto had never received

received any disgrace from the Carthaginians; but now, besides the field of battle, lost near three thousand men, amongst whom were four centurions, and two military tribunes, together with six standards, that were taken by the enemy. Being therefore filled with indignation and resentment, he resolved to venture another engagement with Hannibal, who, on his part, seemed determined not to decline the challenge. Marcellus posted the left wing, and those cohorts, that, in the last action, had lost their colours, in front; the twentieth legion he placed to the right; and appointed Cornelius Lentulus and C. Claudius Nero to command both wings, whilst the main body was committed to his conduct. Hannibal posted the Spaniards in front, and disposed his other forces in the usual manner. The fight was obtinate and bloody, the Carthaginian elephants overthrowing many of the Roman standards, breaking the enemy’s ranks, and treading under foot such a number of them, that their army must have been absolutely ruined; had not Decimus Flavius, a military tribune, advanced boldly against them, at the head of a party of dartmen, who wounding most of those huge animals by a shower of their pilae discharged upon them, they turned upon their own men with such fury, that they were thrown into disorder; which enabled the Romans to drive Hannibal to his camp, after they had laid eight thousand Carthaginians dead upon the spot. Marcellus however lost above three thousand men in the action, and had almost all the rest wounded; insomuch that he found himself not capable of pursuing Hannibal, when his spies informed him, that he was retreating into Brutium. During these transactions, the Hirpini, Lucani, and Volscienses, submitted to the consul Fulvia, delivering all the troops Hannibal had left in their cities for garrisons, into his hands. Pactius and Vitius likewise, two of the principal noblemen amongst the Brutii, endeavoured to procure for their countrymen the same terms, that had been granted to their neighbours. Q. Fabius, the other consul, about the same time, took by storm Manduria, a city of the Salentines, making four thousand men therein prisoners of war. After this instance of success, Fabius sat down before Tarentum. As the Carthaginians had then no fleet in those seas, having sent all their galleys to the island Corecyra, in order to assist king Philip, then at war with the Aetolians, he found no difficulty in making his approaches by sea as well as by land. Whilost these things happened, Hannibal advanced with a strong body of troops to Caulonia; which obliged

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Fabius takes Tarentum. Fabius had no occasion to push on long the siege of Tarentum. An accident, that could not be foreseen, threw that place into his hands. It happened, that the commandant of the Bruttian garrison, which Hannibal left for the defence of that place, fell desperately in love with a girl, whose brother was a soldier in the Roman army. This person being informed by his sister, in a letter, of the great interest she had with the commandant, he immediately communicated the matter to Fabius, who ordered him to go into the city as a deserter, and to try whether he could not, by his sister's influence, prevail upon her gallant to introduce the Romans into the town. This was happily effected, without any great effusion of blood, since the Tarentines found themselves not able to make head against the Romans, after the Bruttians had deserted them. Nicon and Democrats, two of the Tarentine leaders, died gloriously, on the bed of honour, fighting for the liberties of their country; and Philomenes, by whose agency Tarentum had been betrayed to Hannibal, was supposed to have thrown himself headlong from off his horse into a well, after the end of the action. Carthalo, who commanded the body of native Carthaginians in the place, was put to the sword, together with a good number of his men, as well as the greatest part of the Tarentines, and many even of the Bruttians themselves, who, one would have thought, had merited better treatment. All authors agree, that the plunder taken here was immense, and even equal to what Marcellus found in Syracuse. The number of slaves made prisoners amounted to thirty thousand. Fabius took care to dismantle Tarentum, and to demolish the wall, that separated the town from the citadel. About this time Hannibal, having, for a considerable term, surrounded the body of Sicilian Banditti posted on the eminence near Caulonia above-mentioned, forced them to surrender at discretion.

The Carthaginians had this year three armies in Spain, commanded by three of their best generals, viz. Aedrubicus the son of Hamilcar, Asdrubal the son of Giisco, and Magus Edeco, or Edeco, a general of great fame amongst the Spaniards, abandoning the Carthaginian interest about the beginning of the summer, came over to Scipio. His wife and children

children had been, for some time, in the Roman camp; but a regard to their safety did not so much induce him to act the part he had done, according to Livy, as that sincere affection for the Romans, with which Scipio had inspired all the Spaniards, by his great humanity, politeness, and condescension. Indibilis, Mandonius, and most of the other Spanish regtiles, charmed with the same amiable qualities, joined Scipio with all their forces. By this accession of strength, that general found himself enabled to hazard an engagement with Adrusual the son of Hamilcar, who lay encamped near the city of Bætula, or, as Polybius calls it, Bæcula. Scipio was impatient of delay, as fearing the junction of Adrusual and his colleagues. The Carthaginian discovered the same eagerness for a battle on his part, as finding the Roman army to be daily reinforced by the accession of Spanish troops, and his own diminished in proportion, by the continual defection of those troops. Scipio, upon his approach towards the Carthaginian camp, detached some parties of his velites to reconnoitre the enemy, who, having fallen in with some of their advanced guards, defeated them, pursued them to their camp, and then returned, without any loss, to their own army. Animated by this event, Scipio, the next day, attacked the Carthaginians, though Adrusual had taken care to post himself upon an eminence in the midst of a plain, surrounded by a river, as to form a peninsula, the preceding night, in a most advantageous manner. The Carthaginians, for some time, defended themselves with great bravery; but were at last totally routed, and forced to fly, according to Livy, with the loss of eight thousand men killed upon the spot, besides ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse, taken prisoners; though the same most consistent historian had just before informed us, that their retreat was cut off in such a manner, that it was impossible for any of them to escape. This blow, next to the bravery of the Roman troops, may be attributed to the violence of the Carthaginian elephants, which, being galled by the enemy's pila, recoiled upon the forces with which they were intermixed, and struck them with as much terror, as did the Romans. Scipio gave the Carthaginian camp up to his soldiers to be plundered, and released all the Spanish prisoners found there without ransom; but ordered the Africans to be sold for slaves. Adrusual, rallying the remains of his shattered army, pursued his march towards the Pyrenees, having sent his elephants that way before.
fore the beginning of the engagement. The Spanish princes, who had entered into an alliance with Scipio, received considerable presents, for their gallant behaviour in the late battle; Indibilis in particular being ordered by the Roman general to pick three hundred horses out of those taken from the enemy, for his own use. Notwithstanding the glorious victory Scipio had gained, he thought proper to retire from Baetula, and the Saltus Cautilonensis; which gave the other two Carthaginian commanders an opportunity of joining Asdrubal. At a consultation held for that purpose, each of these generals had his particular province assigned him. Asdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, was to march into Italy, to assist Hannibal, with all the Spanish forces he could draw together; Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, was to take upon himself the command of the corps lately committed to Mago’s conduct, and to retire into Lusitania; but industriously to avoid an engagement; and Mago was sent to the Balearic islands, with a large sum of money, to make new levies there. Maffinißa had likewise a choice detachment of three thousand horse, being the flower of the cavalry, assigned him, in order to support the Carthaginian allies in Hispания Citerior, as well as to destroy the enemy’s country there with fire and sword. As Scipio, by his generous and affable deportment, seemed to be in a fair way of winning the hearts of all the Spaniards, it was judged necessary to make these dispositions, that the Spanish soldiery, in the Carthaginian service, might be drawn immediately either into Gaul, or the remotest part of Spain, where the Romans had not, as yet, got any footing. This, it was hoped, would put an effectual stop to that general desertion, which then prevailed amongst those troops 1.

All persons of penetration and attention, upon their perusal of above the account, will be naturally inclined to enquire, how it was possible for Asdrubal to have sent all the elephants away, with the train that attended them, towards the Pyrenees, if many of them remained in his camp, and occasioned a greater carnage amongst his troops there, upon the Romans forcing it; how these troops should have been hemmed in, and surrounded on all sides, by a victorious enemy, that their retreat was entirely cut off, and yet that many of them, nay, the greatest part of them, should have made their escape; how Asdrubal’s army should have been

1 Polyb. 1. x. Liv. ubi sup. c 19–23. Appian. in Iberic.
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been entirely ruined, and yet that Scipio, immediately after the action, should have been obliged to retire to Tarra-cco, which enabled the other two Carthaginian generals to join Aëdrubal, and concert with him the operations of the remaining part of the campaign, which the Romans, above all things, ought to have prevented; lastly, what were the happy consequences of this defeat, which Scipio is said to have given the Carthaginians. In short, from the above-recited particulars, it appears that, to use Sir Walter Raleigh's witty expression, the Romans beat Aëdrubal out of Spain into Italy, there to join Hannibal with the most numerous Carthaginian army, that ever appeared in that country, (for Livy represents it) had not a disaster prevented that junction. If Polybius countenanced such relations as these in any manner, (and even that most incomparable historian is not absolutely void of weakness and partiality) he is so far to be censured. But to proceed:

The next year, being the eleventh of the second Punic war, the Carthaginians threatened to ravage the coasts of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, with a fleet of above two hundred sail; of which Scipio being apprised, he detached fifty galleys to cruise off the ports of Sardinia, and protect that island from all insults of the enemy. The consul T. Quinctius Cripinus sent for a large train of battering engines from Sicily, intending soon to form the siege of Locri, his fleet having already blocked that city up on the sea-side. But he laid aside that design on Hannibal's approach to Locinum, and on receiving advice, that his colleague Marcellus had drawn his forces from Venusia, in order to join him. Hannibal, being apprised, that both the consuls were encamped within three miles of one another, betwixt Santiia and Venusia, moved that way, pitching his tents at a small distance from them. Notwithstanding the summer was far advanced, the consuls wrote to L. Cincius, ordering him to come with a fleet from Sicily to Locri, a body of Romans from Tarentum being commanded to invest that city by land at the same time. This being discovered to Hannibal by some Thurians, he placed an ambuscade for that corps; into which having drawn them, he put two thousand of them to the sword, took twelve hundred prisoners, and dispersed the rest. He afterwards decoyed the two consuls into another ambuscade of Numidian horse, together with M. Marcellus for one of them, and A. Manlius, both
both of them legionary tribunes, attended only by an escorte of two hundred and twenty horse, of which forty were Fregellani, and the rest Etruscans. The brave Marcellus, one of them, who had acquired such renown by the several advantages he got over Hannibal, lost his life, through the cowardice of the Etruscans, who fled at the first onset. But Crispinus, his colleague, with the two tribunes abovementioned, L. Arennius, M. Aulus, two prefects of the Roman allies, and others, by their own bravery, and that of the Fregellani, made their escape in the manner we have already related.

Mago, the Carthaginian commandant at Locri, found himself so pressed by Cincius, that he was upon the point of surrendering; but receiving advice of the blow Hannibal had given the Romans, by the slaughter of Marcellus, he resolved to defend the place to the last drop of blood. Soon after, an express arrived from Hannibal, with an account, that the Numidian cavalry had already begun their march for Locri; and that he himself, with the gros of the army, would follow them with all possible expedition. Upon the first appearance of the Numidians, Mago made a sally with his whole force upon the besiegers, and, after an obstinate dispute, the Numidians coming up in the nick of time, forced them to abandon their works, and leave all their battering engines, and other military machines, behind them; so that Hannibal, upon his arrival at Locri, found no enemy to oppose him there. About this time, Valerius, the Roman admiral, after having ravaged the coast of Africa, attacked a Carthaginian squadron of eighty-three galleys off of Capua. The Carthaginians, not being able to withstand the efforts of the Romans, were soon obliged to flee off, with the loss of eighteen ships; which Valerius carried off in triumph. From thence fleetering for Sicily, he arrived in a short time, with an immense booty at Lilybaeum.

Though the Carthaginians had lately sent a fleet to assist Philip against the Romans and Aetolians, which, in all probability, was at this time either cruising off of the island Corcyra, or riding at anchor in the port there, yet we do not find, that this fleet did any important service to that prince. It neither protected his coasts from the inroads

of the Roman and Ætolian privateers, nor enabled him to transport any forces to Italy, or any other country, that it might have been his interest to have invaded. The Carthaginians therefore by no means observed the treaty of alliance they had entered into with that prince; which doublets incensed him to such a degree, that he, for the future, broke off all correspondence with them. Be that as it will, it is certain he not only made a peace with the Romans exclusive of them, which was an apparent infraction of the late treaty, provided they had paid any regard to it, but likewise left them to cope with the Romans alone, both before and after his accommodation with that people; which was also contrary to the late treaty, upon the aforesaid supposition. But as the discussion of this point belongs more properly to the history of Macedon, we shall at present pass by every thing farther relating to it, and proceed to the Carthaginian affairs in Italy.

Asdrubal, as we have lately observed, being obliged to abandon his camp near Bætula, had afterwards a conference with the other two Carthaginian generals, wherein the operations of the campaign were settled. In pursuance of the plan then formed, Asdrubal advanced towards the Pyrenees, at the head of the forces assigned him, with all possible expedition. The Pyrenees, as far as we can collect from history, he crossed, without any great difficulty, though, if Livy may be credited, Scipio had detached a body of troops to dispute the passage of that ridge of mountains with him. As the silver-mines (Q.) near Bætula had supplied

x Polyb. & Liv. ubi sup.

(Q) Polybius tells us, that, near New Carthage, there was a silver mine so rich, that the Carthaginians extracted out of it every day twenty-five thousand drachms of silver. Aletes, the discoverer of this mine, was, according to the same author, deified by the Spaniards after his death, for the service he thereby did his country. Aristotle and Poseidonius intimate, that Spain, in the most early ages, abounded with silver; insomuch that the Phœnicians exported vast quantities of that metal from thence, which they purchased for oil, and other trifles; nay, the first author assures us, that the Phœnicians, by this means, had not only immense quantities of plate, but that even the very anchors of their ships were made of silver. But of this more, when we come to the history of Spain (23).

(23) Polyb. i. x. c. 10. Poseidon. apud Diodor. Sic. i. v. Aristot. in mirab. auct. 
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supplied him with a very considerable quantity of treasure, upon his arrival in Gaul, he not only prevailed upon the Gauls to grant him a passage through their territories, but likewise to furnish him with a proper number of recruits. The Ligurians received him in the same manner, as would also the Etruscans, could he have advanced to their frontiers. Afdrubal therefore, meeting with as little opposition, and as many favourable circumstances, to facilitate and expedite his march, as he could hope for, arrived at Placentia sooner than either the Romans, or even his brother Hannibal himself, expected. But sitting down before this place, contrary to the rules of sound policy, and continuing the siege of it, he gave the Romans an opportunity of assembling all their forces to attack him, and at the same time, by his too great security, as well as the enterprise he had undertaken, prevented Hannibal from joining him, as he had proposed to do, upon the first news of his having passed the Alps. This indolence of Hannibal proceeded from a notion, that Placentia would not be soon reduced, and that therefore, though they should unite their forces, they could not speedily enter upon any military operation. Thus Afdrubal not only lost all the advantages he might have reaped from the friendship of the Arverni, and other Gallic nations, who had so greatly expeditied his passage to Italy, by this single step, but likewise totally ruined the Carthaginian affairs in that country, as will soon most evidently appear.

As soon as Hannibal moved out of his winter-quarters, he ordered a body of troops to march into the country of the Salentines, with an intention to ravage it, before the consul Claudius could take the field; but this was prevented by the conduct and bravery of C. Hoefilius Tubulus, who attacked the Carthaginians with a body of light-armed troops, and entirely defeated them, killing four thousand of their men upon the spot. After this disaster, Hannibal retired into Brutium, to prevent his being hemmed in by the enemy, who began now to advance against him from several parts. In the mean time Tubulus, with his forces, joined the consular army under Claudius at Venufia. Hannibal, having drawn all his garrisons out of Brutium, and by this means reinforced his army, marched to Grumennum.

\[\text{Liv ubi sup. c. 41-42.}\]
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In Lucania, in order to recover some towns, that, through fear, had revolted to the Romans. As, immediately after the late junction, Claudius had sent a detachment, under the command of Tubulus, to reinforce the proconsul Fulvia at Capua, and, with the remaining corps, consisting of forty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, had himself gone in quest of Hannibal, he arrived at Grumentum soon after the Carthaginian, and encamped within five hundred paces of him. Claudius, by the stratagem formerly mentioned, and the bravery of C. Aurunculeius, tribune of the third legion, gave Hannibal another defeat here, cutting off eight thousand of his men, and taking seven hundred prisoners. Four elephants were likewise killed, and two taken, in the action. Nine military ensigns, and some plunder, also fell into the hands of the Romans, who, according to Livy, lost only two hundred men on this occasion. Hannibal, soon after this blow, decamped in the night, and, by leaving a few Numidian horse in his intrenchments to amuse the enemy, made good his retreat to Venusia; but here the consul came up again with him. At this place, in another encounter, the Carthaginians lost two thousand men; upon which Hannibal retired, with great precipitation, to Metapontum, where he was joined by Hanno, and from thence made the best of his way to Cannabium.

During these transactions, Aedonabal, being obliged to raise the siege of Placentia, began his march for Umbria. Of this the consul Claudius being informed by a letter, sent from that general to his brother Hannibal, which was intercepted near Tarentum, he put himself at the head of a detachment of seven thousand men, the very flower of his troops, and posted with incredible celerity to join his colleague Livius. Though no general was allowed to leave his own province, to go into that of another, by the Roman laws; yet in a conjuncture of so delicate and important a nature as this, when the safety, and even the very being of Rome lay at stake, he thought himself at liberty to dispense with the established rules of war, for the welfare of his country. He had no sooner received the letter above-mentioned from L. Virginius, a legionary tribune, who had escorted the Carthaginian couriers with a Samnite detachment

2 Idem ibid. c. 43—45.
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tachment to him, and read it, than he sent it to the senate at the same time dispatching his orders to the Larinates, Marrucini, Frentani, Praetutiani, &c. through whose territories he was to pass, to provide a sufficient quantity of provisions and carriages for his troops, that he might pursue his march without the least interruption. As nothing could save Rome, after the junction of the two Carthaginian armies, in order to prevent this, he judged it proper to strike such a bold and unexpected blow, as would terrify the enemy; which, he imagined, might be done, could he and his colleague vigorously charge Adrabal with their united forces. This reflection determined him to make the movement mentioned here, after having left the command of the troops in the camp to Q. Catius, one of his lieutenants. 

Claudius gave not the least hint of his design to any of his officers, till he was got at such a distance from Hannibal, that the communication of it to the troops could not be of any ill consequence to him. He then only in general told them, "That he was leading them to certain victory; that his colleague wanted a reinforcement; that in war all depended upon reputation; that the bare rumour of their arrival would disconcert all the means of the Carthaginians; and that the whole honour of this battle would fall to them." He marched with such expedition, that in six days he arrived at Sena, where Livius lay encamped within half a mile of the Carthaginians. Soon after his arrival, Adrabal, taking a view of the Roman army, discovered several shields of an ancient make, that he had never seen before, many thin, lean horsetails, which had been greatly fatigued, and that the Roman army was apparently more numerous than the day before. By these, and several other circumstances, that able general suspected Claudius to have joined his colleague with a body of troops. This threw him into a sort of melancholy, as imagining, that Hannibal had been overthrown, and consequently that he came too late to support him.

Before the arrival of Claudius, the praetor L. Portius Liciniius was encamped, with some forces, at a small distance from the consul Livius. Immediately after that important event, a council of war was held, in which the three commanders

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*a Polyb. l. xi. sub init. Liv. ubi sup. c. 43.—49. S. Jul. Front. hist. l. i. c. 1 ex. 9.
*b Jidem ibid. S. Jul. Frontin, frat. i. hist. 2. ex. 9.
manders presided. Livius gave his opinion, that an ac-
tion, for some days, should be deferred, that Claudius's
troops might have time to refresh themselves, after so te-
dious and fatiguing a march. Claudius himself entertain-
ed different sentiments, imagining, that nothing could
prove more fatal to the republic, than the least delay to
give the enemy battle at this critical juncture. His ad-
vice was complied with, and the signal of battle accord-
ingly given. However, Asdrubal, under the apprehen-
sions above-mentioned, caused a retreat to be founded, and
his army began to march in great disorder. Night over-
taking him, and his guides deserting him, he was uncer-
tain what way to go. He marched at random along the
banks of the Metaurus, now the Metaro, and was pre-
paring to cross it, when the united forces of the enemy
came up with him. In this extremity, he saw it would
be impossible for him to avoid coming to an engagement,
and therefore did all things, which could be expected from
the presence of mind and courage of a consummate war-
rior. He seized an advantageous post, and drew up his
forces on a narrow spot, which gave him an opportuni-
ty of posting his left wing, composed of Gauls, and the
weakest part of his army, in such a manner, that it nei-
ther could be attacked in front, nor charged in flank;
and of giving his main battle, and right wing, consisting
of Spaniards, all veteran troops, a greater depth than front.
After this hastily disposition of his forces, he posted him-
self in the centre, and first moved to attack the enemy's
left wing, commanded by the confiid Livius, well know-
ing that all was at stake, and that he must either conquer
or die. The battle lasted a long time, and was obsti-
nately disputed by both parties. Asdrubal especially signa-
1ized himself in this engagement, and quite completed
the glory he had acquired by a series of shining actions.
He led on his soldiers, who were trembling, and quite
despirited, against an enemy superior to them both in
numbers and resolution. He animated them by his words,
supported them by his example, and, with intreaties and
menaces intermixed, endeavoured to bring back those who
fled; till at last, seeing that victory declared for the Ro-
mans, and being unable to survive the loss of so many
thousand men, who had quitted their country to follow
his fortune, he rushed at once into the midst of a Roman
cohort,
cohort, and there died in a manner worthy the son of Hamilcar, and brother of Hannibal.

This victory, which Livy makes equal to that of Cannae, was almost entirely owing to the bravery and activity of Claudioius. That general flew like lightning from one part of the army to another, infomuch that he seemed to be in all places at once. Observing that the enemy’s right wing, composed of Spaniards and Ligurians, the flower of Africa’s troops, charged the left of the Romans with such resolution, that fortune seemed to be on the point of declaring for the Carthaginians there, and that the enemy’s elephants, after having thrown the Roman vanguard into confusion, and overturned the standards there, occupied the void space between the two armies in such a manner, that it was difficult to discover to what party they belonged, their guides now not being capable of governing them, he cried out to his men in an angry tone, “To what purpose have we made so long a march with such expedition?” and immediately made an effort to pollute himself of an eminence, that covered the Gauls, in order to penetrate to the enemy on that side; but, finding this impossible, he drew out a detachment of some cohorts from the right wing, with which wheeling about, in order to sustain Livius, he charged the Spaniards and Ligurians in front, and in flank, and in rear, almost at the same time. This changed the face of affairs, especially as such an attack was unexpected, and made with the utmost fury. The Spaniards and Ligurians therefore, not being able to sustain so violent a shock, were soon put to the rout, and almost all cut to pieces; after which the Gauls were, for the most part, massacred without opposition. The leaders themselves destroyed most of the elephants, to prevent the destruction they would have occasioned amongst their own troops, upon whom they turned all their rage, after they were wounded by the enemy. According to Livy, fifty-six thousand of Africa’s men fell in this bloody action, and near six thousand were taken prisoners; though Polybius makes the whole

whole lots of the Carthaginians not to have exceeded ten thousand men. Be that as it will, the Romans seemed to have been weary of killing, since when a person told Livius after the battle, that it would be an easy matter to cut off a body of Catinpine Gauls and Ligurians who had either not been in the fight, or escaped out of it, then flying in great confusion, with a small detachment of horse, he answered, “It is fit that some should survive, to carry the enemy the news of their defeat, and our bravery.” Livy affirms, that the Romans carried off an immense quantity of gold and silver, as well as plunder of other kinds; but Polybius is silent on that head. This action proved decisive, since we may justly esteem it to have determined the fate of Italy, as the battle of Zama a few years afterwards did that of Africa.

Hannibal received no intelligence of this blow, till Claudius advertised him of it, by throwing his brother Adruba’s head into his trenches, immediately after he arrived at the Roman camp near Canufium. This inhumanity was the more inexcusable, as Hannibal had given the Romans recent instances of a generous and noble disposition, by treating with the utmost decency, not to say tenderness and respect, the bodies of Gracchus and Marcellus. That treatment, in our opinion, demonstrates the great humanity of Hannibal, if not of the Carthaginians in general, on such occasions; as the savage barbarity of Claudius does that of the Romans. As Claudius sent two captives in chains, which, one should have imagined, would have been mortifying enough, to inform Hannibal of his brother’s fatal overthrow, nothing can equal, vindicate, or even palliate, the ferity of that barbarian. All the glory he had acquired by his late conduct in the battle of Metaurus, which certainly ought not to be denied him, served only to render him more hateful and detestable, since nothing can be more monstrous than such a contrast of qualities in the same person. That the fact, here alleged against him, was real, is allowed by the most prejudiced Roman historians themselves, who seem to relate it with pleasure, and thereby reflect an eternal dishonour both upon themselves and their republic, as intimidating, that they were all pleased with it, and consequently of the same disposition with Claudius. The justness of this reflection

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*Polyb. & Liv. ubi sup. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. i. iv. c. 7. ex. 15.
Val. Max. i. iii. c. 7. ex. 4.*
flection is confirmed by the high encomium Valerius Maximus passes upon the noble and humane behaviour of Hannibal hinted at, which ought to be looked upon as a severe repre-
hension of the conduct of Claudius. In short, we think, a more lively instance of the Roman disposition at this jun-
cature, with regard to humanity and greatness of soul, than that just hinted at, does not occur in history. It is pity but we had the Carthaginian annals for this particular period; they would doubtless have set the Romans in their true and proper light.

The melancholy news imparted to him by Claudius, filled Hannibal with horror and sadness. He perceived, by this cru-
el stroke, the fortune of Carthage: "It is done," said he, according to Horace, in that beautiful ode, where this defeat is described, "I will no longer send triumphant messages to Carthage! In losing Afdrubal, I have lost at once all my hope, all my good fortune!" After this fatal event, Hannibal retired to the extremity of Brutium, where, assembl ing all his forces, he remained for a considerable time, in a state of inaction, the Romans not daring to disturb him, so formidable did they deem him alone, though every thing about him went to wreck, and the Carthaginian affair seemed not far from the verge of destruction. Livy tells us, it was a difficult thing to determine, whether his conduct was more wonderful in prosperity or adversity. Notwithstanding which, Brutium being at best but a small province, and many of its inhabitants being either forced into the service, or forming themselves into parties of banditti, so that a great part of it remained uncultivated, he found its difficult matter to subsist there, especially as no manner of supplies were sent him from Carthage. The people there were as solicitous of preserving their possessions in Spain, and as little concerned at the situation of affairs in Italy, as if Hannibal had met with an uninterrupted course of success, and not the least disaster had befallen them since his first ar-
ival in that country.

After Afdrubal's departure for Italy, Hanno was sent to succeed him in Spain. The body of troops this general brought from Africa, in conjunction with that Mag-

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commanded in Celtiberia, formed a considerable army. These forces encamped in Celtiberia, and at some distance from them, in the same province, nine thousand Celtiberians had posted themselves. Scipio sent a detachment of ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, under the command of M. Syllanus the prætor, to attack the enemy, if an opportunity offered. The prætor, receiving ample intelligence of the situation and disposition of both camps from some Celtiberian deserters, who conducted him to that of their countrymen, was thereby enabled to gain a signal advantage over the enemy. He surprized the Celtiberians, being, for the most part, new-raised men, putting many of them to the sword, and obliging the rest to disperse in the adjacent woods, from whence they retired to their respective habitations. Hanno and Mago, towards the end of the action, advancing to their relief, were likewise defeated, and Hanno taken prisoner. Mago, with the cavalry, and a good part of the veteran infantry, made his escape, and, ten days afterwards, joined Africranth, the son of Gisco. These two commanders, with their united forces, continued, for some time, in the neighbourhood of Gades.

According to some authors, Scipio, being apprised of The Carthaginian affairs going to a decay in Spain.

Afdruith, the march for Italy, had before sent a considerable reinforcement to the consul Livius, to enable him to make head against the Carthaginian forces under Afdruith and Hannibal, provided neither of the confular armies could hinder their junction. But the greatest part of the Roman historians have omitted this circumstance; which seems to invalidate the authority of those writers in this particular. Be that as it will, Scipio had no sooner received intelligence of the enemy’s defeat in Italy, than he put himself in motion, and began to meditate the entire conquest of Spain. His brother, L. Scipio, being detached with a body of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to take the city of Oringis, on the confines of Lower Bætica, executed his orders with great bravery, making the Carthaginian garrison, and three hundred of the inhabitants, who shut the gates against him, prisoners of war, with the loss only of ninety men. Livy says, that the Roman detachment killed two

"Liv. i. xxviii. sub. init. Appian. in Iberic. Europ. i. iii. c. 20. Oros. i. iv. c. 18."
two thousand of the enemy in the attack; and that Lucius, in order to ingratiate himself with the Spaniards, left the citizens in possession of the town, and all their effects. The territory of Oringis was extremely fruitful, and abounded with silver-mines. In the city itself Asdrubal had long had a good number of troops, who had not a little harried the Romans and their allies, by their frequent incursions into the Mediterranean parts of the country. The Carthaginians therefore sustained a considerable loss by the reduction of that place. Scipio is said to have complimented his brother highly upon this conquest, telling him, that it was equal to the taking of New Carthage. That general, finding the season far advanced, and that he could make no impression upon the province in which Gades was seated, since Asdrubal had placed numerous garrisons in all the fortresses there, suspended the military operations till the following spring. However, M. Valerius Laevinus the proconsul, who commanded in Sicily, committed great ravages on the coasts of Africa, where he made a descent about this time. Having destroyed with fire and sword all the country about Carthage and Utica, he returned to Lilybaeum, defeating, in his passage, a Carthaginian squadron of seventy galleys. Of these he took seventeen, sunk four, and dispersed the rest. Thus were the Romans victorious everywhere this campaign, the Carthaginians not being able to cope with them either by sea or land.

The next year, Hannibal sent a detachment of Numidians to observe the motions of the Roman army, under the command of the consuls Q. Caecilius and L. Vettius, in the territory of Cofentia. That detachment, falling in with one of the enemy's parties, which had been plundering the country, after a short dispute, routed it, and carried off the booty to Hannibal's camp. But this small advantage did not make amends for the loss of Lucania, which submitted to the Romans. Nothing further worth relating happened this campaign between the forces of the two contending republics in Italy.

The Carthaginian generals, that commanded this year in Spain, were Mago the son of Hamilcar, and Asdrubal the son of Gisco. These two commanders, in the spring moved

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h Liv ubi sup. c. 4. Appian. in Libyc. S. Jul. Frontin. Hist. 1. i. c. 3. ev. 5. i liv. ubi sup. c. 11.
moved from Gades, where, it is probable, they had fixed their winter-quarters, with an army of fifty, or, as others will have it, seventy, thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse. Advancing with all expedition towards the Romans, whom they were determined to engage, they at last took post in the plains of Silpia, at no great distance from them. Scipio, being extremely alarmed at the approach of so formidable a power, dispatched in all haste Syllanus to Colcas, a neighbouring prince, who had promised Scipio a body of auxiliary troops, to inform him of the enemy’s motions. In the mean time he drew his forces out of Tarraco, and, being joined by some of his allies, advanced to Cætulo, where he was soon met by Syllanus, with a reinforcement of three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, from Colcas. From thence he marched to Bætula, or Bætula, with an army forty-five thousand strong. Mago and Mafinissa, at the head of the Carthaginian cavalry, fell upon the Romans as they were encamping, and had put them into disorder, had not Scipio placed some troops of his horse in an ambuscade behind an eminence, near the spot upon which he intended to encamp. These, falling out upon the Carthaginians, obliged them at first to retire with precipitation; but, being afterwards duly supported, so pushed them, that they betook themselves to a downright flight. The light-armed troops on both sides, for some time after this, skirmished with one another; but without any considerable loss. Both Ašdrubal and Scipio, for several days together, drew their forces out of their lines, ranged in order of battle, though Ašdrubal appeared first in the morning, and retired the last in the evening. At length Scipio, resolving to give the Carthaginians battle, ordered his men to refresh themselves before day-break; and then sent his horse and light-armed troops to brave the enemy. Ašdrubal posted the Spaniards in the wings, the elephants in front, and the Carthaginians, intermixed with the other Africans, in the centre. After having made this dispositions, he advanced towards the enemy, his cavalry in the mean time keeping their horse in play. Scipio took care to prolong the fight till towards noon, imagining that the Carthaginians must wax faint by that time, as being entirely void of sustenance, and consequently that he should break them without much difficulty. Accordingly then ordering his wings to advance, he attacked Ašdrubal’s Spanish auxiliaries.
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liaries in front with the legionaries, and in flank at the same time with the velites, sustained by several cohorts, which were commanded to wheel about for that purpose. The Spaniards, after some resistance, were routed, the Carthaginian and African forces not being able to support them, since the Spaniards, that formed Scipio's main body, kept them in awe by moving towards them. The elephants, as had frequently happened of late, occasioned greater confusion in the Carthaginian army, than in that of the enemy. Notwithstanding therefore Aferdrubal did his utmost to animate his men, they were defeated, and pursued by the Romans to their camp, which had then been taken, had not violent storm cooled the ardour of the victors, and put an end to the action k.

The night after the battle, Aferdrubal caused his camp to be strengthened by some additional works, as expecting the next day another visit from the enemy. In the mean time Attanes, regulus of the Turdetani, with a considerable body of troops, went over to the Romans. Many other reguli followed this example; and two fortresses of note surrendered to Scipio, who made their garrisons prisoners of war. As the victory lately gained by Scipio had entirely alienated the minds of the Spaniards from the Carthaginians, Aferdrubal thought proper to abandon his camp, and retire with precipitation towards the ocean, though he had just before so fatigued his wearied and hungry troops, in order to render his camp inaccessible to the enemy. Scipio, being informed of this, immediately detached his cavalry after the Carthaginian general, who so harassed him in his retreat, that the legionaries at last came up with him, and, after a faint resistance, put all his men, except seven thousand to the sword. However these, with Aferdrubal at their head, gained an advantageous post, where, for some time, they defended themselves, till at last Aferdrubal finding them to defect in great numbers, abandoned them and made his escape to Gades. In the mean time Syllanus, whom Scipio had left, with a detachment of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, to block up the enemies troops in the post above-mentioned, found means to draw Mafinifla their commander

k Polyb. l. xi. Liv. i. xxviii. c. 12—15. Appian. in Iberic. & Jul. Frontin. strat. i. ii. c. 1. ex. 1. & 1. ii. c. 3. ex. 4. aliq. auct. sup. laudat.
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mander off from the Carthaginian interest. This unexpected event proved the total ruin of the Carthaginians in those parts, as will hereafter more fully appear. Mago, after the example of Afdrubal, flying to Gades, the remainder of the African forces either gradually dispersed themselves in the neighbouring provinces, or deserted to the Romans. Mafniila, after his late conference with Syllanus, by the connivance of that general, passed over into Africa, with some of the leading men of the Mafiyli, in order to dispose that nation to second his views. However, this was done in such a manner, as not to give any umbrage to the Carthaginians, nor induce that crafty people to entertain the least suspicion of the measures he was going to pursue.

Masinissa, to serve more effectually the party he intended soon to declare himself in favour of, made but a short stay in Africa. Having prevailed on his subjects to concur with him in the execution of the project he had formed, he hastened to Gades, to confer with Mago and Afdrubal about the future operations. Syllanus likewise retired with his body of forces to Tarraco, where Scipio had fixed his head quarters. Scipio, soon afterwards passing into Africa with two quinqueremes, persuaded Syphax, king of the Mafiyli, to abandon the Carthaginians, and enter into an alliance with Rome. Afdrubal was then at Syphax’s court, and did his utmost to traverse the negotiation carried on between the two powers; but without effect. The three chief cities of Spain, besides Gades, in alliance with, or subject to, Carthage, were Illiturgi, Castulo, and Aftapa. Illiturgi the Romans took by storm, levelled it with the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Castulo, in which was a Carthaginian garrison composed of the fugitives, that escaped the carnages in the late defeats, was betrayed by one Cerdubellus to Marcius, and Himilco the commandant, with his whole corps, made prisoners of war. Marcius, then passing the Bætis, which the Spaniards called Circius, poiffed himself of two opulent towns, which surrendered at his approach. From thence he advanced to Aftapa, and, after a warm dispute, made himself master of it in the manner already related. In the mean time Mago, having received a reinforcement from Africa, as well as of

some Spanish troops levied by Hanno, made the proper dispositions for carrying on the war with vigour, notwithstanding the melancholy situation of his affairs. A body of Roman forces, encamped upon the Sicuro, during these transactions, mutinied, a report of Scipio's death, that was industriously propagated, occasioning that commotion; but the mutineers being, by a reasonable punishment of some of their ringleaders, brought back to a sense of their duty, Marcus attacked four thousand of the enemy encamped upon the Bætis, under the command of Hanno, forced their camp and either took or killed the greatest part of them. The engaging Syphax to confederate with the Romans, was a very considerable point gained, though this was not effected without some difficulty. Scipio first sent Lælius, with five quinqueremes, to make proposals to that prince, which he ordered him to back with magnificent presents. Lælius executed his commission with great dexterity, putting Syphax in mind of the advantages he had reaped from a former alliance with the Romans. Notwithstanding which, Scipio, as we have just observed, found himself obliged to visit in person that prince's court, where by his uncommon address, if we will believe Livy, he defeated the intrigues of Afdrubal, and put the last hand to the treaty.

Soon after the reduction of Afastapa, some defectors arrived at Gades from Scipio's camp. These fugitives promised that general, not only to deliver the city, together with the Carthaginian garrison and commandant, into his hands, but likewise to make him master of the enemy's whole fleet riding at anchor in the harbour there. Scipio therefore detached Lælius with a body of light-armed troops, assisted by a naval force of one quinquereme, and seven triremes, to put the conspirators in motion. In the mean time the conspiracy being discovered to Mago, before it was ripe for execution, he took care to seize the principals of it, and sent them on board a quinquereme, in order to transport them to Carthage. Afdrubal the Carthaginian admiral, ordered the captain of this vessel to precede the rest of the fleet, he himself following at a small distance with eight triremes. Upon his approach to Carteia, he descried Lælius's squadron coming out of that port. The Carthaginian could not, for some time, determine whether or not it would be proper for

m Ibidem ibid. Vite & Liv. ubi sup. c. 17—2.
him to attack the Romans; but this state of suspense gave Lælius an opportunity of coming up with him, which obliged him to hazard an engagement; in which being worsted, he made the best of his way towards the coasts of Africa, with only five triremes. However, Lælius missed his aim, since Mago had taken care to give him a proper reception, if he advanced to Gades; of which being apprised by the prisoners, he returned to Carteia, from whence he dispatched an express to Marcius, who was moving with a powerful corps to support him, to inform him of what had happened. Both these commanders therefore, judging the siege of Gades too difficult an enterprise to be undertaken at present, laid aside that design, and, in a short time, rejoined Scipio at New Carthage a.

The disappointment the Romans had met with in their design upon Gades, together with the rebellion of the Ilergetes, and revolt of the legions above-mentioned, gave Mago hopes, that he should still be in a condition to make head against the enemy. He therefore wrote to Carthage for a speedy reinforcement, affuring the senate, that, if they would be active and expeditious at this juncture, they might recover what they had lost in Spain. To excite them to make a vigorous effort, he greatly exaggerated the misfortunes of the Romans, giving a melancholy account of the dangers that threatened them. In the mean time Mandonius and Indibilis, being offended at the Romans, for not ceding to them the countries they had conquered, and encouraged by the report of Scipio’s death, pillaged the territories of the Sedetani and Suefetani, allies of Rome. Hearing afterwards of Scipio’s severity to the ringleaders of the revolting legionaries, who were Romans, they concluded, that Spanish revolters must be excluded all hopes of pardon. Animated therefore by despair, they assembled a numerous army of Celtiberians, and advanced against Scipio. That general moving at the head of his forces with great celerity towards them, at last found them posted in a plain, surrounded on all sides by mountains, and scarce capable of containing such a number of men. Having secured the defile leading into this valley, he detached Lælius, with the cavalry, to take a compass round the hills, and attack the enemy in rear, whilst he charged them in front with the legionaries. This disposition being made, Scipio attacked the

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reguli, and gave them a total overthrow, putting almost their whole army to the sword. What became of them afterwards, our readers will find in a former part of this history.

Though Syllanus and Masinissa had settled the preliminaries, yet, by several intervening accidents, the conclusion of a treaty betwixt the Numidian and the Romans, was deferred to this time. The chief obstacle to the signing of it was, that Masinissa could find no opportunity of having an interview with Scipio, which he ardently desired. Scipio, being informed of this, and that Masinissa was at Gades, took a journey thither with a good escorte, purely out of a desire to have a conference with him. Masinissa, receiving intelligence of this from Marcius, prevailed upon Mago to send him, with a detachment from the island of Gades, to ravage the neighbouring part of the continent; which enabled him to confer with Scipio. At their first interview, Masinissa told the Roman general, "That, from the time he had so generously and politely released his nephew, for which he was greatly obliged to him, he had conceived a sincere affection for him; that, ever since, he had wished for an opportunity of expressing his high regard for the people of Rome, which now the gods had blest him with; that no foreigner could be more closely attached to them than he was; and that though he could not give sufficient proofs of this in Spain, where he was a stranger, yet if the Romans would transfer the war to Africa, where he had some interest, he would convince them of the purity of his intentions, and at the same time answer for the success of the expedition." Everything being afterwards settled to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, Masinissa, in order to blind Asdrubal, plundered some part of the adjacent country, and then returned to Gades.

The Carthaginians, being disappointed in the diversion they expected from the mutiny of the legionaries, and the rebellion of the Spaniards, ordered Mago to abandon Spain, and fail with all possible expedition to Italy. That he might be enabled the more effectually to succour Hannibal, he received a large sum of money to make levies in Gaul and Liguria.

Liguria. Before he left Gades, he did not only oblige the citizens to bring all their gold and silver to him, but plundered all their temples. In his passage to Italy, he made an attempt upon New Carthage; but was repulsed with great loss. From thence he sailed to the island of Pityuva, where he met with a kind reception, receiving a plentiful supply of provisions, and a good number of recruits. Then he steered his course to the largest of the Balearic islands, that had a commodious haven; where endeavoring to put in, he was attacked by the natives in so violent a manner with their slings, that he found himself obliged to sheer off with considerable loss. However, proceeding to the lesser one near it, that was extremely fertile, tho’ not so populous and powerful as the other, he entered the port, landed his men, encamped in a place of great strength, and possessed himself of the whole island without opposition. As the season was far advanced, he wintered there; to which he was the more strongly induced by the good disposition of the natives, who expressed all imaginable zeal and affection for the Carthaginians, supplying him during his stay amongst them, with a body of two thousand men. We must not omit observing, that the people of Gades shut their gates upon Mago after his repulse at New Carthage; for which affront he whipped and crucified their suffetes, who were sent to excuse that conduct to him; nor that they surrendered to the Romans soon after he had abandoned them.

The next summer, Mago, landing in Liguria with an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horses, surprized Genoa. From thence he sailed to the coasts of Ligures Alpini, to try whether he could not raise some commotions amongst them. The Ingauni, one of their cantons, were then at war with the Epanderii, a sort of highlanders, who likewise belonged to them. This gave Mago an opportunity of seizing upon the town and port of Savo, and stationing ten of his long ships there. The rest of his fleet he sent to Carthage, upon a rumour, that Scipio was going to transport a body of troops to Africa, in order to attack that capital. Then he joined the Ingauni, whose friendship he preferred to that of the other contending party, and, in concert with them, made the necessary dispositions for invading the common enemy. As his army soon grew

* Liv. ubi sup. c. 36, 37. & Zonar. l. ix. c. 10.
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grew very numerous by the accession of a strong body of Gauls and Ligurians, the Romans were greatly alarmed, and made the motions already mentioned. About this time, Cn. Octavius, who commanded in Sardinia, took eighty Carthaginian transports, laden with corn, and other provisions, for Hannibal, as Cælius will have it, or with booty taken in Etruria, and Epanterian captives, according to Valerius Antias, off of the coasts of that island. As the plague made great havoc both in the Carthaginian and Roman armies this year in Brutium, and Hannibal had besides a famine to struggle with, nothing material happened the campaign we are now upon in those parts. Livy tells us, that the Carthaginian general, during his inaction this summer, erected an altar near the temple of June Lacinia, (Polybius says, a column or pillar near the town of Lacinium) upon which he engraved an account of all his great achievements in Greek and Punic letters. Our readers will find some observations upon this monument of antiquity, which, Polybius assures us, was extant in his time, in two of our former notes.

The following year, advice was brought to Carthage, that an army formed of the Ausetani, Ilergetes, and several other Spanish nations, under the command of Indibilis, Mandonius, &c. had been entirely overthrown by the Romans. Indibilis, it seems, being encouraged by Scipio’s departure out of Spain, had excited the people above mentioned to a second revolt, imagining, that now an opportunity offered of rendering himself, with all the other reguli, independent both of the Romans and Carthaginians. To that end he assembled, in a few days, an army of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with which he advanced into the country of the Scutani. Here the Roman generals, L. Lentulus, and L. Manlius Acidinus, gave them a total defeat, putting above thirteen thousand of them to the sword, in which number was Indibilis himself, and taking eight thousand prisoners. Mandonius, and the other authors of this revolt, being delivered up to the Romans, received capital punishment, after a confiscation of all their effects; and then a peace was granted to the Spaniards upon

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upon reasonable terms. The particulars of the last action, as well as a more circumstantial account of the transactions this year in Spain, our readers will find in Livy, to whom, for their further satisfaction we refer them 3.

Affairs were scarce settled in Spain, when Laelius made a decent in Africa at Hippo Regius, and pillaged all the neighbouring territory. This so alarmed the inhabitants, that they dispatched messengers in all haste to Carthage, with advice, that Scipio, with the Roman fleet, was arrived on their coasts, and had landed at Hippo a strong body of forces. As a rumour had, for some time, prevailed at Carthage, that Scipio had already passed into Sicily, the people and senate were thrown into the utmost consternation by this melancholy news. The great revolution that had happened in their affairs, the destruction of all their veteran troops, the incapacity of their youth for war, the defection of Syphax, Mafinissa, and all their other allies, together with the fickleness and inconstancy of the Africans, from whom their auxiliary forces were to be drawn, afforded them a most dismal prospect, now their metropolis was threatened with a siege. However, when they received intelligence, that only Laelius, with an inconsiderable force, had put in at Hippo, in order to make an incursion upon their territories on that side, their fears began to subside. As soon therefore as they had recovered themselves from the panic they were thrown into, they began to make the necessary dispositions for their defence: they sent an embassy to Syphax, to attempt recovering that prince, as well as to several other African reguli, who shewed an inclination to side with the Romans: they remitted a sum of two hundred talents of silver to Philip king of Macedon, in order to engage him to make a diversion either in Italy or Sicily: they dispatched orders to their generals in Italy to make all possible efforts to keep Scipio at home; and they sent Mago a reinforcement of six thousand foot, eight hundred horse, seven elephants, and twenty-five long ships, together with a large sum of money to make new levies, that he might advance nearer Rome, and join Hannibal. Laelius, having had a conference with Mafinissa, wherein that prince gave fresh assurances of his sincere attachment to the Romans, and expressed an ardent desire to see Scipio in Afri-

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cæ, set sail for Sicily, where he safely arrived, with the immense booty got in this expedition.

In the mean time the vessels, with the body of troops destined for Italy to reinforce Mago, sailed from Carthage, and, after a happy voyage, put into the part of Savo, where they joined the other Carthaginian squadron. Mago, upon their arrival, acquainted the chiefs of the Gauls and Ligurians with the reinforcement and welcome dispatches he had received from Carthage. He took occasion from hence to assure them, “That the chief end of his coming to Italy was to secure to them the enjoyment of their rights and privileges.” To this he subjoined, “That though the state of Carthage would exert itself to the utmost, in order to obtain this desirable end, yet the success of its endeavours would depend upon them, as it was in their power to enable him to make a greater or lesser figure in the field; that as Sp. Lucretius and M. Livius would soon unite their forces, a strong body of auxiliaries would be necessary to oppose so formidable an army.” To which the Gauls replied, “That as one Roman army was hovering about their frontiers, and another in Etruria, at a small distance from them, they could not come to so vigorous a resolution as their inclination prompted them to, since this would expose their country to the ravages of the enemy; but that however, underhand, they would give him all the assistance in their power. As to the Ligurians, they added, they were at liberty to act as they should think proper, since the Roman armies were too remote from their borders to have any influence upon their councils; and therefore it was but just, that they should openly take part in the war, and supply him with what number of recruits he wanted.” The Ligurians being of the same sentiments, provided he allowed them two months time to raise men in, every thing succeeded according to his desire; for the Gauls privately sent him provisions, and, by virtue of the Carthaginian money, the new levies went on briskly in Liguria. But, notwithstanding these happy beginnings, Mago met with the same fate in Italy, that Afdralba had done before in Spain, as will in a short time appear.

Both Scipio, and the Roman soldiery, expressed great impatience to attack the enemy in the heart of their dominions. The intelligence Locius brought from Masinissa, excited the general to this, as the plunder he carried off with him from Africa did the troops. However, they were prevented from

undertaking this expedition for the present, by a successful attempt upon the city of Locri. Some workmen, who had served in the Carthaginian garrison of one of the citadels there, being taken by a Roman party, and brought to Rhegium, offered to deliver up the place to him, provided they received a proper reward for the danger to which they should expose themselves. This being agreed to, the Romans, by the assistance of these traitors, made themselves masters of that citadel, in which they were employed; but the Carthaginian garrison in the other, commanded by one Hamilcar, defended itself with great bravery, till Hannibal advanced from the river Butrotus to its relief. Upon his approach, a warm action ensued, and the Romans would have been totally routed, notwithstanding Scipio came from Massinissa to their assistance, had not the people of Locri supported them; but this happening, and Hannibal being wounded by a scorpion, the Carthaginians thought proper to draw off. Scipio, after the action, finding both the town and the other citadel abandoned by the enemy, placed garrisons in them; and then immediately made the proper dispositions for carrying the war into Africa.

During these transactions in Italy, the Carthaginians were under continual apprehensions of Scipio's making a descent in Africa. They had posted parties on every promontory and hill bordering upon the sea, to give them notice of the first appearance of the enemy, and were filled with terror upon the arrival of every express, for fear he should bring news of the enemy's landing. In this distress, it was the general opinion, that all possible attempts should be made to detach Syphax from the Roman interest; since both the senate and people thought, that a prospect of assistance from him would be the chief inducement to the Romans to invade their dominions in Africa. In order to accomplish this, a lucky incident intervened: Afdrubal the son of Gisco, who was at Syphax's court with Scipio, in order to negotiate an alliance with that prince, had a daughter of exquisite charms named Sophoniba. At that time Afdrubal offered this young lady in marriage to Syphax, thinking this would be a means of uniting him with the Carthaginians. He therefore now, with the same view, waited again upon Syphax; and having inflamed him with a description of the beauty he was to have for his comfort, sent for her thither from Carthage, to hasten the marriage. Amongst other things, it was stipulated on this occasion, that an offensive and defensive league should be concluded betwixt him and the

the Carthaginians, in consequence of which he should afflict them with all his forces. Asdrubal, not satisfied with this, as being no stranger to the alliance he had formerly entered into with Rome, nor of the variable temper of the African barbarians, thought proper to put him upon a measure, which would prevent Scipio’s landing in Africa, and consequently hinder a future union betwixt him and the Romans. Whilist therefore he was in his first amorous transports, the Carthaginian, by means of his daughter’s soothing arts and endearments, prevailed upon him to write a letter to Scipio in Sicily to the following effect: “That, as he had married Asdrubal’s daughter, his interest was inseparable from that of the Carthaginians; that, besides this, he had concluded a solemn treaty with that nation; that he therefore advised him not to set his foot in Africa, because, in such case, he could not dispense with being neutral; that, if he offered to move with his army to Carthage, he should find himself obliged, both out of regard to his own native country, and that of his wife, to oppose him with all his forces.” This letter did not however produce the desired effect; for Scipio having, in answer to it, admonished him “to take care how he violated the laws of hospitality with him, and the engagements entered into with the people of Rome,” set sail with a formidable force for Africa, and landed at the Fair Promontory without opposition.

It is intimated by Appian, that Sophonisba was betrothed to Masinissa, who was educated at Carthage, and a prince of the finest accomplishments. Animated by the passion he nourished for a lady of such attractive charms, according to the same author, he eminently distinguished himself on all occasions in Spain against the Romans; but this poor prince being stripped of his kingdom, and not in a condition, as was apprehended, to give any considerable assistance to the Carthaginians, Sophonisba, for the reason hinted at above, though in defiance of justice, honour, and public faith, was given to Syphax. Livy is silent as to this particular, though that seems to us no sufficient argument against the probability of it; since Masinissa’s future long uninterrupted fidelity to the Romans, is a proof, that he was of a noble disposition, and therefore could not abandon his first friends the Carthaginians without some grievous provocation. Possibly the Roman

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man historian's great regard for his hero Scipio, whose character, he might think, would a little suffer by a true relation of this fact, prevailed upon him to omit it. Be that as it will, Masinissa ever afterwards bore an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians, and contributed not a little to the destruction of their republic, as will most evidently appear in the sequel of this history. But to proceed to the war in Africa: 

As the Carthaginians had seen no Roman army in Africa for fifty years past, the alarm that Scipio's defeat occasioned over the whole country, was inexpressible. Wherever that general moved, he scattered terror. The inhabitants of the open country retired into the towns with their effects, and Carthage in particular was extremely crowded on this melancholy occasion. The gates there were shut in the utmost hurry, detachments posted upon the ramparts to defend them, and parties ordered to patrol every night all over the city, to prevent a surprize; in short, the same dispositions were made, as would have been proper in case of an immediate siege. They had no commander of any repute, but Aemilius, the son of Gisco, who had been defeated by Scipio in Spain, and was as unequal to that general in his military capacity, as his raw, undisciplined troops were incapable of opposing the Roman legionaries. Being apprized of Scipio's arrival at Utica, with his fleet and land-forces, they detached Hanno, a young Carthaginian nobleman, to obstruct his landing, with a body of five hundred horse; who, falling in with a detachment of the Roman cavalry, sent by Scipio out to plunder, immediately attacked them; but, after a short dispute, he was cut off, with a considerable number of his men, and the rest dispersed. After this action, Scipio laid the country waste to the very gates of Carthage; and possessed himself of an opulent city in the neighbourhood of that place, which he pillaged, and made eight thousand of its principal citizens prisoners. These first instances of success greatly heightened the confusion, that had before begun to reign in Carthage, especially when it was known there, that Masinissa had joined Scipio with a body of two hundred, or, as others say, two thousand, Numidian horse. In this last article we have followed Livy; but, according to Appian, Aemilius and Syphax greatly prevailed Masinissa at this time, in order to prevent the junction of his forces and the Romans, though, at the same time, they

\[\text{Footnotes:}\]
\[1\text{Appian, ubi sup. Vide & Val. Max. i. ix. c. 13. Eutrop.}\]
\[4\text{iv. c. 11 Zonar. l. ix. c. 11.}\]
they had resolved upon his destruction, as soon as Scipio should be driven out of Africa. This, continues the same author, Masinissa was not ignorant of, though, in order to overcome them at their own weapons, he pretended to be entirely reconciled to those two commanders, having been before at variance with them, for the reason above assigned. However, he privately informed Scipio of all their motions and designs. We might here give our readers an account of the family of Masinissa, as well as of the principal events that had happened to him before this period, together with a description of the kingdom his father governed; but all this we choose to reserve for the history of Numidia.

In the room of the horse lately cut to pieces, or taken prisoners, a new and more numerous body of cavalry was raised with all possible expedition, and the command of it given to another Hanno, the son of Hamilcar, who advanced towards Utica, to observe the enemy’s motions. But being too weak to undertake any thing against them, or even to prevent the adjacent country from being pillaged, he thought proper to remain inactive, till he was reinforced by some new levies, that his officers were making both in the Carthaginian territories, and those of the neighbouring princes independent of them. At last, finding his troops to amount to four thousand men, he took post in a town called Salera, fifteen miles from the Roman camp. Out of this place, Masinissa, who was sent to Salera, with a detachment of horse, by Scipio, for that purpose, found means to draw him; and then, in conjunction with a choice body of Roman cavalry, commanded by Scipio himself, that lay in ambuscade, charged him with such vigour, that he was put to flight, a thousand of his men falling in the action, and two thousand being either killed or taken prisoners in the pursuit. Most authors relate, that Hanno was slain; but Cælius and Valerius Annius affirm, that he fell into the enemy’s hands. After this, Scipio put a garrison into Salera, and pushed on the siege of Utica. In the mean time Asdrubal assembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; but durst not approach the enemy, till the arrival of Syphax, who soon joined him with an army of fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Scipio, being informed of this junction, raised the siege of Utica.

Utica, after he had carried it on ineffectually for the space of forty days, and fixed his winter-quarters in such a manner, as to fear no insults of the enemy. This a little revived the drooping spirits of the Carthaginians, who now saw their own forces, in conjunction with those of Syphax their ally, superior to the Romans in the field.

In Italy this year, Hannibal gained an advantage over the State of consul Sempronius; but was himself soon after defeated by affairs in that general. The los the Carthaginians sustained on this occasion, was above four thousand of their men killed on the field of battle, about three hundred taken prisoners, besides forty horses, and seven standards, that fell into the victors hands. Hannibal, upon this disaster, retired with his army to Croton. The other consul Cethegus in the mean time kept Etruria in awe, and prevented Mago from approaching his brother Hannibal. As the Etruscans were generally disposed to a revolt, and kept a close correspondence with Mago, Cethegus found it a difficult matter to execute the province assigned him. The Brutians, hearing of the great success of Scipio in Africa, for the most part abandoned the Carthaginian interest. Some of Hannibal’s garrisons amongst them they put to the sword, others they expelled; and in many places, where they could not openly declare for the Romans, they found means to inform the Senate of their aversion to the Carthaginians. In the mean time Hannibal came to Petilia, and expostulated with the citizens upon their sending ministers to Rome; but pretended to be satisfied with their conduct, when they strenuously denied this charge. However, to cut off all future grounds of suspicion, he put the principal inhabitants under arrest, committing them to the care of a guard of Numidians; and, disarming the citizens, left the defence of the place to the slaves. He treated other cities likewise with equal severity, Thurii in particular, with its district, which he gave up to his soldiers to be plundered, sparing only three thousand of the citizens, and five hundred peasants, whom he knew to be closely attached to the Carthaginians. These he transplanted to Croton, where he fixed his head-quarters, erected his principal magazine, and took care effectually to cover it from all attempts of the Romans.

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1 Liv. ubi sup. c. 34, 35. Appian. ubi sup. Liv. ubi sup. c. 36. Appian. in Hannib. Oros. l. iv. c. 18; Vol. XVII, H h
Scipio having fortified his camp, the Carthaginians, notwithstanding their superiority, could find no opportunity of attacking him; so that both sides continued in a state of inaction, till the return of the spring. During the winter, Scipio attempted to draw off Syphax from the Carthaginians, but without effect. However, that prince offered to act in quality of mediator between the contending powers, provided Scipio would agree to this preliminary, viz. that both parties should recall their armies home; which, he intimated, would serve as a basis for a future treaty, and effectually secure the repose of their respective dominions. This proposal the Roman general, at first, rejected; but afterwards seemed to listen to it, in order to amuse the enemy, till he could find an opportunity of carrying his point. During the negotiation, Scipio was informed, that the Carthaginian camp, which consisted chiefly of wooden barracks, covered with boughs, was but very slightly fortified; and that the Numidian quarters, which were at some distance from the other, were entirely defenceless, the soldiers being only covered with mats, hurdles, dry leaves, and other suchlike combustible materials. To which his spies added, that the troops observed no order or discipline, but lay in a careless manner without their trenches. This intelligence excited him to attempt forcing their camp by some stratagem, since he found himself too weak to come to a pitched battle with them, especially as the spot they were encamped upon was a smooth and open plain, extremely proper for their cavalry, much superior to that of the Romans, to act in. Having maturely weighed these particulars, he sent ambassadors to the camp, to renew, as was given out, the conferences, but in reality to make such discoveries, as would favour the execution of his scheme. These ambassadors were attended by some of his veteran soldiers, disguised like slaves, who had orders to move about the camp, and observe all the avenues leading to and from it, its form and situation, how far Asdrubal was from Syphax, how all the posts were occupied, and whether it would be easier to surprise it in the day-time, or by night. Having informed himself of all these particulars, he immediately broke off the conferences, letting Syphax know, “That as his officers had, in a council of war, declared themselves averse to all pacific measures, and pressed him to push on the war with vigour, he found himself obliged, in compliance with their desire, to pursue the military operations.” Such a declaration could
could not but extremely mortify both Afdrubal and Syphax, who looked upon the treaty to be as good as concluded. However, they soon recovered themselves, and resolved to draw, if possible, the enemy out into the plain, where, they doubted not, they should be able to give a good account of them; or, if they should fail in the execution of this project, their intention was to besiege their camp both by sea and land; which they imagined themselves capable of doing. But Scipio took his measures so well, that he surprized them in the manner already related. Lælius and Mafinissa burnt Syphax's camp, as Scipio himself did that of Afdrubal. Their army was entirely ruined, only two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, with the two commanders, escaping out of so great a multitude. According to Livy, this complete victory was, in a great measure, owing to the wise dispositions of Mafinissa. The scene exhibited on this melancholy occasion, Polybius tells us, was inconceivably dreadful; which indeed may easily be admitted, if we consider the terrible havoc made of the Carthaginian and Numidian troops. Appian relates, that Syphax, having, some time before, shamefully abandoned the Carthaginians, when he had advanced as far as Utica to their assistance, under the pretext of repelling a foreign invasion, returned soon after to succour them, and endeavoured to bring over Mafinissa, by promising to give him which of his three daughters he pleased, and to fix him on the throne of the Maæsyli. The same author tells us, that Scipio offered sacrifices to the deities Audacia and Pavor, that his troops might behave with bravery, and not be struck with any panic terrors in the night, since they were then to begin the attack. Afdrubal made his escape to Anda, where he rallied the remains of his shattered army, consisting chiefly of mercenaries and Numidians; and having, by his own authority, presented a good number of slaves with their freedom, and joined them to the others, he formed a considerable corps. Syphax retired to an advantageous post, about eight miles from the field of battle, which he possessed himself of. Appian relates, that Afdrubal was condemned to be crucified for his ill success; which is improbable, if what Livy says be true, viz. that, soon after the last disaster, he went to Carthage, in order to prevent the senate and suffetes from coming into any pacific measures. Be that as it will, the suffetes having convened the senate, three motions were made: first, that ambassadors should be sent to Scipio, to treat of a peace with
with that general; secondly, that Hannibal should be recalled out of Italy; thirdly, that, in imitation of the Roman resolution in adversity, they should depend upon themselves, and their allies, for the defence of their country, and therefore immediately reinforce their army, and apply to Syphax for further succours. This last, being backed by Afdarbal, and the Barchine faction, was carried; in consequence of which, the new levies went on briskly, and ministers were dispatched in all haste to Syphax, who was prevailed upon, by the entreaties and endearments of his beloved Sophonisba, to join Afdarbal with a large body of forces. In the mean time Scipio advanced to the walls of Carthage, and offered the citizens battle; which they thought proper to decline. As soon as Afdarbal had left Anda, it surrendered to the Romans. Two other towns of note likewise in that neighbourhood, which pretended to make resistance, Scipio carried by assault, and gave them up to his soldiers to be plundered. After this, he set down again before Utica, and pushed on the siege of that place with the utmost vigour. In the mean time Afdarbal and Syphax, being joined by a good number of Celtiberian troops, upon a review of their army, found it to amount to thirty thousand strong, with which they moved towards Scipio, in order to attack him. That general, having received intelligence of their approach, and left a sufficient number of troops to defend his lines, rode from before Utica, and advanced to meet them. The Roman army was disposed in the usual manner. On the other side, Afdarbal posted his Carthaginian forces in the right wing, Syphax, with his Numidians, in the left, and the Celtiberians in the centre. The Carthaginians and Numidians were routed at the first onset; but the Celtiberians, being animated by despair, fought with such resolution, that they were almost all to a man killed upon the spot. As Scipio had treated them with the utmost lenity after their late revolt, they were sensible the black ingratitude to him, they were now guilty of, deserved no mercy, if they fell into his hands; and finding it impossible to escape by flight, they resolved to die in the field. The obstinacy with which they, for some time, maintained the dispute, gave many of the Carthaginians and Numidians an opportunity of saving themselves, who must otherwise have been inevitably cut off. The day after the battle, Scipio detached Lælius and Malania, with the horse and light-armed troops, to pursue Syphax and
and Aedrual; whilst he himself, with the main body, reduced most of the towns in the neighbourbood of Carthage.

The Carthaginians now looked upon their condition as desperate, expecting every moment to be besieged by Scipio with his victorious army. They therefore repaired the wall of the city, filled their magazines, and made all the other necessary dispositions for a vigorous defence. In the mean while the garrison of Tunes abandoned that city at Scipio's approach. Soon after the loss of this place, the Carthaginians sent a squadron of galleys to destroy the Roman fleet in the port of Utica; which they might have easily effected, had they not put into the harbour of Ruscino by the way, and lay a whole night there; which, together with their slow sailing, and the useless precaution of drawing up their fleet in order of battle, as though they had been to engage some formidable enemy, gave the Romans an opportunity of frustrating, in a great measure, their design. The great consternation the Carthaginians were thrown into by their late losses, prevented them from pursuing this enterprise with the expedition necessary to render it successful, since they imagined the Romans to be invincible by sea, as well as by land. However, they carried off six of the enemy's galleys; which, in the present situation of affairs, elated them as much, as formerly an important victory would have done. We are told by Appian, that Hamilcar, the Carthaginian admiral, surprizing the Roman fleet at Utica, took one trireme, and six transports; that, immediately after this, Hanno, with a body of forces, attempted to raise the siege of Utica; but was repulsed with considerable loss; that however, Scipio, being tired with the long siege, or rather blockade, of that place, transported all his military machines to Hippo; and that having ineffectually played them upon that city likewise, he burnt them all as useless, ravaged some parts of the neighbouring provinces, and entered into an alliance with others. The same author likewise intimates, that the Carthaginians attempted to corrupt the Iberian troops in the Roman service; but without success, their indirect practices being discovered to Scipio by the aurospices at repeated sacrifices. We might here give our readers all the particulars, besides those already mentioned,

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The Carthaginians, relating to the tragical exit of Sophonisba, as well as the great progress made by Lælius and Masinissa at this time in Numidia, did we not apprehend them more properly to belong to the Numidian history.

Immediately after the last defeat, the senate and suffetes of Carthage came to a resolution to recall Hannibal from Italy, upon whose veteran troops, and their fleet, together with the powerful assistance of Syphax, they were convinced, their preservation did absolutely depend. Their fleet therefore having, in the main, failed in the important enterprise above-mentioned, Syphax being taken prisoner, his country conquered, and Hannibal as yet at a great distance, they had no other resource left, than to sue to Scipio for peace. To this they were farther excited, by the general’s encamping again at Tunes, within sight of their capital. They therefore deputed thirty of their principal senators, who were selected for that purpose out of the centumvirate, to wait upon Scipio. Being introduced into the Roman general’s tent, they all threw themselves prostrate on the earth, kissed his feet, (in conformity, as Livy observes, to the practice of their ancestors the Tyrians) and spoke to him in the most submissive terms. They accused Hannibal, and the Barchine faction, as the authors of all their calamities; they confessed themselves to have broken the peace concluded betwixt them and the Romans, and that they deserved whatever punishment that nation should think proper to inflict upon them. They begged however, that their city, which had twice merited destruction, by the temerity of its citizens, might remain a monument of the Roman clemency, pronouncing at the same time an implicit obedience to his commands. Scipio replied, “That though he had come into Africa, not for peace, but conquest, which he had, in a manner, effected, yet, that all nations might see the strict justice of the Romans, both in undertaking and concluding their wars, he would grant them a peace upon the following terms: that they should deliver all the Roman prisoners and deserters to him; that they should recall their armies out of Italy and Gaul; that they should never set foot again in Spain; that they should retire out of all the islands between Italy and Africa; that they should put the victors in possession of all their ships, twenty only excepted, which they should be allowed to keep for
for their own use; lastly, that they should give to the Romans five hundred thousand bushels of wheat, three hundred thousand of barley, and pay five thousand talents, or, as others will have it, five thousand pound weight of silver. He gave them three days to consider of these conditions; which they feigned a compliance with, in order to gain time till Hannibal’s arrival. A truce being granted the Carthaginians, they immediately sent deputies to Rome, and at the same time dispatched an express to Hannibal, to hasten his return to Africa. Appian intimates, that, besides the articles above-mentioned, Scipio infisted upon a compliance with the two following: that Masinissa should not only keep possession of his own kingdom, but as many of Syphax’s territories, as he should be able to conquer; and that the Carthaginians should not extend their dominions beyond the Fossa Punica. But these, and other points, wherein that author differs from Livy and Polybius, seem not so agreeable to truth, as what has been transmitted to posterity by those two celebrated historians.

During these transactions, Mago advanced into Insubria, where he met with the Roman forces under the command of M. Cornelius and P. Quintilius Varus. A general action soon happened between the two armies, wherein the Carthaginians were defeated. However, Afdrubal’s elephants, by their noise, smell, terrible appearance, &c. with the Numidian horse, so pushed the Roman cavalry, and his Carthaginian infantry charged the legionaries with such bravery, that, had his corps de reserve, which consisted of Gauls, done their duty against the triarii, the Romans must have been overthrown. Mago performed the part of a consummate general, distinguishing himself greatly throughout the whole action; but being wounded in the thigh, he was obliged to be carried out of the battle, which threw his troops into such confusion, that a good part of them betook themselves to flight. Five thousand Carthaginians fell on the field of battle, and eighteen of their standards were taken. But this victory cost the Romans dear; for they lost two thousand three hundred men, besides the best part of the twelfth legion. Mago, after having made an excellent retreat by favour of the night, returned into the country of the Ingauni, which was one of the maritime parts of Liguria, where he met a courier bringing him order.

* Ibid ibid.
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ders to return directly to Carthage. The Ligurians, being informed of this, received the Romans with open arms; and Mago, embarking his troops, immediately set sail for Carthage; but his wound growing worse, upon his arrival on the coast of Sardinia, he expired.

The Romans being thus every-where victorious, Con-
fentia, Uuffugium, Vergae, Befidia, Hetriculum, Syphae-
um, Argentanum, Dampetia, and other towns of less note in Brutium, opened their gates to the consul Cn. Servilius. This was the situation of affairs, when Hannibal was commanded to return to Africa. Valerius Antias wrote, that, just before his departure, Hannibal was defeated by Servilius not far from Croton, and that, on this occasion, he lost five thousand men. But Livy, partial as he is, looks upon this as little better than a downright fiction. When the messengers from Africa informed Hannibal of the senate's pleasure, he expressed the utmost concern and indignation, groaning, gnashing his teeth, and being scarce able to refrain from tears. "Now, said he, those persons, "who have long endeavoured to drag me out of Italy, "by denying me proper supplies, send me direct and ex-
plicit orders to return home. Hannibal is not vanquished "by the Romans, but by the senate of Carthage. Scipio "has not so much reason to exult and plume himself at "my being forced from Italy, as Hanno, who, for want "of other means of effecting it, has completed the ruin "of my family by the destruction of Carthage." As he had foreseen what would happen, he had prepared a proper number of vessels to transport his forces to Africa; which he did, after having massacred a body of Italian troops, that refused to accompany him, in the temple of Juno Lacinia. Such an instance of cruelty, at that time, was not so much to be wondered at, since Hannibal must have been exasperated almost to madness to see himself thus forced to quit a country he had been so long contending for. Never banished man, according to Livy, shewed so much regret in leaving his native country, as Hannibal did in going out of that of the enemy. He often turned his eyes withfully to Italy, accusing gods and men for his misfortunes, and calling down a thousand curses, if we will credit the same author, upon himself, for his not having af-

f Polyb. & Aprian, ubi sup. Liv. i, xxx.c. 18.
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... after the battle of Cannæ, advanced to the walls of Rome at the head of his army, still reeking with the blood of its citizens. Appian writes that Aesdrubal, the Carthaginian admiral, committed unparalleled cruelties in all the cities allied with Carthage, before Hannibal's departure, permitting his men to ravish their virgins and matrons, and behaving in all respects to them, as the most inhuman enemy does to the inhabitants of all towns carried by assault. But as Livy, whose authority, in the main, we prefer to that of Appian, is silent as to this particular, we own ourselves inclined to pay no great regard to it.

The Carthaginian embassadors, about this time, arrived at Rome, where they met with but a very indifferent reception. The conscript fathers, greatly dissatisfied with the excuses made by these embassadors, in vindication of their republic, and the ridiculous offer of their adhering, in its name, to the treaty of Lutatius, thought proper to refer the decision of the whole to Scipio, who, being upon the spot, could best judge what suited the welfare of the state. However, the Romans plainly discovered, from the conduct of their ministers on this occasion, as well as the recalling of their troops home, that, notwithstanding their pretended desire of peace, the Carthaginians would be averse to an accommodation, as soon as they received intelligence of Hannibal's landing in Africa. They were confirmed in the sentiments they had entertained, by the news, which in a few days, arrived at Rome, viz. that the Carthaginians, in violation of the truce which they themselves had so earnestly desired, had seized a great number of ships on the coast of Africa, near the island Ægimurus, and even attacked the galley that carried the Roman embassadors to Carthage, in the river Bagrada, within sight of Scipio's camp. Such a procedure could not but exasperate the two nations one against the other more than ever; the Romans, from the strong desire they must have had to revenge so black a perfidy; and the Carthaginians, from a persuasion, that they were not now to expect a peace. For the particulars of those infamous actions, as well as Scipio's great generosity and politeness to the Carthaginian embassadors, notwithstanding such a flagrant

2 Polyb. 1. xv. Liv. ubi sup. c. 20, & seq. Appian. in Hannib.
grant violation of the law of nations, we must refer our
readers to the Roman history.  

HANNIBAL had no sooner landed in Africa, than he
sent out parties to get provisions for the army, and buy
horses to remount the cavalry. He entered into a league
with the regulus of the Areacidæ, a Numidian tribe not
far from Adrumetum. Four thousand of Syphax's hore,
then in the service of Masinissa, came over in a body to
him; but as he did not think it proper to repose any con-
fidence in them, he put them all to the sword, and dis-
tributed their horses amongst his troops. Vermina, one of
Syphax's sons, and Mefetulus, another Numidian prince,
likewise joined him with a very considerable body of horse.
Most of the fortresses in Masinissa's kingdom either sur-
rrendered to him upon the first summons, or were taken
by storm. Narce, a city of considerable note there, he
made himself master of by a stratagem. Tychæus, a Nu-
midian regulus, and faithful ally of Syphax, whose territo-
ries were famous for an excellent breed of horses, rein-
forcing him also much about the same time with two thou-
sand of his best cavalry, Hannibal advanced to Zama, a
town about five days march from Carthage, where he en-
camped. He thence sent out spies to observe the posture
of the Romans. These being brought to Scipio, he was
so far from inflicting any punishment upon them, which
he might have done by the rules of war, that he com-
manded them to be led about the Roman camp, in order
to take an exact survey of it, and then dismissed them.
Hannibal, admiring the noble assurance of his rival, sent a
messenger to desire an interview with him; which by
means of Masinissa he obtained. The two generals therefore,
escorted by equal detachments of horse, met at Nadagara,
where, by the assistance of two interpreters, they held a
private conference. Hannibal, after having flattered Scipio
in the most refined and artful manner, and expatiated up-
on all those topics, that he thought could influence that
general to grant his nation a peace upon tolerable terms,
told him that the Carthaginians would willingly confine
themselves to Africa, since such was the will of the gods,
in order to procure a lasting peace, whilst the Romans would
be at liberty to extend their conquests to the remotest na-
tions.

xii. p. 288.
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He farther added, that, with regard to the sincerity of his intentions, since the Romans had lately, not without reason, suspected the Punic faith, he desired him to be fully convinced of it, and to rest assured, that the same constant and uniform disposition Hannibal had shewn in the prosecution of this bloody war, as long as the gods permitted it, would as eminently appear in the strict observation of a future peace; and that the Romans had the less reason to doubt of this, as the interest of the Carthaginians itself rendered such a conduct on their part absolutely necessary. Scipio answered, That the Romans were not prompted by ambition, or any finifter views, to undertake either the former or present war against the Carthaginians, but by justice, and a proper regard for their allies; that the Carthaginians had, before his arrival in Africa, not only made him the same proposals, but likewise agreed to pay the Romans five thousand talents of silver, restore all the Roman prisoners without ransom, and deliver up all their galleys; that the late perfidious actions of the Carthaginians ought to be so far from procuring them more favourable terms, that the Romans thought themselves authorized from thence to impose more rigorous conditions upon them; which if he would submit to, then a peace would ensue; if not, the decision of the dispute betwixt them must be entirely left to the sword.

This conference betwixt two of the greatest generals the world ever produced thus ending without success, they both retired to their respective camps, where they informed their troops, that not only the fate of Rome and Carthage, but that of the whole world, was to be determined by them the next day. Accordingly in the morning, both commanders drew up their armies in order of battle; and, after endeavouring to animate their men to make their utmost efforts, by all the motives to bravery that could be offered, they advanced towards each other with great resolution in the plains of Zama. Scipio posted the hastati, divided into small battalions, with proper spaces between them, in front; after them, the principes divided in the same manner; and the rear was brought up by the triarii. The Italian horde, under the conduct of Lælius, he placed in the left wing; and the Numidian, commanded by Masinissa, in the right.

By this disposition, which differed some thing from that which the Romans usually made, a proper precaution was taken against the violence of the enemy’s elephants, which would otherwise have undoubtedly borne down the infantry. He ordered his light-armed troops, who were to begin the fight, to retire into the void spaces between the battalions, if they found themselves overcharged by the enemy, or pushed by their elephants, the most expeditious part of them continuing their retreat, till they came behind the army, thereby giving an opportunity to their wounded, or more flow companions, of faying themselves in the interval between the hastati and principes, or that between the principes and triarii. Hannibal, on the other side, posted his elephants, eighty in number, in front; behind them he placed his vanguard, consisting of Ligurian, Gallic, Balearic, and Mauritanian mercenaries; then followed the main battle, composed of four thousand Africans and native Carthaginians, sustained by a body of four thousand Macedonian veterans, sent him by king Philip; and, at a furlong’s distance from them, moved those brave troops, that had served under him in Italy, forming his rear, in whom he reposéd his chief confidence. The Carthaginian cavalry were opposed to Lælius; and the Numidian, under Tychæus, Mesetulus, &c. to Masinissa.

Some time before the beginning of the action, the Numidian horse on both sides skirmished with incon siderable los. After which, pursuant to Hannibal’s orders, the elephants advanced against the enemy; but those distributed in the left wing, being frightened by the sound of the trumpets, and the other martial music, fell foul upon their own Numidian horse, and put them into disorder. Masinissa immediately took advantage of this confusion, and, without giving them time to recover themselves, charged them with such fury, that he drove them out of the field. The elephants, that attacked the Roman light-armed troops, being likewise repulsed, and many of them wounded, recoiled in like manner upon the Carthaginian horse posted in the right wing, and made such an impression upon them, that they met with the same rough treatment from Lælius, that the Numidians had before done from Masinissa. In the mean time the infantry on both sides engaged with unparallelled bravery. Hannibal’s mercenaries at first repulsed...
pulsed the legionaries; but these last, being duly supported by the principles, not only recovered themselves, but routed the mercenaries, and pushed them on the Carthaginians; which occasioned the defeat of both bodies, and, in a great measure, determined victory to declare for the Romans. The corps de refuge, formed of Hannibal’s veterans, that had served under him in Italy, behaved with inexplicable intrepidity and resolution; but Lælius and Masinissa, returning from the defeat of the enemy’s horse, bore down all before them, and obliged this phalanx, which before seemed impenetrable, to give way. They were therefore put to the rout, and the ground fireed with their dead bodies, most of them being killed either in the battle or the pursuit. Appian relates, that, during the heat of the action, Hannibal first engaged Scipio, and afterwards Masinissa, in single combat, wherein he had the advantage. According to the same author, the Carthaginians had twenty-five thousand men slain, and eight thousand taken prisoners. Livy and Polybius affirm, that twenty thousand of Hannibal’s men were killed, and as many taken prisoners; as likewise, that an hundred and thirty standards fell into the enemy’s hands. Some say, the Romans lost only two thousand men; others, that two thousand five hundred Romans, and a greater number of Masinissa’s soldiers, fell in this engagement. Be that as it will, Scipio got a complete victory, and made himself master of Hannibal’s camp, where he found ten talents of gold, two thousand five hundred of silver, and an immense quantity of other booty. All the remarkable particulars of this action, omitted here, our readers will find in a former part of this work ¹.

Hannibal, having escaped to Thon, was soon joined by some Brutian and Spanish fugitives, who had been too swift for their pursuers; but not caring to trust himself in their hands, he fled privately to Adrumetum. The surprising military genius of that most renowned general never more eminently displayed itself than at the battle of Zama, as we learn from Polybius, who greatly celebrates his conduct on that occasion. Scipio himself likewise, according to Livy, passed an high encomium upon him, on account of his uncommon capacity in taking advantages, the excellent arrangement

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arrangement of his forces, and the manner in which he gave his orders during the engagement; but being vastly inferior to the enemy in horse, and the state of Carthage obliging him, at no small disadvantage, to hazard a battle with the Romans, he met with the fate above-mentioned. Some consolation however it must have been to him to hear, that Scipio not only approved of his conduct, but openly declared, that he outshined himself in this glorious, though unfortunate, action m.

THE senate of Carthage, hearing of Hannibal’s arrival at Adrumetum, dispatched messengers to him, with orders to return to Carthage. He obeyed these orders, and advised his countrymen to conclude a peace with the Romans upon the terms they should think proper to prescribe them. To this they were the more strongly excited by the news they received of a defeat given Vermina, the son of Syphax, their ally. This blow was very considerable, fifteen thousand of that prince’s men being laid dead on the field of battle, twelve hundred made prisoners, and fifteen hundred Numidian horses, together with seventy-two military ensigns, taken. After this overthrow, the Carthaginians sent ten of their principal citizens, as embassadors, to implore Scipio’s clemency, who told them, with a haughty air, That they might meet with him at Tunes. However, thirty Carthaginian senators, selected out of the centumvirate, waiting upon Scipio, and suing for peace in the most submissive terms, that general thought proper to dictate to them the following conditions: 1. The Carthaginians shall be governed by their own laws, and remain possession of all their African dominions. 2. The Carthaginians shall deliver up to the Romans all their defectors, fugitive slaves, prisoners of war, and all the Italians, whom Hannibal forced to follow him. 3. This shall be done within thirty days after the treaty is signed. 4. They shall also deliver up all their ships of war, except ten triremes, and all their tame elephants, and shall train up no more of those animals for the service. 5. The senate and people of Carthage shall not engage in any war, without the consent of the Romans. 6. They shall supply the Roman troops with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the embassadors they shall send to Rome. 7. They shall pay the Romans, in the space of fifty years, ten thousand Eu- m Polyb. I. xv. Liv. I. xxx. c 55. Appian, in Libye.
boic talents, at equal payments. 8. They shall deliver up to Scipio an hundred such hostages as he shall chuse, the youngest of whom shall not be under fourteen, and oldest above thirty years of age. 9. Neither the peace nor truce shall take place, till the Carthaginians have restored to the Romans the ships and effects taken from them during the last truce. 10. The Roman armies shall leave Africa within fifty days after the conclusion of the treaty. 11. The Carthaginians shall restore to Masinissa all they have usurped from him and his ancestors, and even enter into an alliance with him. 12. They shall never for the future make any levies in Gaul or Liguria. 13. They shall assist the Romans both by sea and land, whenever they are called upon so to do. These terms, which Scipio thought proper to grant the Carthaginians, in case the senate and people of Rome would ratify them, appeared so intolerable to the populace of Carthage, that they threatened to plunder and burn the houses of the nobility. But Hannibal, having assembled a body of six thousand foot, and five hundred horse, at Marthama, prevented an insurrection, and by his influence, completed the accommodation. However, Gisco, an enemy to the Barchine faction, made a speech to the senators, in order to dissuade them from accepting such a shameful peace. Hannibal, being highly incensed at his presumption, dragged him from his seat: which giving great offence, in order to vindicate, or, at least, to palliate, to precipitate an action, Hannibal made an apology for it to the following effect: "As I left your city at nine years of age, and did not return till after thirty-six years absence, "I had full leisure to learn the military art, and flatter myself, that I have made good improvement in it; but, "with regard to your constitution, it is no wonder that I "am a stranger to it, and therefore I must desire you to "instruct me in every branch of it." He then intimated, "on the necessity of concluding a peace; adding, "that they "ought to return the gods thanks for having disposed the "Romans to grant them such favourable conditions." He likewise represented to the senators the importance of uniting in their suffrages; intimating, that it might be of fatal consequence to the state, if, by their divisions, they should throw more weight into the popular scale, which already did but too much preponderate. That whole venerable assembly therefore, in order to prevent the people from taking
such an affair under their cognizance, came over to his opinion, and the terms proposed by Scipio were accepted. Ample satisfaction having been made the Romans for the outrages offered their ministers, and the infractions of the late truce, the Carthaginians dispatched an embassy, at the head of which was Asdrubal, surnamed Hædus, or The Kid, to Rome. As he was an irreconcileable enemy to Hannibal and his family, he endeavoured to excuse the people of Carthage, by imputing the late rupture to the ambition of the Barchine faction, and extolled his own conduct, as well as that of Hanno, towards the Romans. He likewise expatiated upon the generosity, magnanimity, wisdom, and humanity of the Romans; whilst his companions endeavoured to move the senate to compassion, by exhibiting to their view the calamitous state of Carthage in the most lively colours. By these methods of persuasion, they not only prevailed upon the conscript fathers to grant them their request, but likewise to send two hundred of their prisoners then at Rome to Scipio, with orders that they should be restored, without any pecuniary consideration, as soon as he should receive from the Carthaginians their ratification of the treaty. The late truce for three months, which the Carthaginians obtained of Scipio, upon the return of their embassadors, was changed into a perpetual peace, upon the terms that general had prescribed. They then, in pursuance of the treaty, delivered up to Scipio above five hundred ships, all which he burnt in sight of Carthage, to the inexpressible mortification of the inhabitants of that unfortunate city. They likewise delivered up into the hands of the Romans all their elephants, all the slaves, defectors, and prisoners of war. The number of these last amounted to above four thousand men. Scipio treated both the Latin and Roman defectors with extreme severity, ordering all the heads of the former to be struck off, and the latter to be crucified. The public funds at Carthage being exhausted by so long and expensive a war, the senate found it vastly difficult to raise a sum sufficient for the payment of the first tax imposed by the treaty. This threw them into a melancholy silence, and many could not even refrain from tears. Livy tells us, that Hannibal, laughing on this occasion, was reproved by Asdrubal Hædus, for inflicting his country in this the time of its affliction, which, he intimated, was owing to his conduct. Hannibal, in reply, according to the same author, spoke to that august assembly to the following effect: "Were my heart as void of my..."
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"countenance, you would perceive, that this laughter,
"which has given such offence, flows not from an excess of
"joy, but from a mind almost distracted with the public
"calamities; nor is even this laughter so unseasonable as
"your absurd and indecent tears. Then you ought to have
"wept, when your arms were taken from you, your ships
"burnt, and you were prohibited from engaging in any
"foreign wars. This was the mortal blow, that laid us
"prostrate. Do not imagine, that the Romans, out of any
"particular aversion to you, have formed a scheme for your
"destruction. No great city can long enjoy any repose.
"If it has no foreign, it will soon meet with a domestic
"enemy; as the most robust constitutions, when free from
"all external morbid causes, are borne down by their own
"strength. You are only sensible of the public calamities,
"as far as you have a personal concern in them; and the
"loss of your money only gives you the most pungent for-
"row. When therefore Carthage was made the spoil of the
"victor, when it was left disarmed and defenceless amidst so
"many powerful African nations, who had at that time
"taken the field, not a groan, not a sigh was heard. But
"now, when a capitulation-tax is demanded, you lament and
"bewail, as if all were lost. Alas! I greatly fear, that the
"subject of this day's anxiety and concern will soon prove
"the least of your misfortunes." Thus ended the second
"Punic war, one of the most remarkable mentioned in history,
"both on account of the vicissitudes of fortune discernible in
"it, and the immense quantity of blood and treasure it occa-
"sioned the consumption of. Zonaras, from some authors not
"now extant, tells us, it lasted only sixteen years; but Livy
"and Polybius, whose authority is more to be depended upon,
"make it to have included eighteen campaigns, and intimate it
"to have been terminated eighteen years after Hannibal came
to a rupture with the Romans.

The year after the conclusion of the last treaty, Hamil-
car, a Carthaginian captain, left in those parts either by Af-
drubal or Mago, excited the Insubres, Cœnomeni, and the ginians to
Boi, together with the Sallyi, Ilvates, and other cantons of
Liguria, to make an irruption into the territories of the allies,
and discontinue the peace of Rome. Of this the senate immediately informed the state with Ma-
ofhissa.

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of Carthage, threatening at the same time to renew the war, if that infringer of the late treaty was not delivered up to them. What answer the Carthaginians returned to this menace, we no-where find; but the death of Hamilcar, who was soon after killed in a battle he fought with Fulvius Pur-"purcns the praetor, put an end to all farther dispute betwixt the Carthaginians and the Romans on this head. The peace betwixt Carthage and Rome was scarce signed, when Mas-""nissa, at the instigation of the Romans, unjustly made him-""self master of part of the Carthaginian dominions in Africa, under pretence, that those territories formerly belonged to his family. The Carthaginians, through the villainous me-""diation of the Romans, to which, by an article of the late treaty, they were obliged to have recourse, found themselves under a necessity of ceding those countries to that ambitious prince, and entering into an alliance with him. The good understanding afterwards betwixt those two powers continued many years; but at last Masinissa, through the intrigues and dark cabals of the Romans, as there is great reason to be-""lieve, violated the treaties subsisting betwixt him and the Car-""thaginians, and not a little contributed to the subversion of the African republic, as will soon most evidently appear."

The following year, in the consulate of Cornelius Lentu-""lus and P. Villius Tappulus, the Carthaginians sent fifty Eu-""boic talents of silver to Rome, in pursuance of the late treaty; but the silver not being good, the quaestors refused it; and, upon examination, it being found wanting one fourth part, the Carthaginian ministers were obliged to borrow a sum of money at Rome, to make up the deficiency. At their request, an hundred of their hostages were released, and hopes given them, that the other hundred should soon be returned, provided they inviolably adhered to their late engage-""ments. In the mean time, the remaining hostages dehining leave to be removed from Norba, which they represented as a place very inconvenient for them to reside in, the senate immediately sent them to Signia and Ferentinum. From hence they were removed to Setia, where their domestics occasioned a commotion, which had like to have proved of ill consequence to the Romans; but how this accident affected the state of Carthage, is no-where said. According to Ap-""pian, the trade of the Carthaginians began, even at this time, to

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* Liv. I. xxxvi. c. 10, 11, 32. & I xi. c. 34. Zonar. I. ix c. 15. Appian in Libya.
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To flourish, notwithstanding all their shipping had so lately been, in a manner, destroyed. A glaring instance this of the surprising genius of that people for commerce, even in their most depressed and miserable condition?!

Not long after the transaction just hinted at, Iivy tells us, that one Hamilcar, a Carthaginian general, commanded an army of Gauls, that was defeated by Cethagus; and that this general himself was taken prisoner in the action; but whether any, or how many, Carthaginian troops assisted the Gauls on this occasion, or what influence that event had upon the Carthaginian affairs, history informs us not. In the mean time Hannibal kept up his credit at Carthage. Notwithstanding he had failed in the execution of his grand and favourite方案, the republic gave him the command of an army destined to act against some neighbouring African powers; and from Cornelius Nepos it seems probable, that he made some campaigns after the conclusion of the second Punic war. This gave such umbrage to the Romans, that, notwithstanding the Carthaginians made them a present of a golden crown, and thanked them in a most polite manner for the peace they had granted them, they refused to release the Carthaginian prisoners still detained in Italy. The senate, indeed, at the request of the embassadors, who came with the compliment to Rome, gave leave to the Carthaginian hostages still with them to reside in what city of Italy they pleased; and assured the embassadors, that this instance of their republic’s friendship was very acceptable to them. But with regard to the prisoners, the confcript fathers frankly told them, that they could not dismiss them, as long as Hannibal, their most avowed and inveterate enemy, was at the head of an army in Africa. Upon this remonstrance, the Carthaginians recalled Hannibal home, and conferred upon him the office of praetor; which seems to have been an employment of great consideration and authority. In this post Hannibal behaved so as to gain universal applause. He regulated the finances in such a manner, that, notwithstanding the deplorable state to which Carthage was reduced, considerable sums were laid up yearly for the public service, after the payment of the tax to the Romans imposed by the last treaty, and all other deductions made. As such a laudable conduct must have been founded upon a reformation of many

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abuses, abuśes.

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abuses, it undoubtedly drew upon him the hatred of many persons concerned in those abuses; but neither this, nor the animosity of the old Hannonian faction, which was far from being extinguished, prevented him from pursuing the measures he thought necessary for the service of the republic with zeal and resolution. But he was not satisfied with putting the management of the finances upon a good footing. He was equally impatient of rectifying the irregularities, which had crept into the administration of justice. As the judges exercised the most cruel rapine with impunity, disposing, in an arbitrary manner, of the lives, properties, and reputations of the citizens, without the least control, since they held their offices for life, and mutually supported one another, Hannibal resolved to redress so crying an evil. He therefore, by his integrity, courage, and popularity acquired thereby, effected the passing of a law, whereby it was enacted, that the judges should be chosen annually; with a clause, that none should continue in office beyond their year. This step greatly irritated the nobles and grandees, but extremely pleased the populace, of Carthage. His reputation and authority amongst the latter were raised to a higher pitch by the method he made use of to complete the regulation of the finances above-mentioned. The public revenues had been embezzled by those, who had the management of them, and some of the leading men in the city. This obliged the senate and echeetes to think of levying the annual tribute due to the Romans upon the people; which scheme Hannibal prevented from being put in execution, by detecting the frauds of the officers concerned in every branch of the public revenues, as well as the collusions of those possessed of the other lucrative posts. It is no wonder therefore, that persons of this complexion should exert their utmost malice to ruin a man, however laudably disposed to the public, who, they had the assurance to pretend, deprived them of their lawful property; for in that light they considered their long continued peculation. In order to gratify their resentment, they excited the Romans to pursue Hannibal to destruction. Accordingly C. Servilius, M. Claudius Marcellus, and Q. Terentius Culla were sent to Carthage, as was pretended, to accommodate all differences betwixt the Carthaginians and Masinissa, but, in reality, to ruin Hannibal, who, they ascertained, carried on a secret intelligence with king Antiochus, in order to concert with him the proper measures for prosecuting the war against the Romans. Hannibal, upon their arrival, notwithstanding
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Standing their specious pretexts, knew the subject of their commission, and thought it prudent to submit to the necessity of the times. Having therefore made all the proper dispositions for his departure, in order to blind his country-men, in the dusk of the evening, he went out of the city in a foreign dress, attended only by two companions, ignorant of his design. That he might travel with the greater expedition, he had before ordered relays at proper places, by the assistance of which passing the Vocanian district, he arrived at a castle, or palace, of his own between Acholla and Thapius. From hence he was wafted over in a vessel, that waited for him, to the island Cercina. Here he had recourse to a stratagem, to conceal his retreat from Carthage; which had the desired effect. The populace of Carthage, the morning after his departure, were in a great ferment upon his abandoning the city. Some thought he was fled, others that he had been assassinated by the Roman faction. However, at last time discovered the truth, the senate receiving certain intelligence, that he had been seen in the island Cercina. No sooner did this news come to hand, than the Roman embassadors insisted upon the Carthaginians making a public declaration of their dislike of the project he was gone upon. In order to impede upon the matters of ships at that time in the island Cercina, he gave out, that the republic of Carthage had sent him their embassador to Tyre. Livy tells us, that he was not so much affected with the prospect of his own unhappy fate, as with that of the calamities, which threatened his country. From Cercina he leaved his course for Tyre, where, upon his arrival, he was treated with all the marks of distinction due to his exalted merit. After staying some days there, he set out for Antioch, and had a conference with Antiochus’s son at Daphne, where he was celebrating some solemn diversions. From hence he posted to Ephesus, where he met with a most kind reception from that prince himself, whom he determined to enter upon a war with Rome, after he had been, for some time, in a fluctuating condition on that head. Tully informs us, that, during his residence here, a philosopher, named Phormio, esteemed the best orator in Asia, expatriated in an harangue on the duties of a general, and the rules of the military art, before him; which charming the audience, Hannibal was asked his opinion of it. To which the Carthaginian frankly replied, “That, in his time, he had seen many old dotards, but none that came up to Phormio.”...
and that when he undertook to prove, that a wise man only was fit to be a general, Hannibal laughed, as being convinced, that a skill in martial affairs was to be acquired, not by theory, but by practice. The Carthaginians, being apprehensive, that, by Hannibal’s intrigues, they might be embroiled with the Romans, thought proper to send them advice, that he was withdrawn to the court of Antiochus. This news not a little alarmed them; and the king might have turned so lucky an accident greatly to his advantage, had he known how to make a proper use of it. 9

Hannibal’s constant opinion was, that Italy should be made the seat of the war. To enforce this, he observed to Antiochus, that Italy would supply a foreign invader both with a sufficient quantity of provisions, and a proper number of recruits; and that if the Romans were permitted to transport their Italian forces into any foreign country, no prince or state in the world could make head against them. He offered to fail to Carthage, and did not doubt but he should persuade his countrymen to take up arms against the common enemy, provided the king would trust him with the command of a fleet of an hundred ships, and a body of seventeen thousand land-forces on board. With these troops he proposed to make a descent in some part of Italy; whilst the king himself should assemble a numerous army, and put himself in a condition to advance to his relief, whenever it should be thought convenient. Had this salutary advice been followed, Antiochus would not have been obliged soon after to submit to such conditions of peace as the Romans thought fit to impose upon him. But, notwithstanding that prince’s wrong conduct, at first he approved very much of Hannibal’s proposal; which induced that general to dispatch one Ariston, a Tyrian, to Carthage, in order to engage the senate there more strongly in his interest. To secure the fidelity of this person, Hannibal made him some valuable presents, after he had furnished him with proper instructions, and promised him great rewards in Antiochus’s name, in case he happily executed his commission. Ariston was no sooner arrived at Carthage, than the people began to suspect the errand he came upon. As he associated only with the members of the Barchine faction, the suspicions, that had been

9 Polyb. i. iii. Liv. ubi sup. c. 30. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Liv. i. xxxiii. c. 32—35. & c. 46, 47. Cic. de orat. i. ii n. 75; 76. Stob. ferm. 52. Eutrop. i. iv. c. 3. Justin. i. xxii. c. 2.
been entertained, were turned into a violent presumption of his guilt; so that he was seized, and called upon to clear himself; but not having the good fortune to do this to the satisfaction of the dominant party, great debates arose in the senate concerning him. Some members of that august assembly were for treating him as a spy; but others thought this might be a bad precedent, as nothing could be proved directly against him; insinuating further, that as such an action could be considered in no other light than as a violation of the laws of hospitality, the Tyrians would not fail making reprisals upon the Carthaginians residing at Tyre, and other trading cities in their dominions. However, the determination of this affair was deferred till the next day; which gave the crafty Tyrian an opportunity of making his escape in the night, after he had fixed, in several public places, papers, which fully declared the occasion of his coming to Carthage. The senate, to shew how religiously they intended to observe the last treaty, immediately sent advice of this to the Romans.

The Romans, soon after the arrival of the express with this news, nominated P. Sulpicius and P. Villius their embassadors to Antiochus, ordering them to take Pergamus in their way, that they might confer with Eumenes, who refused there, a violent enemy of Antiochus. Sulpicius was detained at Pergamus by an indisposition; but Villius, in pursuance of his orders, came to Ephesus, where he found Hannibal. He had many conferences with him, paid him several visits, and speciously affected to shew him a particular esteem on all occasions; but his chief aim, by all this insidious behaviour, was to render him suspected, and lessen his credit with the king; in which he succeeded but too well, as afterwards manifestly appeared. This we learn both from Livy and Polybius; the latter of which historians represents this application of Villius to Hannibal as a premeditated design, in order to destroy his interest with king Antiochus; and the former owns, that the affair took the same turn as Villius might have had in view by the execution of such a design. However, the first author, for a very obvious reason, tells us, that the only end of Villius’s conversation with Hannibal was to found that general, and to remove any fears or apprehensions he might be under from the Romans. Claudius, and the Libri Graeci Aciliani, according to Livy, affirmed, that

Liv. i. xxxiv. c. 39, 69.
that Scipio was joined with Sulpicius and Villius in this embassay, and even transmitted to posterity some of the particulars that passed in conversation betwixt the Roman ministers and Hannibal. According to these authors, Scipio desired Hannibal to tell him, who, in his opinion, was the most celebrated general in history. To which the Carthaginian replied, Alexander king of Macedon, because, with an incon siderable body of troops, he had defeated most numerous armies, and extended his conquests into countries so widely distant, that it seemed impossible for any man even to traverse them. Being then asked, who was the next to him, he answered, Pyrrhus, who first understood the art of encamping to advantage; neither did ever any commander, continued he, make a more judicious choice of poses, or better understand how to draw up his forces, or was more happy in conciliating the affections and favour of mankind to him, as evidently appeared from the disposition of the Italian troops, who were more defious of being under his government, than that of the Romans, though they had so long been subject to them. Scipio then demanding of him, whom he looked upon as the third captain, he made no scruple of mentioning himself. Here Scipio not being able to refrain from laughing, But what would you have said, added he, had you vanquished me? I would, replied Hannibal, have ranked myself above Alexander, Pyrrhus, and all the generals the world ever produced. Scipio was not insensible to this artful and delicate flattery; which, by giving him no rival, seemed to insinuate, that no captain was worthy of being put in comparison with him. This answer of Hannibal is much more probable and ingenious, than that mentioned by Plutarch, who makes that general to have given the first place to Pyrrhus, the second to Scipio, and to himself the third; which is low, jejune, and quite destitute of that elegance and vivacity, which Livy’s relation, in conformity to Hannibal’s character, is seasoned with.

Antiochus, having entertained a suspicion of Hannibal ever since his late conferences with Villius, would not, for some time, admit him into his councils. This flight, at first, Hannibal took no notice of; but afterwards, judging it expedient to enquire into the cause of such a sudden change in the king’s conduct towards him, that he might have an opportunity

portunity of clearing himself, if any ill offices had been done him, he entreated that prince to discover to him the reason of his late coldness; which having learnt, he addressed himself to Antiochus in the following terms: "My father Hamilcar, Antiochus, obliged me, in my tender infancy, at the altar, to take an oath always to bear an implacable aversion to the Romans. Animated by this hatred, I have waged war with them six-and-thirty years; prompted thereto by it, I have abandoned my native country in times of peace, and taken sanctuary in your dominions; fired by it, should you frustrate my expectations, I will fly to every part of the globe, and endeavour to rouse up all nations against the Romans. If any of your favourites therefore would incense you against me, let him accuse me of some other crime. I hate mortally the Romans, and am equally hated by them. For the truth of this I appeal to the manes of my father Hamilcar, and all the deities, who were witnesses of my oath. So long therefore as you are disposed to come to a rupture with the Romans, you may rank Hannibal amongst your best friends. But, if any considerations should incline you to peace, I desire to be entirely excluded your councils." This speech, uttered with such force and energy, and expressive of so much sincerity, removed all the prejudices the king had imbibed; so that Hannibal was not only restored to favour, but preparations made to execute the scheme he had formed.

THOUGH the king had come to a resolution to give Hannibal the command of part of his fleet, yet, by the intrigues of his ministers, the equipment of it was not only at first retarded, but even the expediency of putting the Carthaginian in that post debated in council. Thoas the Aetolian suggested, "That it was improper to weaken the king's fleet at that juncture, by undertaking, with part of it, an expedition to Africa; that, in case his majesty's interest had rendered necessary such an expedition, no one would have been more improper than Hannibal to have conducted it; that it was imprudent to repose so much confidence in an exile, a Carthaginian, whose fortune or genius might put every day into his head a thousand different projects; that the fame Hannibal had already acquired, and which he con-

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"pondered as his peculiar inheritance, was too great for one, who acted under the king; that the king alone ought to be looked upon as the general and conductor of the war; that, if Hannibal should lose either a fleet, or an army, the loss would be as great, as if a commander of less note had occasioned it; that if successes attended his arms, not Antiochus, but Hannibal, would have the glory of all the victories ascribed to him; that supposing he should conquer the Romans in this war, what hopes could be entertained of Hannibal's living peaceably as a subject under him, when he was scarce satisfied with the supreme power at Carthage? that his behaviour from his youth, having always in his mind grasped at universal empire, had not been such as could induce them to believe, that he would tamely submit to any superior in his old age; that however, if he could not overcome his fondness for Hannibal, he might make use of him as a counsellor and companion, but not as a general, &c."

These malicious suggestions, the pure effect of envy, made such an impression upon Antiochus's low and groveling mind, in which a fordid jealousy had extinguished all noble and generous sentiments, that he dropped the above-mentioned laudable design, an immediate execution of which only could, at that juncture, have effectually embarrased the Romans. In the mean time the Carthaginians offered to supply the Romans with a thousand bushels of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley, as a free gift; to equip a fleet at their own expense for their service; and to remit to Rome the whole remaining part of the sum imposed upon them by the late treaty immediately, though it would not have been due for many years to come by one of the articles of that treaty. The Romans gave their embassadors a kind reception, and told them, "That they should only require from their principals the ships, that their late engagements obliged them to furnish; that they would pay ready money for whatever supplies of corn they should send them; and that the sum, due to them from Carthage, should be paid at equal payments, in the manner stipulated at the conclusion of the last peace." From this incident, we may form some sort of an idea of the incredible industry of the Carthaginians, as well as of their surprising genius for trade; since from hence it appears, that notwithstanding they had been entirely exhausted by a long, bloody, and most expensive war, notwithstanding they had
been stripped of the best part of their dominions by the Romans and Masinisa, notwithstanding they had been deprived, in a manner, of all their ships, and almost rendered incapable, to outward appearance, of applying themselves to any single branch of commerce, they yet found means, in ten or twelve years time, to become wealthy and powerful; which could only have been the effect of a flourishing and extensive trade. At what an exalted pitch of power therefore must they have arrived, had Hannibal either been duly supported in Italy, or contended with a nation of not such an inflexible resolution for the dominion of the world!

Some time after this, Antiochus found his affairs in such a perplexed situation, that he was at a loss what measures to pursue. In this emergency, his ministers were obliged to have recourse to Hannibal, who, in abilities, infinitely outshine all other persons at his court, notwithstanding the late affront put upon him. That renowned general, forgetting the ill usage he had met with, appeared as much disposed to assist the distressed prince with his advice, as he would have been capable, had his plan of operations been executed, of supporting him before by his conduct, and personal bravery. In proof of which, he addressed himself to Antiochus in the following terms: "Had I been admitted into your councils ever since our arrival in Greece," "I should have declared my sentiments, when an alliance with the Achæans, Boeotians, and people of Eubœa, was brought upon the carpet, in the same manner as I shall this day, when we are to consider the expediency of a treaty with the Thessalians. You are, above all things, to invite Philip king of Macedon to enter into an alliance with you. As to the Eubœans, Boeotians, and Thessalians, they are not to be regarded, since they court your friendship through fear. Upon the first appearance of a Roman army, they will change fides, and will be well received, as pretending to have been over-ruled by a superior power, and acted against their inclinations through compulsion. Besides, the affiance those people can afford you, if well affected, is inconsiderable; whereas Philip has lately shewn himself a match for the Romans. You will likewise have the Ætolians, a flate, that, in

1 Liv. ubi sup. c. 42. & l. xxxvi. c. 4. Appian. in Libyc. Juss. ubi sup. 9 Liv. ubi sup. c. 7.
The late war betwixt Philip and the Romans, caused the scale to preponderate in favour of the latter, to act for you. I can therefore, provided you succeed in your negotiation, insure you success. But, if Philip cannot be prevailed upon to join his arms with ours, we may however prevent him from afflicting the enemy. Your son Seleucus is now at Lysimachia; let him advance, with the troops under his command, through Thrace to the confines of Macedonia, and lay them waste; which will oblige the Macedonian monarch to employ all his forces in the defence and protection of his own dominions. You have now my opinion with regard to Philip. And as to the war in general, had my advice been listened to, the Romans would, before this time, have heard of greater exploits than the reduction to Chalcis, and the cattle of Euripus; even that Etruria, Liguria, and all Cisalpine Gaul, were in a flame, and Hannibal, a name terrible to them, once more in Italy. However, your affairs may still be retrieved; assemble all your land and sea forces, station part of your fleet at Corcyra, in order to prevent the Romans from approaching your frontiers; order the other part to hover about the coast of Italy facing Asea and Sardinia; and do you, at the head of your army, march into the territory of Byllis. By these dispositions, you will provide for the security of Greece, and not only make the enemy believe, that you have an intention to pass over thither, but likewise be able actually to land all your troops there, should the situation of affairs require it. However deficient I may be in other points, the vicissitudes of fortune I have met with among the Romans, enable me to point out to you the most effectual way of distressing them. In the execution of the plan I have submitted to your consideration, you may depend upon my assisting you with the utmost zeal and activity. As to the rest, may the gods give you success in this, and all your other undertakings!

After Antiochus was forced to abandon Europe, by the victorious arms of the Romans, he retired to Ephesus. Here he, for some time, took up his residence, without any apprehensions of danger, his flatterers persuading him, that the enemy never durst pursue him into Asia. Hannibal, being now in great esteem at that prince's court, thought it but...
but just to undeceive him in a point of such importance. He therefore told him, "That he did not so much doubt of an invasion of his Asiatic dominions, as wonder, that the Romans were not already there; that it was easier to transport an army from Greece into Asia, than from Italy into Greece; that the Romans were as powerful by sea as by land; that a Roman squadron was seen, some time before, hovering about the promontory Malea; that he had received intelligence of the departure of a fresh reinforcement of ships, and a new general, from Italy." From whence he inferred, "That Antiochus must resolve either to abdicate his throne, or oppose viciously a people, who grasped at the empire of the world." As this discourse of Hannibal, who was both the most able and faithful counsellor at the Syrian monarch's court, nor a little affected the prince to whom it was directed, he made the necessary dispositions for his defence; but all his efforts proved unsuccessful. Even his fleet, under the conduct of the great Hannibal himself, was defeated by that of the Rhodians, commanded by Eudamus, off of Sida, on the coast of Pamphylia, and miserably shattered. However, the Rhodians suffered extremely in the action, sustaining almost as great a loss of men and ships as Hannibal. The bad success of this engagement was entirely owing to the ill conduct of Apollonius, one of Antiochus's admirals, who fled, with the squadron he commanded, almost in the beginning of the fight. Notwithstanding which Hannibal made an excellent retreat, the enemy not being in a condition to pursue him. However, the Rhodians detaching Chariclitus with twenty beaked ships to Patara, and Magiste, a small island, with a commodious port, in the sea of Lydia, prevented the junction of Hannibal's shattered galleys with another Syrian squadron; which was a great mortification to the Carthaginian. In short, after a series of misfortunes, Antiochus found himself obliged to send Zeusis, the governor of Lydia, and his son Antipater, with a carte blanche, to the Roman camp, in order to procure a peace upon any terms. The article chiefly insisted upon was, that Hannibal should be delivered up to the Romans; with which Antiochus, being unable to defend himself, was forced to comply. However, Hannibal, foreseeing what would happen, had taken care to retire in time to the island of Crete. It appears from Scipio Nasica's speech in Livy, that Hannibal was a general in the Syrian army at the battle of
of Magnesia; from whence, as well as from other circumstances, we have reason to believe, that he was present in all the principal actions, that happened between the Romans and Antiochus.

Hannibal, upon his arrival in Crete, took sanctuary amongst the Gortynii; but having brought great treasure with him, and considering the avarice of the Cretans, he judged it would be proper to have recourse to some stratagem, in order to secure himself, especially as he had reason to apprehend, that the Cretans were advertised of the riches he brought with him. He therefore filled several vessels with molten lead, just covering them over with gold and silver; which he deposited in the temple of Diana, in the presence of the Gortynii, with whom, he said, he trusted all his treasure. Justin tells us, that he left this there as a security for his good behaviour, and lived for some time very quietly in those parts. He however took care to conceal his riches in hollow statues of brabs, which according to some, he always carried along with him, or, as others will have it, exposed to view in a place of public resort, as things of little value. At last he retired to the court of Prusias king of Bithynia, with whom he found means to unite several neighbouring princes and states, and so formed a powerful confederacy against Eumenes king of Pergamus, a professed friend of the Romans. A rupture soon commenced betwixt them, which was followed by a great effusion of blood on both sides. During this war, Hannibal employed a stratagem of an extraordinary kind, in a sea-fight, to destroy Eumenes, which, he thought would be of the utmost consequence to him. He put into earthen vessels a vast number of the most venomous serpents, which he ordered to be collected for that purpose, commanding the greatest part of his captains to attack Eumenes’s ship, and throw these vessels on board him, whilst the rest stood on the defensive. The admiral-galley Hannibal discovered, by sending out a boat, with a letter to Eumenes; which enabled the officers above-mentioned to attack it with great fury. Eumenes would have been either killed or taken, had he not cheered off, and been too swift for his pursuers. However, the other ships of Pergamus sustained the fight with great vigour, till the earthen vessels were thrown into them. At first they only laughed at this,
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and were much surprised to find such weapons employed against them; but being surrounded with the serpents, which flew out of these vessels when they were broken, they found themselves seized with so much horror, that they retired in confusion to their camp on the shore. Nepos tells us, that Hannibal promised a great reward to the person, that should kill Eumenes; that when the officer, whom he sent to him, came on board the admiral-galley, it was imagined he brought proposals of peace; that Eumenes, instead of this, receiving a letter full of ridicule, could not conceive what was the end of such a commission; and that, irritated thereby, he immediately began the engagement. The same author likewise intimates, that Hannibal gave that prince several overthrows by land, and reduced him to great frights, more by force of genius, or dint of conduct, than superiority of strength.

The Romans, receiving intelligence of the important services Hannibal had done Prusias, and of the influence he had at that prince’s court, sent T. Quintius Flamininus thither as their embassador. Flamininus, at his first audience, complained of the protection Prusias gave Hannibal, representing that famous general “as the most inveterate and implacable enemy the Romans ever had; as one who had ruined both his own country and Antiochus, by drawing them into a destructive war with Rome.” Prusias in order to ingratiate himself with the Romans, immediately sent a party of soldiers to surround Hannibal’s palace, that he might find it impossible to make his escape. The Carthaginians, having before discovered, that no confidence was to be reposed in Prusias, had contrived seven secret outlets in his palace, to evade the machinations of his enemies, even if they could carry their point at the Bithynian court; which he was actually meditating, when the above-mentioned detachment arrived. Perceiving no possibility of escaping, he had recourse to the poison, which he had long kept for this melancholy occasion; which taking in his hand, “Let us, said he, deliver the Romans from the disquietude, with which they have been long tortured, since they have not patience to wait for an old man’s death. Flamininus will not acquire any reputation or glory by a victory.

And poisons himself in order to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans.

"a victory gained over a betrayed and defenceless person. This single day will be a lasting testimony of the degeneracy of the Romans. Their ancestors gave Pyrrhus intelligence of a design to poison him, that he might guard against the impending danger, even when he was at the head of a powerful army in Italy; but they have deputed a person of consular dignity to excite Prusias impiously to murder one, who has taken refuge in his dominions, in violation of the laws of hospitality." Then he denounced dreadful imprecations against Prusias, and his kingdom, and invoked the gods presiding over the sacred rights of hospitality; after which, drinking off the poison he had prepared, he expired, at seventy years of age. Cornelius Nepos intimates, that Hannibal destroyed himself by a subtle poison, which he carried about with him in a ring for that purpose. Plutarch relates, that according to some writers, he ordered a servant to strangle him with a cloak wrapped about his neck; and others will have it, that in imitation of Midas and Themistocles, he drank bulls' blood. Be that as it will, his death reflected an eternal ignominy and disgrace upon the Romans, whose insatiable thirst after empire had extinguished all generous sentiments, and every spark of virtue in their minds.

Thus died Hannibal, the greatest general perhaps, notwithstanding his misfortunes, that any age ever produced; a general, who would have utterly subverted the haughty Roman republic, had he not been sacrificed to the resentment of an envious, wicked, and most abandoned


(R) Zonaras relates, that Hannibal was under no apprehension of a sudden violent death, though he took such precautions to secure himself. This was occasioned by an answer the oracle gave him, when consulted on a certain emergency, viz. that he should die in Libya. However, adds that author, the prediction was fulfilled; since the spot of ground, on which he took the fatal drought, was called Libya. Aurelius Victor tells us, that Hannibal died in a village of Bithynia called Libysia, situated near the sea, where he was buried in a wooden coffin, with this inscription upon his tomb, Here lies Hannibal; and that this was still remaining in his time.

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ned faction. Polybius seems to make him a pattern for all succeeding commanders; and Livy, notwithstanding his partiality, owns himself astonished at his wonderful conduct, after the defeat of his brother Asdrubal. No other general could have found means, after so terrible a blow, of maintaining himself in one of the poorest spots of Italy, for several years, without any reinforcement of troops, or supplies of provisions, from Carthage. The perfect harmony kept up in his army, composed of such a variety of nations, viz. Greeks, Africans, Spaniards, Gauls, Carthaginians, Italians, &c. differing in laws, manners, language, genius, and almost every other particular, even after fortune had declared against him, and when they were in want both of money and provisions, was a full demonstration of his consummate abilities. The inviolable attachment of his new allies to him, when he was reduced to the necessity of making them sustain almost the whole burden of the war, by quartering his army upon them, and levying contributions in their respective countries, clearly evinces the same thing. Polybius observes that he over-reached most of the generals that opposed him; but was himself never outwitted by any of them; and seems to intinuate that it would have been much more fatal to the Carthaginians to have lost him, than any of the armies he ever commanded: and indeed it sufficiently appears, from the preceding part of this history, that he was the life and soul not only of the army, but likewise of the Carthaginian state. In fine, by his own surprizing capacity, he carried on a war against the most martial people in the world many years, in a remote country, in spite of the violent opposition made by a powerful domestic faction, which refused him supplies of every kind, and thwarted him on all occasions. With regard to his political character, we shall only observe, that the secret intelligence he held with Philip king of Macedon, the wife counsels he gave Antiochus, the double regulation he introduced at Carthage, the potent confederacy he formed in favour of king Prusias, besides many other instances, that will occur to our readers, evidently prove him to have made as great a figure in the cabinet, as the field. What we have already observed of his facetious disposition, and love for the muses, is confirmed by Gellius and others. His religious and moral conduct Livy paints in the blackest colours; but the testimony, as to this point, Polybius has given of him, the humanity with which he treated the bodies of Marcellus and Sempronius Gracchus.
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Gracchus, the high reverence he expressed for the gods on all occasions, his singular continence, and uncommon wisdom, his contempt of riches, the extraordinary temperance he was famous for, even in the midst of the greatest affluence, when he was at the head of the state of Carthage; these shining qualities, we say, and others, attested by the best authors, will not permit us to give any attention to the unfair representation of that prejudiced historian. Polybius however intimates that he was accused at Carthage of avarice, and of cruelty at Rome; and that people were much divided in their sentiments concerning him. This cannot appear strange to any one, who considers, that, as he had many implacable enemies in both cities, he must, of course, have been drawn by some of them in the most disadvantageous light. But though, adds Polybius, we should allow some of the defects he has been charged with true, yet it would be but fair to conclude, that they ought rather to be attributed to the difficulties with which he was obliged to struggle during the course of so long and burdensome a war, than to his own natural disposition. Besides, he might be forced frequently to fall in with the inclinations of his officers, when they were opposite to his own, in order to excite them to a cheerful discharge of their duty. These, it is reasonable to suppose, he could not always keep within proper bounds, considering the natural bent of his countrymen, any more than the soldiers, who fought under them. Be that as it will, Polybius looked upon Hannibal to have been a general of so noble and sublime a genius, that, in his opinion, had he at first attacked other powers, and refrained the Romans for the last nation to have contended with, he must have entirely overthrown their republic, and consequently rendered Carthage mistress of the world.

It has been already observed, that, by one of the articles of the late treaty, the Carthaginians were to restore to Hannibal all the territories and cities he possessed before the beginning of the war. To these Scipio annexed part of Syphax's dominions.

dominions, in order to reward the zeal and affection that
prince had discovered for the Romans on all occasions, ever
since the commencement of his friendship with them. After
Hannibal’s flight to Antiochus, and his emissary Arifon’s
escape, related above, the Romans began to look upon the
Carthaginians with a suspicious eye, though, to prevent all
disturb, the latter of these states had ordered two ships to
pursue Hannibal, confiscated his effects, razed his house, and,
by a public decree, declared him an exile. It was agreed
likewise to notify to the Romans Arifon’s commission, as
well as escape, in order to shew their disapprobation of Han-
nibal’s design, by the deputies they dispatched to Rome, to
complain of Mafinilla’s unjust pretensions. That prince,
being apprized, that Carthage was miserably rent by factions,
and upon but very indifferent terms with the Romans, on
account of the two events above-mentioned, seized upon
part of a maritime territory, which was extremely rich and
fruitful, situated near the Lefser Syrits, called Emporia.
Both sides sent embassadors to Rome on this occasion, to sup-
port the title of their respective masters to the district in dis-
pute. The Carthaginians allledged, “That this was within
the limits of their African dominions, as settled by Scipio;
and that this had been acknowledged by Mafinilla himself,
who, when he had pursued one Aphires, a Numidian
prince, making an excursion out of his own territories,
as far as the borders of Cyrenaica, would not pass through
Emporia, without asking leave of the Carthaginians, look-
ing upon it then as a territory indisputably belonging to
them.” To which the Numidian ministers replied,
“That what they so confidently advanced about Scipio’s
settling the limits, was false; that the Carthaginians, in
strictness and equity, ought only to have the spot of
ground, on which Byrsa stood, every other part of their
African dominions being taken from the natives by fraud
and violence; that, as to the district in question, they
could not prove themselves to have been in possession of it
since the infancy of their republic, nay, that it had been
any considerable time under their jurisdiction; that the
Carthaginians and Numidians had been masters of it by
turns, just as success attended their respective arms; and
that they hoped the senate would permit things to remain in
their present situation.” Hereupon the conscript fathers
thought proper to send Scipio Africanus, C. Cornelius Cethe-
gus, and M. Minutius Rufus, to examine the controversy
upon
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upon the spot. However, they returned without coming to any resolution, leaving the business in the same uncertain state in which they found it. Whether the commissioners acted in this manner of their own head, or by order of the senate, is not so certain, as that the interest of the Romans rendered a perfect harmony betwixt the contending parties then improper; for otherwise Scipio, who had deferred so well of both of them, could, by his own single authority, have put an end to the dispute 2.

Masinissa, not satisfied with the possession of the district he had unjustly usurped, over-ran a province, that his father Gala had taken from the Carthaginians, and Syphax from him, from whom it had returned to its former masters, through the charms and endearments of Sophonisba. The Carthaginian deputies pleaded the cause of their principals, and Masinissa his, before the Roman commissioners, with exceeding heat. The Carthaginians urged, that "this territory was theirs, both by right of inheritance, and deed of gift." On the other hand, Masinissa insisted, that it was formerly part of his father's kingdom; that, in consequence of this title he had taken possession of it; and that his pretensions were so indubitable, that he only feared, left the modesty of the Romans, which might render them timorous of indulging a friend and ally in his just claims upon their common enemy, should prove prejudicial to him." The commissioners, in conformity to the disposition of their republic, referred this dispute, which happened ten years after the former, to the decision of the senate, and consequentiy left it undetermined. However, in the consulate of L. Æmilius Paulus, and Cn. Boebius Tamphilus, the Romans effected an accommodation betwixt Masinissa and the Carthaginians, Confirming the former in the possession of his unjust acquisitions, and restoring to the latter an hundred hostages they had, till that time, detained 3.

Masinissa, grasping at farther conquests, endeavoured soon after to embroil the Carthaginians with the Romans. In order to this, he concerted measures with the Roman emissaries in Africa, to prejudice the conscript fathers against them. The latter did not scruple to affirm, that, to their certain knowledge, Perseus king of Macedon, with whom the Romans then were upon the verge of a war, had privately

sent embassadors to Carthage, to negotiate an alliance with that state; and that the senate was assembled by night in the temple of Æsculapius, to confer with them: whilst the former, in as strong a manner, asserted, that the Carthaginians had dispatched ministers to Peræus, to conclude a treaty with him. Livy seems to intimate, that the Carthaginians would not own this; but that the Romans, always attentive to the insinuations of their enemies, believed it to be true. The future conduct of that people towards Carthage renders Livy's authority, in this point, indisputable b.

Not long after this, Mæsinissa made an irruption into the province of Typhæa, where he soon possessed himself of above seventy, or, as Appian will have it, fifty towns and castles. This obliged the Carthaginians to apply, with great importunity, to the Roman senate for redress, their hands being tied up by an article of the last treaty, that they could not repel force by force, in case of an invasion, without the consent of the Romans. The Carthaginian ministers at Rome represented the miserable condition of their republic in the most moving terms. They declared, "That Mæsinissa was entirely void of honour; that, without the interposition of that august assembly, to whom they then addressed themselves, no limits could be prescribed to his cruelty, insolence, avarice and ambition. They therefore begged the conscript fathers either themselves to determine the point in debate betwixt their principals and Mæsinissa, or to suffer the former to dislodge the latter from his conquests by force of arms; or lastly, if they were resolved to support the Numidian in all his unjust pretensions, to specify, once for all, what territories the Carthaginians were to cede to him, that they might know what hereafter they had to depend upon." To this they subjoined, "That, if the Carthaginians had incurred the displeasure of the Romans in any point inadvertently since the conclusion of the last peace, they begged they would punish them for the offence themselves, and not leave them exposed to the insults and vexations of Mæsinissa, since they preferred an utter extirpation to the barbarities and depredations they were forced to suffer from so merciless a tyrant." Then throwing themselves prostrate on the earth, they burst out into tears; which making a deep impression upon the senate in their favour, Gulusæa, Mæsinissa's son, being then present,
and called upon to vindicate his father’s conduct, replied in terms to the following effect: “That he had received no int
fructions from his father how to act in the present emerg-
ency, since it could not be foreseen, that any thing would
be laid to his charge; that the Carthaginians had had seve-
ral clandestine meetings by night in the temple of AEscu-
apius, the object of whose consultations was kept secret
from him, after which deputies were dispatched to Rome;
that the sole design of his father’s sending him to Rome
was, to entreat the senate not to pay any regard to the in-
finuations of the common enemy against him, since the
implacable hatred they bore him was occasioned by the in-
violable fidelity, with which he had been so long attached
to the Romans.” The senate, after hearing both sides,
anwered, “That it would be proper for Gulufia to set out
immediately for Numidia, in order to acquaint his father
with the complaints of the Carthaginians against him;
that he ought to send deputies to Rome, to remove all
difficulties that obstructed an accommodation between him
and them; that they would continue to serve him as they
had hitherto done, but not to the prejudice of the Cartha-
ginians; that it was but just the antient limits should be
preferred; that the Carthaginians ought to be maintained
in the possession of those territories, which the late treaty
had allotted them.” The deputies of both powers were
then dismissed with the usual pretexts. The Romans were
prompted to act after this perfidious manner, partly by that
implacable hatred they bore the Carthaginians, and partly by
the hopes of receiving succours from Mafinissii in the Mace-
donian war, which they were just going to enter upon. The
Numidian answered their expectations; for he did not only
supply them with corn, but likewise sent a body of troops,
consisting of a thousand horse, and as many foot, with twenty
two elephants, under the command of his son Mifagenes, to
their assistance. However, this proceeded rather from a mo-
tive of policy than gratitude; for he considered, that if the
Romans were victorious in this war, his affairs could but re-
main in the same situation; whereas, should they be over-
come, he doubted not reducing Carthage, and making him-
selves master of Africa.

The Carthaginians, notwithstanding the lamentable slavery
under which they groaned, dispatched embassadors to Rome, who

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who acquainted the senate, "That their state would immediately transport a million bushels of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley, into whatever part of the world the Romans pleased; that they were sensible such a supply was not proportioned to those happy effects of the Roman generosity and goodness, which their principals had so long experienced, neither did it correspond with their inclinations; but that they hoped it would be considered, by way of atonement for this defect, that, during the prosperity of both republics, in former times, they had given frequent instances of their being true and faithful allies." Masinissa's ambassadors not only offered the same quantity of corn, but likewise offered to reinforce the Roman army with another body of twelve hundred horse, attended by twelve more elephants, and to obey all the senate's commands with the utmost alacrity. But neither could the Carthaginians, by such an abject and mean-spirited behaviour, a sufficient indication of that low and groveling mind, which seems to have been the distinguishing characteristic of their nation, prevail upon the Romans to discontinue their chicanery. They spun out matters to a tedious length, not permitting the ministers they employed to adjust all disputes betwixt Masinissa and the Carthaginians, to arrive at a decision. By this conduct they enabled the former to exhaust the latter, and consequently paved the way to the immediate destruction of a state, which to them, of all others, still appeared the most formidable.

Whatever villainous designs the Romans might have formed, they affected to shew a great regard to the principles of justice and honour. They therefore sent Cato, a man famous for committing enormities under the specious pretext of public spirit, to accommodate all differences betwixt Masinissa and the Carthaginians. The latter very well knew their fate, had they submitted to such a mediation, and therefore appealed to the treaty, which had been concluded by Scipio, as the only rule, by which their conduct, and that of their adversary, ought to be examined. This unreasonable appeal so incensed the righteous Cato, that he pronounced them a devoted people. As the intention of that upright physician was not so much to forward the observation or conclusion of treaties, as to widen breaches, discover the strength and condition of Carthage, which was then very flourishing, notwithstanding the implacable hatred to the Carthaginians. 

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\n\nPolyb., ubi sup. Liv. i. xiii. c. 6. Appian. in Libyca.
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Standing the many blows it had received, and gratify the Roman ambition by all possible means, it is not so strange, that he should, even in the most absurd, though most virulent manner, presc the senate, after his return home, to destroy that city. It is much more wonderful, that a Frenchman should censure his conduct, when it so exactly quadrates with that of a certain court, which he cannot possibly be a stranger to, for above a century past. However, as we have more than a bare jealousy of the growing power, as well as ambitious designs, of that court, we may, without offence, give it as our opinion, that, in order to secure the liberties of Europe, as well as to introduce public faith, justice and honour once more into the world, it is necessary, that the state represented by that court should be humbled, if not destroyed.

Some years before this time, Carthage was miserably rent by three potent factions. That devoted to the Romans was headed by one Hanno, a descendent, as may be supposed, of the perfom, who ruined his country, by not supporting Hannibal; that in the interest of Masinissa, by Hannibal, surnamed Passier; and that formed of the populace by Hamilcar, surnamed Sannis, and Carthalo. But, of late, two powerful parties had struggled for the dominion of the city, one of which, called the popular faction, prevailed over the other, composed of the grandees, and their adherents, and expelled forty of the senators. They retired to the court of Masinissa, to excite him to a war with the Carthaginians, who sent Gulufsa and Micipsa, two of his sons, to Carthage, to solicit their return. However, the gates were shut upon them at their approach, lest the people, moved by the tears of those related to the exiles, should grant their request; nay, Hamilcar, surnamed Sannis, one of the Carthaginian generals, closely pursued Gulufsa, and cut off some of his retainers. This occasioning a fresh rupture, Masinissa besieged Oroscopa, in violation of the last treaty. Afdrubal, another Carthaginian general, advanced to the relief of Oroscopa, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and four hundred horse, and was immediately joined by a body of six thousand men, under the conduct of Asasis and Suba, two Numidian captains, who deserted from Masinissa. Animated by this accession of strength, Afdrubal approached the Numidian,

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midian, and skirmished successfully with some of the advanced guards. Mafinissa, observing the eagerness of the Carthaginian, retired before him, as though he was afraid of his superior force, and insensibly drew him into a large and desolate plain, surrounded with precipices, and void of all kinds of suffenance. Afdrubal, finding himself thus decoyed, possessed himself of several eminences, and prepared for an engagement; which immediately ensuing, and ending in favour of Mafinissa, the Carthaginians sued for peace. In order to terminate their contests with that prince, the Carthaginians offered to yield up the territory of Emporia, to pay down two hundred talents of silver, and remit eight hundred more at a stipulated time to him. But Mafinissa insisting upon the return of the exiles, they did not come to any decision. It is observable, that the Roman deputies, who arrived in the Numidian camp soon after the engagement, had orders to insist upon a peace, in case the Carthaginians defeated Mafinissa; but to assure that prince of the continuance of their friendship, and push him on to the war, in case he was victorious. This they did, in order to complete the ruin of the Carthaginians. How, through the vindictive disposition of Gulufa, and the breaking out of the plague amongst them, the Carthaginian forces were almost utterly destroyed, our readers will find in a former part of this work, to which we must also beg leave to refer them for the particulars of the action just hinted at.

Ever since Carthage rejected the mediation of the Romans, Cato had made his utmost efforts to prevail upon the conscript fathers to destroy that city. But Scipio Nasica, having a superior influence in the senate, had hitherto, notwithstanding the grievous provocation he met with from the Carthaginians, already related, prevented a rupture. However, the people of Carthage knowing the Romans to be their inveterate enemies, and reflecting upon the iniquitous treatment they had met with from them ever since the commencement of their disputes with Mafinissa, were under great apprehensions of a visit from them. To prevent this, as much as in them lay, by a decree of the senate, they impeached Afdrubal general of the army, and Carthalo commander of the auxiliary forces, together with their accomplices, as guilty of high treason, for being the authors of the war waged against the

the king of Numidia. They sent a deputation to Rome, to discover what sentiments were entertained there of their late conduct, and to know what satisfaction the Romans required. These ministers meeting with a cold reception, other deputies were dispatched, who returned with the same success. This made the unhappy citizens of Carthage believe, that their destruction was resolved upon; which threw them into the utmost despair. And indeed they had too just grounds for such a melancholy apprehension, the Roman senate now discovering an inclination to fall in with Cato's measures. It is said, that, in order to excite the conscript fathers to a vigorous resolution against the Carthaginians, that incendiary, after one of his most virulent speeches, threw out of the lapel of his robe, in the midst of the senate, some African figs, whose size and beauty observing the senators to admire; "Know," said he, "that it is but three days since these figs were gathered; such is the distance between the enemy and us." About the same time the city of Utica, being the second in Africa, and famous for its immense riches, as well as its equally capacious and commodious port, submitted to the Romans. As the possession of so important a fortress, which, by reason of its vicinity to Carthage, might serve as a place of arms in the attack of that city, enabled the Romans to put the design they had been so long meditating in execution, immediately after this event, they declared war against the Carthaginians, without the least hesitation. In consequence of which declaration, the consuls M. Manilius Nepos and L. Marcus Censorinus were dispatched with an army and a fleet, to begin hostilities with the utmost expedition. The land-forces, destined to act against the Carthaginians, consisted of eighty thousand foot, and four thousand chosen horse; and the fleet of fifty quinqueremes, besides a vast number of transports. The consuls had secret orders from the senate, not to conclude the operations but by the destruction of Carthage, without which, the republic pretended, she could not but look upon all her possessions as insecure and precarious. Pursuant to the plan they had formed, they landed the troops first at Lilybaeum in Sicily, from whence, after receiving a proper refreshment, it was proposed to transport them to Utica.

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The answer brought by the last embassadors to Carthage had not a little alarmed the inhabitants of that city; but they were not yet acquainted with the resolutions taken at Rome. They therefore sent fresh embassadors thither, whom they invested with full power to act as they should think fit for the good of the republic, and even to submit themselves, without reserve, to the pleasure of the Romans; but the most sensible persons amongst them did not expect any great success from this condensation, since the early submission of the Uticans had rendered it infinitely less meritorious than it would have been before. However, the Romans seemed to be, in some measure, satisfied with it, since they promised them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and in short, every thing that was dear and valuable to them. This threw them into a transport of joy, and they wanted words to exalt the moderation of the Romans. But the conscript fathers immediately dashed all their hopes, by declaring the next instant, Roman-like, that this favour was granted them upon condition, that they would send three hundred young Carthaginians of the first distinction to the prætor Fabius at Lilybaeum, within the space of thirty days, and comply with all the orders of the consuls. Gisco, surnamed Strytanus, Hamilcar, M Idaho, Gillicas, and Mago, for so were the embassadors called, durst not make the least remonstrance against the severity of these conditions, but immediately set out for Carthage, to impart them to the senate there. That august assembly was filled with inexpressible concern, upon hearing the article relating to the hostages, which were considered as the flower, and the only hopes, of the noblest families in Carthage. They found themselves likewise extremely perplexed at the silence of the Romans with respect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the concessions they seemed willing to make, and at the vague expression of submitting to all the orders of the consuls. However, being absolutely incapable of coping with so formidable an enemy, and, at that juncture, in want of almost every thing, Mago Bretius, in a brave and eloquent speech, exhorted them, for the present, to obey. No scene can be conceived more moving, than that exhibited by Carthage, when the hostages were delivered up; nothing was to be seen but tears, all parts, at the same time, echoing with groans and lamentations; but, above all, the unhappy mothers afforded a most mournful spectacle, bathing themselves in tears, tearing their dishevelled...
led hair, beating their breasts, and yelling in such a manner, as might have moved the most savage hearts to compassion. When the fatal moment of separation was come, they accompanied their children to the ship, bid them a long, last farewell, persuaded, that they should never see them more, embraced them with the utmost tenderness, clasped them strongly in their arms, could not be prevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away by the sailors; many of them swam a long time after the ship, fixing their eyes immovably upon it. As the embassadors delivered them to the consuls, and they to Fabius at Lilybaeum, before the thirty days were expired, they were not entirely without hopes of softening their hard-hearted enemy; but the consuls only told them, that, upon their arrival at Utica, they should learn the farther orders of the republic.

Those ministers no sooner received intelligence of the Roman fleet's appearing off of Utica, than they repaired thither, in order to know the fate of their city. The consuls, however, did not judge it expedient to communicate all the commands of their republic at once, lest they should appear so harsh and severe, that the Carthaginians would have refused a compliance with them. They first therefore demanded a sufficient supply of corn for the subsistence of their troops. Secondly, that they should deliver up into their hands all the triremes they were then masters of. Thirdly, that they should put them in possession of all their military machines. And, fourthly, that they should immediately convey all their arms into the Roman camp. As care was taken, that there should be a certain interval of time betwixt each of these demands, the Carthaginians found themselves ensnared, and could not reject any one of them, though they submitted to the last, which Cenforinus insisted upon, notwithstanding the powerful reasons urged against it, with the utmost reluctance and concern.

The gaining of these points paved the way to the destruction of Carthage, though it reflected an eternal dishonour upon the Roman name. Cenforinus, now imagining the Carthaginians not capable of sustaining a siege, commanded them to abandon their city, or, as Zonar will have it, to demolish...
lish it, permitting them to build another eighty stadia from the sea, but without walls or fortifications. Both the embassadors, before whom this fulminating decree was pronounced, and the people of Carthage, when they were apprised of it, by their gestures and complaints, demonstrated the greatest emotions of grief on this tragical occasion; but the Romans remained inflexible, not shewing the least regard to the tears and entreaties of a people, reduced to the extremes of despair. The embassadors, at one time, supplicated the gods with the greatest fervor, as well as endeavoured, by all possible means, to excite the compassion of the Romans; and at another, they appealed to the avenging deities, whose fierce eyes are ever open to fraud and villainy. The senators and people, upon receiving the report of the embassadors, for some time, entirely abandoned themselves to despair; which was heightened by the frantic disposition of the women, whose children had been sent to Rome. In short, Carthage was nothing now but a scene of horror, madness, and confusion. The citizens cursed their ancestors for not dying gloriously in the defence of their country, rather than concluding such ignominious treaties of peace with their implacable enemies, which had been the cause of the deplorable condition, to which their potterity was then reduced. They likewise condemned themselves in the strongest terms, for having so tamely, as well as stupidly, delivered up their arms, and even blasphemously taxed the gods themselves with being the authors of all their misfortunes. However, nothing could make any impression upon the Romans in their favour. But as, in a former part of our history, we have expatiated largely upon this head, we shall only beg leave to observe farther here, that, when the first transports of grief were over, and their passions began to subside, they unanimously resolved to die upon the spot, rather than comply with the barbarous orders of the Romans; and, in consequence of this resolution, made the necessary dispositions for the defence of their capital city.

A certain polite author takes some pains to show, that the Romans did not act agreeably to the maxims of justice and honour in the point before us; and consequently seems to

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infinituate, that some proof, besides the notoriety of the facts, is requisite to evince the iniquity of their conduct on the present occasion. This perhaps may be looked upon as an argument of some good nature, and delicacy of sentiments; but can never be deemed one of that boldness, and inflexible attachment to truth, essential to a good historian. A writer of this kind will paint every species of vice, particularly those of a most public and enormous nature, in their most proper, that is, in the most odious colours. He will esteem a person, who endeavours to palliate, or even touches but lightly upon any flagrant villainy, be the actors of it who they will, as one who either inwardly approves of it, or is afraid of exposing it; and consequently as one so far disqualified for transmitting to posterity the transactions of former ages. It is not sufficient, in our opinion, in order to express our detestation of that execrable perfidiousness and barbarity the Romans were guilty of, to say, "I can never believe, "that so sensible, rational and just a man as Polybius, could "have approved of the proceedings of the Romans on the "present occasion.—We do not find here any of the characteristics, which distinguished the Romans antiently, that "greatness of soul, that rectitude, that utter abhorrence of "mean artifices, frauds, and impostures, which, as is "somewhere said, formed no part of the Roman genius—" Why did not the Romans attack the Carthaginians by "force? Why should they declare expressly in a treaty, "that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their liberties and laws, and understand, at the same time, certain "private conditions, which proved the entire ruin of both? "Why should they conceal, under the scandalous omission "of the word "city" in this treaty, the black design of de "stroying Carthage, as though, beneath the cover of such "an equivocation, they could justly ruin it? In fine, why "did the Romans not make their last declaration, till after "they had extorted from the Carthaginians, at different "times, their hostages and arms, that is, till they had abso "lutely rendered them incapable of disobeying their unjust "commands? —It is very dangerous to be poissified of so "much power, as may enable one to commit injustice with "impunity, and with a prospect of being a gainer by it. "The experience of all ages shows, that states seldom scruple to commit injustice, when they think it will turn to "their advantage." Our readers will here observe, that, with regard to the Roman nation in general, these reflections scarce
scarce carry with them more of satire than panegyric; and
that as to the very persons guilty of one of the greatest
violations of public faith, attended with the most aggravating
circumstances, that perhaps ever happened, he only seems to
intimate, that they did not come up to the virtues of their
ancestors; nay, he puts them upon a level with those at the
head of other states. Such a palliation of one of the most
atrocious public crimes to be met with in history, would be
inexcusable in an author of any other nation than that to
which he belongs; but as for his countrymen, if we suppose
them to pay any deference to the conduct of their superiors
for above a century past, it is as natural for them to talk in this
strain now, as it was for the Romans to act the part they did
at the time Carthage was destroyed.

In whatever light we view the villainous conduct of the Romans, at this juncture, it must appear as the result of a
complication of all the bad qualities, that can be inherent in
any state. Perjury, cruelty, injustice, pride, meanness of spirit,
and even cowardice itself, in the highest degree, are some of the
principal of them. Neither can we conceive how it should enter
into the head of the author just cited, as well as of many
others, that even the ancestors of that profligate set of men
we are now speaking of, were so eminent for their rectitude,
greatness of soul, and public spirit, at least any of them but
those, who flourished in the earliest times of the republic.
Can any state, that is continually grasping at universal em-
prise, and aims at nothing but enlaving all its neighbours, de-
serve such a shining character? And that the Roman republic
had this solely in view, even almost from its very infancy, is
evident from the most partial of its own historians. That
public spirit, if any criminal passion deserves such a noble
appellation, which serves only to cement the members of a
community together, in order to enable them the more effec-
tually to plunder and massacre all the rest of their species, is,
at moft, no better than that principle, which unites a gang of
robbers and assassins; and whether the Romans in general
were not, from very remote times, actuated by such a pub-
lic spirit as this, will easily be determined by those who have
been but moderately conversant with their writers. The
belt therefore, in our opinion, that can be said of the Ro-
mans of the age we are now upon, is, that they were
worse than any preceding generation of one of the most
hypocritical, tyrannical, ambitious, and consequently worst
nations, we read of in history. We must leave it to the
consideration
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consideration of our readers, whether their conduct has not been since equalled by that of a neighbouring nation, which has, for the best part of a century, been taught to distinguish between the letter and spirit of treaties, and which, with its liberty, seems to have lost the very notion of all public virtues.

But to resume the thread of our history: the Carthaginians, having pacified Aëdrubal, one of their generals, who, for some contumelious treatment, had advanced, at the head of twenty thousand men, almost to the gates of Carthage, in order to besiege it, reduced most of the open country to their obedience. Aëdrubal, with his forces, posted himself advantageously before the town, supplying the inhabitants daily with vast quantities of provisions. At last the Roman army invested it, not doubting but it would fall an easy prey to them. Manilius attacked it by land, as Marcius did by sea; and both of them pushed on the siege with all the vigour they were capable of. But Aëdrubal greatly retarded their approaches, by cutting off their parties sent to collect materials for framing the military machines; which he did, by drawing them insensibly into ambuscades prepared for that purpose. Manilius therefore could make no considerable impression on the city by land; and as Marcius, with the fleet, lay near the stagnum or great morass, the exhalations proceeding from thence, together with the heat of the seafon, infected the air, and carried off great numbers of his men. The garrison likewise repulsed the Romans in all the attacks they made, with the loss of abundance of men, and, by their vigorous sallies in the night, destroyed most of their works and battering engines. Aëdrubal also, by his detachments, prevented their excursions, and intercepted their foragers; so that their cavalry was reduced to the utmost distress. As for Maninilla, a misunderstanding betwixt him and the Romans hindered the junction of their forces; so that the confus

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reaped no advantage from the troops of that ally. They therefore judged it expedient, at present, to draw off from before the town. Marcius, with the fleet, endeavoured to

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raffage the coasts of Africa; but not being able to execute his design, he attacked the island Ægimurus, which surrendered to him. In the mean time Manilius moved towards the sea-coasts, to favour, as should seem, the operations of Marcius; but finding him not in a capacity to undertake anything, he returned to his former camp before the walls of Carthage, having been harassed in his march by Himilco,
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furnamed Fabeas, or, according to Appian, Phameas, general of the Carthaginian horse. However, the siege went on very slowly, Adfrubal closely attending him, and destroying great numbers of his men on one side, whilst the besieged made an equal havoc of them on the other, by their continual sallies. The Romans were only in possession of Saxus, Leptis, Cholla, and Utica; so that they were not a little frightened for want of provisions. We are told by Appian, that Censorinus played one vast ram against the walls with six thousand foot, and another with a prodigious number of rowers, whose officers attended, doing their duty as if in an engagement; but, though a great breach was made, he could not storm the place, the Carthaginians, after having repulsed him, repairing it in the night. In what manner the Carthaginians afterwards burnt the Roman fleet, and Scipio Aemilianus saved the Roman army, when it was upon the very brink of destruction, may be learnt from Appian, as well as a former part of this history.

In the mean time Masinissa, drawing near his end, dispatched a courier to Aemilianus, to apprise him of it, and to desire him to divide the dominions he was possessed of between his three sons, Mucipsa, Gululfa, and Maftanabal, as well as to assist them with his advice. This Scipio executed in the most prudent and equitable manner, as we shall see in the Numidian history. Whilst this was transacting, Manilius reduced the strong city of Tezaga, and gave the enemy a great defeat there, putting twelve thousand of them to the sword, and taking six thousand prisoners. Some other places of strength he likewise made himself master of before the conclusion of the campaign.

Phameas detests the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians, about this time, sustained a considerable loss by the defection of Phameas, one of their best commanders, who went over to the Romans, after he had had an interview with Aemilianus, at the head of a body of two thousand two hundred horse. As he was an officer of great capacity, he did not a little contribute to the destruction of Carthage. For the particulars of this transaction, we must refer our readers to Appian.


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The next campaign, the consul Calpurnius Piso, and his lieutenant Mancinus, conducted the war in Africa. The Carthaginians were so strong this year, that they obtained several advantages over the Romans, and towards the close of it, obliged them to raise the siege of Hippo Zarithus, which they had carried on the whole summer, after having burnt all their military machines. As for the siege of Carthage, that, for the present, seemed to be at a stand. The besieged applied to Andrius, who pretended to be the son of Perseus king of Macedon, for assistance, or at least for a diversion in their favour, by pursuing the war he was then engaged in against the Romans with vigour. In order the more strongly to excite him to this, they promised him powerful supplies both of money and ships. However, they received no assistance from that quarter, the reason of which, as well as all the most important events of this campaign, our readers will find related in another place.

The Carthaginian army, having been reinforced the preceding year with a body of eight hundred Numidian horse, whose leader Bithyas had prevailed upon them to desert Gulussa, and the accession of some other troops from Carthage, began to move very early out of its winter-quarters. As it had been observed, that neither Micipla nor Maftanabal, Masinis's other sons, had sent any supplies to the enemy, either of money or arms, notwithstanding they had, for a long time past, promised them such supplies, the Carthaginians resumed their former courage, scoured the open country, and put all their places of strength in the best posture of defence. The advantages they had gained at Nepheris and Hippo, and the enemy's inability to push on the siege of Carthage, though the city was, in a manner, dismanteled, and the inhabitants disarmed, inspired them with a resolution to defend themselves to the last drop of blood. They sent embassadors to Micipla, Maftanabal, and the independent Mauritanian princes, in order to form a powerful alliance against the Romans, insinuating to those princes, that, should the African republic be once subverted by that haughty people, they must soon expect to meet with the same fate. Afdrubal the Carthaginian general without the town, about

*Appian, ubi supra. Zonar, ubi supra, c. 29, 30.*
about this time, desiring the command of the troops within the city, poiseffed by another Aedrubal, Gululfa's nephew, accused him falsely of a design to betray the republic into that prince's hands. The innocent perfon was so thunder-struck with the accusation, which came entirely unlooked for, that he had nothing to offer in his own defence; so that he was instantly dispatched upon the spot, without any further process.  

Soon after Piso, with a body of troops, reduced some Æmilianus of the inland towns, leaving Mancinus, with the other part of the army, to continue the siege of Carthage. Mancinus, observing one part of the wall, which, by reason of its rocky situation, seemed inaccessible, not guarded, found means to scale it, and take post in the town, with three thousand five hundred men. But the Carthaginians not only prevented any ill consequences from this lodgment, but likewise cut off his retreat, and so surrounded him, that he must either have been destroyed, or starved to a surrender, had not Æmilianus in the critical moment relieved him. This so disheartened the Carthaginians, that they abandoned several posts; which encouraged Æmilianus to make an attack upon Megara, a part of the city, which our readers will find already described. This was begun at midnight, by a select body of troops, who had provided themselves with axes, levers, and scaling-ladders, being led by the general himself. They advanced several stadia without the least noise; but at last gave a sudden and general shout, which struck the enemy, who did not expect a visit at so unseasonable an hour, with terror. However, recovering themselves, they opposed the assailants with such bravery, that Æmilianus found it impossible to mount the ramparts; but at last perceiving a tower very near the walls, and of an equal height with them, but without the city, abandoned by its guards, he detached thither a party of choice troops, who, by the help of pontons, made a lodgment on the walls, from whence descending into Megara, they immediately broke down the gates. Upon which Æmilianus entering with four thousand of the flower of his troops, the enemy found themselves obliged to retreat to Byrsa, in as great a consternation as if the whole city had been taken, being followed even by the forces, that were encamped without the town.

town. Aedruba, finding the next morning what had
happened, was extremely chagrined; and, either to gra-
tify his resentment, or to reduce the besieged to a state
of desperation, that they might behave with a greater
degree of resolution in the defence of the place, maffacred
all the Roman prisoners he had taken, in the manner
we have already related a.

Whilst Aedruba was thus venting his fury upon the
Roman captives, and even murdering many Carthaginian
senators, who had been so brave as to oppose his tyrann-
ny, AEemilianus was busy in drawing lines of circumval-
lation and contravallation cross the isthmus, which joined
the peninsula, whereon Carthage stood, to the contin-
ent of Africa. That part of these lines, which fronted
the city of Carthage, was strengthened by a wall twenty-
five stadia long, and twelve foot high, flanked at
proper distances with towers and redoubts; and on the
middle tower was erected a very high wooden fort, from
whence could be seen whatever was doing in the city.
The enemy, who were within a darts cast of it, made
their utmost efforts to put a stop to the work; but as
the whole army was employed upon it day and night with-
out intermission, it was finished in twenty-four days.
The Carthaginians were doubly incommoded by this work;
first, as it secured the Roman forces against their fallies;
and secondly, as AEemilianus thereby cut off all provisions
from them; which disaffrested them exceedingly. Bithyas
indeed, who had been sent out to collect corn before
AEemilianus made himself master of Megara, arrived soon
after the consul had perfected his lines; but he durst
not venture to attack them. However, he found means
to convey by sea some small quantities to Aedruba,
who distributed what he received amongst his troops,
without any regard to the inhabitants. That general
seems to have been induced to this by the opposition he
met with from the senators, who, being highly incensed
at his enormous cruelty to the Roman prisoners, as it
precluded them from all hopes of mercy, and, instead
of encouraging, disheartened the troops, cried out,
"That such an unjustifiable proceeding was highly un-
reasonabul at a juncture, when they were ready to
sink

a Polyb. in excerptis Valerii, p. 179. Appian. & Zonar. ubi
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"Sink under the pressure of the publick calamities." A famine therefore ensued, which not a little contributed to the destruction of the city.

The besieged found themselves already reduced to great straits; but the progress Æmilianus had lately made in an attempt to stop up the mouth of the old harbour by a mole, that of the new one being already shut up by the Roman fleet, afforded them a much more melancholy prospect, than any thing that had yet happened to them. Being extremely alarmed, they resolved to take such measures, as might, if possible, defeat the enemy's design. Setting therefore all hands to work, with an industry scarce to be paralleled, they dug a new basin, and opened a communication with the sea; which enabled them to make head against the enemy once more upon that element; for, with the same diligence, they fitted out a fleet of fifty quinqueremes, with a vast number of other vessels, built chiefly of the old materials found in their magazines. This amazing work was completed so suddenly, and with such an impenetrable secrecy, that Æmilianus entertained not the least suspicion of it, till he saw their squadron appear at sea. Then his surprise was so great, thinking it impossible, that so weak an enemy should, as it were, in an instant become so formidable, that Appian believes, the Carthaginians might have totally ruined the Roman fleet, had they immediately attacked it. This seems to have been no unreasonable supposition, because, as no such blow was expected, and every man other wise employed, the Carthaginians would have found the Roman vessels destitute of rowers, soldiers and officers. However, two days after both parties came to an action, and being greatly animated, the one by the hopes of preserving every thing dear and valuable to them, the other of finishing a conquest, which had cost them such an immense quantity of blood and treasure, they exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner. During the heat of the action, the Carthaginian brigantines, gliding along under the large Roman ships, broke to pieces many of their sterns, rudders, and oars; and, if at any time they found themselves pushed, they retreated with surprising swiftness, and returned immediately to the charge.

\[\text{Idem ibid.}\]
The dispute continued with equal success till the evening, when the Carthaginians thought proper to retire, not under any apprehension of the enemy's superiority, but in order to renew the engagement with greater advantage early the next morning. Their lighter vessels, being extremely swift and numerous, soon occupied the harbour, and, by their multitude, shut up the mouth of it; so that those of a larger size were excluded from thence, and obliged to take shelter under a very spacious terrace, which had been thrown up against the walls to unload goods, and on the side whereof a small rampart had been raised during this war, to prevent the enemy from posseSSing themselves of it. Here the fight began again early the following day with more vigour than ever, and continued till late at night; but at last, by the conduct and bravery of five galleys of Sida, the Carthaginians were obliged to retire, and sail for shelter to the city. The next morning Aemilianus attacked the terrace; but was repulsed with prodigious slaughter by the besieged, who burnt all his military machines. However, he afterwards carried it by assault, and having fortified it, ordered a wall to be built close to those of the city, and of equal height with them. When this was finished, he commanded four thousand men to mount it, and discharge showers of darts and javelins upon the enemy, in order both to insult and annoy them. As the troops on each side were upon a level, there was scarce a dart thrown but what did execution. The last action concluded the military operations of this campaign.¹

In order the more effectually to cut off supplies of every kind from the besieged, Aemilianus formed a design to reduce the places of strength the Carthaginians had still in their hands, particularly Nepheres, where they had a numerous body of forces strongly encamped, commanded by Diogenes, one of Asdrubal's intimate friends, who, by means of the new bacon above-mentioned, sent continual convoys of provisions to Carthage. The reduction of the other places he effected by detachments commanded by persons that he could confide in; but that of the latter was accomplished by a body of troops under the conduct of Lælius, supported by Gulusla's Numidian horse. By the activity of these last, and the violence of the Numidian elephants, the whole

¹ Idem ibid. &Liv. in epit. ii. Fior. i. ii. c. 15.
whole Carthaginian army, consisting of eighty-four thousand men, was either cut to pieces, or taken prisoners, except four thousand, who dispersed themselves in the neighbouring villages. This happened before Aemilius resumed the operations against the city of Carthage, and induced the Africans, who were kept in awe by Diogenes, to abandon the Carthaginians.

Soon after Aemilius formed two attacks, one against Byrsa, and the other against the Cothon. Having possessed himself of the wall, which surrounded the port or Cothon, he threw himself into the great square of the city, that was near it; but the night not permitting him to penetrate farther, he ordered his soldiers to remain there till morning under arms. At break of day he received a reinforcement of four thousand men from the camp, who, notwithstanding all the efforts of their officers to the contrary, plundered the temple of Apollo, which was immensely rich, and divided the booty amongst themselves, before they could be prevailed upon to advance against the enemy. Aemilius, by the occupation of this square, and possession of the wall, being master of every part of the city, but Byrsa or the citadel, attempted to force his way to this last with inexplicable bravery. The Carthaginians having been greatly weakened by a famine, insomuch that they had been obliged to feed, for some time, upon human flesh, and had scarce strength to handle their arms, he, in six days effecting this. However, in the contest he lost a vast number of men, and gained his point with the utmost difficulty. Most of those who had fled into Byrsa, were so intimidated at the approach of the Roman army, that they surrendered upon the proconsul’s granting them their lives. Asdrubal, the commandant, soon after abandoned the rest of them, and put himself into the hands of the Romans. His wife could not survive such an instance of perfidiousness, cowardice, and inhumanity; and therefore, with nine hundred Roman defectors, to whom Aemilius had denied mercy, committed herself, as well as her children, to the flames, that destroyed both the citadel, and the famous temple of Aesculapius upon it. Appian tells us, that, before she acted this tragedy, she appeared in splendid attire, with her children, upon the walls, and addressed herself to Scipio in terms to the following effect: “May the gods, Roman, be

I. iv. & Appian ubi stap.
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"be propitious to you, who act according to the rules of war; but may you, and the genius of Carthage, take vengeance of that miscreant Aedrual, the betrayer of his wife, children, country, and religion!" Then turning to Aedrual, who fled by Æmilianus, "Abandoned villain, said he, and most cowardly of mortals! both I and these my children, shall be soon buried in these flames; but as for you, great general of Carthage, what a splendid triumph will you be referred to grace! What tortures may you not expect to suffer!" This put a period to the state of Carthage, and consequently to the dispute for the empire of the world, which had continued, almost without intermission, between two of the most famous republics to be met with in history, for the space of an hundred and eighty years. What instructions the conscript fathers at Rome sent the proconsul, in relation to the total demolition of Carthage, and how, in consequence of these instructions, that unfortunate city was entirely razed, the cities confederated with it dismantled, as well as those that had declared for the Romans rewarded, and the whole country appertaining to it turned into a province, together with many other particulars relative to the catastrophe we are now upon, our readers will find recited at large in the Roman history.

Thus fell Carthage, in the consulate of C. Cornelius Lentulus and L. Mummius, about a hundred and forty-six years before the commencement of the Christian æra; a city, whose destruction ought to be attributed more to the intrigues of an abandoned faction, composed of the most profligate part of its citizens, than to the power of its villainous rival, however formidable it might at that time appear. The treasure Æmilianus carried off, even after the city had been delivered up to the soldiers to be plundered, according to the Roman military law, was so immense, that it exceeded all belief, Pliny making it amount to four (S) millions four hundred and seven thousands weight of silver.


(S) This was not the only treasure Æmilianus met with now in Carthage. According to Sallust, he preserved from the flames several valuable libraries, which he presented to the sons of Micipsa. The works of all the most noted Phoenician and Punic authors...
The iniquity of the Roman conduct at the commencement, as well as through the whole course, of this war, is acknowledged by Velleius, and other historians, who cannot be suspected of the least partiality in favour of the Carthaginians. In fine, Rome, though, in a manner, mistresses of the world, could not imagine herself in a state of security, as long as even the name of Carthage remained; so true is it, that a rivetted antipathy, fomented by long and bloody wars, continues even after all cause for fear is removed, thors were undoubtedly included in these collections, some of the principal of which, besides those already mentioned, were the following:

1. Dius, a celebrated Phœnician historian, a fragment of whose work, relating to the friendly intercourse betwixt Solomon and Hiram king of Tyre, has been preferred to us by Josephus, in the eighth book of his antiquities, and the first of his treatise against Apion.

2. Eumachus, a Carthaginian writer, cited by Phlegon, who, amongst other things, related, that, whilst the Carthaginians were drawing a line round Africa Propria, they discovered two human skeletons, deposited in two coffins, of an enormous size. One of these, according to Phlegon, was twenty-three cubits long, and the other twenty-four. The age in which this author lived, has not been hitherto discovered.

3. Hieronymus Aegyptius, who, according to Freculphus Lexovienfs, a chronological historian, that lived near nine hundred years ago, wrote a history of Phœnicia. For a further account of him, we must refer to our readers to Vossius.


5. Hyphocrates, a native, as should seem, of Phœnicia, who composed a history of that country in the Phœnician language. A Greek translation of this author, done by one Chætus, if not the original itself, was extant in the time of Tatian. He is likewise taken notice of by Eusebius, in the tenth book of his Preparation Evangelica.

6. Iolaus, a compiler of Phœnician history, whose works are all lost, except a few fragments, which seem entirely fabulous. From what Bochart, Geiner, and Voßius, have related of him, the loss of his performance is not greatly to be regretted.

7. Mochus or Molchus, a Phœnician, who wrote the history of his own country in his mother-tongue. Chætus above-mentioned translated this piece into Greek. Josephus, Tatian, and Athenæus, supply us with the short account we have of him.

8. Molchus
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removed, and does not cease, till the object that occasions it is no more. The Romans ordered it never to be inhabited again, denouncing dreadful imprecations against those, who, contrary to this prohibition, shou'd attempt to rebuild any part of it, especially Byrsa and Megara. However, all persons who defied it, were admitted to see Carthage, nothing affording Æmilianus a higher satisfaction, than to have people view the ruins of a city, which had contended with Rome for superiority such a series of years. The Carthaginian prisoners, sent to Rome, were distributed in the various provinces of Italy, as already related. In confirmation of what we have advanced above concerning the duration of Carthage, we must here beg leave to observe, that Syncellus affirms this city to have stood seven hundred

8. Moschus Sidonius, a native of Sidon, who, according to Sirabo, seems to have been the founder of the atomical philosophy.

9. Procles, a Carthaginian historian, some of whose fragments have been preferred to us by Pausanias.

10. Sanchoniatho, a Phœnician historian, who, according to the most received opinion, lived a little before the siege of Troy. He extracted his history, which was written in the Phœnician language, partly from the records of cities, and partly from the sacred writings deposited in temples. Philo of Byblus, who according to Suidas, lived in the reign of Hadrian, translated this history into Greek, some extracts of which we find in the first book of Eusebius's Præparatio evangelica. Suidas informs us, that he wrote one treatise of the religious institutions of the Phœcianians; another of Hermes's physiology; and a third of the Egyptian theology. Porphyry makes him to have been of Berytus; but he was of Tyre, if we will give credit to Athenæus.

11. Theodotus, a writer of Phœnician history, whose performance Chaucus translated into Greek. Our readers will find every thing relating to him, that antiquity has supplied us with, in Bochart and Voßius (25).

hundred and forty-eight years, which almost entirely corresponds with Sir Isaac Newton, Salmasius, Petavius, &c. and therefore may be considered as an additional argument in favour of what those great men have offered on that head.

About twenty-four years after this flately metropolis had been laid in ashes by Æmillianus, pursuant to the orders of the senate, C. Graccus, tribune of the people, in order to ingratiate himself with them, undertook to rebuild it, and, to that end, conducted thither a colony of six thousand Roman citizens. The workmen, according to Plutarch, were terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundation of the new city; which the senate being informed of, would have suspended the attempt: but the tribune, little affected with such presages, continued carrying on the work, and finished it in a few days. From hence it seems probable, that only a flight kind of huts were erected, especially since we are told by Velleius, that Marius, after his flight into Africa, lived in a poor, mean condition amidst the ruins of Carthage, consoling himself by the sight of so astonishing a spectacle, and himself at the same time serving, in some measure, as a consolation to that ill-fated city. But whether Graccus executed his design, as Plutarch intimates, or the work was entirely discontinued, in compliance with the senate’s orders, as Appian suggests, it is certain this was the first Roman colony, that ever was sent out of Italy.

Appian relates, that Julius Cæsar, having landed his forces in Africa, to put an end to the war with Pompey’s adherents there, saw, in a dream, an army composed of a prodigious number of soldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him; and that, struck with the vision, he wrote down in his pocket-book the design he formed, on this occasion, of rebuilding Carthage and Corinth; but that being murdered soon after in the curia at Rome by the conspirators, he was not able to execute it. However, says the same author, Augustus Cæsar, his adopted son, finding this memoir among his various turns of fortune, is at last rescued by the Sibyls.

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amongst his papers, built a city at some small distance from the spot on which antient Carthage stood, which he called by the same name, in order to avoid the ill effects of those imprecations, which had been vented at the time of its destruction. Thither he sent a colony of three thousand men, who were soon joined by considerable numbers from the neighbouring towns. But this notion, however it may have been received by Appian, is not consistent with what we find advanced by Strabo, who intimates, that both Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt at the same time by Julius Cæsar. It is certain this last author, who flourished in the reign of Tiberius, affirms Carthage in his time to have been equal, if not superior, to the largest city in Africa; which can scarce be admitted, if we suppose it to have been built by Augustus, after the conclusion of all his wars; and, till that time, it is not natural to suppose him to have built it. Be that as it will, Plutarch follows Strabo, and therefore, in opposition to Appian, gives a sanction to his authority. Pliny mentions it as a very considerable colony in his days, though the town then was not of so large an extent, as that destroyed by Æmilianus. Solinus gives us to understand, that the town built by Gracchus was called Junonia, and, for some time, of little note, agreeable to what we have hinted above. However, he informs us, that, in the consulate of M. Antoninus and P. Dolabella, it made such a figure, that it was esteemed the second city in the Roman dominions; which, in our opinion, adds some weight to the last observation of Strabo. It was looked upon as the capital of Africa for several centuries after the commencement of the Christian æra. Maxentius laid it in ashes about the sixth or seventh year of Constantine’s reign. Genferic, king of the Vandals, took it A. C. 439. but, about a century afterwards, it was re-annexed to the Roman empire by that renowned commander Belisarius. At last the Saracens, under Mohammed’s successors, towards the close of the seventh century, so completely destroyed it, that no other traces or footstep of it are now to be discovered, than those we have already taken notice of in the first section of the Carthaginian history.
B O O K  IV.

C H A P. I.

The history of the Numidians, to the conquest of their country by the Romans.

S E C T. I.

Description of Numidia.

The limits of the region, called Numidia, have been differently defined by the antient geographers. Pliny gives that name to the tract lying between the rivers Tusca and Ampsaga; which includes the Numidia Nova of Ptolemey, together with the district of the Cirtesii. Mela affirms it to have extended from the river Molochath or Mulucha, to the borders of Africa Propria, which he seems to have fixed at a small distance from the city of Cirta. But its boundaries are certainly the best ascertained by Strabo, who, in conformity with what has been advanced by Polybius, Livy, and Dio, makes it to have comprehended the kingdoms of the Massyli and Macesyli, the last of which was bounded on the west by the Mulucha, as the first was on the east by the Tusca. Dionyfius Afer, Silius Italicus, and Appian, as well as the former historians, add no small weight to Strabo; for which reason, our readers will permit us to give a geographical description of Numidia upon the plan he has laid down.

Numidia then was limited on the north by the Mediter-
ranean; on the south by Gaetulia, or part of Libya Interior; on the west by the Mulucha, which separated it from Mauritania; and on the east by the Tusca, a boundary it had in common with Africa Propria. If we suppose Malva, Mal-
vana, Mulucha, Molochath, and the present Mullooaiah of the Algerines to be the same river, and the modern Zaine to correspond with the antient Tusca, as the learned and inge-
nious

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nious Dr. Shaw seems to have rendered probable, this tract was above five hundred miles in length, Twunt, the western Algerine frontier, about fifty miles to the east of the former river, being in 0° 16' W. long. from London, and Tabarka, the antient Tabraca, upon the latter, in 0° 16' to the east of that city. The breadth cannot be so easily ascertained; but, supposing it to have been nearly the same with that of the present kingdom of Algiers, as there is good reason to apprehend it was, in the narrowest part it must have been about forty miles, that being the distance near Tlemfan from the desert or Saraha to the sea-coast, and above a hundred in the broadest, Jijel being in N. lat. 36° 55', and Lowtaiah, situated amongst the mountains of Atlas, in 34° 50'. In the Carthaginian times, Numidia contained two considerable nations, the most powerful of which, according to Strabo, was called the Maffyli, and the other the Mascaeyli or Maffeeyli. The country inhabited by the Maffeeyli is, by some authors, esteemed a part of Mauritania; but Polybius, Livy, and Strabo, whose authority will bear down that of all other writers in the point before us, are of another opinion. However, that it was considered as appertaining to Mauritania in after-ages by the Romans, we learn from Dio, who not only intimates this, but likewise affirms, that it had the name of Mauritania Caesariensis given it by the emperor Claudius b.

Numidia, including Numidia Provincia, or the country of the Maffyli, and Mauritania Caesariensis, or that of the Mascaeyli, extended from 34° 50' to 37° N. lat. and from 1° 15' W. to 9° 16' E. of London. Ptolemy is as inaccurate and erroneous in his geography of this country, as we have before shewn him to be in that of Africa Provincia; for he places The Great Promontory in 35°, and the Ampsaga in 31° 45' N. lat. and so in proportion of the interjacent places, whereby that part of the coast is laid down nearly in an E. S. E. direction; whereas, according to the latest observations, to the Promontorium Apollinis it is N. E. and from thence to the Ampsaga, inclining to the N. In short, according to the same observations, Ptolemy differs so widely from the truth in the whole, that those places, which he has fixed in a southern inclination, should have had a northern one; and The Great Promontory, which he has

placed 3° 15' to the northward of the Ampsagá, is really 1° 37' S. of it. Several places likewise of this country he has put five degrees farther south, than, in fact, they are found to be. The region formerly possessed by the Maffyli, from the most accurate observations of the moderns, in conjunction with the hints given us by the antients, seems to have extended itself from 34° 50' to 37° N. lat. and from 6° 30' to 9° 60' E. long. from London. From hence the situation and extent of the Mafæylian kingdom may likewise be easily determined.

The country of the Maffyli, Numidia Propria, or, as some authors call it, Terra Metagonitis, was separated from the proper territory of Carthage by its eastern boundary the river Tufca, and from the kingdom of the Mafæyli, or Mauritania Cæsarienfis, if we will believe Pliny, by the Ampsagá. It seems to correspond with that part of the province of Constantina lying between the Zaine and the Wed Kibeer, which is above an hundred and thirty miles long, and more than an hundred broad. The sea-coast of this province is, for the most part, mountainous and rocky, answering appositely enough to the appellation given it by Abulfeda, viz. El Adwah, the high or lofty. It is far from being equal in extent to the territories that formed the kingdom of the Mafæyli, though this nation is represented as less potent than the Maffyli by Strabo. We shall only mention such of the principal places seated in it, as have been taken the greatest notice of by the antients, the bounds we have prescribed ourselves obliging us, at present, to pass over all the rest.

The capital city of this province, or rather kingdom, was Cirta, a place of very considerable note amongst the antients. It stood about forty-eight miles from the sea, and at a small distance from the Ampsaga. According to Strabo, it was a fortress of great strength, and abundantly supplied with all necessaries, as well as much improved, through the great care of Micipfa, who invited a good number of Greeks to come and reside in it. Mela and Pliny intimate, that it was likewise known by the name of Sittianorum Colonia in their time, and in its most flourishing state, when under the dominion of Syphax. The latter name it received from the colony.

\[\text{Cirta.}\]

\[\text{C. Ptol. \& Shaw, ubi sup. \quad d Strab. l. ii. Plin. Mel. Ptol.}\]

\[\text{ubisup. \quad Abulfed. in geogr. ex traduct. V. C. I. Gagnier.}\]

\[\text{Shaw, ubi sup. c. 7. \& alib.}\]
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colony settled there by P. Sittius, who, having been of singular service to Cæsar in the African war, received a great extent of territory in those parts, which formerly belonged to Manasses, one of Juba's confederates, from that prince, as we learn from Appian and Dio; for which reason we find it called Cirta Julia by Ptolemy, who names the territory adjacent to it, the district of the Cirtesii, which he separates from Numidia, making it to include the cities of Vaga, Miæum, Lares, Ætara, and Azama. That Cirta was one of the largest, as well as strongest, cities of Numidia, is evident both from the extent of its ruins, which are still to be seen, and the commodiousness of its situation; for the greatest part of it was built upon a kind of peninsular promontory, inaccessible on all sides, except towards the south-west. This promontory was above a mile in circumference, inclining a little to the southward, but terminating in a precipice of a northern direction, and above an hundred fathom in perpendicular. Here a beautiful landscape arose from a most agreeable variety of vales, mountains, and rivers, which extended themselves to a great distance. To the eastward the prospect was bounded by an adjacent range of rocks, much higher than the city; but, towards the south-east, the country was more open, entertaining the citizens of Cirta with a distant view of the high mountain, called at present Ziganea, as well as those large and fertile eminences, whose modern name is Seedy Rougeife. The peninsular promontory above-mentioned, in the direction we are now upon, was separated from the neighbouring plains by a deep, narrow valley, perpendicular on both sides, where a rivulet, that seems to have been a branch of the Ampagea, the modern Rummel of the Algerines, conveyed its stream, and over which there was formerly a bridge of most excellent workmanship. The isthmus, near which stood the principal gate of the city, is about half a stadium broad, being entirely covered at present with a series of broken walls, cisterns, and other ruins, continued down to the river, and carried on from thence over a small plain parallel to the valley above described. The most eminent fragments of antiquity still remaining are, 1. A particular set of cisterns near the centre of the city, being about twenty in number, and forming an area of fifty yards square. 2. The aqueduct, whose remains, though in a much more ruinous condition than the cisterns, sufficiently demonstrate the wealth, public spirit, and magnificence of the Numidian princes, who held their residence here. 3. Part of
of a large and noble edifice, four of whose bases, seven foot in diameter, still in their places, seem to have formed part of the portico. This stands upon the brink of a precipice to the northward, and is the place where the Turkish garrison of Constantina is always posted. That name was given Cirta in the reign of Constantin the Great, who repaired and adorned it, according to Aurelius Victor. Cirta was the metropolis of Macinifla's dominions, that prince himself, his father Gala, and several other kings of the same family, residing there, as we learn from Polybius, Livy, and others. Strabo informs us, that Micipsa took care to render it so large, populous, and flourishing, that, in his time, it could send into the field an army of twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. From its name it appears to be a city of a very high antiquity, and founded by the Phoenicians, even before Dido's arrival in Africa; for Cirta or Certa seems to have signified city in the Phoenician language when Hercules built Carteia, about the time that he first came into those parts, as we learn from Hesychius, who tells us, that one of his names was Melicerta, i.e. king of Certa, Cirta, or the city. We have likewise already observed, that the Canaanites or Phoenicians, when expelled their native country by Joshua, fled into Numidia; and that several proper names of places here were Phoenician; nay, we have, from some good authors, rendered it probable, that the Phoenicians settled in Numidia and Mauritania long before the Israelites dispossessed them of the land of Canaan. It may not be improper to add, that the ancient Cirta was much larger than the modern Constantina, which is about 6° 36' east of London, and in north latitude 36° 20' c.

Vaga, a large city, according to Ptolemy, a few miles east of Cirta. Plutarch calls it Bagae, and Sallust Vaca; which is the name likewise given it by Silius, Pliny, and St. Austin. The Romans placed a strong garrison here under the command of Turpilus, as we learn from Sallust and Plutarch.

Lares,
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Lares, a town south-east of Cirta, taken notice of by Ptolemy, which some think different from that in the itinerary called Laribus Colonia, or, according to Schottus, Laribum Colonia. This place is mentioned by Sallust, and other ancient authors.

Azama, a town which Ptolemy makes to be fifteen days journey distant from Carthage, lying south-east of Cirta. Some authors imagine this to be the same with Zama, a large and magnificent city, and famous for the signal defeat Hannibal received near it. But this is rendered improbable by Livy and Polybius, who fix Zama on a spot at least two thirds nearer Carthage. Mireuth and Aetara, the other two places in the district of the Cirtcius, taken notice of by Ptolemy, are so obscure, that it is sufficient just to have mentioned them.

About eighteen miles from the Amphagia, at the western bottom of the Sinus Numidicus, or, as it is now called, the gulf of Stora, stood the Cullu, or Collops Magnus, of Pliny and Ptolemy. There is nothing remaining at present of this ancient city, but a few miserable houses, and a small fort. The modern name is Cull, which, as well as the ancient, might be derived from a small port before it, CuJna in Arabic and Phoenician signifying a port. At the eastern extremity of the same gulf was the Rulicada of Ptolemy, the Siggata or Stora of the moderns. A few cisterns, converted at present into magazines for corn, are the only tokens of antiquity discernible in it. The ancient geographers have fixed it fifty or sixty Roman miles from Cullu; whereas in reality it was not above thirty. The adjacent rivulet seems to be the Tapias of Vibius Sequester.

Not many miles to the north-east stood the Tacatua of Pliny, Ptolemy, and the itinerary, the Tuckufh of the Algerines, at present a pleasant village, with a fruitful country round about it. At some distance from it, in an eastern direction, was the Sulluco or Collops Parvus of Ptolemy, the modern small port of Tagodeite.

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At the western extremity of the gulf of Hippo, upon the river Armua, was the city of Hippo Regius, a place we have had occasion to mention frequently in the Roman and Carthaginian history. Upon the spot of ground formerly occupied by that city, a great heap of ruins is still to be seen. According to Leo Africanus, the city of Bona, or, as the Moors call it, Blaid el Aneb, Town of Juebs, from the plenty of them gathered in the neighbourhood, about a mile farther to the north, was built out of these ruins. This seems to be confirmed by the name Bona, which is undoubtedly a corruption of Hippo or Hippona. It is probable, that Bona has the same situation that Ptolemy's Aphrodisium had, since he places it fifteen miles to the north of Hippo. The ruins of Hippo take up a space about half a league in circumference, consisting, as usual, of large broken walls and cisterns. This city was called Hippo Regius, because it was, for some time, the seat of the Numidian kings, as Silius Italicus informs us. And indeed its commodious situation both for hunting and commerce, the salubrity of the air its inhabitants breathed, the delightful prospect they enjoyed, which took in the sea, a spacious harbour, a variety of mountains covered with trees, and plains diversified with rivers, fountains, and fertile spots of ground, in a most beautiful manner, all at once, demonstrate this city to be as worthy of such an honour, as any other in the Numidian dominions. We have before shewn the word Hippo to be of Phœnecian extraction, which is a proof, that the antient inhabitants were of the same origin. We shall reserve the description of Bona for the history of Algiers, to which it will more properly belong.

Thabraca or Tabraca was a maritime city of Numidia Propria, seated on the western bank of the Tusca. Mela, Juvenal, Pliny, Ptolemy, and St. Auffin, all make mention of it. Pliny insinuates, that it was a Roman colony in the latter ages. The ruins of it are still remaining, and out of them has sprung the modern Tabraca, where there are several broken walls and cisterns, with a small fort and garrison of Tunifeens. Bochart says, that Thabraca was a Phœnecian word, and equivalent

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Valent to the Latin Frondosa, which, he shews, might be properly enough applied to this place, from that verse of Juvenal:

Quales umbriferos ubi pandit Tabraca salutus
Sat. x. ver. 194 m.

Naragara or Nadagara, a very antient town, situated at a considerable distance south-west of Tabraca, on the confines of Africa Propia. Here, towards the conclusion of the second Punic war, Scipio is said to have encamped for the benefit of the water, Hannibal at the same time taking post upon an eminence four miles distant from him. Polybius seems to have called this place Margaron. It is supposed, that some fragments of an aqueduct, and other traces of this antient city, are still to be seen n.

SOMEWHERE in this tract we are to look for Sicca, Sicca Venerea, or, as some will have it, Venerea. But, as we have taken notice of this place elsewhere, as well as the lewd custom prevailing in it, and as its situation cannot, with any precision, be ascertained, we shall drop all further particulars relating to it o.

Thirmida, a town of this province, where Hiempal, according to Sallust, lost his life; but whether it stood on the borders of the Massyli, or remote from them, for want of sufficient light from history, we shall not take upon us to determine p.

Suthul, a city where that prince’s treasure was deposited, as we are informed by the same historian. It should seem probable from some hints he gives, that it could not be very remote from Thirmida q.

Madaura, a city, as may be inferred from St. Austin, in the neighbourhood of Sicca Venerea, Tagaste, and Hippo Regius. It was famous for the birth of Apuleius the Platonic philosopher; which is all we can lay of it r.

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r Apul. Madaurenff. in metamorphos. i. xi. de Platon. philos. i. iii. & in apol. D. Aug. in confes. i. ii. c. 3.
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As for Sava, Gemellæ, Calama, Lambefa, Thevesle, Sava, &c. Tadutti, Sigus, Tipasa, Simishtu, Lamsba, and an infinite number of other obscure places, mentioned chiefly, if not solely, by Ptolemy, the Itinerary, Peutinger's table, the Notitia, Æthicus, Orofius, and others, who lived below that period of time, to which we must here confine ourselves, as they cannot improve our idea of any single fact or circumstance relative to the history we are now upon, our readers will not only excuse a description, but even a bare enumeration of them. It will be sufficient, in order to compleat our geographical description of this province, to give a succinct account of the most remarkable mountains, promontories, rivers, fountains, islands, and some of the principal curiosities of it, to which we shall beg leave to preface a word or two concerning the mediterranean part of it.

We have already observed, that the sea-coast of this province was, for the most part, mountainous and rocky. To which we shall add, that the inner or mediterranean part was diversified with a beautiful interchange of hills and plains, which grew less capable of culture, in proportion as it approached the Sahara. In many places, for several leagues together, nothing was to be seen but a solitary desert, void both of all animals, and every thing proper for their support; in others fruitful districts, abounding with gardens producing great plenty of the most delicious pomegranates, apples, &c. afforded a most delightful prospect to travellers. But the natural history, both of Numidia Propria, and Mauritania Cæsarienis, our readers may expect in a proper place.

The first ridge of mountains we shall take notice of is that upon the borders of Gaetulia, which terminated the country between the parallels of Sitifi and Cirta, called by the ancients Buzara. 2. That called Thambes, extending itself as far as Tabraca. 3. The Mampasarus of Ptolemy, upon the frontiers of Gaetulia, which separated that country, or the Sahara, from the Mauritania Sitifensis. 4. The Mons Audus of Ptolemy, or the Mons Auratus of the middle age, known at present amongst the Turks by the name Jibbel Auref or Evrefs. All of which will hereafter be minutely described.

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2 Abulfed. & Shaw. ubi sup.
3 Plin. Ptol., & Shaw. ubi sup.
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The first promontory that falls under our observation is the Tritum of Strabo, and the Metagonium of Mela, about six leagues to the eastward of the Amphiaga, called at present the Sebba Rous, or Seven Capes, by the Algerines. 2. The Hippi Promontorium of Ptolemy, the Mabra of the sea-charts, about twenty leagues east of the former. It goes now among the Algerines by the name Ras el Hamrāh, i. e. The Red Cape, and has the ruins of two small buildings upon it. 3. Scarce a league distant from the Hippi Promontorium, to the northward, is the Stoborrum Promontorium of Ptolemy. This was in the gulf of Hippo, and about a league from the city of that name."

The rivers. Of the rivers which water Numidia Propria, the most remarkable are the following: 1. The Amphiaga, which separated this region from that of the Mafesylis or Mauritania Caesariensis. That river fell into the sea about six leagues to the west of Cullu, and is at present named the Wed el Kibeer, or Great River; which very well tallies with the signifies of the word Amphiaga, Aphsah importing in Arabic broad, large, ample, &c. At present it appears to be made up of the following branches: The Wed el Dfahab, River of Gold, whose source is at Kalfaite, a heap of ruins sixty miles to the south-west; the rivulet of Jimmeelah, in the same direction nearly with the Wed el Dfahab, but at a little more than forty miles distance; the Wed el Hammam, twenty miles to the west of Constantina; the Wed el Sigan, fifteen miles to the south-west from Phyjgeah; and the springs of Hydrab, about half that distance to the south-east. The modern geographers have generally conducted the channel of their Amphiaga towards the gulf of Cull; whereas the Wed el Kibeer, which truly answers to the Amphiaga of the antients, has no such direction, but falls into the sea six leagues to the westward. Cellarius seems to fix its source in that ridge of mountains, by Ptolemy called Buzara, upon the borders of the Sabara; which runs counter to the latest and most accurate observations. 2. The Arnuia of Pliny, the modern Sei-bouf, which emptied itself into the western extremity of the gulf of Hippo. This frequently lodges great quantities of roots and trunks of trees on the neighbouring shore, and, by reason

"Mel. i. i. c. 7. Strab. i. xvii. Ptol. & Shaw, ubi sup.
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reason of the low situation of the adjacent country, occasions frequent inundations. 3. The Rubricatus of Ptolemy, or Ma-fragg of the Algerines, has its fountains on some hills, that lie at a little distance to the south of Hippo, its mouth being about four leagues easterly from that of the Armua. Bochart thinks, that the word Rubricatus is a Latin one, equivalent to the Punic or Phænicians Sifara, i.e. Red or Purple; and that both the river and the lake so called deduced their name from that dye, the preparation of which the Africans and Carthaginians were so famous for; which notion seems to be confirmed by Pliny and Dioscorides, but particularly by Herodotus, who informs us, that the Zygantes, the antient inhabitants of this country, befineared themselves with a liquid subsistence of that colour. We are told, that the mouth of this river is at present generally stopped up with a high bank of sand, raised by the north and north-east winds; so that it is seldom open, but after long and heavy rains. 4. The Tusca, called now the Zaine, the boundary of this province on the side of Africa Propria. It is said, that, in the language of the neighbouring Kabyles, or remains of the old Africans, the word Zaine denotes an oak-tree, and consequently approaches pretty near in signification to Thabraca, the Phænician name of the frontier town upon this river above-mentioned. The Zaine has its source in the adjacent mountains; which is contrary to what Leo has advanced.

All the most noted fountains of this tract are reducible to two heads: 1. Those to which the principal rivers owe their origin, that have been just touched upon. And, 2. That in the neighbourhood of Zama, whose waters, if drunk copiously, rendered the voice loud and sonorous, according to Pliny and Vitruvius. This extraordinary quality, if Bochart may be credited, gave name both to the fountain and the town; for Zamar, cecinit, sonorus fuit, and in Pihel Zimmer, canere fecit, sonorum esse fecit, &c. plainly allude to it. The elision of the R was very common in the oriental words adopted into other languages; as in Vacca from Bacar, M from Mufar, Mappa from Mapar, &c. The Town of Zamar was

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was situated near the source of the Ampsaga; and if we suppose it to have occupied the same spot of ground that Marmol’s Zamor or Zamora does, Bochart’s etymon will appear extremely probable. Zama was the city in which king Juba resided, and was levelled with the ground by the Romans, according to Stabo.

The only islands, as far as we can recollect, that were ever supposed to have been adjacent to this region, were, 1. The Insulae Naxicae or Pithecusae of Scylax, opposite to Collops Magnus, which we apprehend rather to have belonged to Europe than Africa. 2. The island of Tarraca near the mouth of the Zaine, or Tusca, now in the possession of the Genoese, who pay an annual rent for it to the regency of Algiers.

The principal curiosities of Numidia Propria are, 1. The large marshy plain between Blaid el Aneb and Hippo, with the river Boemah, which hath a bridge of Roman workmanship upon it. 2. The Roman inscriptions found dispersed all over this province. 3. The rich lead mines in the mountains of Beni Boo-Taleb. 4. The lukewarm springs, bubbling within a large square basin of Roman workmanship, which seem to be the Aquae Calidiae or Aquae Tibilisitae of the antients, lying about ten leagues to the south-west of Hippo Regius, and sixteen to the east of Cirta or Contantina. To which we might add several others, did we not reserve them for the natural history of the kingdom of Algiers.

The limits and extent of the Regio Maffyliorum of Strabo, or the Mauritania Caesariensis of Dio, being that tract lying between the Mulucha and Ampsaga, is already ascertained, by the determination of those of Numidia in general, and Numidia Propria, or the country of the Maffyli, in particular. The length indeed of the former province much exceeded that of the latter; but its breadth was not considerable, being at a mean only about twenty leagues, except in that part, which bordered upon the confines of the Maffyli. It lay betwixt 34° 30' and 37° N. lat. and extended from 1° 15' W. to 6° 36' E. long. from London, including that part of the country of the western Moors bounded on the west by the Mullooaia, and on the east

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3 Ptol. & Shaw ibid,
east by the mountains of Trara, the provinces of the kingdom of Algiers called Tlemfan and Titterie, together with the eastern part of that going by the name of Constan
tina. The principal cities (A), rivers, mountains, promontories, &c., we shall touch upon in the most convenient manner possible.

IGILGILI, a town of this tract, about seven leagues from the mouth of the Ampsaga, where, according to Pliny, Augustus planted a Roman colony. Ptolemy places this town half a degree to the southward of Saldae, in a situation contrary to that of the modern Jijel, which lies twelve miles more to the northward, though Dr. Shaw takes this place to be the Igilgili of the antients. It is scarce to be doubted but this town was much older than the time of Augustus, because the name Igilgili, which Pliny intimates it to have had in the Augustan age, was apparently not of Roman extraction.

SALDAE, another place where Augustus planted a Roman colony. Ptolemy makes it to be two degrees distant from Igilgili, and the itinerary ninety-three miles; which isfalse, if, with the traveller above-mentioned, we admit the modern Boujeiah to be the antient Saldae. As there is no manner of affinity betwixt the names Boujeiah and Saldae, and the city, which goes by the former name, is but thirteen leagues from Jijel, the supposed Igilgili of the antients, perhaps our sagacious readers will be inclined to believe them two different towns; which sentiment we own ourselves disposed to entertain.

RUSAZUS, another Augustan colony west of Saldae, taken notice of by Pliny, Ptolemy, and the itinerary.

(A) It is probable, that Miltine a town mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, must have been near the confines of Mauritania Cæfariensis, or in that province, but the particular spot it occupied, we cannot take upon us to determine. It seems probable, from what we find hinted of it by Diodorus, to have been a place of considerable force, and situated in a populous country. As for the cities of Tocas, Phellina, Maschala, Acris, &c., they seem to have had their situation near the borders of Africa Propria. For a confirmation of this, we must refer our readers to a former note.

(1) Univers. hist. vol. xvi. p. 191. (Z)
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We remember not this place to be famous in history for any remarkable transaction that happened in or near it e.

Ruscūrium. Rūṣcūrīum, a city in the neighbourhood of the former, that was highly distinguished by the emperor Claudius, who conferred great honours upon it, as we are informed by Pliny d.

Rusconium. Rūṣkōnīum, another Roman colony, that owed its origin to Augustus, seated near the mouth of the Serbes or Serbetis. Ptolemy calls it Rūsstonium; but we apprehend, that he ought to be corrected by Pliny. In the itinerary we find it named Rufunīx Colonia. It has been imagined, that a small castle on cape Temendūse or Metaurus, fifteen miles east of Algiers, in situation answers pretty nearly to it; because Icoṣium, which is supposed to have corresponded with the present Algiers, and Rusconium, had the same distance, and were placed in the same direction, according to the itinerary. If this be admitted, Rusconium had a Colophon, some traces of which are still remaining; and the modern Delyss occupies the very spot of ground Ruscūrium stood upon. The three towns last-mentioned, from their names, seem to have been originally Libyan or Phœnician e.

Icoṣium. Icoṣium, whose situation has just been determined, may seem to have taken up the space on which Algiers was afterwards built, both from the consideration already offered, and from some Roman inscriptions found in this last city, taken notice of by Gramaye f.

Tipása. Tīpāsa, a Roman colony, mentioned by Ptolemy and the itinerary; but the town was probably of higher antiquity than the conquest of Numidia by the Romans. It was forty-seven miles from Icoṣium, in a north-east direction; which is an additional argument in favour of Algiers’s being the ancient Icoṣium, and likewise evinces, that the present Tēffaṣlād is the Tipása of the old geography g.

The next city of consequence on the sea-coast, to the westward, was Jōl, the seat of the younger Juba, who, out of the great veneration he had for Augustus, gave it the

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the name of Caesarea, according to Eutropius, Pliny, and Strabo. That it had a port, and an island lying in the mouth of it, we are assured by Strabo; which gives us good grounds to suppose, that the modern Sherffell answers to the Jol or Julia Caesarea of the antients. The large circuit, and sumptuous remains of an old city at Sherffell, together with its situation, and many other concurring circumstances, serve likewise to render extremely probable such a supposition. For a full and ample description of the port or Cothon, and all other particulars of note relating to Sherffell, some of which were doubtless applicable to the Numidian Jol, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the observations of the ingenious traveller so frequently cited. We shall only add, that a colony was settled here by the emperor Claudius; and that Bochart affirms the word Jol, in the oriental languages, to signify high or lofty; which agrees with the situation of the place, and consequentially proves, that it was either founded by the Orientals, or by some of their descendants.

The Canucius of Ptolemy, Gunugi of Pliny, and Gu-canucius, nugus of the itinerary, answering to the Brefk of the Algerines, stood about nine miles to the westward from Jol. Though this place was formerly famous, on account of a Roman colony planted in it by Augustus, it is now uninhabited, the violences committed by the neighbouring Kabyles not permitting people of any nation to make a settlement in it.

Cartenna, a very considerable city, situated, as should seem, near the mouth of the river Cartennis, where Augustus settled the soldiery of the second legion. Ptolemy indeed places it some leagues more westerly; but the position he assigns many of his towns, is so extremely erroneous, that he deserves no credit, when any shadow of an argument can be offered against him. Now, Cartenna, in the Phoenician language, signifies the city of Tenna; and we find a promontory some leagues to the eastward, at this day called the Cape of Tennes, and a town named Tnis or Tennis not far distant from it. It was not unusual amongst the most ancient founders of cities to build them upon the banks of rivers, and to give those rivers the names of the

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new-built towns. Of this the city and river of Camicus in Sicily, to omit many others that might be produced, is a sufficient proof. That Tenna, Tennes, or Tanas, was a local proper name in Numidia, is not only evident from the cape abovementioned, but from the Tanas, which was a river of this country, though its course cannot, for want of sufficient light from history, be ascertained. Whether Tenna or Tennis was the proper name of the founder, or derived from the nature of the soil, as the learned traveller we are so much obliged to seem to influncate, we shall not take upon us to determine. However, we hope that ingenious gentleman will not take it amiss, if we differ from him, when he derives Tanis, the name of a most antient and illustrious city of Egypt, from ṬṬ tin, clay, and makes this city to have been the same with Pelusium; for Tanis, in Hebrew letters, is Tzaan, or Zoan, and the word itself Egyptian, whose signification is entirely unknown. As for the city, it was, according to the itinerary of Antoninus, at least forty-four Roman miles from Pelusium, and consequently must have been different from it. We have deduced the word Cartenna from the Phœnician language, because it appears from Procopius and Eufebius, not to mention other writers, that the Phœncians sent colonies into this country in the most early times.

On the western banks of the Cartennus, the antients place Arsenaria, a town where, if Pliny may be credited, a Latin colony was planted under some of the first Roman emperors. As the last-mentioned author makes it to be three Roman miles from the sea, it is probable the modern Arzaw answers to it k.

The next maritime town of note, in a western direction, is the Quiza Xenitana, Quiza Colonia, or Quiza Municipium, of Ptolemy, Mela, Pliny, and the itinerary. Dr. Shaw will have GEEZA to be the antient Quiza; which, as the situation assigned this last was immediately after the Portus Magnus, is not improbable.

SIGA, an antient city of great repute, situated at the mouth of an harbour, and upon a river of the same name.

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1 Plin & Ptol. ubi sup. Sallust. in Jugurth. c. 90. Ptol. lxxviii.
According to Pliny, Syphax’s palace was here, which, together with the city itself, was demolished in the time of Strabo. However, it was afterwards rebuilt, and a colony settled there, as we are informed by Ptolemy. Dr. Shaw believes, that the Tafna answers to the river, and Tackumbeet to the town, of Siga. It appears from Scylax, that both the city and river were known in his time, the former of which he calls Sigum. It was the last maritime place of eminence of this region, being at no great distance from the Malva, which our learned traveller has, with a good appearance of truth, endeavoured to prove the same river with the Molochath and Mulucha.

The first mediterranean cities worthy our notice, to the west of the Ampafia, were Sitifi and Satifi, sixteen miles from one another. For a further account of which, our readers may have recourse to Ammianus Marcellinus, Ptolemy, and other antient writers. By their names, they seem to have been founded by the Phoenicians.

Auzia or Auzea, a city of great antiquity, if, with Auzia Menander Ephesius, we suppose it to be the African city of that name founded by Ithobaal king of Tyre. Tacitus tells us, that it was built in a small plain, surrounded on all sides with barren forests of a vast extent. The ruins of this city are called by the neighbouring Arabs Sour Guflan, the walls of the antelopes, a great part whereof, flanked at proper distances with little square towers, is still remaining.

Tubusuptus or Tubufuttus, a town mentioned by Tubufuptus. Ptolemy and Ammianus Marcellinus, which Lipius takes to be the Thubuscutus besieged by Tacfarinas, according to Tacitus. From what Marcellinus has hinted, it seems to have been situated near the Mons Ferratus.

As Nababurum, Vitaca, Ussara, Vazagad, Auffum, Rona-bonda, Zaratha, Chizala, Lamida, Vafana, Phloria, and many other towns, together with every thing relating to them, are long since buried in oblivion, we shall pass them over in silence, and proceed to the principal promontories, moun-
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mountains, rivers, &c. of this province, which it will be necessary for our readers to have a general idea of, in order to understand those accounts of the transactions happening in it, that have been transmitted down to us by the antient historians.

The first promontories, that present themselves to our view, are the Audus and Vabar of Ptolemy. The Aishounemonker of the Algerines seems to answer to Vabar, having some traces of old ruins still remaining upon it. 2. The Promontorium Apollinis of Pliny and Ptolemy, the Nackos of the Moors, and cape Tennes of the modern geographers. It deduces its name Nackos, i.e. The bell, from the figure of the grotto in the lower part of it, and is in almost 2° E. long. from London. 3. The Promontorium Magnum of Ptolemy was a large and conspicuous cape near 1° E. of the Malva or Mulucha. This is at present called by sailors Cape Hone, and by the inhabitants Ras Hunneine and Mellack. It lies about four leagues to the north-east of Twunt, and is a continuation of the mountains of Trara.

Amongst the mountains of note in the Numidia, Maesylorum may be ranked that high knot of eminences, which at present distinguish themselves to the southward of the plains of Sudratalah, being probably the beginning of that chain of mountains, called by the antients mount Atlas. 2. The Zalicus of Ptolemy, which seems to have had the same position as the present mount Wannathreefe. 3. Mount Malethubalus, upon the frontiers of Gaetulia. This is in the Sahara, and, if we remember right, has not had its modern name brought into Europe. 4. The Durdus of Ptolemy, lying between the mountains of El Callah and Trara. 5. The Mons Phuraeus, immediately succeeding Malethubalus. 6. The Montes Chalcorychii, near the country of the antient Herpiditani, between mount Durdus and the Malva or Mulucha.

The most remarkable rivers taken notice of by the antients were, 1. The Audus, placed by Ptolemy at the bottom of the Sinus Numicicus, no traces of which are now to be seen. 2. The Sifaris, called at present by the Moors and Algerines the Mansoureah, whose water was probably

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10 Plin. Ptol. &c. ubi sup.
Shaw p. 86.
11 Iudem ibid.
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probably of a red colour in antient times; for that the name
imports, as has been already observed. 3. The Niflava,
known at this day by the name of the river of Boujeiah, because
it empties itself into the sea a little to the eastward of that
city. It consists of a number of rivulets, falling into it from
different directions, and has its source at Jibbel Decra, seventy
miles up into the country to the W. S. W. 4. The Ser-
beitis, now the Yfle, a large river, whose mouth is about
eight leagues from Temendufse, and lieth something nearer
Rufgunea than Rufuccurae. We are told, that its sources
are from the mountainous district to the S. S. W. that the
westernmost branch of it is called Shurffa, after the name of
the neighbouring Arabs; and the other Wed el Zeitoune,
i. e. The river of olives, from the vast quantity of that fruit
produced in the adjacent territory. 5. The Savus, a river
falling into the sea near Pliny’s Icosion, which our learned
traveller takes to have had the same situation as the Algiers
of the moderns. If this be admitted, the Hamece bids fairest
for the antient Savus, especially as Leo calls this very river
Sefsia, a word nearly approaching to Savus. 6. The Chi-
naloph of Ptolemy is the most noted river of the Algerines,
who call it Shelliff. It ariseth in the Sahara, at the distance
of eighty miles to the south-east. The fountains which form
its source, from their number and contiguity, are known
amongst the Arabs by the name Sebienne Aine, or Seboun
Aioun, The seventy fountains. A minute description of
this river our readers will find in a proper place. 7. The
Carthennus, to which, it is supposed, the stream formed by
the Sikke and the Habrah answer. Marmol calls a river in
this situation Cirat; which may give some countenance to the
aforesaid supposition. 8. The Flumen Salfum, at present
called the Wed el Mailah, is a stream something less than the
Cherwell, as it paffeth by Oxford. 9. Affara, a river
mentioned by Ptolemy, which may possibly be the same with the
Iffer of Abulseda. The Iffer is one of the four branches
that form the Tafna, which our readers may find described
in that curious piece we have so often referred them to.

The only islands that deserve our attention are, 1. The
Island Acre of Scylax, an island that forms the modern port of
Harshgoone, under which vessels of the greatest burden may
lie in the utmost safety. 2. The Tres Isluæ of Antoninus,
situated

situated about ten miles from the Mulucha, to the north-west of that river.

The chief curiosities worthy of notice are: 1. The ruins of a Roman city, called at present Cassir, among the Beni Goughberry, to the northward of Jibbel Afroone; upon the mountains adjacent to which the Algerines frequently dig up large pipes of lead, supposed to have been formerly employed in conveying the excellent water thosse parts produced to Saladæ. 2. The rivulet of salt-water, which glides through the valley Dammer Cappy, i.e. The iron gate. 3. The large salt-pits, five miles to the southward of Arzew. 4. One of the fountains of the Habrah at Nisrag, where the water bursts out with a surprising noise and rapidity; as also the hot bath, and several antient cisterns upon a branch of the Habrah, when it arrives within eight leagues of the sea. 5. Wannahreefe, a high rugged mountain, generally covered with snow, and remarkable for its mines of lead-ore, many flecks and sparks of which being brought down by the river Wedel-Fuddah, and left upon the banks of it exposed to the sun, gave occasion to the name Wannahreefe. 6. The Jibbel Minifs, an entire mountain of salt. 7. The Aquæ Calidæ Colonia of the antients, the Hammam or Bath of Mereega of the moderns. All of which, with many others that we cannot touch upon here, will be accurately described in that branch of the modern history, to which they properly belong.

* Scylax Caryand. Itinerar. Antonin. & Shaw, ubi sup.


S E C T. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, customs, arts, &c. of the Numidians.

All the authors, famous for their researches into antiquity, agree, that the tract extending from the isthmus of Suez to the lake Tritonis, was chiefly peopled by the descendents of Misraim; and that the posterity of his brother Put, or Phut, spread themselves over all the region betwixt that lake and the Atlantic ocean. It is certain Herodotus gives great countenance to this notion; for he tells us, that the Libyan Nomades, whose territories, to the west, were bounded
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bounded by the Triton, agreed in their customs and manners with the Egyptians; but that the Africans, from that river to the Atlantic ocean, differed almost in all points from them. Ptolemy mentions a city called Tareas near Adrumetum; and Pliny a river of Mauritania Tingitana, known by the name of Fut or Phut; which seems to confirm the above-mentioned supposition. The district adjacent to this river we find mentioned by some authors under the appellation of Regio Phutenis; which plainly alludes to the name Phut. That word signifies scattered or dispersed; which very well agrees with what we find related of the Numidians by Mela and Strabo; so that we may, without any scruple, admit the Aborigines of this country to have been the descendents of Phut. Aldrete, Gasper Varreiro, and others, think, that some remains of Phut are still discernible in the modern Fez; which notion, after a perusal of those writers, our readers will perhaps think proper to censure. However, it appears from Eusebius, Procopius, St. Austin, and others, that the Aborigines were not the only antient inhabitants of Numidia, since the Phoenicians, in almost the earliest ages, sent colonies thither. But tho' both these nations descended from Ham, they yet differed in many particulars, as we shall have frequent occasion to observe.

Polybius, as has been already observed, informs us, that the Carthaginians once posseffed all that part of Africa, extending from the confines of Cyrenaica to the pillars of Hercules; but this, we apprehend, is to be understood of the sea-coast of that vast tract: for it sufficiently appears from Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Livy, and other antient historians, that the interior Numidia, at least a considerate part of it, was independent on the Carthaginians. It is true, the Numidians always asfisted the Carthaginians in their wars; but most of those forces were upon the footing of mercenaries, or of auxiliary troops, sent in pursuance of solemn

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solemn engagements entered into by the princes to whom they belonged. This might be proved by a great number of passages drawn from the authors just mentioned, were it in any manner necessary. The Carthaginian form of government therefore undoubtedly prevailed in every part of Numidia subject to the state of Carthage, though, in others, absolute monarchy took place. No one can doubt of this, who considers, that not only the kingdom of Antaeus, including this country, as well as Mauritania Tingitana, and consequently that of his conqueror Hercules, was despotic, but likewise that Iarbas, Gala (B), Syphax, Massinissa, and other later princes, ruled here with an unlimited sway. The old eastern governments also, from whence that of Numidia was derived, put the point here insisted upon beyond dispute. As to the interior of this government, or the particular political maxims, that formed the basis of it, we are entirely in the dark, the most authentic antient historians not supplying us with the least hint relative thereto b.

Whether or no any of the independent princes of Numidia were legislators, or, if so, what particular laws they enacted for the good of their subjects, history informs us not. The Carthaginian laws had, without doubt, their proper force amongst all the Numidians under the dominion of Carthage. Could Isidore be relied upon, some laws of the Medes and Persians might possibly have been observed in several districts of this country, since he seems to intimate, that those nations, in antient times, planted a colony.


(B) We are informed by Appian, that there were many reguli, or heads of tribes, in the county of the Masaevili, not much unlike the emirs of the present Arabs, who enjoyed a sort of soverevity over their respective tribes, but yet acknowledged Syphax for their chief. It can scarce be doubted, but that Syphax's government, with respect to these princes, was despotic, otherwise he could not have brought such numerous armies into the field. What has here been observed of Syphax, was undoubtedly true of the other kings of the Masaevili, as well as those of the Masfyli (2).

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ny in Numidia, at least, that there was an intercourse betwixt them and the Numidians. Sallust likewise more than insinuates the same thing, since he affirms, that the Persians failed hither before the Phœnicians, when, intermixing with the Gætulians, they, in conjunction with that people, formed the Numidian nation. To which that author subjoins, that neither being able to find any materials here for building of houses, nor to carry on any commerce with the Spaniards, by reason of their different languages, and the great sea betwixt them, the Persians built them huts, tents, or cottages, of the bottoms of their ships inverted, which they removed from place to place; and that, from this circumstance, they called themselves Numidae, a word which, in the Persian tongue, alluded thereto. But this relation being inconsistent with itself, and the notion couched therein entirely repugnant to the whole stream both of sacred and profane antiquity, our readers will not scruple to reject it.

As the first Numidians, in common with all other Indigenæ of that vast tract between the borders of Egypt and the Atlantic ocean, were called Libyans, we may infer from Herodotus, that the principal gods they sacrificed to were the Sun and Moon. This is a convincing proof of their high antiquity, as clearly evincing, that the migration of the first colony, which peopled this country, preceded the introduction of image-worship into the pagan world. It is likewise an argument, that this colony did not consist of Persians, since the Sun only was their principal deity. Some of these Numidians also might probably worship Triton, Minerva, and Neptune (C), especially those near the

\[\text{Religion.}\]

\[\text{N} \quad \text{n} \quad 2\]

\[\text{confines}\]


(C) Father Delrio thinks, that the Nepththum of Moses was either the great ancestor, or nation, of the Numidians. If so, it is very possible, that Neptune, one of the great gods of Africa, might have deduced his name from thence. This notion seems to be countenanced by St. Jerom, who reads it Neptum; which is almost entirely the same word with Neptunus, after the rejection of the Latin termination US. Aldrete, a person of most profound erudition, comes into this opinion (3).

\[\text{(3) P. Delrio apud Aldret. l. iii. c. 6. ut & ipse Aldret. ibid.}\]
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confines of Africa Propria, as the same author seems to suggest. That part of this nation subject to Carthage, it is reasonable to presume, paid divine honours to the Phoenician and Greek deities, that were the objects of the Carthaginian worship, of which we have already given so full and ample an account. It appears from Herodotus, that Hephæstus, or Vulcan, was an Egyptian deity worshipped at Memphis; but whether or no the Numidians held him in any veneration, or indeed had any knowledge of him, we must leave others to decide.

Language. From what has been just offered, our readers will allow it probable, that Misraim and Phut, with their descendents, moved together into Africa; and that their posterity inhabited contiguous regions; nay, if any credit may be given to Herodotus, and other authors of the best repute, they agreed, for many ages, in most particulars. Herodotus seems to intimate, that in his time, or at least not long before it, the people, inhabiting that tract afterwards called Numidia, went by the general name of Libyans; and that the Numidians were then possessed of the country situate between the frontiers of Egypt and the river Triton, since he tells us, that the nation occupying that region were called Libyan Nomades, in contradistinction to the Libyans, who extended themselves from thence to the westwards, as far as the Atlantic ocean. This observation we remember not to have been made by any other author. However, it seems to be of considerable consequence; for it bids fair to prove, that the kingdoms of the Maffyli and Masselyth, though of a very early date, were not called Numidia, till after, or at least a little before, the time of Herodotus; and that this name was occasioned by an irruption of a great body of the Libyan Nomades into the countries to the westward of the Triton about the period aforesaid. In confirmation of this notion, it may be observed, that no mention is made of the Numidians by any of the Greek or Roman historians, till about the time of Herodotus; which is a presumptive argument, that they made no considerable figure, and consequently did not possess territories of so large an extent then as afterwards.

Though Herodot. l. iv. Univer. hist. vol. xvi. p. 629. Vide etiam Herodot, l. iii. Bochart Chan. l. i. c. xx. & l. ii. c. 3.
LIBYA INTERIOR, GARAMANTUM, et MELANOGÆTULORUM REGIO, AETHIOPIA SUB AEGYPTO, AETHIOPIA INTERIOR &c.

Incognita Ptolemæo
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Though therefore it can scarce be doubted, but that Numidia Propria and Mauritania Cæsariensis were at first peopled by Phut's descendents, it is probable, that neither of those provinces were called Numidia till the age of Herodotus, or at least not long before that age, when the Libyan Nomades, or Numidians, passed into them. However, in conformity to what has been affered above, we must remind our readers, that the Phoenicians, in the most early ages, and after them the Carthaginians, planted colonies here. Pliny, Solinus, and Strabo, by intimating, that the Numidians of their time agreed in some points with the Libyan Nomades of Herodotus, add some weight to the hypothesis we have just offered to the consideration to the learned. From all which particulars we may conclude, that the languages spoken in Numidia were, 1. That of the Libyan Nomades, which, from many authors, appears to have been nearly related to the old Egyptian. 2. The Carthaginian. 3. The Phoenician. And 4. That of Phut's immediate descendents, who at first came there, which, in some points, might have differed from all the rest. That the tongue prevailing, in part of Numidia at least, was different from the Phoenician and Carthaginian, is evident from Sallust, and others. However barbarous the Numidians might have been, some of them used letters, not very unlike those that made up the Punic alphabet, as appears from the legends of several ancient Numidian coins (D).

With regard to the customs of the Numidians, our readers will neither expect nor desire us to be prolix on that

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(D) This likewise appears from the letter Bomilcar wrote to Nabdalaf or Nadabalaf, a Numidian nobleman of the first rank; which being delivered into the hands of Jugurtha, occasioned the death of Bomilcar, and many others, as we learn from Sallust. What we have here advanced, is likewise countenanced by Livy, and other authors (4).

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that head: neither the limits we have prescribed ourselves, nor the materials left us by the antients, will permit this. In order therefore to form a general idea of these customs, it will be sufficient to observe, that the principal of them were the following:

1. The Numidians were divided into tribes, nomes, cantons, or hordes, in the same manner as the Arabes Scenitae, and not very unlike the present Tartars; excepting that the latter form their villages, or encampments, of carts, like their ancestors the antient Scythians; whereas the circular dou-wars of the Numidians were composed of their mapalia, with which the hhymas, or tents, of the modern Bedoweens nearly correspond. Mela, Strabo, Virgil, Pliny, and others, put this point beyond dispute. The mapalia, or Numidian tents, were secured from the heat and inclemency of the weather by a covering only of such hair-cloth as our coal-facks are made of. They were all of the same form, oblong, resembling the inverted bottom of a ship, in conformity to the description Sallust has given us of them. A whole tribe or horde encamped together, and, having confounded all the produce of one fruitful spot, removed from thence to another, as is the custom of their posterity the Bedoweens at this day. As this part of Africa consisted of dry and barren sandy deserts, interspersed with fruitful spots, (for which reason Strabo compares it to a leopard’s skin) such a way of life was absolutely necessary for those who did not live in cities. Hence it appears, in conjunction with what we have observed of their language, that nome, agreeable to what we find advanced by Diodorus Siculus, St. Cyril, Epiphanius, Eusebius, and others, must have been either an Egyptian or Syriac word, signifying part, portion, division, &c. and not of Greek extraction, as some absurdly pretend; to which add ἱδα or yeda, place, limits, country, &c. and the name Numidia is formed in a much more rational and apposite manner, than it is possible for it to be upon the principles of those persons, who suppose it deduced from a language entirely unknown to the Numidians. 

2. Those

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2. Those Numidians who lived in fixed habitations, for the most part dwelt in small cottages, raised either with hurdles, daubed over with mud, or built out of some such flight materials, in the same manner as the gurbies of the Kabyles are erected at this day. The roofs were undoubtedly covered with straw or turf, supported by reeds or branches of trees, as those of the gurbies are. The Numidians, at least those of Phœnician extraction, called these habitations magaria, an explication of which word has been already given. The very learned and accurate Dr. Shaw informs us, that the towns or villages formed of these huts, are at present built upon eminences, and called by the Kabyles, who inhabit them, Dashkraς.

3. The Numidians rode without saddles, and many of them without bridles, whence Virgil calls them Numidae infrænī. As their principal strength consisted in their cavalry, and they were inured to the management of horses from their infancy, they found this no difficult thing. The custom we are now upon suggests to us the meaning of the word Metagonium (Ε), the proper name of a promontory, as likewise of the country of the Mafyli, as has been observed above. It is undoubtedly equivalent to ἡμετήριον, or μετήριον, one that lays aside, or that hath laid aside, his bridle. This is a much more natural etymology, than any that can be drawn from the Greek tongue.

4. According to Strabo, they had many wives, concubines, and consequently many children, as the Orientals had, th'o', in other respects, they were very temperate and abstemious. Their manner of fighting and en-

N n 4

They rode without bridles.


(E) It appears from Martial and Lucan, that the custom of riding without bridles prevailed more amongst the Mafyli than the Mafayli. Now the country of the Mafyli was the Terra Metagonitis, as has been already observed; which not a little supports the etymology we would give of Metagonium (5).

5 Martial. l. ix. Lucan. l. iv.
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camping we have already taken notice of; and therefore to touch upon that head here, would be entirely superfluous.

5. The king's next brother, not his eldest son, succeeded him in Numidia, particularly in the country of the Massili. This we learn from Livy, who, in proof of what he affirms, tells us, that Gala, the father of Matrinia, was succeeded by his next brother Deioxes.

6. Their diet consisted chiefly of herbs, grain, pulse, water, &c. and they abstained almost entirely from wine; flesh was sometimes, though not so frequently, used. To this, as well as the moderate degrees of heat and cold of their climate in summer and winter, Appian seems to attribute their long lives, and the large share of health they enjoy. In conformity to nature and experience, that author assures us, that the summers in Numidia were not near so hot as in India and Ethiopia.

7. The Numidians, particularly the Massili, did not only ride without saddles and bridles, but likewise all sorts of accouterments, as we learn from what Appian relates of Matrinia, as well as from many other authors. This they did, in order to rush upon their enemies, or prey, with the greater force and fierceness. However, they made use of a rod or whip, with which they easily managed their horses, though in the midst of the hottest engagements.

8. Many of the poorer sort of people in Numidia went almost naked; but the Numidians of any fashion wore their garments loose, not making use of a fath or girdle. In this particular they agreed with the Carthaginians, and most of the other Africans. Hence that of Virgil:

Hic Nomadum genus, & distinctive Mulciber Afros, &c.

9. They were eminent for their skill in hurling the javelin, and throwing of darts, which they discharged in vast numbers upon the enemy. As they seldom or never failed

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failed doing great execution, this rendered them very formidable.

10. We are told, that the Maffyli, when at war with their neighbours, for the most part, chose to come to a general action in the night-time.

11. Desertion was no crime amongst the Numidians, who, after the first defeat, were at liberty to return home, or continue in the army, as they pleased.

12. In fine, there must have been a great variety of customs in Numidia, as it was inhabited by many different nations, that were opposite to one another in many particulars, one of which Diodorus calls the Asphodelodians, who were probably of a different cast from the rest, since he informs us, that they were black as the Ethiopians. According to Hellanicus, this poor people, being a tribe or canton of the Libyan Nomades, had nothing but a cup, a pitcher, and a dagger or knife, which they constantly carried about with them, their small mapalia being made of asphodelus, great quantities of which they took care in the summer-time to be provided with, in order to have always then an agreeable shady retreat. This circumstance undoubtedly gave occasion to the name Diodorus calls them by, and is the chief thing, that we find remarked of them by the antient historians.

The Numidians, that inhabited the open country, being a barbarous, rude, and illiterate people, it would be ridiculous to expect any traces of arts or sciences amongst them. The Carthaginians and Phœnicians indeed who were very civilized, polite, and ingenious nations, formed, as there is reason to believe, no small part of the inhabitants of the most considerable cities and towns; but we have already treated amply of the arts and sciences they were famous for. However, the proper Numidians seem to have been eminent for their skill in managing horsef (F), and knowledge in some branches of the

* Sallust. in Jugurth.
* Diod. Sic. l. xx. II. Hellanicus apud Athen. in deipnotoph. l. ii. Vide etiam Univer. hist. vol. xvi. p fl.

(F) These horsef were very small, but extremely swift, and easily managed, according to Livy and Strabo. They were satisfied with little food, bore hunger and thirst a long time with great patience, and underwent incredible fatigues. As they had such ugly
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the military art. Some knowledge likewise of the Egyptian theology, polity, and philosophical notions, we cannot well suppose them to have been destitute of, since their ancestors had, for a series of generations, an intercourse with the posterity of Misraim; but as to the extent of any knowledge of this kind amongst them, we are entirely in the dark. The present Kabyles and Bedoweens, according to Dr. Shaw, spend their time chiefly in making hykes, or woollen blankets, and burnooses, as they call cloaks or upper garments, in an employment not unlike to which possibly some of the antient rustic Numidians might have been engaged, especially since he imagines the Kabyles to be the remains of the old Africans. As for the chronology of the Numidians, if they had any, it is sufficient to observe, that it must have agreed in the main with that of the nations they were derived from, and contiguous to, viz. the Carthaginians, Phoenicians, and most early Egyptians. In one point however they differed from most, if not all, other nations; for they computed their time by nights, and not by days, if any credit may be given to a fragment of Nic. Damascenus.


ugly gait, a stiff neck, and threw their head forward, the Numidian horfeman made but a ridiculous figure before the time of action; but always behaved well during the heat of the engagement. Livy seems to intimate, that, in Hannibal’s time, some of the Numidian cavalry used bridles, and were heavy armed troops, wearing coats of mail, swords, shields, and lanceets; which is countenanced by Polybius, Sallust, and others (6).


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S E C T. III.

The history of the Numidians, from the earliest accounts of time, to the conquest of their country by the Romans.

Numidia, being pretty remote from Egypt, as well as that part of Libya contiguous to it, seems to have been but thinly peopled before the first arrival of the Phoenicians there. When this happened, we cannot precisely determine; but, according to Eusebius, who is followed by Bochart, and other authors of good repute, it must have been above three hundred years before the foundation of Carthage. For Aristotle relates, that the Phoenician historians made Utica to be two hundred eighty-seven years older than Carthage; and Eusebius affirms Hercules, surnamed Diodas or Defanaus, i.e. the Phoenician Hercules, to have been extremely famous all over Africa this very year, and to have conquered Antaeus in the farthest part of Mauratania near Zilis and Tingis, about fifty years before. Sir Isaac Newton however, not without reason, fixes this event nearer the time of the Trojan war. Sallust, Florus, and Orosius likewise, inform us, that this Hercules, whom Sallust calls Libys, built Capfa. From whence we may infer, that either the kingdom of Antaeus included Numidia, and even Africa Propria, or else that Hercules over-ran these countries after he had conquered Mauratania; the former of which notions appears to us the most probable. We must defer touching upon the war betwixt Hercules and Antaeus, till we come to the history of the Mauritaniens, though the consequences of that war extended to the nation we are now upon.

The transactions of Numidia, during many of the earliest accounts of the Numidian affairs for several centuries, have, for a long series of ages, been buried in oblivion. It is probable however, that as the Phoenicians were masters of a good part of it, they were recorded, and not unknown in the Carthaginian times. King Tarbas probably reigned here, as well as in Africa Propria, if not in Mauratania, and other parts of Libya, when Dido began to build Byrsa.

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Byrsa; but we have elsewhere taken notice of all the principal particulars relating to that prince, handed down to us by the antients. It appears from Juffin, that, about the age of Herodotus, the people of this country were called both Africans or Libyans, and Numidians; which seems to imply, that the latter name was not then of very long standing, and consequently to countenance what we have advanced above concerning the incorporation of the Libyan Nomades with these (G) Africans or Libyans. Justin likewise intimates, that, about this time, the Carthaginians vanquished both the Moors or Mauritanians, and Numidians, who had leagued together against them; the consequence of which was, that the former were excused paying the tribute, which had been exacted from them ever since Dido’s arrival in Africa by the latter. As for the part the Numidians acted in all the wars betwixt the Dionysii, Agathocles, &c. and the Carthaginians, we have already been so copious on that head, that our readers will not expect us to expatiate upon it here b.

After the conclusion of the first Punic war, the African troops carried on a bloody war three years against their masters the Carthaginians. The most active of all others, in this rebellion, according to Diodorus Siculus, were the Micatanian Numidians. This so incensed the Carthaginians, that, after Hamilcar had either killed or taken prisoners all the mercenaries, he sent a large detachment to ravage the country of those Numidians. The commandant of that detachment executed his orders with the utmost rigour and severity; for he plundered all that district in a terrible manner, and crucified all the prisoners, without distinction, that fell into his hands. This filled the rest with such indignation and resentment, that both they and their posterity ever afterwards bore an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians. The conduct of the Numidians in the Carthaginian service, during the


(G) The Numidians, particularly the Mæsæylis, lived upon herbs, roots, flesh, milk, cheese, &c. in conformity to what Herodotus relates of the Libyan Nomades, as we learn from Appian and Strabo. This adds no small weight to the hypothesis we have ventured here to submit to the consideration of the learned (?).

(7) Appian. in Libyc. c. 6. & 64. Strab. l. xvii.
Chap. i. The History of the Numidians.

the first Punic war, was such as merited the highest applause, as our readers will plainly perceive by consulting a former part of this history.

In the consulship of the younger Fabius and Sempronius Gracchus, Syphax, king of the Mafæyli, entered into an alliance with the Romans. This induced Gala, king of the Maflyli, to conclude a treaty with the Carthaginians, in consequence of which his son Mafiniffa marched at the head of a powerful army to give Syphax battle. Being reinforced in his march by a body of Carthaginians, as soon as he came up with the Mafæyli, he engaged them. The fight was sharp and bloody; but at last Mafiniffa carried the day, putting thirty thousand of the Mafæyli to the sword, and driving Syphax into the country of the Maurusii, or Mauritania. This, for the present, gave a check both to the progress of Syphax's arms, and the towering projects of the Romans. However, the Mafæylian monarch found means, some time after, to assemble another formidable army of Mafæylians and Mauritians; which was likewise defeated and dispersed by Mafiniffa. But the face of affairs in this country soon afterward greatly changed.

Gala dying whilst his son Mafiniffa was acting at the head of the Numidian troops sent to the assistance of the Carthaginians in Spain, his brother Defacles, according to the established order of succession in Numidia, took possession of the Maflylian throne. That prince dying soon after his accession, Capufla, his eldest son, succeeded him. But he did not long enjoy his high dignity; for one Mezetulus, a person of royal extraction, but an enemy to the family of Gala, found means to excite a great part of his subjects to a revolt; which enabled him to form a considerable corps, and to bring Capufla to a general action, which ended in his favour, and Capufla, with most of the nobility, being slain, he obtained the Maflylian crown, as the fruit of his victory. However, he did not think proper to assume the title of king, contenting himself with that of guardian or protector to Laccumaces, the only surviving young prince of the blood, whom he graced with the royal title. To support himself in his usurpation, he married the widow of Defacles, who was Hannibal's niece, and consequently of the most powerful family.

c Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerptis Valerii. Univers. hist. vol. x. ii. pass. 

Liv. i. xxiv. c, 47, 48, 49. Appian. in Libyc.
family in Carthage. In order to attain the same end, he sent embassadors to Syphax, to conclude a treaty of alliance with him. In the mean time Mafiniffa, receiving advice of his uncle’s death, of his cousin’s slaughter, and of Mezetulus’s usurpation, immediately paffed over to Africa, and went to the court of Bocchar, king of Mauritania, to solicit succours. Bocchar, sensible of the great injustice offered Mafiniffa, gave him a body of four thousand Moors to escort him to his dominions. His subjects, having been apprised of his approach, joined him upon the frontiers with a party of five hundred men. The Moors, in pursuance of their orders, returned home, as soon as Mafiniffa reached the confines of his kingdom; notwithstanding which, and the small body that declared for him, having accidentally met Lacumaces at Thapsus with an escort going to implore Syphax’s assistance, he drove him into the town, which he carried by assault, after a faint resistance. However, Lacumaces, with many of his men, found means to escape to Syphax. The fame of this exploit gained Mafiniffa great credit, insomuch that the Numidians flocked to him from all parts, and, amongst the rest, many of his father Gala’s veterans, who pressed him to make a speedy and vigorous push for his hereditary dominions. Lacumaces having joined Mezetulus with a reinforcement of Maefsylans, which he had prevailed upon Syphax to send to the assistance of his ally, the usurper advanced at the head of a numerous army to offer Mafiniffa battle; which that prince, though much inferior in number, did not decline. Hereupon an engagement ensued, and, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, Mafiniffa, by his own conduct and bravery, and the valour of his troops, gained a complete victory; the immediate confluence of which was a quiet and peaceable possession of his kingdom, Mezetulus and Lacumaces, with a few that attended them, flying into the territories of Carthage. However, looking upon his present situation as precarious, he offered to declare Lacumaces the heir apparent to the crown, and treat him in a manner suitable to his high rank, provided he would immediately make his submission to him; and, after having pardoned Mezetulus, and restored to him every thing that he had forfeited by his treasonable conduct, to take him into favour, if he would acknowledge him as his sovereign. Both of them readily complied with the proposal, and immediately returned home; so that the tranquillity and repose of Numidia would have been then settled upon a solid and lasting foundation;
foundation, had not this been prevented by Asdrubal, who was then at Syphax’s court. He infatuated to that prince, who was disposed to live amicably with his neighbours, “That he was greatly mistaken, if he imagined Masinissa would be satisfied with his hereditary countries; that he was a prince of much greater capacity and ambition, than either his father Gala, his uncle Defalces, or any other of his family; that he had often discovered in Spain marks of a most rare and uncommon merit; and that, in fine, unless this rising flame was extinguished before it came to too great a head, both the Mausaetic and Carthaginian states would be infallibly consumed by it.” Syphax, alarmed by these suggestions, advanced with a numerous body of forces into a district, which had long been in dispute between him and Gala, but then in the possession of Masinissa. This brought on a general action between those two princes, wherein the latter was totally defeated, his army dispersed, and he himself obliged to fly to the top of mount Balbus, attended only by a few of his horse. Such a decisive battle at the present juncture, before Masinissa was fixed in his throne, could not but put Syphax into possession of the kingdom of the Mausaetti. Masinissa in the mean time made nocturnal incursions from his post upon mount Balbus, and plundered all the adjacent country, particularly that part of the Carthaginian territory contiguous to Numidia. This district he not only thoroughly pillaged, but likewise laid waste with fire and sword, carrying off from thence an immense booty, which was bought by some merchants, who had put into one of the Carthaginian ports for that purpose. In fine, he did the Carthaginians more damage, not only by committing such dreadful devastations, but by massacring and carrying into captivity vast numbers of their subjects on this occasion, than they could have sustained in a pitched battle, or one campaign of an open and legal war. Syphax, at the pressing and reiterated instanes of the Carthaginians, sent Bocchar, one of his most active commanders, with a detachment of four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to reduce this pestilent gang of robbers, promising him a great reward, if he could bring Masinissa either alive or dead. Bocchar, watching his opportunity, fell upon them unawares, as they were straggling about the country without any order or discipline; so that he took many prisoners, dispersed the rest, and pursued Masinissa himself, with a few of his men, to the top of the mountain where he had taken post. As he looked
looked upon the expedition to be in a manner ended, he did not only fend many head of cattle, and the other booty that had fallen into his hands, to Syphax, but likewise all the forces, except five hundred foot, and two hundred horse. With this detachment he drove Mafinissa from the summit of the hill, and pursuued him through several narrow passes and defiles, as far as the plains of Clupca, where he so surrounded him, that all the Maffylians, except four, were put to the sword, and Mafinissa himself, after having received a dangerous wound, escaped with the utmost difficulty. As this was effected by crossing a rapid river, in which attempt two of his four attendants were drowned in the sight of the detachment that pursued him, it was rumoured all over Africa, that Mafinissa had been swallowed by the stream; which gave inexpressible pleasure to Syphax and the Carthaginians. For some time he lived undiscovered in a cave, where he was supported by the robberies of the two horsemen, that had made their escape with him; but, having cured his wound, he boldly began to advance to his own frontiers, giving out publicly, that he intended once more to take possession of his kingdom. In his march he was joined by about forty horse, and, soon after his arrival amongst the Maffyl, so many people flocked to him from all parts, that out of them he formed an army of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse; with which he did not only re-instate himself in his dominions, but likewise laid waste the borders of the Maffyl. This so irritated Syphax, that he immediately assembled a body of troops, and encamped very commodiously upon a ridge of mountains between Cirta and Hippo. His army he commanded in person, and detached his son Vermina, with a considerable force, to take a compass, and attack the enemy in rear. In pursuance of his orders, Vermina set out in the beginning of the night, and took post in the place appointed him, without being discovered by the enemy. In the mean time Syphax decamped, and advanced towards the enemy, in order to give them battle. When he had possessed himself of a rising ground, that led to their camp, and concluded that his son Vermina must have formed the ambuscade behind them, he began the fight. Mafinissa being advantageously posted, and his soldiers distinguishing themselves in an extraordinary manner, the dispute was long and bloody; but Vermina unexpectedly falling upon their rear, and, by this means, obliging them to divide their forces, which were scarce able before to oppose the main body
body under Syphax, they were soon thrown into confusion, and forced to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. All the avenues being blocked up, partly by Syphax, and partly by his son, such a dreadful slaughter was made of the unhappy Maffyli, that only Mafinissa himself, with seventy horse, escaped to the Leffer Syrtis. Here he remained, betwixt the confines of the Carthaginians and Garamantes, till the arrival of Lælius, and the Roman fleet, on the coast of Africa. What happened immediately after his junction with the Romans, our readers will find related at large in a part of this work, to which it more properly belongs.

We have already observed, that the Carthaginians lost Mafinissa by depriving him of his dear Sophonisba. That other particulars relating to Syphax and Mafinissa, perhaps any other, and of such exquisite charms in every respect, that, according to a grave author, either her bare voice, or a sight of her, was sufficient to captivate the most rigid and severe philosopher. Mafinissa therefore could never forgive the mortifying affront put upon him by the flate of Carthage, when her father Afdrubal, in violation of the laws of honour and public faith, was commanded to give her to Syphax. The Carthaginians however endeavoured to fix that prince in their interest, and, in order to this, prevailed upon Syphax to restore him his dominions. Mafinissa, to have his full revenge both of Syphax and the Carthaginians, feigned himself entirely satisfied with so generous a cession, and outwardly expressed all imaginable zeal and affection for them, though at the same time he was underhand with the Romans meditating their ruin. Afdrubal had either some private intelligence, or entertained a suspicion, of this; which induced him to lay an ambuscade for Mafinissa after his arrival in Africa from Spain, which that prince happily escaped. Syphax in the mean time acted such a part as Mafinissa; for he allured the Romans of an inviolable attachment to their interest, though he had entered into the strictest engagements with the Carthaginians, at the earnest solicitations of his wife, whose charms he found herself incapable of resisting. The consequences, both of his conduct, and that of his rival Mafinissa, have been already related.


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related at large. It will be sufficient therefore in this place to observe, that, by the assistance of Lælius, Masinissa reduced Syphax's kingdom; that, according to Zonaras, he and Scipio so far outwitted Hannibal before the memorable battle of Zama, that, by a stratagem, they deprived him of some advantageous posts, which, with a solar eclipse happening during the heat of the action, and not a little intimidating the Carthaginian troops, greatly contributed to the victory the Romans obtained; and that, at the conclusion of the second Punic war, he was amply rewarded by the Romans for the important services he had done them. As for Syphax, after the loss of his dominions, he was kept in confinement for some time at Alba, from whence being removed in order to grace Scipio's triumph, he died at Tibur in his way to Rome. Zonaras adds, that his corpse was decently interred; that all the Numidian prisoners were released; and that Vermina, by the assistance of the Romans, took peaceable possession of his father's throne. However, part of the Maæsylvian kingdom was before annexed to Masinissa's dominions, in order to reward that prince for his singular fidelity and close attachment to the Romans, as has been already observed (H).

As an account of all the principal transactions, in which Masinissa was concerned between the second and third Punic wars, has been already extracted from the best antient historians, we cannot here pretend to touch upon any of them, without


(H) This seems to be countenanced by the epitomizer of Livy, who gives us sufficiently to understand, that Syphax's family, for a considerable term after the conclusion of the second Punic war, reigned in one part of Numidia; for he intimates, that Archobarzanes, Syphax's grandson, and probably Vermina's son, headed, with a powerful army of Numidians, about the Carthaginian frontiers, a few years before the third Punic war broke out, in order, as should seem, either to cover them, or enable the Carthaginians to make an irruption into Masinissa's territories. Cato however pretended, that these forces, in conjunction with thole of Carthage, had a design to invade the Roman dominions, which he urged as a reason to induce the conscript fathers to destroy the African republic (8).

(8) Liv. epit. l. xlviii.
without being guilty of a repetition. Nothing therefore is further requisite, in order to complete the history of this famous prince, than to exhibit to our readers view some points of his conduct towards the decline, and at the close, of life; the wife dispositions made after his death by Æmilianus, in order to the regulation of his domestic affairs; and some particulars relating to his character, genius, and habit of body, drawn from the most celebrated Greek and Roman authors.

By drawing a line of circumvallation round the Carthage-Masinissa forces the Carthaginian army under Asdrubal, posted upon an eminence, cut off all manner of supplies from them; which introduced both the plague and a famine into their camp. Asclude a peace with him upon his own terms.

The body of the Numidian troops employed in this blockade was not near so numerous as the Carthaginian forces, it is evident, that the line here mentioned must have been extremely strong, and consequently the effect of great labour and art. The Carthaginians, finding themselves reduced to the last extremity, concluded a peace upon the following terms, which Masinissa dictated to them: 1. That they should deliver up all defeters. 2. That they should recall their exiles, who had taken refuge in his dominions. 3. That they should pay him five thousand talents of silver, within the space of fifty years. 4. That their soldiers should pass under the jugum, each of them carrying off only a single coat. As Masinissa himself, though between eighty and ninety years of age, conducted the whole enterprise, he must have been extremely well versed in fortification, and other branches of the military art. His understanding likewise he must have retained to the last. This happened a short time before the beginning of the third Punic war.

Soon after the consuls landed an army in Africa, in order to lay siege to Carthage, without imparting to Masinissa their design. This not a little chagrined him, as it was contrary to the former practice of the Romans, who, in the preceding war, had communicated their intentions to him, and consulted him on all occasions. When therefore the consuls applied to him for a body of his troops to act in concert with their forces, he made answer, "That they should have a reinforcement from him, when they stood in need of it." It could not but be provoking for him to consider, that,

\[\text{Univerf. hist. vol. xii. & xvii. pass.} \quad \text{Appian. in Libyc.} \]

\[\text{S. 40, 41.}\]
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that, after he had extremely weakened the Carthaginians, and even brought them to the brink of ruin, his pretended imperious friends should come to reap the fruits of his victory, without giving him the least intelligence of it 1.

However, his mind soon after returned to its natural bias, which was in favour of the Romans. Finding his end approaching, he sent to Aemilianus, then a tribune in the Roman army, to defire a visit from him. What he proposed by this visit, was to invest him with full powers to dispose of his kingdom and estate, as he should think proper, for the benefit of his children. The high idea he had entertained of that young hero's abilities and integrity, together with his gratitude and affection for the family into which he was adopted, induced him to take this step; but, believing that death would not permit him to have a personal conference with Aemilianus upon this subject, he informed his wife and children, in his last moments, that he had empowered him to dispose, in an absolute manner, of all his possession, and divide his kingdom amongst his sons. To which he subjoined, "I require, that whatever Aemilianus "may decree, shall be executed as punctually, as if I "myself had appointed it by my will." Having uttered these words, he expired, at above ninety years of age k.

This prince, during his youth, had met with strange reverses of fortune, as appears from several preceding parts of this history. However, says Appian, being supported by the divine protection, he enjoyed an uninterrupted course of prosperity for a long series of years. His kingdom extended from Mauritania to the western confines of Cyrenaica; from whence it appears, that he was one of the most powerful princes of Africa. Many of the inhabitants of this vast tract he civilized in a wonderful manner, teaching them to cultivate their soil, and to reap those natural advantages, which the fertility of some parts of their country afforded them. He was of a more robust habit of body than any of his contemporaries, being blessed with the greatest health and vigour, which was doubtless owing to his extreme temperance, and the toils he incessantly sustained. We are informed by Polybius, that sometimes he stood upon the same spot of ground from morning till evening, without

out the least motion, and at others continued as long in a fitting posture. He would remain on horseback for several days and nights together, without being sensible of the least fatigue. Nothing can better evince the strength of his constitution, than his youngest son, named Stembal, Stomba, or Stembanus, who was but four years old at his decease. 'Tho' ninety years of age, he performed all the exercises used by young men, and always rode without a saddle. Pliny tells us, that he reigned above sixty years. He was an able commander, and much facilitated the reduction of Carthage. Plutarch from Polybius observes, that the day after a great victory won over the Carthaginians, Masinissa was seen sitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread. Suidas relates, that, to the last, he could mount his horse without any assistance. According to Appian, he left a numerous well-disciplined army, and an immense quantity of wealth (I), behind him.


(I) We are farther told, that Masinissa alway went bare headed, even though the weather was never so severe; and that, in his extreme old age, he could sit on horseback for four-and-twenty hours together, without being in the least fatigued. Some authors say, that he was a pious prince, and sent back to Melita or Malta a large quantity of ivory, which had been brought him from thence out of Juno’s temple, as a present by his admiral. It is added, that he caused inscriptions in Numidian letters to be engraved on some of the pieces of this ivory, importing, that he willingly returned it, as soon as he knew it belonged to the gods. Valerius Maximus says, that, not being able to repose any confidence in any of his children, officers, &c. he endeavoured to secure himself from the attempts of his enemies by a guard of dogs. He sustained as many toils, at near ninety years of age, as any man in his dominions. His subjects he trained up in the military art, instead of permitting them to plunder and ravage the country, as had frequently happened before his time. The inscriptions above mentioned are a further proof, that the Numidians had an alphabet of their own (9).

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Masinissa, before his death, gave his ring to his eldest son Micipisa; but left the distribution of all his other (K) effects and possessions amongst his children, as has been just observed, entirely to Æmilianus. Of fifty-four sons, that survived him, only three were legitimate, viz. Micipisa, Guluffa, and Maftanabal. Æmilianus, arriving at Cirta after he had expired, divided his kingdom, or rather the government of it, amongst these three, though to the others he gave considerable possessions. To Micipisa, who was a prince of a pacific disposition, and the eldest son, he assigned Cirta, the metropolis, for the place of his residence, in exclusion of the others. Guluffa, the next to him, being a prince of a military genius, had the command of the army, and the transtacting of all affairs, relating to peace or war, committed to his care. And Maftanabal, or, according to Livy and Sallust, Manesabal, the youngest, had the administration of justice, an employment suitable to his education, allotted him. They enjoyed in common the immense treasures Masinissa had amassed, and were all of them dignified by Æmilianus with the royal title. After he had made these wise dispositions, that young nobleman departed from Cirta, taking with him a body of Numidian troops, under the conduct of Guluffa, to reinforce the Roman army, that was then acting against the Carthaginians.

Maftanabal and Guluffa died soon after their father, as appears from the express testimony of Sallust. We find nothing more remarkable of these princes, besides what has been already related, than that the latter continued to assist the Romans in the third Punic war; and that the former was pretty well versed in the Greek language. Micipisa therefore became sole possessor of the kingdom of Numidia. In his reign, and the consulate of M. Plautius Hypsaeus

(K) It is said, that Masinissa was served in earthenware, after the Roman fashion; but all the strangers at his table in plate. The second service, or defart, was adorned with golden baskets, in conformity to the Italian custom, so ingeniously worked, that they resembled those made of twigs, rushes, &c. Greek musicians likewise attended his entertainments (10).

(10) Ptol. comment. I. viii. apud Athen. deipnosoph. I. vi.
Hypsæus and M. Fulvius Flaccus, according to Orosius, a
great part of Africa was covered with locusts, which destroy-
ed all the produce of the earth, and even destroyed dry
wood; but at last they were all carried by the wind into
the African sea, out of which being thrown in vast heaps
upon the shore, a plague ensued, which swept away an
infinite number of animals of all kinds. In Numidia only
perished eight hundred thousand men, and in Africa Propria
two hundred thousand: amongst the rest, thirty thousand
Roman soldiers quartered in and about Utica, for the de-
defence of the laft province. At Utica in particular the mor-
tality raged to such a degree, that fifteen hundred dead bodies
were carried out of one gate in a day. Micipsa had two
sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, whom he educated in his pa-
lace, together with his nephew Jugurtha. That young
prince was the son of Massinissa; but his mother having
been only a concubine, Masinissa had taken no great no-
tice of him. However, Micipsa, considering him as a prince of the blood, took as much care of him, as he did
of his own children

JUGURTHA possessed several eminent qualities, which
 gained him universal esteem. He was very handsome, en-
dued with great strength of body, and adorned with the
finest intellectual endowments. He did not devote him-
self, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and
pleasure. He used to exercise himself, with perfections
of his age, in running, riding, hurling the javelin, and other
manly exercises, suited to the martial genius of the Numidi-
ans; and, though he surpassed all his fellow sportsmen, there
was not one of them but loved him. The chase was his
only delight; but it was that of lions, and other savage (L)
beasts. Sallust, to finish his character, tells us,
that he excelled in all things, and spoke very little of
himself.

O o 4

1. v. c. 11.

(L) Sallust seems to intimate, that many of the natives of
Numidia were destroyed by these wild beasts; for he says,
that the Numidians were so healthy, and of such robust con-
stitutions, that almost all of them attained to old age, except
those who either fell in war, or were devoured by wild beasts.
scarcely any disease ever proving fatal to them (11).

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So conspicuous an assemblage of fine talents and perfection of his nephew Jugurtha, who thought them an ornament to his kingdom. However, he soon began to reflect, that he was considerably advanced in years, and his children in their infancy; that mankind naturally thirsted after power; and that nothing was capable of making men run greater lengths than a vicious and unlimited ambition. These reflections soon excited his jealousy, and determined him to expose Jugurtha to a variety of dangers, some of which, he entertained hopes, might prove fatal to him. In order to this, he gave him the command of a body of forces, which he sent to assist the Romans, who were at that time besieging Numantia in Spain. But Jugurtha, by his admirable conduct, did not only escape all these dangers, but likewise won the esteem of the whole army, and the friendship of Scipio, who sent a high character of him to his uncle Micipsa. However, that general gave him some prudent advice in relation to his future conduct, observing, no doubt, in him certain sparks of ambition, which, if lighted into a flame, he apprehended, might, one day, be productive of the most fatal consequences.

Before this last experiment, Micipsa had endeavoured to find out some method of taking him off privately; but his popularity amongst the Numidians obliged that prince to lay aside all thoughts of this nature. After his return from Spain, the whole nation almost adored him. The heroic bravery he had shewn there, his undaunted courage, joined to the utmost calmness of mind, which enabled him to preserve a just medium between a timorous forethought and an impetuous rashness, a circumstance rarely to be met with in persons of his age, and, above all, the advantageous testimonials of his conduct given by Scipio, attracted an universal esteem; nay, Micipsa himself charmed with the high idea the Roman general had entertained of his merit, changed his behaviour towards him, resolving, if possible, to win his affection by kindness. He therefore adopted him, and declared him joint heir with his two sons (M) to the crown.

Finding,

(M) Diodorus Siculus relates, that tho' Micipsa had many children, his three favourite sons were Adherbal, Hiempis, and Micipsa. The same historian likewise adds, that he was the most
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Finding, some few years afterwards, that his end approached, he sent for all the three to his bedside, where, in presence of the whole court, he desired Jugurtha to recollect with what extreme tenderness he had treated him, and consequently to consider how well he had deserved at his hands. He then entreated him to protect his children on all occasions, who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now, by their fathers bounty, become his brethren. In order to fix them the more firmly in their interests, he likewise complimented him upon his bravery, address, and consummate prudence. He further insinuated, that neither arms nor treasures constitute the strength of a kingdom, but friends, who are neither won by arms nor gold, but by real services and an inviolable fidelity. "Now where, continued he, can we find better friends than in brothers? "And how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his relations, repose any confidence in, or depend upon, strangers?" Then addressing himself to Adherbal and Hiempsal, And you, said he, I enjoin always to pay the highest reverence to Jugurtha. Endeavour to imitate, and, if possible, surpass, his exalted merit, that the world may not hereafter observe Micipsa's adopted son to have reflected greater glory upon his memory than his own children. Soon after, Micipsa, who, according to Diodorus, was a prince of an amiable character, expired. Though Jugurtha did not believe the king to speak his real sentiments with regard to him, yet he seemed extremely pleased with so gracious a speech, and made him an answer suitable to the occasion. However, that prince at the same time was determined within himself to put in execution the scheme he had formed at the siege of Numantia, which was suggested to him by some factious and abandoned Roman officer, with whom he there contracted an acquaintance. The purport of this scheme was, that he should extort the crown by force from his two cousins, as soon as their father's eyes were closed; which, they insinuated, might easily be effected by his own most eminent of all the Numidian monarchs; and that he sent for a great number of Greeks, eminent in all branches of literature, particularly philosophy, by whole instructions he became a most celebrated philosopher (12).

own valour, and the venality of the Romans. Accordingly, a short time after the old king's death, he found means to assassinate Hiempfal in the city of Thirmita, where his treasures were deposited, and drive Adherbal out of his dominions. That unhappy prince found himself obliged to fly to Rome, where he endeavoured to engage the conscript fathers to espouse his quarrel; but, notwithstanding the justice of his cause, they had not virtue enough effectually to support him. Jugurtha's embassadors, by distributing vast sums of money amongst the senators, brought them so far over, that a majority palliated his inhuman proceedings. When those embassadors therefore declared, that Hiempfal had been killed by the Numidians, on account of his excessive cruelty; that Adherbal was the aggressor in the late troubles; that he was only chagrined, because he could not make that havoc amongst his countrymen he would willingly have done; and entreated the senate to form a judgment of Jugurtha's behaviour in Africa from what he had shewn at Numantia, rather than from the suggestions of his enemies, by far the greatest part of the senate discovered themselves prejudiced in his favour. A few however, that were not loth to honour, nor abandoned to corruption, insisted upon bringing him to condign punishment; but, as they could not prevail, he had the best part of Numidia allotted him, and Adherbal was forced to rest satisfied with the other.

Jugurtha, finding now by experience, that every thing was venal at Rome, as his friends at Numantia had before informed him, thought he might pursue his towering projects without any obstruction from that quarter. He therefore, immediately after the last division of Micipsa's dominions threw off the mask, and attacked his cousin by open force. As Adherbal was a prince of a pacific disposition, and almost in all respects the reverse of Jugurtha, he was by no means a match for him. The latter therefore pillaged the former's territories, stormed several of his fortresses, and overran a good part of his kingdom without opposition. Adherbal, depending upon his friendship with the Romans, which his father, in his last moments, assured him would be a stronger support to him...
Chap. 1. The History of the Numidians. than all the troops and treasures in the universe, dispatched deputies to Rome, to complain of these hostilities. But, whilst he left his time in sending thither fruitless deputations, Jurgurtha overthrew him in a pitched battle, and soon after shut him up in Cirta. During the siege of this city, a Roman commission arrived there, in order to persuade both parties to an accommodation; but finding Jurgurtha untractable, the commissioners returned home, without so much as conferring with Adherbal. A second deputation, composed of senators of the highest distinction, with Æmilius Scaurus, president of the senate, at their head, landed some time after at Utica, and summoned Jurgurtha to appear before them. That prince at first seemed to be under dreadful apprehensions, especially as Scaurus reproached him with his enormous crimes, and threatened him with the resentment of the Romans, if he did not immediately raise the siege of Cirta. However, the Numidian, by his address, and the irresistible power of gold, as was afterwards suspected at Rome, so mollified Scaurus, that he left Adherbal at his mercy. In fine, Jurgurtha had at last Cirta surrendered to him, upon condition only, that he should spare the life of Adherbal; but the merciless tyrant, in violation of the laws of nature and humanity, as well as the capitulation, when he had got possession of the town, ordered him to be put to a most cruel death. The merchants likewise, and all the Numidians in the place capable of bearing arms, he caused, without distinction, to be put to the sword.

Every person at Rome, inspired with any sentiments of humanity, was struck with horror at the news of this tragical event. However, all the venal senators still concurred with Jurgurtha's ministers in palliating his enormous crimes. Notwithstanding which, the people, excited thereto by Caius Memmius their tribune, who bitterly inveighed against the venality of the senate, resolved not to let so flagrant an instance of villainy go unpunished. This disposition in them induced the conscript fathers likewise to declare their intention to chastise Jurgurtha. In order to this, an army was levied to invade Numidia, and the command of it given to the consul Calpurnius Beflia, a person of good abilities, but rendered unfit for the expedition he was to go upon by his intractable avarice.

Jugurtha, being informed of the great preparations making at Rome to attack his dominions, sent his son thither to avert the impending storm. The young prince was plentifully supplied with money, which he had orders to distribute liberally amongst the leading men. But Bebţia, proposing to himself great advantages from an invasion of Numidia, defeated all his intrigues, and got a decree passed, ordering him and his attendants to depart Italy in ten days, unless they were come to deliver up the king himself, and all his territories, to the republic by way of sedition; which decree being notified to them, they returned, without so much as having entered the gates of Rome; and Bebţia soon after landed with a powerful army in Africa. For some time he carried on the war there very briskly, reduced several strong-holds, and took many Numidians prisoners. But, upon the arrival of Scæurus, whose character has been already given in the Roman history; a peace was granted Jugurtha upon advantageous terms. That prince coming from Vacco, the place of his residence, to the Roman camp, in order to confer with Bebţia and Scæurus, and the preliminaries of the treaty being immediately after settled between them in private conferences, every body at Rome was convinced, that the prince of the senate and the consuls had sacrificed to their avarice the good of the republic. The indignation therefore of the people in general displayed itself in the strongest manner. Memmius also fired them with his speeches. It was therefore resolved to dispatch the praetor Cassius, a person they could confide in, to Numidia, to prevail upon Jugurtha to come to Rome, that they might learn from the king himself which of their generals and senators had been seduced by the pestilent influence of corruption. Upon his arrival there, he found means to bribe one Bœbius Salca, a man of great authority amongst the plebeians, but of infatiable avarice, by whose assistance he escaped with impunity; nay, by the efficacy of gold, he did not only elude all the endeavours of the people of Rome to bring him to justice, but likewise enabled Bamilcar, one of his attendants, to get Massiva, an illegitimate son of Micipha, assassinated in the streets of Rome. That young prince was advised by many Romans of probity, well-wishers to the family of Massinissa, to apply for the kingdom of Numidia; which coming to Jugurtha's ears, he prevented the application by this execrable
execrable step. However, he was obliged to leave Italy immediately. He departed Rome with passing that severe reflection upon the venality of its infamous citizens already mentioned.

Jugurtha had scarce set foot in Africa, when he received advice, that the senate had disannulled the shameful peace concluded with him by Bostia and Scaurus. Soon after, the consul Albinus transported a Roman army into Numidia, flattering himself with the hopes of reducing Jugurtha to reason before the expiration of his consulship. In this however he found himself deceived; for that crafty prince, by various artifices, so amused and imposed upon Albinus, that nothing of moment happened that campaign. This rendered him strongly suspected of having betrayed his country after the example of his predecessors. His brother Aulus, who succeeded him in the command of the army, was still more unsuccessful; for, after rising from before Suthul, where the king’s treasures were deposited, he marched his forces into a defile, out of which he found it impossible to extricate himself. He therefore was obliged to submit to the ignominious ceremony of passing under the jugum, with all his men, and to quit Numidia entirely in ten days time, in order to deliver his troops from immediate destruction. The avaricious disposition of the Roman commander prompted him to besiege Suthul, the possession of which place, he imagined, would make him master of all the wealth of Jugurtha, and consequently paved the way to such a scandalous treaty. However, this was declared void as soon as known at Rome, as being concluded without the authority of the people. The Roman troops retired into Africa Propria, which they had now reduced into the form of a Roman province, and there took up their winter-quarters.

In the mean time Caius Mamilianus Limetanus, tribune of the people, excited the plebeians to enquire into the conduct of these persons, by whose assistance Jugurtha had found means to elude all the decrees of the senate. This put the body of the people into a great ferment; which occasioned a prosecution of the guilty senators, that was carried on, for some time, with the utmost heat and violence. Lucius Metellus the consul, during these transactions,
The History of the Numidians. Book IV.

transactions, had Numidia assigned him for his province, and consequently was appointed general of the army destined to act against Jugurtha. As he perfectly disregarded wealth, the Numidian found him superior to all his temptations; which was a great mortification to him. To this he joined all the other virtues, which constitute the great captain; so that Jugurtha found him in all respects inaccessible. That prince therefore was now forced to regulate his conduct, according to the motions of Metellus, with the greatest caution, and exert his utmost bravery, in order to compensate for that hitherto favourable expedient, which now began to fail him. Marius, Metellus's lieutenant, being likewise a person of uncommon merit, the Romans reduced Vacca, a large, opulent city, and the most celebrated mart in Numidia; defeated Jugurtha in a pitched battle; overthrew Bomilcar, one of his generals, upon the banks of the Muthullus; and, in fine, forced the Numidian monarch to take shelter in a place rendered almost inaccessible by the rocks and woods with which it was covered. However, Jugurtha signalized himself in a surprising manner, exhibiting all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention of a consummate general, to whom despair administers fresh strength, and suggests new lights. But his troops could not make head against the Romans; they were again worsted by Marius, though they obliged Metellus to raise the siege of Zama. Jugurtha therefore, finding his country everywhere ravaged, his most opulent cities plundered, his fortresses reduced, his towns burnt, vast numbers of his subjects put to the sword, and taken prisoners, began to think seriously of coming to an accommodation with the Romans. His favourite Bomilcar, in whom he repose the highest confidence, but who had been gained over to the enemy by Metellus, observing this disposition, found it no difficult matter to persuade him to deliver up his elephants, money, arms, horses, and deserters, in whom the main strength of his army consisted, into the hands of the Romans. Some of these last, in order to avoid the punishment due to their crime, retired to Boecbus, king of Mauritania, and lifted in his service. But Metellus ordering him to repair to (N) Tifidium, a city of Numidia,

(N) This city seems to have been situated either upon the borders of Africa Propria, or in that province, since Metellus distributed
Chap. 1. The History of the Numidians.

Numidia, there to receive farther directions, and he refusing a compliance with that order, hostilities were renewed with greater fury than ever. Fortune now seemed to declare in favour of Jugurtha: he retook Vaaca, and massacred the Roman garrison, though Turpilius, the commandant, found means to make his escape. However, soon after a Roman legion seized again upon it, and treated the inhabitants with the greatest severity. About this time one of Maftanabal’s sons, named Gauda, whom, Micipsa, in his will, had appointed to succeed to the crown, in case his two legitimate sons and Jugurtha died without issue, wrote to the senate in favour of Marius, who was then endeavouring to supplant Metellus; the occasion and effect of which solicitation has already been related. That prince, having his understanding impaired by a declining state of health, fell a more easy prey to the base and infamous adulation of Marius, who, after having soothed his vanity, assured him, that, as he was the next heir to the crown, he might depend upon being fixed upon the Numidian throne, as soon as Jugurtha was either killed or taken, which must in a short time happen, when he once appeared at the head of the Roman army with an unlimited commission. Soon after, Bomilcar and Nabdalfa formed a design to aff affinate Jugurtha, at the (O) instigation of Metellus; but this being detected, Bomilcar, and most of his accomplices, suffered death, as our readers will find in another part of this work. The plot however had such an effect upon Jugurtha, that he enjoyed afterwards no tranquillity or repose. He suspected persons of all denominations, Numidians as well as foreigners, of some black design against him. Perpetual terrors fat brooding over his mind; insomuch that he never got a wink of sleep, but by stealth, and often changing his bed in a low, plebeian manner. Starting

buted his troops in winter quarters there, after the conclusion of the campaign (13).

(O) Frontinus relates, that Metellus endeavoured to secure Jugurtha’s person, not to aff affinate him, which, he insinuates, might have been more easily effected. But as this runs counter to Sallust, who is superior, in point of authority, to Frontinus, this historical fragment deserves not much credit (14).

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Starting from his sleep, he would frequently snatch his sword, and break out into the most doleful cries. So strongly was he haunted by a spirit of fear, jealousy, and distraction. JUGURTHA, having destroyed great numbers of his friends, on suspicion of their having been concerned in the late conspiracy, and many more of them deserting to the Romans and Bocchus king of Mauritania, found himself, in a manner, destitute of counsellors, generals, and all persons capable of assisting him in carrying on the war. This threw him into a deep melancholy, which rendered him dissatisfied with every thing, and made him fatigue his troops with a variety of contradictory motions. Sometimes he would advance with great celerity against the enemy, and at others retreat with no small swiftness from them. Then he resumed his former courage; but soon after despaired either of the valour or fidelity of the forces under his command. All his movements therefore proved unsuccessful, and at last he was forced by Metellus to a battle. That part of the Numidian army JUGURTHA commanded behaved with some resolution; but the other fled at their first onset. The Romans therefore entirely defeated them, took all their standards, and made a few of them prisoners. Not many of them were slain in the action, since, as Sallust observes, the Numidians trusted more to their heels than their arms for safety in this engagement.

Metellus pursued Jugurtha and his fugitives to Thala, a place we have formerly described. His march to this place, being through vast deserts, was extremely tedious and difficult; but being supplied with wooden vessels of all sizes taken from the huts of the Numidians, which were filled with water brought by the natives, who had submitted to him, he invested that city. He had no sooner sat down before it, than a most copious shower of rain, a thing very uncommon in those deserts, proved a great and seasonable refreshment to his forces, who, animated thereby, as though the gods had declared for them, prepared to attack the town with such vigour, that

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Jugurtha, with his family, and treasures deposited therein, thought proper to abandon it. After a brave defence, it was reduced, the garrison, consisting of Roman deserters, setting fire to the king’s palace, and consuming themselves, together with every thing valuable to them, in the flames. Jugurtha, being now reduced to great extremities, retired into Gætulia, where he formed a considerable corps. From thence he advanced to the confines of Mauritania, and engaged Bocchus, king of that country, whose daughter he had married, to enter into an alliance with him; in consequence of which, having reinforced his Gætulian troops with a powerful body of Mauritanians, he turned the tables upon Metellus, and obliged him to keep close within his intrenchments. Sallust informs us, that Jugurtha bribed Bocchus’s ministers to influence that prince in his favour; and that having obtained an audience, he insinuated, that, should Numidia be subdued, Mauritania must be involved in its ruin, especially as the Romans seemed to have vowed the destruction of all the thrones in the universe. In support of what he advanced, he produced several instances very apposite to the point in view. However, the same author seems to intimate, that Bocchus was determined to assist Jugurtha against his enemies by the flight the Romans had formerly shewn him. That prince, at the first breaking out of this war, sent embassadors to Rome, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance to the republic; which, though of the utmost consequence to it at that juncture, a few of the most venal and infamous senators, who were abandoned to corruption, prevented from taking effect. This undoubtedly wrought more powerfully upon Bocchus in favour of Jugurtha, than the relation he stood in to him; for both the Moors and Numidians adapted the number of their wives to their circumstances, so that some had ten, twenty, &c. to their share. There kings therefore were unlimited in this particular, and of course all degrees of affinity, resulting to them from marriage, had little force. It is observable, that the posterity of those antient nations have the same custom prevailing amongst them at this day.*

Such

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Such was the situation of affairs in Numidia, when Metellus received advice of the promotion of Marius to the consulship. What effect this news had upon that excellent, tho' much injured, commander, has been already observed. But, notwithstanding the injurious treatment he met with on this occasion, he generously endeavoured to draw off Bocchus from Jugurtha, though this would facilitate the reduction of Numidia for his rival. To this end embassadors were dispatched to the Mauritanian court, who intimated to Bocchus, “That it would be highly imprudent “to come to a rupture with the Romans without any “cause at all; that he had now a fine opportunity of con-“cluding a most advantageous treaty with them, which “was much preferable to a war; that, whatever depend-“ence he might place upon his riches, he ought not to “run the hazard of losing his dominions by embroiling “himself with other states, when he could easily avoid “this; that it was much easier to begin a war, than to “end it, which it was in the power of the victor alone to “do; that, in fine, he would by no means consult the “interest of his subjects, if he followed the desperate for-“tunes of Jugurtha.” To which Bocchus replied, “That, “for his part, there was nothing he wished for more than “peace; but that he could not help pitying the deplorable “condition of Jugurtha; that if the Romans therefore “would grant that unfortunate prince the same terms they “had offered him, he would bring about an accommoda-“tion.” Metellus let the Mauritanian monarch know, that it was not in his power to comply with what he de-“sired. However, he took care to keep up a private nego-“tiation with him till the new consul Marius’s arrival. By “this conduct he served two wife ends; for, first, he pre-“vented thereby Bocchus from coming to a general action “with his troops; which was the very thing Jugurtha de-“sired, as hoping that this, whatever the event might be, “would render a reconciliation betwixt him and the Romans impracticable. Secondly, this inaction enabled him to dis-“cover something of the genius and disposition of the Moors, “a nation, of whom the Romans, till then, had scarce formed any idea, which, he imagined, might be of no “small service, either to himself or his successors, in the “future prosecution of the war.”

JUGURTHA,

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Jugurtha, being informed, that Marius, with a numerous army, was landed at Utica, advised Bocchus to retire, with part of the troops, to some place of difficult access, while he himself took post upon another inaccessible spot with the remaining corps. By this measure, he hoped the Romans would be obliged to divide their forces, and consequently be more exposed to his efforts and attacks. He likewise imagined, that, seeing no formidable body appear, they would believe the enemy in no condition to make head against them; which might occasion a relaxation of discipline, the usual attendant of too great security, and consequently produce some good effect. However, he was disappointed in both these views; for Marius, far from suffering a relaxation of discipline to take place, trained up his troops, which consisted chiefly of new levies, in so perfect a manner, that they were soon equal in goodness to any consular army that ever appeared in the field. He also cut off great numbers of the GAELIAN marauders, defeated many of Jugurtha’s parties, and had like to have taken that prince himself prisoner near the city of Cirta. These advantages, though not of any great importance, intimidated Bocchus, who now made overtures for an accommodation; but the Romans, not being sufficiently satisfied of his sincerity, gave no great attention to them. In the mean time Marius pushed on his conquests, reducing several places of less note, and at last resolved to betege Capua. That this enterprize might be conducted with the greater secrecy, he suffered not the least hint of his design to transpire, even amongst any of his officers. On the contrary, in order to blind them, he detached A. Manlius, one of his lieutenants, with some light-armed cohorts to the city of LARES, where he had fixed his principal magazine, and deposited the military chest. Before the lieutenant left the camp, that he might the more effectually amuse him, he intimated, that himself, with the army, should take the same rout in a few days; but, instead of that, he bent his march towards the Tanais, and, in six days time, arrived upon the banks of that river. Here he pitched his tents for a short time, in order to refresh his troops; which having done, he advanced to Capua, and made himself master of it, in the manner we have already related. As the situation of this city rendered it extremely commodious to Jugurtha, whose plan of operations, ever since the commencement of the war, it had exceedingly favoured, he levelled it with the ground,
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ground, after it had been delivered up to the soldiers to be plundered. The citizens likewise, being more strongly attached to that prince than any of the other Numidians, on account of the extraordinary privileges he indulged them with, and, of course, bearing a more implacable hatred to the Romans, he put to the sword, or sold for slaves. The true motive of the consul’s conduct on this occasion seems here to be assigned, though we are told by Sallust, in conformity to the Roman genius, that neither avarice nor resentment prompted him to so barbarous an action, but only a desire to strike a terror in the Numidians * (P)

The Numidians, ever after this exploit, dreaded the very name of Marius, who now, in his own opinion, had eclipsed the glory of all his predecessor’s great achievements, particularly the reduction of Thala, a city, in strength and situation, nearly resembling Capua. Following his blow, he gradually presented himself before most of the places of strength in the enemy’s country, many of which either opened their gates, or were abandoned, at his approach, being terrified with what had happened to the unfortunate citizens of Capua; others taking by force, he laid in ashes; and, in short, filled the greatest part of Numidia with blood, horror, and confusion. The operations of the campaign were concluded by the reduction of a castle, that seemed impregnable,


(P) Sallust does not only inform us, that the Numidians lived after much the same manner as the Libyan Nomades of Herodotus, but likewise that they were called Nomo-Numidae; which seems to confirm what we have hinted above concerning the etymology of the word Numidia. He likewise tells us, that these Nomo-Numidae encroached so exceedingly, that they overlocked their original country; and therefore a great multitude of them were obliged to make an irruption into the country afterwards from them called Numidia, where they settled. This piece of history the same writer affirms to have been extracted from some Punic books belonging to king Hiempsal. From whence it may be inferred, that what has been advanced by Herodatus concerning the irruption of the Libyan Nomades into Numidia, is probably true, since it is attested by the Punic writers themselves, though it must be owned, that where these authors contradict Herodatus, and the generality of the best historians, such a degree of credit is not due to them (15).

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Impregnable, seated on the Mulucha, where Jugurtha kept part of his treasures (Q). In the mean time Jugurtha, not being able to prevail upon Bocchus, by his repeated solicitations, to advance into Numidia, where he found himself greatly pressed, was obliged to have recourse to his usual method of bribing the Mauritanian ministers, in order to put that prince in motion. He also promised him a third part of his kingdom, provided they could either drive the Romans out of Africa, or get all the Numidian dominions confirmed to him by treaty.

So considerable a ceffion could not fail of engaging Bocchus to support Jugurtha with his whole power. The two (R) African monarchs therefore, having joined their forces, surprised Marius near Cirta, as he was going into winter-quarters. The Roman general was so pushed on this occasion, that the barbarians thought themselves certain of victory, and doubted not but they should be able to extinguish the Roman name in Numidia; but their incaucion and too great security enabled Marius to give them a total defeat, which was followed four days after by so complete an over-throw, that their numerous army, consisting of ninety thousand men, by the accession of a powerful corps of Moors, commanded by Bocchus's son Volux, was entirely ruined. Sylla, Marius's lieutenant, most eminently distinguished himself in the last action, which laid the foundation of his future greatness. Bocchus, now looking upon Jugurtha's condition as desperate, and not being willing to run the risk of losing his dominions, clapped up a peace with Rome. However, the republic gave him to understand, that he must not expect to be ranked amongst his friends, till he had


(Q.) Notwithstanding the immense treasures Jugurtha had been in possession of, so late as some years after the death of Gala, father to Mafinitha, a great part of the Numidians, all those at least inhabiting the open country, had no gold or silver money. However, they were not very sensible of this defect, since it was supplied by their flocks and herds, as we are informed by Livy (16).

(R.) Frontinus says, that Jugurtha never began a battle with the Romans till towards evening, that, if he should happen to be defeated, he might escape by favour of the night (17).

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had delivered up into the consul's hands Jugurtha, that inveterate enemy of the Roman name. The Mauritanian monarch, having entertained a high idea of an alliance with that state, resolved to satisfy it in this particular, and was confirmed in his resolution by one Dabor, a Numidian prince, the son of Massagradal, and descended, by his mother's side, from Masinilla, who, being closely attached to the Romans, and extremely agreeable to Bocchus, on account of his noble disposition, had defeated all the intrigues of Aspar, Jugurtha's minister. Upon Sylla's arrival at the Mauritanian court, the affair there seemed to be entirely settled. However, Bocchus, who was for ever projecting new designs, and, like the rest of his countrymen, in the highest degree perfidious, debated within himself, whether he should sacrifice Sylla or Jugurtha, who were both then in his power. He was a long time fluctuating with uncertainty, and combated by a contrariety of sentiments. The sudden changes, which displayed themselves in his countenance, his air, and his whole person, evidently shewed how strongly his mind was agitated; but at last he returned to his first design, to which the bias of his mind seemed naturally to lead him. He therefore delivered up Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla, to be conducted to Marius, who, by that successful event, happily terminated this dangerous war. The kingdom of Numidia was now reduced to a new form: Bocchus, for his important services, had the country of the Masaesyli, contiguous to Mauritania, assigned him, which, from this time, took the name of New Mauritania. Numidia Propria, or the country of the Masaesyli, was divided into three parts, one of which was given to Hiempfal, another to Mondrestal, both descendents of Masinilla, and the third the Romans annexed to Africa Propria, or the Roman province, adjacent to it. What became of Jugurtha, after he had graced Marius's triumph (S), at which ceremony he was led in chains,

(S) According to Plutarch, Marius's triumph happened on the first day of January, which began the year amongst the Romans, when Jugurtha was exposed to the view of the people. The populace were extremely pleased with that sight, the Numidian, by his valour and conduct, having rendered himself terrible to the Romans; nay, Florus intimates, that he was looked upon by them as a second Hannibal. Plutarch adds, that the day he was led in triumph, he fell distracted; that, when he was afterwards
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Chains, together with his two sons, through the streets of Rome, our readers will find related at large in a former part of this work.

Jugurtha's two sons survived him, but spent their lives in captivity at Venusia. However, one of them, named Oxyntas, was, for a short time, released from his confinement by Aponius, who besieged Accrae in the war between the Romans and the Italian allies. That general brought this prince to his army, where he treated him as king, in order to draw the Numidian forces off from the Roman service. Accordingly those Numidians no sooner heard, that the son of their old king was fighting for the allies, than they began to desert by companies; which obliged Julius Caesar, the consul, to part with all his Numidian cavalry, and send them back into Africa. Some few years after this event, Pompey defeated Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Hiarbæ, one of the kings of Numidia, killing seventeen thousand of their men upon the spot. Not satisfied with this victory, that general pursued the fugitives to their camp, which he soon forced, put Domitian to the sword, and took Hiabarba prisoner. He then reduced that part of Numidia which belonged to Hiarbæ, who seems to have succeeded Mandrastal above-mentioned, and gave it to Hiempful, a neighbouring Numidian prince.

P p 4
descended


afterwards thrown into prison, whilst some tore of his cloaths, and others his golden pendent, with which they pulled off the tip of his ear, he was greatly discomposed; and that yet, full of horror, when he was cast naked into the dungeon, he forced a smile, crying out, O heavens! how intolerably cold is this bath of yours! In this place he struggled for some time with extreme hunger, and then expired. The barbarous death he was put to, notwithstanding his own inhuman disposition, will remain an eternal monument of the Roman cruelty and ingratitude. Mithridates therefore justly reproached the lords of the world with their infamous barbarity to the grandson of Mithridates, a prince that contributed as much to the destruction of their only rival Carthage as either of the Africani (18):

(18) Juv. l. xxxviii. c. 6. Plut. in Mario.
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descended from Masinissa, who had always opposed the Marian faction. For a particular account of the treacherous reception Hiempfal, or his son Mandreatfal, gave young Marius, Cathegus, Leétorius, and others of the same party, when proscribed by Sylla, and forced to seek an asylum at his court, we must refer our readers to Plutarch and Appian.

Suetonius informs us, that a dispute happened at Rome between Hiempfal and one Masintha, a noble Numidian, whom, it is probable, he had, in some respect, injured, when Julius Caesar first began to make a figure in the world. This is a plain demonstration, that Numidia was, at that time, in reality, subject to the Romans, since the subjects there could then apply to the Romans for redress, even from their sovereign. The same author adds, that Caesar warmly espoused the cause of Masintha, and even grossly insulted Juba, Hiempfal’s son, when he attempted to vindicate his father’s conduct on this occasion. He pulled him by the beard, than which a more unpardonable affront could not be offered an African, and reproached him with being a tributary dependent prince. In short, he screened Masintha from the insults and violence of his enemies; from whence a reason may be assigned for Juba’s adhering so closely afterwards to the Pompeian faction.

In consequence of the indignity Caesar had offered Juba, and the disposition it had occasioned, that prince did Caesar great damage in the civil wars betwixt him and Pompey. By a stratagem he drew Curio, one of his lieutenants, to a general action, which it was his interest at that time to have avoided. He caused it to be given out all over Africa Prepria and Numidia, that he was retired into some remote country at a great distance from the Roman territories. This coming to Curio’s ears, who was then besieging Utica, it hindered him from taking the necessary precautions to prevent a-surprise. Soon after, the Roman general receiving intelligence, that a small body of Numidians was approaching his camp, he put himself at the head of his forces, in order to attack them, and, for fear they should escape, began his march in

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in the night, looking upon himself as sure of victory.
Some of their advanced guards he surprized asleep, and
cut them to pieces, which still further animated him. In
short, about day-break he came up with the Numidians,
whom he attacked with great bravery, though his men
were then fasting, and vastly fatigued by their forced and
precipitate march. In the mean time Juba, who, im-
mediately after the propagation of the rumour above-
mentioned, had taken care to march privately, with the
main body of the Numidian army, to support the detach-
ment sent before to decoy Curio, advanced to the relief
of his men. The Romans had met with a great resis-
tance before he appeared; so that he easily broke them, killed
Curio, with a good part of his troops, upon the spot,
pursued the rest to their camp, which he plundered, and
took many of them prisoners. Most of the fugitives, who
endeavoured to make their escape on board the ships in the
port of Utica, were either slain by the pursuers, or drowned.
The remainder fell into the hands of Varus, who would
have saved them; but Juba, who arrogated to himself the
honour of this victory, ordered them all to be put to the
sword.* (T).

THIS

*Cæs. de bell. civi. 1. ii. c. 7, 8. Dio, 1. xii. ad ann. U. C.
Frontin. strat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 40.

(T) Cæsar, who gives us the particulars of this action, inti-
mates, that Sabura, Juba's general, receiving continual reinforce-
ments from his master, who kept at a small distance from him,
at last overpowered the Romans, though they behaved with great
bravery; that Sabura cut off Curio's retreat, by posting some
parties of his horse upon several eminences near the field of bat-
tle; that, in consequence of this, almost the whole Roman corps,
commanded by Curio, was cut to pieces; and that part of the
body of troops left with the quaestor Rufus to guard the camp,
made their escape to Sicily. In other points, for the most part,
he agrees with Dio, whom we have here chosen to follow. Appi-
ian infinuates, that this defeat happened near the banks of the
Bagrada; that Juba caused a rumour to be indifferently propa-
gated, that he was returned home, to reprove the coures of some
neighbouring nations, who frequently made incursions into his
dominions, and had only sent Sabura, with a small body of troops,
to obviate the enemy. This, adds the same author, occasioned
the destruction of almost two entire Roman legions, with a body
of horse, velites, and slaves. Appian also relates, that, upon
the
The History of the Numidians. Book IV.

This victory infused new life and vigour into the Pompeian faction, who thereupon conferred great honours upon Juba, and gave him the title of king of all Numidia. But Cæsar and his adherents declared him an enemy to the state of Rome, adjudging to Bocchus and Bogud, two African princes entirely in their interest, the sovereignty of his dominions. Juba afterwards, uniting his forces with those of Scipio, reduced Cæsar to great extremities, and would, in all probability, have totally ruined him, had he not been relieved by Publius Sittius (U).

That the news of Curio’s overthrow, Flamma, the Roman admiral, fled, without taking any of the runaways on board; that many of them, with Pollio, a Roman commander, scoured some merchant ships, in order to make their escape on board them, that they immediately sunk, whilst others were thrown over board for the sake of the money they brought with them; and lastly, that Juba, having placed a great number of the unhappy prisoners, that fell into his hands, upon the walls of Utica, caused them to be pierced with darts. Though Varus did his utmost to prevent this inhuman massacre, he could not prevail. After the end of the action, Curio’s head was cut off, and carried as an agreeable present to Juba (19).

(U) Appian gives us the following account of this P. Sittius: Being accused of a certain crime at Rome, he abandoned that city before his tryal came on, and assembled a body of Italians and Spaniards, with which he passed over into Africa. Upon his arrival there, he found the regui of that country engaged in bloody wars amongst themselves. Sometimes he assisted one of these princes, and sometimes another, victory always declaring for him, whose interest he espoused. This rendered his name terrible to the Moors and Numidians, in so much that he easily made the scale preponderate in favour of Cæsar, and was rewarded by that general, after the reduction of Africa, with a large extent of territory formerly belonging to one Manafes, a Numidian prince, who had assisted Juba. The other part of this district was given to Bocchus. Sittius settled the troops who had distinguished themselves under his conduct, here; but was afterwards cut off by treachery. This was effected by Arabio, Manafes’s son, who after Julius Cæsar’s death, sent six thousand Africans to assist S. Pompeius in Spain. These Africans, returning home some time after, disciplined after the Roman manner, enabled Arabio to dispatch Sittius, and likewise to drive Bocchus out of the territory he had usurped from him (20).

Chap. i. The History of the Numidians.

That general, having formed a considerable corps consisting of Roman exiles, and Mauritanian troops sent him by Bocchus, according to Dio, or, as Caesar will have it, Bogud, made an irruption into Gætulia and Numidia, whilst Juba was employed in Africa Propria. As he ravaged these countries in a dreadful manner, Juba immediately returned with the best part of his army, to preserve them from utter destruction. However, Caesar, knowing his horse to be afraid of the enemy's elephants, did not think proper to attack Scipio in the absence of the Numidian, till his own elephants, and a fresh reinforcement of troops, hourly expected, arrived from Italy; which accession of strength, he imagined, would enable him to give a good account, both of the Roman forces, with which he was to cope, and the barbarians. In the mean time Scipio dispatched reiterated express to (W) Juba to hasten to his assistance, but could not prevail upon him to move out of Numidia, till he had promised him the possession of all the Roman dominions in Africa, if they could from thence expel Caesar. This immediately put him in motion; so that having sent a large detachment to make head against Sittius, he marched with the rest of his troops to assist Scipio. However, Caesar at last overthrew Scipio, Juba, and Labienus near the town of Thapsus, and forced all their camps. As Scipio was the first surprised and defeated, Juba fled into Numidia, without waiting for Caesar's approach; but the body of Numidians detached against Sittius, having been broken and dispersed by that general, none of his subjects there would receive him. Abandoned therefore to despair, he fought death in a single combat with Petreius, and, having killed him, caused himself to be dispatched by one of his slaves (X).

After


(W) Juba, according to Dio, pretended to assist Pompey, not out of a motive of resentment, but because he was a defender of the senate and people of Rome. But princes frequently, in the place of the real cause, substitute the pretext (21).

(X) Hirtius intimates, that Juba killed Petreius in this combat, and was himself afterwards dispatched by his slave. Orarius relates, that Petreius ran himself through with his sword; and that

(21) Dio, l. xlii..
AFTER this decisive action, and the reduction of Africa Propria, Cæsar made himself master of all Numidia Propria, which he reduced to a Roman province, appointing C. Publius Sallustius to govern it in quality of proconsul, with private instructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants, and, by that means, put it out of their power ever to shake off the Roman yoke. However, Bocchus and Bogud still preferred a sort of sovereignty in the country of the Masaëfylli and Mauritania, since the former of those princes, having deserted Cæsar, sent an army into Spain to assist the Pompeians; and the latter, with his forces, determined victory to declare for Cæsar at the ever memorable battle of Munda. Bogud, afterwards siding with Anthony against Octavius, sent a body of forces to assist him in Spain; at which time the Mauritanians revolting from him, Bocchus, with an army composed of Romans in the interest of Octavius, who passed over from Spain into Africa, and his own subjects, possessed himself of Mauritia Tingitana. Bogud fled to Antony, and Octavius, after the conclusion of the war, honoured the inhabitants of Tingi with all the privileges of Roman citizens. He likewise confirmed Bocchus king of Mauritia Cæsariensis, or the country of the Masaëfylli, in the possession of Tingitana, which he had conquered, as a reward for his important services. In this he imitated the example of his great predecessor Julius Cæsar, who divided some of the fruitful plains of Numidia among the soldiers of P. Sittius, who had conquered great part of that country, and appointed Sittius himself sovereign of that district. Sittius (Y), as has been intimated above, having taken Cirta, killed Sabura, Juba's general, entirely dispersed his forces, and either cut off, or taken prisoners, most of the Pompeian fugitives, that escaped from the battle of Thapsus, highly deserved to be distinguished in so eminent a manner. After Bocchus's death,

that Juba hired a person to kill him; but Appian, Eutropius, and Dio, assure us, that they slew each other (22).

(Y) We learn from Hirtius, that Sittius, or, as he calls him Sittius, greatly dispersed Juba before the battle of Thapsus, by possessing himself of a cattle situated on a hill, where that prince had a very considerable magazine (23).

death, Mauritania and the Massæylian Numidia were, in all respects, considered as Roman provinces, according to Dio; which seems to evince, that the hostilities Bocchus committed against Carinas, whom Octavius had appointed governor of Spain, mentioned by Appian, were not attended with any bad consequences, either to himself or the Romans, since he continued on the throne of the Massæylian Numidia and Mauritania as long as he lived. What happened to Bogud after he was driven out of his dominions, as also a brief account of the younger Juba (Z), his son Ptolemy, and Tacfarinas, who gave the Romans no small trouble in the reign of Tiberius, with other remarkable particulars relating to the period and country we are now upon, our readers will naturally expect to find in the history of the Moors or Mauritanians.


(Z) As Masinissa’s family makes so considerable a figure, both in the Roman and Carthaginian history, it will not be amiss to exhibit to our readers view as full an account of it as can be drawn from antiquity; which, we hope, will not be unacceptable to them. See the adjoining table.
ERRATUM.

In Page 10. l. 23. for Carthage read Tyre.
HIARBAS, cotemporary with Dido.

PTOLEMY.

We have placed Hiarbas, cotemporary with Dido, at the head of this family, since we find a prince of it called Hiarbas, taken notice of by Plutarch, as likewise because it appears from Stephanus Byzantinus and Eustathius, that the Mazyes, Hiarbas's subjects, were Numidians (24).

Hiarbas, cotemporary with Dido.

Twenty generations.

Gala, the father of Mænîsîa.

Desalces.

A daughter.

Mæsîa, nephew to Mænîsîa.


Adhral. Hëmpsâl. Mæsîa. Jugurtha, whose mother was a concubine, and named Gauda.

Asdrubal, destroyed by the intrigues of another AsdrubaL, according to Appian.

Oxynas. Another son, whose name is not known.

Hiëmpsâl. Mandrestal.


Juba.

Ptolemy.

We have placed Hiarbas, cotemporary with Dido, at the head of this family, since we find a prince of it called Hiarbas, taken notice of by Plutarch, as likewise because it appears from Stephanus Byzantius and Eutathius, that the Mazyes, Hiarbas's subjects, were Numidians (24).
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UNIVERSAL

HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological,

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V O L. XVIII.


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UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

CHAP. II.

The history of the Mauritanians, to the entire reduction of their country by the Romans.

SECT. I.

Description of Mauritania.

MAURITANIA, or as it is called by Strabo, Description of Mauritania, and the country of the Maurusii, was bounded on the east by the Malva or Mulucha; on the west by the Atlantic ocean; on the south by Gætulia, or Libya Interior; and on the north by the Mediterranean. This kingdom, being reduced to a Roman province in the reign of Claudius, had the name of Mauritania Tingitana given it by that prince, as we are informed by Dio. From Pliny, and some inscriptions in Gruter, it likewise appears, that it was called by the Romans at that time, as well as afterwards, simply Tingitania, from its principal city Tingi, in order to distinguish it from Mauritania Cæsariensis. If we may judge from what has been already observed of Numidia and Africa Propria, Vol. XVIII. A
the antients were not over-accurate in their descriptions of this country. However, all their faults cannot be discovered, much less corrected, since no modern accounts of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, answering nearly to the Tingitania of the antients, can be entirely depended upon. All that can be done, is to make use of the best lights that have been hitherto afforded us. 

Though Tingitania, or Mauritania Tingitana, then was considerably broader than Mauritania Caesariensis, the corresponding parts of Mount Atlas, or the confines of Gætulia, lying more to the southward, yet Pliny and Martianus, according to the latest observations, exceed the truth, when they affirm the greatest breadth of this Mauritania to be four hundred and sixty-seven, or four hundred and seventy-three miles. The length of this region we may make a tolerable estimate of by observing, that the Malva or Mulloöiah, its eastern limit, about 1° 15' W. of London, is something above two hundred and forty miles distant from the Atlantic ocean. Some of the modern geographers make the kingdom of Fez to be two hundred and seventy miles long, and that of Morocco, from cape Non to the Mountains which divide it from Segedmeña, about three hundred and seventy; but this computation, with respect to the antient Tingitania, is undoubtedly more erroneous than that of Pliny, which amounts only to an hundred and seventy miles. The longitude and latitude of the southern limits of Tingitania cannot be ascertained, for want of a proper light from the old geographers; but Septa, the present Cecta, its most advanced city to the northward, is about 35° 55' N. latitude, and about 6° W. longitude from London. The Al-Magreb Al-Achfa of Abulfeda includes the Maurusia of Strabo, or the country we are now upon, and part of Mauritania Caesariensis, as it extends from the Atlantic ocean, which he calls the sea Almohit, to Tlemfan. We must not omit observing, that Ptolemy places the Atlas Major, his southern boundary of this kingdom, at a vast distance from the southern limits assigned it by Pliny, in the deserts of Gætulia or Libya Interior. But it appears, from what has been already advanced, as well as the best relations of modern travellers, that

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that this ridge of mountains, if real, could not have appertained to Tingitania.

Mauritania and Maurusia are names of this region derived from the Mauri, an ancient people inhabiting it, frequently mentioned by the skilful historians and geographers. Authors are not agreed amongst themselves about the origin of this word. Salust affirms it to be a corruption of the word Medi; but this is by no means probable. Dr. Hyde deduces it from מָבְרִי מַבִּרְיָא, the name ought to be derived from the black, dark, swarthy colour of the people to which it was applied; but none of these etymons seem so easy and natural as that of Bochart, who makes Maurus to be equivalent to מַהְוָר Mahur; or, as an elision of gutturals in the oriental languages is extremely common, Maur, i.e. "one from the west," or "a western perfon," since Mauritania was west of Carthage and Phœnix. However, in our opinion, it would sound better still, should we say, "one that comes from the end," or "utmost limit of Africa," or "the boundary of our voyages," as both the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, for several ages, might have paid of the Tingitanius; for the freights or pillars of Hercules limited the western voyages of those nations for a considerable period of time, as is evident from a variety of the best authors. It is not improbable, that this country, or at least a good part of it, was first called Phuit, since it appears from Pliny, Ptolemy, and St. Jeron, that a river and territory not far from mount Atlas went by that name. From the Jerusalem Targum it likewise appears, that part of the Mauri may be deemed the offspring of Lud the son of Mil- raim, since his descendents, mentioned Gen. x. are there called Mauri or Mauritani. We have already evinced, that

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that this region, as well as the others to the east of it, had many colonies planted in it by the Phœcians. Procopius tells us, that, in his time, two pillars of white stone were to be seen there, with the following inscription in the Phœcian language and character upon them: "We are the Canaanites, that fled from Joshua the son of Nun, that notorious robber." Ibnu Rachich, or Ibn Ruqiu, an African writer cited by Leo, together with Evagrius and Nicephorus Calliustus, affirms the same thing. Now, in after-ages, that vast tract, extending from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic ocean, came to be called Barbary, our readers will be informed in another place.

The Mauritanians, according to Ptolemy, were divided into several cantons or tribes. The Metagonitae were seated near the shreights of Hercules. The Succofi, or Cocofi, according to Bertius, took up the coast of the Iberian Sea. Under these two petty nations, the Maicas, Verues, and Vericæ or Vercicæ, settled themselves. The Salisæ or Salinçæ were situated lower, towards the ocean; and still more to the south the Volubiliani. The Maurenfii and Herpiditani possessed the eastern part of this country, which was terminated by the Mulucha. The Angaucani or Iangacaucani, Neçiberes, Zagrenñi, Baniubæ, and Vacuatæ, extended themselves from the southern foot of Ptolemy's Atlas Minor to his Atlas Major; which is all that he has intimated of them. Pliny mentions the Baniuræ, whom father Harduin takes to be Ptolemy's Baniubæ; and Mela the Atlantes, whom he represents as possessed of the western parts of this region. The names of the different clans of Numidians we have postponed, till we come to the history of the Gætulians, since the latter nation was so intermixed with the former towards the Roman times, that it is difficult to determine to which of them some clans belong.

Tingis

Chap. 2. The History of the Mauritanians.

Tingis or Tingi, the metropolis, as should seem, of Tin- gitania, was a city of great antiquity. According to Mela, So- finus, and Pliny, Antæus, cotemporary with Hercules, and conquered by him, laid the first foundation of it. Procopius seems to intimate, that Tingi was built before the time of Joshua, since he tells us, that the Gergesites, Jebufites, and other Canaanitish nations or tribes, erected a castle in a city, where Tingis, or, as he calls it, Tingis stood. Dr. Hyde therefore is mistaken when he affirms Procopius to have asserted, that the Gergesites, Jebufites, &c. were the founders of Tingis. Pliny intimates Antæus to have had a palace at Lix- us or Lixos, though he tells us, that the giant was buried at Tingis. This seems likewise confirmed by Plutarch, who adds, that his sepulchre was still remaining there in the time of Sertorius, who, paying no regard to the tradition that prevailed amongst the inhabitants, caused it to be opened, and took out of it a corpse sixty cubits long. Bochart thinks, that the Phœ- nicians and Carthaginians called it Tingir, Tiggir, Tagger, &c. which, in their language, signified an emporium: and it must be owned, that the situation of Tingis was extremely commodious for carrying on a general trade; which we may, from this circumstance, reasonably presume the Tingitanians did, especially as Pliny seems to intimate, that some branches of commerce they actually applied themselves. Bochart’s notion therefore receives some weight from these considerations, as also from the modern name of this city, Tangier, which we cannot help believing to have been of Phœnician extraction. If we suppose the antient Tingis to have occupied the spot on which Tangier at present stands, it was very near the fireights of Hercules, at the bottom of a gulf of the western shore. We are informed by Mela, Pliny, and Strabo, that the Romans drew a colony from this place into the neighbourhood of Carteia, a town on the other side the fireights; on which account Pliny absurdly calls it Julia Tra- duçta, that name being properly applicable to the colony deduced from thence to Spain, to which Strabo gives the appellation of Julia Joza, of the same import with the former, Joza, in Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic, and Phœnician, being e- quivalent to the Latin Traduæta. We find it likewise named by Ptolemy and Marcianus simply Tranduæta. Some writers will have Ptolemy to have called Tingis Cæsarea: but this is a controverted point. However, that geographer seems to have looked upon Tingis as the most noted and usual proper name of the city we are now upon. Tangier, supposed to be...
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the Antient Tingis, is in 6° 30' W. longitude from London, and in N. latitude 35° 56'.

Zelis or Zilis, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of Tingis, situated near a river of the same name. The inhabitants of this city were transported to Spain, as we learn from Strabo, and a colony of Romans or Italians transplanted thither, as should seem, in their room, according to Pliny. The kings of Mauritania, after the planting of that colony, exercised no jurisdiction over Zelis, it being under the dominion of the Roman governor of Spain. Some authors imagine, that the modern Arzilla answers to Zelis; which if we admit, it stood about seventy miles from the straits of Hercules. Marmol says, that Arzilla was built by the Romans; but this we must not give credit to, if it should be thought proper to countenance the aforesaid supposition; for if Zelis did not owe its origin to the Indigenae of this country, it was undoubtedly of Phoenician extraction.

Lixus or Lixos seems to have been a place of considerable repute in the earliest ages, since, according to Pliny, Antaeus had a palace, and therefore probably resided here. This circumstance renders it likely, that Lixus was superior to Tingis itself in point of antiquity. But some authors seem to have confounded these two cities, as we shall find, by comparing the names given the former by Artemidorus, Eratosthenes, and Strabo, with Pliny. However, we are inclined to prefer the authority of Eratosthenes, to that of the others in this point, since it is supported by Pliny. Lixus therefore and Tingis, in consequence of this preference, we must look upon as two different cities. Pliny relates, that Hercules vanquished Antaeus near this place, which he makes to have been in the neighbourhood of the gardens of the Hesperides, and thirty-two miles distant from Zelis. The same author intimates, that a Roman colony was settled here likewise by Claudius. As Lixus was called by different writers Linx, Linga, Tinga, Tingi, in all probability it was mistaken by some antient historians or geographers for Tingis; and therefore Pliny might

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Chap. 2. The History of the Mauritanians.

might be imposed upon by some of the authors he extracted his materials from, when he affirmed Antæus to have had his royal palace at Lixos, since it is more natural to suppose, that he resided at Tingis. The learned Aldrete affords the word Lixus to be derived from לְּחִיפּוּ “lachifū,” or נַהְרָה לְחִיפּוּ “nahara lachifū, incantation,” or the “river of incantation.” In support of this sentiment he observes, with the antients, that the town stood near the banks of a river of the same name; and that such wonderful things had been related of Antæus, as well as his tomb, by various authors, that, to all those who believed them, he must appear as a magician. Bochart derives it from שִּׁלָּא a lion, because such animals were common in Mauritia. But it may be further observed in favour (A) of Aldrete, that the inhabitants of this country were supposed to have an uncommon skill in sorcery and magic, as appears not only from Virgil and Silius, but likewise from what we find related of Sidius Geta by Dio. The river Lixus is mentioned both in the periplus of Hanno, and that of Scylax, as also by Ptolemy and Stephanus. Pliny seems to turn this river into an æquary, which, by its winding course, he makes to resemble a dragon or serpent, intimating that it gave rise to the fable of the dragon guarding the golden apples of the Hesperides. Some learned men will have the present Larache to be the ancient Lixus; and it must be owned, that the situation of that place gives great countenance to such a supposition 1.

At some distance from Lixus, to the southward, Hanno, in his periplus, says he built a city, which he called Thymiaterion. In Scylax the name is Thymiaterias; and in Stephanus, Thimiateria. Bochart believes the Punic name to have been דומתירה דומתירה Domeathiri, i.e. “a city situated in a plain.” Hanno himself justifies this etymology, as the reader

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(A) In order to strengthen this conjecture, Aldrete observes, that the word Tingis, in Arabic, approaches pretty near the signification of Lixus; an observation, which, we believe, has escaped all other writers (1).

(1) Vibe Aldret. in loc. citat.
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reader will find, by consulting his periplus; for which reason he will not scruple giving his ascent to it. Though this city was situated on the sea-coast, somewhere to the south of Lixus, the spot, on which it stood, cannot now be precisely determined.

Pliny mentions Sala, a town near a river of the same name, not far from the Atlantic ocean, at a considerable distance from Lixus. All that he observes of this town is, that the district adjacent to it was desert, infested with vast herds of elephants, and the excursions of the Autololes, a tribe of Gaetulians. The situation, as well as name of, this place, sufficiently indicates it to be the modern Sallea, a city famous for its corfairs, who sometimes commit great depredations in the Mediterranean.

The port of Rutubis, where, it is probable, a town stood, was two hundred and thirteen miles south of Lixus. At some distance from this were the Mons Solis, the port of Myfocaras, the promontories of Hercules and Ufadum, and the frontiers of the Autololes. These frontiers terminated Mauritania to the south; and Ptolemy has undoubtedly carried them much farther in that direction, than is consistent with truth. As for Tamusiga, Suriga, and other obscure places mentioned by that geographer, extending still farther to the south, it is sufficient just to have taken notice of them. Thus much for the principal maritime towns of Tingitania, bordering on the coast of the Atlantic ocean.

The first maritime town to the eastward of Tingis, seems to be the Exilissa of Ptolemy. Marmol takes the Ceuta of the moderns to correspond with this place, as it does likewise, in all probability, with the Septa and Arx Septenis of Procopius. That author, together with Isidorus Hispalensis, and others, infinuates this name to have been derived from the seven hills, called the "Septem Fratres" by Mela, in its neighbourhood. Exilissa, Septa, or Ceuta, was a place of great note and eminence in the time of the Goths, as we shall see, when we come to the history of that nation.

Rusadir, a city and haven, taken notice of by Pliny, not far from the country of the Masaesyli. Ptolemy calls it Ryfaldirum;

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dirum; and, from the itinerary, there seems to have been a Roman colony settled in it. Some authors will have Melilla or Melilia, lately in the possession of the Spaniards, to be the Rufadir or Ryffadirum of the antients. If so, it stood upon a plain at the bottom of a gulf, and was commanded by a mountain on the west side.

The first inland town, meriting any attention, near the Aescurum, frontiers of the Masæflyri, was the Aescurum of Hirtius. According to that author, this place was of some consequence, since Bogud, king of Mauritania Tingitana, had a strong garrison in it, which falling out upon a body of the Pompeians, repulsed them with great slaughter, driving many of them into the sea, and the rest on board their ships. No traces of this city, as far as we can recollect, are now remaining.

Molochath, or Mulucha, and Galapha, which Ptolemy places in Tingitana, must belong to Numidia, if the (B) and Shaw has rendered probable; and therefore we shall say nothing more of them here.

Herpis, a town upon the Mauritanian bank of the Herpis. Mulucha, lying at a considerable distance from the city Molochath in a northern direction. As to any further particulars of this place, we are entirely in the dark.

Mela ranks Volubilis, Gilda, and Priscian, amongst the principal inland towns of Tingitana. Ptolemy says, that Volubilis, Gilda, and Volubilis Priscian.


(B) This appears from Florus and Frontinus, who affirm the fortresses of Mulucha to have been in Jugurtha’s dominions, and consequently in Numidia, Sallust likewise confirms this, when he gives us an account of the siege and reduction of that place by the Romans in the Jugurthine war. From Cellarius, in conformity to the old geographers, it seems probable, that Galapha was south-east of Mulucha; and therefore, that what has been observed of the former, holds more strongly with regard to the latter (2).

(2) Flor. i. iii. c. 1. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. i. iii. c. 9. ex. 3. Sallust. in Jugurth. Cellar. geograph. ant. i. iv. c. 7.
Volubilis was one of the most noted places of this country; and the itinerary makes it a Roman colony. From various authors it appears to the Fez of the moderns. Gilda is taken notice of likewise by Stephanus, as a city of good repute. They were all situated in the heart of the country; but the spots of ground, occupied by them, cannot, with precision, be ascertained. However, Marmol affirms, that Mequinez answers to Gilda, which he corruptly calls Silda.

Tocolofida.

A little to the south of Volubilis stood the Tocolofida of Ptolemy. According to Marmol, Amegue, a city three leagues from the river Eguile, in the province of Habat, answers to the antient Tocolofida; but, as that author is very inaccurate, we cannot, in this particular, entirely depend upon him.

Trisidis.

The Trisidis of Ptolemy, according to that geographer, could not be far from the neighbourhood of Tocolofida. Marmol says, that it was built by the Romans, which we can scarce believe, upon a rising ground. The same author intimates, that Aben Gezer, in his geography, will have it to have been built by the giants, some of whose bones, of an enormous size, he affords to have been taken out of several antient tombs in his time.

Gontiana.

Gontiana stands south-west of Tocolofida, near the river Sala, and not far from mount Atlas. Marmol informs us, that a small town, by the Moors called Gamaa, upon the road between Fez and Mequinez, is the antient Gontiana; as likewise, that this place, though strong by nature, has, for some time, been almost entirely depopulated and demolished.

Banaea, Banaea, or Banaea Valentia, was seated in the neighbourhood of the river Subur, at a very considerable distance, in a northern direction, from Gontiana. Pliny seems to intimate, that Banaea was seventy-five miles from Lixus, thirty-five from Volubilis, and as many from the Atlantic ocean. That author, in the same place, says, that Babba, which Ptolemy calls Babba Julia Campefris, was an inland town, forty miles from Lixus; and that Augustus planted a Roman colony there. This likewise the curious may find confirmed.

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\(^q\) Ptol. & Marmol, ubi sup.

\(^i\) Idem, ibid.
confirmed by the legends on some antique coins exhibited by Goltzius.

Chalce or Chalca, a city of Mauritania Tingitana, mentioned by Scylax and Hecataeus; but in what part of that region we are to look for it, cannot now be determined. Ptolemy takes notice of a town called Carcoma or Carcoma; which Bochart will have to be the Chalce of Scylax and Hecataeus, since those two words are of the same import in the Syriac and Greek languages. They signify brassy or copper; which seems to intimate, that this place was near some copper-mine, from whence it deduced its name; and that there was a famous copper-mine in Tingitania, appears from Strabo. Ptolemy makes his Carcoma to be not very remote from Jol, or Julia Caesarea, but betwixt it and Gades. However, the inaccuracy of that geographer in many points, will not permit us to infer from thence, that this place, which he affirms to be a maritime city, is to be sought for in Mauritania Cæsariensis. On the contrary, we can scarce doubt of its having appertained to Tingitania, from what we find advanced by Strabo. To what has been said we may add, that Polybius censures Polybius, for affirming Chalcea to be the proper name of a Libyan city, since, according to him, the copper-mine above-mentioned only was so called.°

Calamintha, a town of Libya, probably of Maur-ritania, taken notice of by Herodotus and Hecataeus, whose situation is unknown. However, Bochart has ventured to assert, that it stood on an eminence or rising-ground. This notion has been suggested to him by the word itself; for he looks upon Calamintha to be equivalent to the Syriac or Phœnician נָהֲמִי galmitha, an "eminence," or a "city built upon an eminence." From hence he likewise infers, that it must have been of a Phœnician original.

We must here beg leave to inform our readers, that Marmol's Marmol has discovered his inaccuracy, not to say ignorance, in many particulars; for he has either corrupted several of Ptolemy's names of cities, or assigned names, pretended


pretended to be taken from Ptolemy, to several places, that
are not to be found in his geography, as will appear to
every one, who will be at the trouble to compare these
two authors. His comparative geography is likewise fre-
quently not to be relied upon; for which reason we
have made but few extracts from him. As for Vobrix,
Thicath, Ceuta, and many more inconsiderable towns
mentioned by the antient geographers, which are scarce
ever taken notice of in history, nay, all traces of which
are, in a manner, lost, we have thought proper to pass
them over in silence; neither are we apprehensive, that,
for this, it will be deemed necessary to make any apo-
logy.

The first river of Tingitania, if it does not appertain
to Numidia, is the Malva, Malvana, Chylemath, Molochath,
or Mulucha; for it went by all these names. That these
names denoted the same river, will appear from a careful
examination of what the old geographers have advanced
on this head. Mela, Pliny, and Ptolemy, give the same
situation to the Chylemath and Mulucha, making it the com-
mon boundary of Numidia and Tingitania. Strabo also
affirms his Molochath to separate the country of the Ma-
fæsyl, i.e. Numidia, from Mauritania, i.e. Tingitania;
and lastly, the author of the itinerary, who was cotempo-
rary with Ptolemy, positively affirms, that the Malva, or
Malvana, limited the two Mauritaniæ, i.e. Tingitania, and
that part of Numidia joining to it. From whence, as it does
not appear from history, that the limits of those two king-
doms were ever changed, but, on the contrary, is probable
that they never were, we may fairly infer, that the above-
mentioned variety of names points out one and the same
river, the Mulloöiah of the present western Moors. 2. The
next river, meritig any attention, is the Thaluda, Taluda,
or Tamuda of Mela, Pliny, and Ptolemy, which emptied itself
into the Mediterranean considerably nearer the freights than
the former. Pliny represents this as navigable, and confe-
quently as a considerable river. The different names given
it by different geographers, seem to countenance what we
have just offered in relation to the Mulucha (C). 3. The
river

(C) Ptolemy’s Vallona discharged itself into the sea not far
from the narrowest part of the freights of Gibraltar, near the

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river Zelis or Zilia, near the city of the same name, already mentioned. 4. The Lixus, already taken notice of, when we gave some account of the city so called. Scylax, in his periplus, mentions a river not far from the Lixus, but betwixt it and the freights, which, Salmastus thinks, ought to be called Adonis; but as to its course, or indeed any particulars at all relating to it, we are entirely in the dark. 5. The Subur, a large and navigable river, fifty miles from the Lixus. It passed by the city of Banafa, as has been lately observed. 6. The Sala, which took its course, according to Pliny, near the confines of the Sahara. 7. The Duus, Cusa, Afama, Phuthuth, and other rivers either in, or upon the borders of, Libya Interior (D), recited by Pliny, Ptolemy, &c. are entirely unknown to us, as indeed they were to those geographers themselves * (E).


place where the town Alcazar Saguir, as Marmol calls it, or, according to Moll, Alcazar Quivir, i. e. "the great palace," at present sands. It appears to us not improbable, that the present rivers Sobou, Gueron, Ommirabih, and Sus, answer to the Subur, Sala, Duus, and Cusa, of Ptolemy. Our readers may possibly be of the same opinion, when they have diligently examined Ptolemy's geographical description of that part of Mauritania contiguous to the Atlantic ocean, and maturely weighed what has been advanced in a former note (3).

(D) To these may be added, from Ptolemy, 1. Mount Diur, which might possibly have been near the river of the same name. 2 Mount Phocra, extending from the Atlas Minor, to Rufadir, between the promontories Metagonitis and Seftiarium. The modern name of this mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, is Jibbel el Hadith, i. e. the "mountain of iron," according to Ortelius. 3. The Durdus, already mentioned in the history of Numidia (4).

(E) That Ptolemy knew little of the geography of this part of Mauritania, is generally acknowledged; but will most evidently appear from several circumstances, which we shall beg leave to throw together here: 1. Darodt, or Darodus, is evidently

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The chief capes or promontories of Tingitania were the following: 1. The Metagonitis of Ptolemy, and the Metagonium of Strabo. This promontory, Marmol tells us, in his time was called Cape Casafa, having a town of the same name built upon it. Strabo intimates, that a considerable extent of territory, whose soil was of a dry and sandy nature, in the neighbourhood of this promontory, went by the same name among the Mauritanians. This was different from the Terra Metagonitis of Pliny, and the Metagonium of Mela.

dently the same name with Dorath, which Ptolemy makes to be the name of a town upon the DIur; as therefore that river, which is the southern limit of the kingdom of Sus, is at this day called Darodt, or Darodus, by the Moors, it must be allowed, that Ptolemy's Dorath, not far from the borders of Gæulia, was a river, and probably that which he calls DIur. 2. As this was the southern limit of the country we are now upon, supposing it to extend as far to the southward as even the present kingdom of Sus does, the river Phthuth must be to the north of it, and not to the south, as Ptolemy affirms; agreeably hereto, Marmol makes Tensift, the next river to the Darodus, in a northerly situation, to be the Phthuth of Ptolemy. 3. As the mouth of the Darodus lies in about twenty-eight degrees north latitude, about four degrees and an half from the tropic of Cancer, it must have been in nearly the same latitude with Ptolemy's Promontorium Ufadium, and consequently, much farther to the southward than he extends the DIur. 4. Even the Promontorium Ufadium, the Mons Solis, Portus Myfocaras, Portus Herculis, Tamusigis, and all the other places he has fixed to the south of the DIur, either are to be placed to the northward of it, or else, in ancient times, belonged to Libya Interior, and not Tingitania. 5. From Marmol, Gramaye, and some of the most accurate modern observations, it appears, that the towns of Suriiga, and Vala, rivers Una, Agna, Sala, &c. to which Ptolemy assigns a southern situation, in respect of the DIur, or Darodus, are really north of it.

Some of our readers may possibly imagine, that Ptolemy's Dragadas, or Daras, which he places in about fifteen degrees north latitude, was the same river as the modern Darodt, or Darodus, which in Mr. Senex's map of Africa is likewise called Dras. But admitting this supposition, Ptolemy will be out in the parallel he assigns it about thirteen degrees; which is a greater error than any of the preceding (5).

(5) Marmol. Gramaye, De la Croix, Mouette, Dapper, Moll, alliq; mult.
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Mela, near the mouth of the Ampfiaga. For their farther satisfaction on this head, we must refer our curious readers to the learned Lucas Holstenius, who has favoured the world with a particular account of both the Metagonia, in his notes upon Ortelius. 2. The Septiarium promontorium of Ptolemy, or the Ruffadi of the Itinerary. 3. The promontorium Oleafrum, so called, according to some, from the prodigious number of wild olives growing upon it. 4. The Phæbi promontorium. 5. The cape Cotes, Cottes, or Ampelusia, not far from Tingis taken notice of by Mela, Ptolemy, and Strabo. The moderns call it cape Spertel. From Mela and Bochart it appears, that Cotes and Ampelusia were words of the same import in the Phœnician and Greek languages; and that they were deduced from the grapes the promontory abounded with. 6. Mons Solis, Promontorium Hercules, and Usadium, of which Ptolemy has handed down to us nothing but the bare names.

Amongst the principal mountains of Mauritania Tingitana we are to rank, 1. Abyle, Abyla, Abila, Abina, Abinna, or Abenna, for such a variety of names it had, a mountain on the African side of the frights of Hercules, called, by the antients, one of Hercules's pillars. Abinna and Abenna seem to have been names given it by the Arabs, and the others it received from the Phœcians. They were all derived from its height, as has been clearly evinced by Aldrete and Bochart. It has been mentioned by Strabo, Mela, Ptolemy, Silius Italicus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Festus Avienus, and others. If we are not mistaken, it is now called by our countrymen, Apes Hill; an appellation which very well agrees with what has been related of it by the antients, or, at least, the country adjacent to it. 2. The Septem Fratres of Mela, and the Heptadelphia of Ptolemy, almost contiguous to Abyla. 3. Mount Cotta, not far from the Lixus. 4. That remarkable chain of hills called mount Atlas, which, according to Orosius, separated the fruitful land from the barren, or, in the style of the natives, the Tell from the Sahara. The antients likewise inform us, that these mountains were known by the names Dyris, Adyris, Dryim, and Adderim, i. e. great, high, lofty or, the Southern limit, as mount Atlas in generally esteemed to be with respect to Tingitania and Numidia. However, Dr. Shaw

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Shaw assures us, that the part of this long-continued ridge of mountains, which fell under his observation, in height could not stand in competition either with the Alps or Apennines. He tells us, that if we conceive a number of hills, usually of the perpendicular height of four, five, or six hundred yards, with an easy ascent, and several groves of fruit and forest-trees, rising up in a succession of ranges one behind another; and that if to this prospect we here-and-there add a rocky precipice of a superior eminence, and difficult access, and place upon the side or summit of it a mud-walled Dahkrak, or village of the Kabyles; we shall then have a just and lively idea of these mountains, without paying any regard to the nocturnal flames, melodious sounds, or the lascivious revels, of such imaginary beings, as the antients have, in a peculiar manner, attributed to this place.

The chief ports of this country were, 1. The Rufsadir of Pliny, or Ryfsladirum of Ptolemy already mentioned. The Itinerary makes the town here a Roman colony, and tells us, that the neighbouring promontory was from thence denominated cape Ruffadi. 2. That at the bottom of the Sinus Emporicus, where there seems to have been a town furnished with inns, warehouses, and all manner of accommodations for the Phoenician merchants, who frequented this place from almost the earliest ages to the time of Augustus. Pliny calls the bay the Sinus Saguti, which Bochart would willingly have read Sinus Saguri; since that lection would enable him to deduce the word from Ἁρνα, sachur, mercator, the Ἁ being frequently, amongst the Orientals, pronounced as the ἄ, of which he produces some instances, and consequently to assign it the same signification as Emporicus. 3. Cotes, Cottes, or Cotta, a port or bay mentioned by Scylax, which may possibly have been in the neighbourhood of cape Cotta above-mentioned; and if so, that author has not given it a right situation, since he places it between cape Mercury and the frights of Hercules. 4. Rufibus, or Rutubis, an harbour taken notice of by Pliny and Ptolemy, in the southwestern part of Mauritania, between the rivers Cufa and Diur. 5. Myfocaras, a port some miles to the south of Rufibus, not far from the river Phthuth. This was the last southern

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The southern port of Mauritania, mentioned by the antients, being almost contiguous to the northern confines of Gætulia.

We shall now proceed to the principal islands on the coast of Tingitania, which were known to the old geographers:

1. The Tres Insulae of the Itinerary already mentioned, where their is now good shelter for small vessels, were situated to the north-west of the Mulucha, at the distance of ten miles. 2. Gezira, or rather Jezeirah, a small island in the river Lixus, about three leagues, according to Marmol and Leo, from the sea, and thirty from the city of Fez. Pliny tells us, that in his time this island abounded with olives; and intimates, that the antients placed the gardens of the Hesperides here. He farther relates, that there was an altar, sacred to Hercules, still remaining in it when he wrote. Aldrete believes, that this island, by the frequent inundations of the river, was, in process of time, laid entirely under water, and at last converted into that lake called, by the Spaniards, Laguna grande, or the great lake, a little above the city and harbour of Larache. 3. Ptolemy’s Pæna and Erythia (F), two small obscure island in the Atlantic ocean, opposite to the tract between his Major and Minor Atlas. 4. The Insulae Purpurariae, which Pliny affirms us faced the country of the Autololes. The natives of these islands were famous for dying that colour called the Gætulian purple, which brought great advantage to king Juba, who, according to the same author, first discovered them. Father Hardouin affirms, that they are the islands called at this day Madera (G) and Porto Santo, being induced thereto by Pliny,


(F) The island Erythia is now called Mogador, and has a castle in it of considerable strength. This is defended by a garrison of two hundred men, who are posted there to secure the gold mines in the neighbouring country, from which ’tis about five miles distant (6).

(G) Madera, or, as the Spaniards call it, Madeira, is an island of the Atlantic ocean, betwixt thirty-two and thirty-three deg. north lat. about sixty miles broad, seventy-five long, and an hundred and eighty in circumference. Though it seems

(6) Moll, de la Croix, &c.

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to have been known to the antients, yet it lay concealed for many generations; and was at last discovered by the Portugueze, commanded by Don Juan Zarco, and Don Tristano Vaz, A. D. 1419. Others maintain, that one John Machin, an Englishman, discovered it in the year of our Lord 1344. Be that as it will, the Portugueze took possession of it in the year above-mentioned, and are still almost the only nation inhabiting it. The modern name Madera, or Madeira, was derived from the vast flore of wood with which it was flocked; the Portugueze, at their first landing, finding it little better than a thick forest. In order therefore to render the ground capable of cultivation they set fire to this wood, which, according to their writers, occasioned a conflagration of seven years continuance. It is now very fertile, producing, in great abundance, the richest wine, sugar, the most delicious fruits, especially oranges, lemons, and pomegranates, together with corn, honey, and wax. It also abounds with boars and other wild beasts, as likewise with all sorts of fowls, besides numerous groves of cedar-trees. The air of Madera is more temperate than that of the Canaries; and consequently its condition cannot be inferior to that of any of those islands. The towns are Monchico, Santa Croce, and Funzal, its metropolis, so called from the prodigious quantity of fennel at first found growing in its neighbourhood. It is now the see of a bishop, who is suffragan to the archbishop of Lisbon; and the seat of a Portugueze governor. Notwithstanding father Hardouin's opinion, some authors make it the Cerne, or Cerne Atlantica, of the antients. If this be admitted, it was famous for the production of those hawks so well known in Maslylia, according to Pliny. As that author places this Cerne in the Atlantic ocean, and from the circumstance just mentioned it appears to have been not remote from Maslylia, such a sentiment cannot well be deemed entirely groundless. Whichever of these notions we espouse, Madera seems formerly to have appertained to Mauritania.

Porto Santo lies at a small distance from Madera, and is under the jurisdiction of the same bishop and governor as Madera. It is only eight miles in compass; but the soil is extremely fruitful. 'Tis remarkable, that this island produces the best honey and wax in the world.

Besides the two aforesaid islands, there is another, called by the Spaniards Isla Deíerta, i.e. the desolate island, seven miles distant from the eastern coast of Madera. But this being inconsiderable, on account of the sterility of its soil, and
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5. The Insulae Beatæ (H), or Fortunatae, B 2

and its small extent, it is sufficient just to have mentioned it (7).

(H) The Fortunate Islands, or, as they are at present called, the Canary Islands, are seven in number. They lie to the southward of Madera, west of the southern coast of Mauritania, and betwixt twenty-seven and thirty degrees north lat. Their names are Palma, Hierro, Gomera, Teneriffe, Gran Canaria, Fuerteventura, and Lanzarote. Palma and Hierro lie most to the west. Their soil is rich; they have good pasture-ground, produce excellent wine, sugar, &c. and abound in fruit. They have each of them a town of the same name. The first is seven leagues long, six broad, and twenty-two in circumference; the latter ten leagues long, seven broad, and twenty-six round. Hierro has a commodious haven; and Palma a volcano that emits vast quantities of sulphureous matter, as we learn from Juan Nunez de Pena. On the western point of Hierro most modern geographers place the first meridian. Gomera, situated to the south of Palma, is very fruitful, affording plenty of grain, apples, sugar, and wine, with pastures for numerous herds of cattle. It takes up twenty-two leagues in compass, and has a considerable town of the same name, besides a very capacious harbour. Teneriffe, to the east of Hierro, is said to be sixty miles long. In it there is a famous mountain, called the Pico of Teneriffe, frequently covered with snow; which renders it probable, that this island was Pliny's Nivaria, and Ptolemy's Ningauria. The Pico is an ascent of about fifteen miles, and five in perpendicular height. We are told, that when these islands were discovered by M. Jean de Betancourt, a French gentleman, for Don Juan king of Castile, in 1405, the inhabitants of Teneriffe were under several kings, who lived in caves; and that they kept the bodies of their ancestors dried like mummies. The towns in it are, St. Christopher de la Laguna, Santa Cruz, Rotava, or Oratava, Rialejo, and Garachico. Canaria, or Gran Canaria, had the same name amongst the antients, as we learn from Pliny; so that it is probable it was not given by the Spaniards, as some writers suggest; as likewise, that some knowledge of it has been retained all along from the Roman times, since the name assigned it by the Romans has been preferred to the present times. It is eleven leagues broad, twelve long, thirty-eight in compass, and about

of Statius Sebofus, Juba, Pliny, and Strabo. Ptolemy gives these islands too southern a situation, affirming them to lie on the coast of Libya Interior, whereas they are in the same parallel with the southern part of Mauritania, according to Strabo (I); which seems to tally with the best modern accounts about thirty from Bofador. Its situation is east of Teneriffe, and its capital city Palma, Palmes, or Canaria. In fertility it equals, at least, if it does not exceed, any of the others. Fuerteventura is east of Gran Canaria, and about twenty-five leagues from the continent of Africa. 'Tis likewise fruitful, and has four towns, Tarafala, Lanagala, Pozo Negro, and Fuerteventura. Lanzarote, north of the former, and in all points answering to the rest, has three towns, Cayas or Lanzarote, Puerto de Naos, and Puerto de Cavalllos. Though the seven are the principal islands that go under the name of the Canaries, yet there are several others in their neighbourhood of less note; as the Isla de los Lobos, situated between Fuerteventura and Lanzarote; the Salvaticæ lying farther towards the north-west; besides Rocca, Gratiosa, Santa Clara, and Alagranza, on the north of Lanzarote. They are all subject to the king of Spain; and Canaria is the see of a bishop, subject to the metropolitan of Sevil. Canaria formerly produced a sort of dates, and pine-apples, in considerable plenty, according to Pliny. In the rivers also of these islands grew the plant papyrus, as in the Nile, if the same author may be credited. From the custom of preserving the bodies of their ancestors, in the manner above-mentioned, it seems probable, that the antient inhabitants of Teneriffe were either a colony of the Ethiopians, or descended from the first progenitors of that people; since, that such a custom prevailed in very early times amongst them, we learn from Diodorus Siculus (8).

(1) The best modern observations tally with Strabo, if, with that author and Ptolemy, we extend the southern limits of Mauritania as far to the southward as within three degrees, or less, of the tropic of Cancer; but if, with the moderns, we will not allow it to reach beyond the mouth of the Darodus, in nearly twenty-eight degrees north latitude, the Insulae Fortunatae will seem to have partly appertained to Gaetulia. For our part, we are inclined to believe, that part of the kingdom of Sus and Morocco, particularly the province of Guzula, or Gezula, together with the district contiguous to the town of Messa, belonged to the Gaetulians, as will be rendered probable when we come to the history of that people (9).

counts and observations. The antients did not agree in fixing the number of these islands; Marcellus made them ten; seven of which he affirms to have been sacred to Proserpina, and the other three to Pluto, Ammon, and Neptune. Pliny and Ptolemy, from Juba, relate, that there were six of them; and Sebofus, as well as Plutarch, only two. One of them Pliny and Ptolemy call Ombros, Ombrios, and Pluvialia; the former author, two others Junonia; the latter, Junonia, and "the inaccessible island." The other three Pliny and Ptolemy, according to Isaac Vossius, named Caparia, Canaria, and Ninguaria, or Nivaria. Ombrios was uninhabited, and destitute of water at all times, but when it rained; from which circumstance it derived its name. This island produced a sort of canes, some of which were black, and others white; out of the former the Mauritanians expressed a liquor of a bitter taste; and out of the latter a pleasant kind of drink. In one of the Junonia's there was a small temple, built of stone. Caparia abounded with monstrous lizards. Nivaria was always covered with snow; and Canaria overrun with dogs of an enormous size, two of which were presented to king Juba. From hence they had their names assigned them. They all abounded with apples, and other sorts of fruit, as well as honey, and all kinds of birds. Their rivers were full of the Sauri, a kind of shad-fish, &c. In short, the antients so highly esteemed them, on account of their happy climate, salubrious air, and fertile soil, that they styled them the fortunate islands, and fixed here their Elysian fields.

Curiosities, most worthy observation, were, 1. The vines, grapes, reeds, &c. towards the confines of Libya Interior, of a most prodigious and incredible size, mentioned by Strabo. 2. The trees growing in the island Ombrios, or Pluvialia, and the liquor extracted from them; which some learned men have imagined to be the sugar-canones and molossus of the moderns. 3. The river, in the southern parts of Tingitania, which overflowed all the adjacent country.

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try, and fertilized it in the same manner as the Nile did Egypt; for that there was such a river in this district, appears from the best modern observations compared with Strabo. 4. The several remarkable ruins of Roman antiquities still remaining. 5. The narrow defent of many fathom deep, a few miles from Tangier, which leads into a fort of cave, from whence are passages into subterraneous apartments, designed undoubtedly by the antients as repositories for their dead, there being found in them many urns and statues with Punic inscriptions upon them. We shall reserve all other curious particulars for the history of the Sharifs in Fez and Morocco.

SEC T. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, customs, arts, &c. of the Mauritanians.

That the descendents of Phut first peopled Mauritania, as well as the tracts between the Triton and the Mulucha, has been already observed from various authors. That the Phoenicians likewise planted colonies here in very early ages, appears from the testimonies already produced. To which we may add, that from Hirtius, Appian, and Dio, as explained by Aldrete, it may be inferred, that the Arabs are to be ranked amongst some of the most antient inhabitants of this country. Their authority is supported by that of the African historians, or rather a tradition of the Africans, as we learn from Leo and Marmol. The Mauritanians bordering on the confines of Gætulia, particularly those in the neighbourhood of the Pharusii, who were probably intermixed with them, might have been the progeny of the Persians, whom several authors of repute affirm to have settled here in very remote times. As the Egyptians, in the reign of Ammon, conquered the Atlantides, a nation seated on mount Atlas, we may look upon them likewise as progenitors of the antient Mauritanians. Should it be admitted, that any number of Persians ever fixed their habitations in so remote a region, 'tis likely, that they either attended Hercules in his Libyan expedition, as several writers affert, or formed part of the body of Arabs above-mentioned; for that they came by sea, in the manner related

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related by Sallust, is utterly improbable. Be that as it will, that the Pharufii deduced their origin from the Persians, seems to be infinuned by the near resemblance of the word Pharufii to a name given the Persians in scripture, viz. דרפ Paras (K), Pharas, or Pharus; for it may be pronounced all these ways. This seems not a little to support the authority of Mela, Pliny, and others. As the Persian and Indian dominions were contiguous, it is no wonder we should find the antient Mauri, considered as the attendants of Hercules, called Indians by Strabo. According to Leo, some of the Moors, and other Africans in his time, believed themselves to be descended from certain tribes of Sabœans, a people of Arabia Felix, who were chafed out of their native country either by the Assyrians or Ethiopians. Others, if we may credit the same author, gave out, that their ancestors were driven out of Asia by a powerful enemy, and pursued into Greece; from whence they made their escape into Barbary, leaving their pursuers in possession of the country they last abandoned: but this, he adds, was to be understood only of the white nations inhabiting some parts of western Barbary and Numidia. Marmol relates from the African historians, that five tribes of Sabœans, under the conduct of Melec Ifriqui king of Arabia Felix, first spread themselves over some of the eastern parts of Barbary; and that Tut, the grandson of Cham, settled first in Tingitania, giving name to the Tuteii, a people of that region. The African Tut, we apprehend, must either be Phut, one of Ham's younger sons, or Lud his grandson. Nothing absurd is implied in the last supposition; for it appears, from the Jerusalem Targum, in conjunction with the sacred historian, that Lud, the son of Miriam, may be considered as one of the first planters of Mauritania.


(K) It may not be improper, in order to strengthen what is here observed, to take notice, that דֶרֶפ Pharufi, a Persian, approaches very near the word Pharufii; especially if we give it a plural of Chaldee, or Syriac termination. From the parts of Scripture
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It is generally imagined, that absolute monarchy prevailed in Mauritania from the earliest ages, as well as in Egypt and Numidia. Bocchar, Bocchus, and Bogud, from what we find related of them by the Roman historians, seem to have governed here with an uncontrollable sway; which is a sufficient intimation, that their predecessors likewise were despotic. However, we must observe from Appian, that several tribes of Moors, whom he calls περσαίοι, were governed by their own laws, or, at least, under the direction of their own chiefs and leaders, in opposition to that form of government, which was established in the greatest part of the country we are now upon. The independent Arabs, mentioned by Dr. Shaw, who are seated in the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, and sometimes hover about the frontiers of the empire of Morocco, may probably be the posterity of these free-born Moors. Be that as it will, most of the provinces of Mauritania, if not the whole region, were subject to one prince in the reign of the elder Dionysius. This we learn from Juffin, who says, that Hanno, a Carthaginian nobleman, in order to attain the sovereignty of Carthage, to which he then aspired, had recourse to the king of the Mauri for assistance. Appian insinuates, that not only in Numidia, whilst regal government flourished there, but likewise in other neighbouring parts of Africa, and therefore probably Mauritania, several reguli, or heads of the Kabyles, as they now are called, were engaged in bloody wars one with another; which evidently implies, that they must have exercised a sovereign power. Notwithstanding which, the great figure the Mauri or Maurufii made in Africa, that name extending even to the borders of Africa Propria, before the Romans grew formidable there, as appears from Juffin, is a sufficient indication, that most of them were united under one common head. The names Mauritania Propria or Tingitania received from those of its kings, viz. Bogudiana, &c. clearly demonstrate the vast extent of power they enjoyed. The form of government in use, from the remotest antiquity, amongst those nations that first sent colonies hither, evinces the same thing; as does that of the

pure in which the word is used, it appears pretty plain, that it was a Persian proper name; and from others, that the Hebrews called Persia Elam, and the Persians Elamites (10).

(10) Nehem. c. xii. v. 22,
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the antient Numidians, who agreed with their neighbours the Maurufii in almost all points whatsoever.

That some of the Mauritanians had laws, or at least certain political maxims and institutions, which served as rules for the conduct of their chiefs, may be naturally inferred from Appian; but none of these have been conveyed down to us. Nay, the Mauritanian monarchs themselves, however absolute, might have had some immutable laws, to steer their political course by, as we find the Medes and Persians had. Appian’s *dulce vocari*, just mentioned, seemed to suggest such a thing, or, at least, that laws were not entirely unknown in Mauritania.

Neptune seems to have been one of the principal objects of adoration in this country, which is a sufficient proof, that the Naphthuhim, or Nephthuhim, of Moses, extended themselves into it; though the first feat of that people might probably, as Bochart and Arius Montanus imagine, have been in Marmorica and Cyrene. This deity and his wife Neptys might receive their names from hence, Neptune, Neptys, and Naphthuhim, signifying the king, queen, and people, of the sea coasts. *Tis certain, that the Egyptians called the exterior parts of the earth, promontories, and whatever bordered upon the sea, and was washed by it, Neptys. The sun and moon likewise, in common with the other Libyan nations, they paid religious honours to. That they offered human sacrifices to their gods, in imitation perhaps of the Phœnicians and Carthaginian or some other antient nations, from whom their ancestors came, is affirmt by Seneca. From what Nonnus and others have advanced, it seems probable, that Bacchus was worshiped by the Mauritanians, especially as the Indians and Arabs adored him in a most particular manner. In short, we are to form a notion of the Mauritanian religion from that of the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Persians, and Carthaginians, already described, as well as from that of the old Arabs, which we hope soon to give our readers a succinct account of. What peculiarities, in this particular, the Mauritanians

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nians had, as doubtless they had some, have many ages since been buried in oblivion. However, it seems probable from Mela, that they either worshipped Antaeus, or paid divine honours to his shield.

Language.

The Mauritanian language undoubtedly differed from the Numidian in such a manner only as one dialect of the same tongue does from another; so that there is no room for us to be prolix on this head. As for the Mauritanian character, that seems to have been the same with the Numidian, those letters on the coins formerly mentioned bearing an equal relation to the inhabitants of Numidia and Tingitania. What has been just observed of the religion of the people we are now upon, viz. that it bore a near resemblance and affinity to those of the nations from whom the Mauritanians deduced their origin, will hold equally strong with regard to their language. The tongue of the present Kabyles Dr. Shaw has given us a specimen of, and possibly some traces of that of the antient Moors are still remaining in it; but of this we are far from being certain. However, several words of the African vocabulary, which that learned and ingenious gentleman has obliged the world with, are deducible from the oriental languages, whatever he may intimate to the contrary (L). The Arabesca,

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(L) The very learned and ingenious Dr. Shaw positively affirms, that there is no affinity at all betwixt what may be suppos’d to be the primitive words in the Showiah, as the present African Kabyles call their language, and the words which convey the same meaning in the Hebrew and Arabic tongues. From whence he seems to infer, that this language bore no relation at all to any of those that are now called the Oriental languages; and that ’tis difficult, if not impossible, even to form any conjectures about it. But that that there is a possibility at least, if not a good degree of probability, of deducing it from the Eastern tongues, will best appear from the following Showiahian words:

1. Akel,
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beeca, at present spoken in Fez and Morocco, as well as over all other parts of Barbary, was not so much derived from the Saracens, who over-ran this vast tract, as the antient inhabitants of Numidia and Tingitania. The Punic tongue, not very remote from the Arabic, prevailed through that part of Africa, extending from the Triton to the Atlantic ocean, even to the time of St. Auffin.

1. The Mauritanians, as well as the other Africans, from what Hyginus intimates, seem to have fought only with clubs, till one Belus, the son of Neptune, as that author calls him, taught them the use of the sword. Sir Isaac Newton makes this Belus to have been the same person with Sesostris king of Egypt, who over-ran a great part of the then known world. 2. All persons of distinction in Mauritania went richly attired, wearing much gold and silver in their cloaths. They took great pains in cleansing their teeth, and curled their hair in a curious and elegant manner. They combed their beards, which were very long, and always had their nails pared extremely close. When they walked out in any numbers, they never touched one another, for fear of disconcerting the curls into which their hair had been formed. 3. The Mauritanian infantry, in time of action, used shields made of elephants' skins, being clad in those of lions, leopards, and bears, which they kept on both night and day. 4. The cavalry of this nation was armed with broad short lances, and carried targets or bucklers, made likewise of the skins of wild beasts. They


1. Akel, "to see," may naturally be deduced from "hhacal," red, coloured, &c. or לָעָל "Achal, he under. 2. Athrain, a mountain," from אתי "Athar, a place, and נ"ע har, a hill. 3. Allen, the eye," from the Arabic article "al, the," and יִת "ein, or en, eye. 4. Aman, "water," from יִם "main," or "man, waters," and נ ha, "the, i.e. פָּמָה Hamain, or Haman, the waters. 5. Ekkaa, "the earth," from the Arabic article "al, the," and מָק "kaw, "barren soil. 6. Asfa, to-day," from סַשַּׁע "asf, or asfa, "the time from noon to the next day-break." As all the other Showiahan words we have examined are equally deducible from the Oriental languages, we doubt not but Dr. Shaw's whole Showiahan vocabulary may be deemed of Oriental extraction (11),

(11) Vid. Schind. lex. pent. & Gol. lex. Arabic.
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They used no saddles, nor any accoutrements. Their horses were small and swift, had wooden collars about their necks, and were so much under the command of their riders, that they would follow them like dogs. The habit of these horsemen was not much different from that of the Scythians mentioned, they constantly wearing a large tunic of the skins of wild beasts. The Phutæi, of whom the Mauritanians were a branch, were eminent for their shields, and the excellent use they made of them, as we learn from Homer, Xenophon, Herodotus, and Scripture. Nay, Herodotus seems to intimate, that the shield and helmet came from them to the Greeks. 5. Notwithstanding the fertility of their soil, the poorer sort of the Mauritanians never took care to manure the ground, being strangers to the art of husbandry, but roved about the country in a wild savage manner, like the antient Scythians or Arabes Scenitæ. They had tents, or mapalia, so extremely small, that they could scarce breathe in them. Their food was corn, herbage, &c. which they frequently did eat green, without any manner of preparation; being destitute of wine, oil, and all the elegancies, as well as many necessaries, of life. Their habit was the same both in summer and winter, consisting chiefly of an old tattered, though thick, garment, and over it a coarse rough tunic; which answered probably to that of their neighbours the Numidians, already described. Most of them lay every night upon the bare ground, though some of them strewed their garments thereon, not unlike the present African Kabyles and Arabs, who, according to Dr. Shaw, use their hykes for a bed and covering in the night. 6. If the most approved reading of a passage in Horace may be admitted, the Mauritanians shot poisoned arrows, which clearly intimates, that they had some skill in the art of preparing poisons, and were excellent dartmen. This last observation is countenanced by Herodian and Ælian, who entirely come into it, affording them to have been in such continual danger of being devoured by wild beasts, that they durst not stir out of their tents or mapalia without their darts. Such perpetual exercise must render them exceedingly skilful in hurling that weapon. 7. The Mauritanians sacrificed human victims to their deities, as the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, &c. did. This is not only probable from the authorities produced in the Carthaginian history, but from the express testimony of Seneca and Eusebius. 8. As the other customs of the nation we are now upon coincide with those of the Numidians already related, for their farther satisfaction in this particular, we must beg
beg leave to refer our readers to the Numidian history. With regard to the arts and sciences of the Mauritanians, we have not much to say. The country-people were extremely rude and barbarous, as appears from what has been just laid down. Those inhabiting cities must undoubtedly have had, at least, some smattering of the literature of the several nations they deduced their origin from. That the Mauritanians had some knowledge in naval affairs, seems probable, not only from the intercourse they had with the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, as well as the situation of their country, but likewise from Orpheus, or Onomacritus, who afforded them to have made a settlement at the entrance into Colchis, to which place they came by sea. Magic, sorcery, divination, &c. from what has been observed in the last section, they appear to have applied themselves to in very early times. Cicero and Pliny say, that Atlas was the inventor of astrology, and the doctrine of the sphere, i. e. he first introduced them into Mauritania. This, according to Diodorus Siculus, gave rise to the fable of Atlas's bearing the heavens upon his shoulders. The same author relates, that Atlas instructed Hercules in the doctrine of the sphere and astrology, or rather astronomy, who afterwards brought those sciences into Greece. Some say that Neptune, and others that Atlas, first fitted out a fleet, and invented tall ships with sails. Be that as it will, 'tis generally acknowledged, that both Neptune, and Atlas his son, reigned in this country; for which reason it cannot be denied probable, that astronomy, astrology, geography, geometry, navigation, &c. were known to some of the Mauritanians in early ages. Let this be admitted, and it will almost necessarily follow, that a competent knowledge in history, chronology, &c. could not have been wanting amongst them. That some of them were not deficient in point of genius, is evident from the great and illustrious figure the younger Juba made in the learned world, an account of which will be given towards the close of the Mauritanian history.

Not.

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Notwithstanding Mela represents Tingitania as a poor despicable country, scarce deserving any notice, yet Strabo assures us, that it was a rich and opulent kingdom. The ancients in general, by fixing the gardens and golden fruit of the Hesperides here, seem to concur with him in that opinion. Sallust, in particular, discovers himself to have entertained the same sentiment, when he tells us how formidable Jugurtha's army was rendered by its junction with the Mauritanian forces; and Dio, when he intimates, that Bogud, king of Mauritania, caused victory to declare in favour of Caesar, at the battle of Munda. We cannot well conceive it to have been otherwise, if we consider its extraordinary fertility, the genius of its inhabitants for trade, the gold it abounded with, the bravery of its troops, and other instances of its power mentioned by writers of the best authority. The Carthaginians had generally some bodies of Mauritanians in their service, which is a proof, that they were highly esteemed by that famous republic. The name of Mauri, or Maurusii, seems to have extended itself from the Atlantic ocean to the borders of Africa Propria, or, at least, to the Ampsaga, as may be inferred from several authors: nay, it survived those of the Massili and Massaephyli, which must have been occasioned by the superior eminence of the Mauritanian nation, and consequently is an additional argument in favour of what has been just advanced.

S E C T. III.

The History of the Mauritanians, to the entire reduction of their country by the Romans.

The accounts transmitted down to us by the ancients of the most early transactions in Mauritania are so involved with fable, that 'tis impossible for us from thence to form any tolerable idea of them; though these accounts are so prolix, that they would fill a considerable volume. It will therefore be sufficient, for the information of our readers,

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ers, to give a concise relation of the principal of them, stripped as much as possible of fable, and as consistent with itself as the jarring traditions of the old poets, philosophers, and historians, will permit it to be m.

The two earlist princes of this country, except Neptune and Antæus two kings of the first nations, were Atlas and Antæus. From several circumstances, with which we are supplied by various authors, it appears extremely probable, that these were the same person. They were both of them the sons of Neptune, who reigned over Mauritania, Numidia, and a great part of Libya; as may be naturally inferred from his having such particular marks of distinction conferred upon him by the inhabitants of those regions. They both ruled with an absolute sway over a great part of Africa, particularly Tingitania. Hercules defeated and flew Antæus in the same war wherein he took the Libyan world from Atlas. Both Atlas and Antæus invaded Egypt, and contended with Hercules in the wars of the gods, and were both overcome by him. Antæus, as well as Atlas, seems to have been famed for his knowledge in the celestial sciences. From whence, as well as from other considerations that might be offered, we may fairly conclude them to have been the same king of Mauritania n (M).

Antæus


(M) The oblique cases of the word Atlas, viz. Atlantis, Atlante, &c. are apparently compounded of the names Atlas, or Atal, i. e. tall, lofty, &c. and Ante, or Antæus. This is a presumptive proof, that they both belonged to the same person, and consequently, that Atlas and Antæus were the same king of Mauritania. The old nominative case in the Greek language, of all such words, bore a near relation to the oblique cases, though altered in process of time. The word Atal ans-

swers
Sir Isaac Newton's opinion, in relation to the age wherein they lived, probable.

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ANTÆUS, in his wars with Hercules, who seems to have commanded an army of Egyptians and Ethiopians, behaved with great bravery and resolution. Receiving several large reinforcements of Libyan troops, he cut off vast numbers of Hercules's men. But that celebrated commander, having at last intercepted a strong body of Mauritanian or Libyan forces, sent to the relief of Antæus, gave him a total overthrow, wherein both he, and the best part of his forces, were put to the sword. This decisive action put Hercules in possession of Libya and Maurania, and consequently of all the riches in those kingdoms. Hence came the fable, that Hercules, finding Antæus, a giant of an enormous size, with whom he was engaged in single combat, to receive fresh strength as often as he touched his mother earth, when thrown upon her, at last lifted him up in the air, and squeezed him to death; as likewise, that he took Atlas's globe upon his own shoulders, overcame the dragon that guarded the orchards of the Hesperides, and made himself master of all the golden fruit there. Bothchart thinks, that the fable alluded chiefly to naval engagements, wherein Hercules, for the most part, was victorious, though Antæus, from time to time, received succours by sea; till at last Hercules, coming up with one of his squadrons having a strong reinforcement on board, made himself master of it; which rendered Antæus, for the future, incapable of making head against him. The same author likewise insinuates, that the notion of Antæus's gigantic stature, prevailing for so many centuries amongst the Tingitanians, pointed out the size of the vessels of which his fleets or squadrons did consist; and that the golden apples, so frequently mentioned by the old mythologists, were the treasures that fell into Hercules's hands upon Antæus's defeat, the Greeks giving the original word ἱαθ, riches, the signification affixed to their own term μῆλα, apples. Bishop Cumberland seems, with Sanchoniatho, and the Atlantian theology in Diodorus, to allow Atlas to have been the son of Ouranos, i. e. according to him, Noah; and likewise to take for granted, with Eusebius, that Antæus was his son. But should this be admitted, we must allow Hercules, and consequently Antæus, to have been

swers very well to the stature of Antæus, according to Pliny and Plutarch (12).

been contemporaneous with Misraim; that the remotest western parts of Africa, even those bordering upon the Atlantic ocean, were then fully inhabited; and that they had, even for some time, then formed a powerful kingdom; i.e. the north-western part of Libya made a considerable figure before Egypt and Phoenicia, from whence its first colonies were drawn, could in reality make any figure at all; nay, that those countries, particularly Egypt, could send colonies into, and attempt the conquest of almost the remotest regions, immediately after the first planters had settled there; absurdities so glaring, that even none in Ctesias can exceed them! Besides, if Eusebius espoused this opinion, as he seems to have done, by his citation from Diodorus, provided we fall in with bishop Cumberland's explanation of Sanchoniatho, he is inconsistent with himself: for he asserts Hercules to have vanquished Antæus about three hundred and ninety-three years before the destruction of Troy, as we find by consulting his Chronicon. Now, allowing that event to have preceded the Christian era twelve hundred years, which is higher than it has even been fixed by the followers of Ctesias and Eratosthenes, both Hercules and Antæus must have lived between seven and eight hundred years after the deluge; which, though much too early, in our opinion, must bring them down several hundred years lower than the age of Misraim. The Greek mythic writers, particularly Apollodorus, will have Atlas to be the son of Iapetus, and grandson of Noah, according to bishop Cumberland; but this hypothesis likewise, from what has been just advanced, must be acknowledged void of the least shadow of probability. In fine, after the most diligent and impartial examination of all the different hypotheses of historians and chronologers, relating to Atlas and Antæus, we find none so little clogged with difficulties as that of the incomparable Sir Isaac Newton. That illustrious author supposes Ammon, the father of Sefac, to have been the first king of Libya, or that vast tract extending from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic ocean; that the conquest of this country was effected by Sefac in his father's lifetime; that the Libyans, headed by Neptune, afterwards rebelled against Sefac, flew him, and then invaded Egypt under the command of Atlas or Antæus, the son of Neptune, Sefac's brother and admiral; that Hercules, the general of Thebais and Ethiopia for the gods or great men of Egypt, after the death of Sefac, reduced a second time the whole continent of Libya, having overthrown and slain Antæus near a town in Thebais, from that event called Antæa or Antæopolis; and lastly, that the
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first reduction of Libya, by Sebac, happened a little above a thousand years before the birth of Christ, as the last, by Hercules, did a few years under that period. Now, though we do not pretend to adopt every particular circumstance of Sir Isaac Newton's hypothesis, yet we cannot forbear observing, that it appears undeniably plain from Scripture, that neither the western extremity of Libya, nor even the other parts of that region, could possibly have been so well peopled before the time of David or Solomon, as to have sent a numerous army to invade Egypt; since Egypt and Phoenicia, from whence the greatest part of the ancestors of the Lybians came, and which were much nearer the place from whence the first dispersion of mankind was made, could not themselves have been greatly over-stocked with inhabitants any considerable time before the reign of Saul. And that such an invasion happened in the reign of Neptune, or at least of his son Antæus, has been full evinced by that most excellent chronologer.

To what has been already offered on this head we may add, that the Lybians are not taken notice of by scripture, as a nation of any strength or power, till the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam king of Judah, who was then invaded by Sebac. A body of Libyan troops attended that prince in this expedition; and therefore Libya must be considered as then newly become subject to him. About thirty years afterwards they made likewise something of a figure; since in the fifteenth year of Asa, Zerah the Ethiopian advanced to Marehah with an army of a million of men, of which the Libyans formed a considerable part. As this was but a short time after the death of Sebac, and as Zerah must then have been master of Egypt, since otherwise he would not have marched his Libyan forces through that country to attack Asa's dominions, it seems to us extremely probable from hence, in conjunction with what has been just observed, that Libya was annexed to the Egyptian monarchy by Sebac, and not before; as likewise, that Seoftris, and Seonchofis, must have been the same Egyptian prince with Sebac, since those names denoted that conqueror who first reduced Libya, and formed the great Egyptian monarchy, according

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Chap. 2. The History of the Mauritanians.

No mention is made of the Egyptians on this occasion, since soon after the death of Sefac, i.e., a little before the Trojan war, the Ethiopians, for a short time, were masters of Egypt, as appears from Pliny and Herodotus. If therefore all that vast tract, known by the name of Libya, was so inconsiderable, that it deserved little or no attention, till the days of Rehoboam and Asa, how obscure must the country, called by the Phœnicians Maurtania, a small part of it, have been in every age preceding Sefac? We may therefore infer from hence, that Antæus, or Atlas, could not have lived much earlier than the age Sir Isaak has assigned him; however early some particular colonies of Canaanites, or Phœnicians, a sea-faring people always intent upon discovering unknown countries, might have settled in the western parts of Africa. However, we are far from insisting upon what is here advanced as true, but only beg leave to submit it, with all possible deference, to the judgment of our learned and impartial readers.

The sentiment we would here recommend to the consideration of the learned is also countenanced by Virgil and Trogus Pompeius, who hint the following remarkable particulars relating to it: 1. About nine hundred years before the commencement of the Christian æra, Libya was independent on Egypt, since the eastern, if not the western part of it, was governed by a king of its own, named Iarbas. This tallies extremely well with what Sir Isaak has observed of the fall of the Egyptian empire, founded by Ammon and Sefac; for, according to him, that empire was broke to pieces about the year before Christ 940, by the civil wars in the reign of Amenophis, which, in a great measure, occasioned the revolt of the nations upon the coasts of the Mediterranean and Euxine seas. 2. The Libyans much nearer Egypt, a polite and civilized kingdom, than those bordering on the Atlantic Ocean, had only a few villages, consisting of small huts, probably the same as the modern Dashikras, mentioned by Dr. Shaw, when Dido arrived in Africa; though possibly Utica, built and inhabited by Phœnicians, might then have made a better figure. Tinigis likewise, as it appears to lay claim to a more antient founder than Antæus, being on the sea-coast, was perhaps a town of some note before the time we are now upon. 

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as we have observed from Procopius, some parties of Canaanites might erect a castle there, though before that time, if any traces of a town were in being, it could only have been an inconsiderable Daphkra, or perhaps little better than a collection of thickets and caves of the earth. 3. The Libyans, even in and near the territory of Carthage, were a sort of barbarians at Dido's arrival there, living, in a manner, like wild beasts, and standing in need of Dido's Phoenician followers to polish and civilize them. These, and some other inferences, that might be drawn from the above-mentioned authors, add no small weight to what Sir Isaac has advanced with regard to Atlas or Antæus, as well as the rise and fall of the Egyptian empire; but this we must supercede, as not so properly belonging to that branch of antient history, to which we are obliged at present to confine our selves. 

We find nothing worth relating recorded of the Mauritanians from the defeat of Antæus to the Roman times. Livy only tells us that Syphax's kingdom bordered upon the Mauri, which is nothing more than an implication, that such a nation did then exist. Justin indeed from Trogus, intimates, that, in some of the earliest ages of Carthage, the Mauri were neighbours to the Carthaginians, and had some disputes with them; but he gives us no particulars of moment concerning that people. Diodorus Siculus likewise says, that, in the interval between the overthrow the Carthaginians received from Gelon, and the first Punic war, they had frequently Mauritanian mercenaries in their armies, without hinting any thing farther relative to the nation we are now upon. Nor ought this to be wondered at, since we are informed by Sallust, that nothing of the Mauri besides their name, was known to the Romans, so late as the Jugurthine war; and the most antient Greek writers scarce ever considered them as a particular nation, but only as a branch of the Libyans. How Bocchar, king of Mauritania, lent Masinissa a body of troops to escort him to his dominions, and what was consequent thereupon, our readers will find related at large in the Numidian history. 

Plutarch intimates, that the elder Juba pretended to be lineally descended from Hercules; but that biographer seems not to give overmuch credit to such a pretension. However,

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'tis natural enough to suppose, that the person who obtained this country, upon the dissolution of the Egyptian empire, founded a family that might continue for many generations. Possibly Bocchar, and Bocchus father-in-law to Jugurtha, were of his family; since the affinity of names, and the country they governed, sufficiently intimate them to have been of the same family, and of the blood royal of Mauritania. Be that as it will, Bocchus, from the account Sallust gives us of him, seems to have been a perfidious prince. After two defeats; the Romans menaced and cajoled him into an infamous action, i.e. to deliver (N) his son-in-law Jugurtha into their hands, after the most solemn engagements to support him, and even a promise made to put Sylla into his power. Jugurtha indeed was a prince not only capable, but even guilty, of the most enormous crimes; but this will not vindicate, nor even palliate, the conduct of (O) Bocchus. What is here hinted at may

(N) Orosius intimates that Bocchus did not enter into an alliance with Jugurtha till after Marius had taken Capra; which contradicts Sallust and Plutarch. He also describes the first general action between the two African princes and Marius, which he affirms to have happened near Cirita, as the most bloody and dubious one the Romans were ever concerned in. The Romans, says he, after having been extremely harassed by the enemies parties, were attacked by their whole army, wherein was a body of sixty thousand Mauritanian and Numidian cavalry, whose horses raised such clouds of dust, that the heavens were thereby obscured; which, together with the shower of darts thrown on this occasion, turned the day into night. The battle was fought with such obstinacy, that it continued three days; neither had the Romans at last won it, being reduced to the last extremity by thirst, occasioned by the intolerable heat of the climate and season, had there not fallen a most seasonable shower of rain, which greatly refreshed them, rendered the handles of the Africans darts so slippery, that they could not throw them, and made their shields, covered with dried elephants skins, that imbibed all the water, so ponderous, that they could not use them; which of course determined victory to declare against Bocchus and Jugurtha. But, as this relation, in many particulars, runs counter to Sallust and Plutarch, or rather seems to be a confused account of several actions mentioned by them, we shall leave our readers to give what credit to it they please (13).

(O) Either this prince, or another of the same name, undertook an expedition against the western or Hesperian Ethiopians, as we learn from Strabo. According to that author, Bocchus found,
may be found related at large in some former parts of this work *

History is silent as to any farther particulars of the Mauritanian affairs, till the time of Bogud (P), who was cotemporary with Julius Cæsar, and his adopted son Octavius. Bogud, in conjunction with Publius Sittius, not a little contributed to Cæsar’s great success in Africa, as has been already observed. In Spain likewise he enabled Cæsar to gain the ever-memorable victory at Munda, which gave the finishing stroke to the Roman republic. After that emperor’s death he did with Antony against Octavius; and endeavoured to make a diversion in favour of the former, in Spain. But whilst he was employed in this expedition, the Tingitanians revolted from him, and, being supported by a body of Spaniards in the interest of Octavius, and some of Bocchus’s troops, defeated him upon his return into Africa; which put Bocchus in possession of Tingitania. Octavius, or Augustus, afterwards confirmed this acquisition to him, and honoured the inhabitants of Tingis with the privileges of Roman citizens. Bogud was at last killed by Agrippa at Methona, as our readers will elsewhere find; and after Bocchus’s (Q) death


in the country of these Ethiopians, some reeds of such an enormous size, that the largest joint of them would contain eight chenixes of corn; which, together with some asparagus equally large, he sent as curiosities to his wife. What successes attended this expedition, we neither find in Strabo, nor any other author (14).

(P) Suetonius informs us, that Julius Cæsar fell in love with Bogud’s queen Eune, or Eunoe, a Mauritanian lady. As he made both her and her husband presents of an immense value on this account ’tis not improbable, that he enjoyed her by her husband’s consent (15).

(Q) Pliny relates, that one king Bocchus, having fastened thirty men to stakes, in order to their being destroyed by the same number of elephants, ordered certain perions to irritate those animals; but that, notwithstanding all their efforts, they found it impossible to make them subservient to that prince’s cruelty. The same author likewise mentions an African historian of this name; but whether or no he was of royal extraction, he tells us not (16).

death; Tingitania was reduced to the form of a Roman province.

Augustus gave the younger Juba, a prince extremely in his favour, the two Mauritaniae, together with part of Gæ-
tulia, some time after his marriage with the younger Cleopa-
tra, instead of his father's kingdom, i.e. Numidia, which
still remained a Roman province. 'Tis true, Strabo, as has
been observed by Mr. Bayle, affirms, that Augustus restored
Juba to the kingdom of his father, and moreover granted him
the Mauritaniae; but this geographer limits the Roman pro-
vince, and the kingdom of Juba, in such a manner, as shews
that Numidia belonged to the Romans. We must not omit
observing here, that the translator of Dio has committed an
ergious blunder, in his Latin version, which seems to have
proceeded purely from inattention: “Cæsar says he, gave Juba,
&c. 11, (i.e. Egypt) and his father's kingdom,” whereas
Dio there affirms, “that Cæsar gave (R) Juba her, (i.e. Cæ-
sopatra)

bell. civil. Cæs. de bell. civil. 1. ii. Plut. in Pomp. & in Cæs.

(R) Juba had a noble education bestowed upon him at Rome,
where he imbibed such a variety of knowledge, as afterwards
equalled him to the most learned Graecians. He did not leave that
city, till he went to take possession of his father's dominions. By
the lenity of his government he so won the hearts of all his sub-
jects, who ever retained the most grateful sense of the felicity
they enjoyed under him, that they ranked him among the gods,
and, according to Pausanias, erected a statue in his honour. He
was extremely well versed in the Assyrian, Arabic, Greek, Punic,
African, and Latin histories, as well as those of other na-
tions. He wrote the history of Arabia; the antiquities of the
Assyrians and Romans; the history of theatres, of painting, and
painters; of grammar; of the nature and properties of different
animals; a particular treatise upon the herb Euphorbia, which he
so called from his physician, who first discovered the many excel-
ences of it, in which he greatly celebrates its singular virtues;
a piece concerning the source of the Nile; besides many other
works ascribed to him by Suidas, Ammianus Marcellinus, Pliny,
Athenaeus, &c. a few fragments only of which are now extant.
Pliny intimates, that his learning rendered him more illustrious
than his crown; and frequently cites him, as asserting or confirm-
ing the most curious particulars. According to Ammianus Mar-
cellinus, Juba, from some Punic authors, affirmed the Nile to
have
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"Cleopatra) and his father's kingdom." That this observation, made first by Mr. Bayle, is indisputably true, appears sufficiently from hence, that this Juba was never king of Egypt. Suidas relates, that the younger Juba was whipped publicly when led in triumph; but this seems highly improbable, and has not the countenance of any other author to support it. Ptolemy (S), his son by Cleopatra, daughter to Antony and Cleopatra, surnamed Selene, succeeded him. How this prince was afterwards cut off by Caius, either thro' a principle of avarice or jealousy, we may learn from Suetonius and Dio, as well as a former part of this history."

Tac-


have had its source in a high mountain of Mauritania. The abbé Sevin has favoured the world with a short dissertation on the life and writings of the younger Juba, wherein he has inserted a catalogue of all his works. That he died in the year of Rome 776, or 777, may be inferred from Strabo and Tacitus (17).

(S) Ptolemy's pedigree has been discovered by the following Roman inscription, communicated to Dr. Shaw by father Ximenes, which exhibits that of his father Juba:

REGI IVBAE REGIS
IVBAE FILIO REGIS
IEMPSALIS N. REGIS GAVD.
PRONEPOTIS MASINISAE
PRONEPOTIS NEPOTI
II VIR QUINQ. PATRONO
C O L O N I.

This inscription differs something from the authors who have supplied us with an account of Masinissa's family in the Numidian history (18).

Chap. 2. The History of the Mauritanians.

Tacfarinas, a native of Numidia, who had served among the Roman auxiliaries, a little before the third confu-
late of Tiberius, occasioned fresh troubles in Africa. At
first he assembled a great number of barbarians, inured to
robberies, and all kinds of rapine, by the allurement of plun-
der; out of which he formed a considerable army, and discri-
plined it after the Roman manner. The gros of the army
consisted of Musulanians, a powerful nation bordering upon
the Sahara, still wild, and without towns, of whom Tacfa-
rinas declared himself general. These were joined by a large
body of Mauritanians, commanded by their general Mazippa,
whom Tacfarinas had found means to draw into the war.
The Cinhithians likewise, a nation by no means despicable, he
forced to come into his measures. With the regular forces
he encamped, and detached Mazippa to make excursions, and
harass the Romans by perpetual alarms, with the irregular
troops. Furius Camillus, the Roman commander, advanced
against the Africans with only a single legion, and what
troops the allies could spare him. This he did in order to
draw them to a general action, since they seemed willing to
decline an engagement, it being their interest to protract the
war. Though Camillus’s troops were but an handful, in com-
parrison of the barbarians, he drew them up in order of battle,
posing the legion in the centre, and the light cohorts, with
two wings of horse, on the right and left. He had no sooner
made this disposition than the barbarians attacked him, but
were quickly routed with great slaughter. However, the
next year Tacfarinas renewed the war, making dreadful in-
cursions into the very heart of the country, and doing irre-
parable damage where-ever he moved. He posted from place
to place with such celerity, that none of the Roman detach-
ments could come up with him. After he had committed many
devastations, he surrounded a Roman cohort, commanded by
one Decrius, an officer of distinguished merit, in a fort near
the banks of the Pagida. The Romans behaved with great
bravery; but their commandant being killed, they were ob-
liged to abandon the fort to the enemy, and betake them-selves
to flight. Lucius Apronius, Camillus’s successor, caused this
ignominious cohort to be decimated, and every tenth man,
drawn by lot, in conformity to the antient custom, to be ex-
ecuted with a club. This rigour had such an effect, that
Tacfarinas’s army was routed, and forced to raise the siege of
Thala, by a squadron of five hundred veterans only. This
defeat determined Tacfarinas to resolve never for the future
to attempt a siege, but to carry on the war in a desultory
manner,
manner, flying when attacked, and, upon a retreat, assaulting the rear. As long as the African observed this method, he eluded all the efforts of the Romans; but withdrawing to the maritime places, and being, by the prospect of an immense booty, confined to his camp, he was attacked by Apponius Caesianus with a body of cavalry, auxiliary cohorts, and a detachment of legionary foot. The dispute was neither long nor bloody; for the barbarians were soon overthrown, many of them slain, and the rest obliged to disperse themselves in the Sahara. However, Tacfarinas, though often repulsed, still repaired his forces, and arrived at such a pitch of arrogance, as to send embassadors to Tiberius, threatening him with eternal war, if he and his army had not a proper settlement assigned them. Tiberius incensed to the last degree at such unparallelled impudence, ordered Blæsus who commanded the Roman forces in Africa, to offer a general indemnity to the Africans, and to endeavour, by all means possible, to get Tacfarinas into his hands. Blæsus, in order to put an end to this war, made the following disposition of his forces: he detached Scipio, his lieutenant, to a post from whence Tacfarinas committed his depredations upon the citizens of Leptis, and then retreated among the Garamantes; his son he sent to protect the territory of the Cirtesii; and between both he marched himself with the flower of his army, erecting forts and redoubts in proper places as he advanced. These measures, with some others equally good, had the desired effect; for Tacfarinas's forces were dispersed, his brother taken, and he obliged to hide himself in the desert. Notwithstanding which, a great body of Mauritanians, through Ptolemy's indolence, having joined him, as likewise a strong reinforcement from the king of the Garamantes (T), he once more made head against the Romans. But Dolabella, having fortified the proper posts, and executed the chiefs of the

(T) Tacitus intimates, that Tacfarinas drew together at this time a powerful army of Africans, by giving out, that the Romans were so embroiled with other nations, that they would be obliged gradually to abandon Africa; and that therefore, would the friends to liberty unite, they might soon cut off all that remained there. The same historian also informs us, that before the general action here mentioned, Dolabella forced Tacfarinas to raise the siege of Thubuscum, which he abandoned at his approach (19).

(19) Tacit. an. i. iv. e. 24.
Chap. 2. The History of the Mauritanians.

The Musulani, who were meditating a revolt, advanced against the enemy, who, he was informed, had taken post near the castle of Auzea. After a forced march he came up with them, and entirely defeated them, putting to the sword Tacfarinas himself, with a vast number of his followers. A body of Mauritanians, king Ptolemy sent to assist Dolabella, did not a little contribute to this victory, which, for some time, settled peace in the Roman provinces, Mauritania, and Gætulia.  

Ptolemy having been cut off by Caius, as related above, Ædemon, one of his freedmen, in order to revenge his death, assembled a body of forces in Mauritania. Caius being soon after assassinated, his successor Claudius, in order to disperse this corps, sent thither a Roman army, which was the first that ever appeared in that country. Though they performed no great exploits the first campaign, yet, as the enemy retired before them, the senate persuaded Claudius, to accept of triumphal honours for the success of his arms in Mauritania. The following year, Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman general, defeated the enemy, ravaged all the country as far as mount Atlas, and penetrated into Gætulia. Sidius Geta, who succeeded Paulinus in the command of the Roman army in Africa, gave Salabus, the Mauritanian general, two overthrows, and pursued him into the Sahara. Having been supplied here with water in a wonderful manner, when his troops were upon the point of perishing, Geta concluded a peace with Salabus upon his own terms. 'Tis probable, that, by this treaty, Mauritania was delivered up entire into the hands of the Romans; since we find it soon after divided into two provinces, the one called Tingitania, or Mauritania Tingitana, from the city Tingis, and the other Mauritania Cæfarienfis, from Cæsar, a surname Claudius had in common with the other Roman emperors. That prince appointed two Roman knights to preside over these provinces. Soon after, the Romans routed a body of Gætulians that infested some parts of Numidia, and thereby restored tranquillity to all their African dominions. 'Tis observable, that Augustus settled nine colonies, and Claudius three only, here; which, in a region of so vast an extent, could neither have sufficient power thoroughly to subjugate the natives, nor influence to conciliate their affections to the Romans.

Mauritania reduced to a Roman province.

CHAP.

The History of the Gætulians.

As the limits of Gætulia have not been settled, either by Ptolemy, or any of the other antient geographers, 'tis impossible for us to define them. From several authors it may however be inferred, that they were not always the same. In Pliny's time the Gætulians possessed a considerable part, at least, of Tingitania; the Maurusii having been so extremely weakened by long and bloody wars, that they could not make head against them. Virgil affirms this people to have extended themselves from the Regio Syrtica to the Atlantic ocean; and Festus Avienus seems to have fixed their eastern boundary not far from the western confines of Marmarica. However, nothing certain concerning the extent and situation of their country can be drawn either from those authors or Strabo, who only intimates the Gætulians to have been a large nation, taking up a considerable part of Libya Interior, andpossessing some territories in the neighbourhood of the Syrtes. Pliny says, that Gætulia was terminated on the south by the river Nigris, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Nigir, which, according to him, separated it from Ethiopia. But notwithstanding the indefinite terms in which the antients have laid down this region, by comparing their several accounts and descriptions, we shall find the northern limits thereof contiguous to, and frequently coinciding with, the southern parts of Numidia and the Mauritaniae; and, by consulting the best observations of the moderns, that it could not have reached to any great distance in the Sahara. Dr. Shaw (A), in one place, seems to insinuate, that the proper Gætulia did not extend farther to the east than the meridian of Siga, i. e. about o' 10 E of London, provided Tackumbreet be the antient Siga, as he imagines; since he there tells us, that the Melanogætuli and Garamantes occupied the tract behind

(A) Dr. Shaw also tells us, that Gætulia extended into the desert or Sahara; which supposes, that nothing but desert must be left to the direct southward of it. Therefore Melanogætulia, and the country of the Garamantes, in conformity to the situation assigned them by the antients, must have lain E. S. E. of Gætulia, and consequently have begun in an eastern direction from it (1).

(1) Shaw ubi sup. p. 136.
Chap. 3. The History of the Gætulians.

behind Numidia, Africa Propria, and the Regio Syrtica, from that meridian to Cyrenaica: whereas in another place he fixes some Gætulian tribes in the remotest part of the district of Zaab, and meridian of Constantina, above six degrees more to the eastward than Siga. Whether or no either of these seemingly jarring accounts be true, or which of them is so, we shall not take upon us to determine; but only observe, that Guzula, or Gezula, a province of the kingdom of Morocco, at the foot of mount Atlas, seems to have preserved some traces of the antient Gætulia. Could we lay any great stress upon an affinity of names, this province was a principal part of Gætulia; in which case Dr. Shaw's first notion would have probability on its side. But, as the concurrent testimony of the antients favours the latter, we know not what to say. However, the ascertaining the bounds of this rude and barbarous region is not a matter of such importance, as to deserve any great regard. We shall therefore leave our geographical readers to choose which of these notions they please, or to reject both of them, if they think proper.

As the Gætulians, before the time of Jugurtha, led their flocks from pasture to pasture, living, for the most part, in tents, without any fixed habitation, our readers will not expect to find many towns in this country. Some however Virgil insinuates there to have been, though his commentator Servius appears to be of a different opinion. Philostratus makes the Gætulians to have inhabited the interior part of mount Abinna, or Abyla, and consequently, by intermixing them with the Maurusii, allows some of them to have dwelt in towns. Pliny also intimates, that the Gætulians in his time were masters of a good part of Masæfylia; and Apuleius assigns them some districts, at leaft, of Numidia Propria; which testimonies, if admitted, evince the same thing. But Pliny and Ptolemy render it indisputable, when they mention the cities Autolasi, Talubath, &c. as appertaining to the Gætulians. The principal tribes of proper Gætulia were the Baniuræ, Darræ, and Autololes (B), according to the last-mentioned


(B) Pliny says, that the Vesuni, or, according to some MSS. the
The History of the Gætulians. Book IV.

mentioned geographers, 'Tis probable, that the Baniuræ bordered upon Tingitania, as the Darrae did upon the Ethiopians called Perorii and the Pharusii. The Autololes seem to have been by much the most powerful, and to have spread themselves over that part of Tingitania bordering on the coast of the Atlantic ocean. Their capital city Autolala, from which they derived their name, we know nothing farther of, than that it stood betwixt the Subus and the Salathus, the only two rivers of note, except the Gir and the Nigir, that watered Gætulia. Of Talubath nothing has been transmitted down to us by the ancients, but the bare name. As the Sahara began not far from the southern foot of mount Atlas, this country was undoubtedly, for the most part, sandy and desert; however, it was interpersed with several fruitful spots. Mount Sagapola, eminent for nothing but its being the limit of Gætulia on the side of the Melanogætuli, and containing the sources of the Subus and Salathus above-mentioned, seems to have been the only mountain of any note in the region we are now upon. As for the promontories, &c. we meet with none meritig any attention; though from Pliny it may be inferred, that the Promontorium Solis, and some ports already mentioned, might have been in a territory afterwards annexed to the proper Gætulia. The only curiosity here, deserving a place in history, was the vast quantity of the purple-fish produced in that part of the Atlantic ocean washing the Gætulian shore, with which the rocks on this coast were frequently covered. The Teladusii, Soræ, Drytæ, Elulii, Mazices, Nacmusii, and other obscure nations, inhabiting either Numidia, or the confines of that country and Gætulia, in the time of Ptolemy, deserve so little regard, that our readers will scarce expect a bare enumeration of their names. However, we must not omit observing, that as Ptolemy places the Pharusii to the north of mount Sagapola, they may be considered as a clan or canton of the Gætulians; especially since Pliny affirms their district to have stretched itself out as far as the Atlantic ocean, and Mela makes them to have attended Hercules in his expedition against the Hesperides. 'Tis not therefore probable, that mount Phrusæius,

the Nefuni, were a branch of the Autololes, who separating from their brethren, settled upon the borders of Ethiopia, and afterwards formed a distinct nation. Orosius informs us, that the Autololes, or, as the MSS. falsely have it, Auloles, were called, in his time, Galaulies (2).

(2) Plin. in loc. citzt. Oros. l. i. c. 2.
Chap. 3. The History of the Gætulians:

ælius, near four degrees east of the Mulucha, should have been so denominated from the Pharusi; except we will suppose this ridge of mountains to have been the eastern limit of that nation, and that they were so numerous and powerful as to have spread themselves over a tract extending from thence to the Atlantic ocean. In such a case we might, with Dr. Shaw, allow, that the inhabitants of mount Phrælius were part of the Pharusi. Perhaps this notion may be countenanced by Mela and Pliny, when they intimate the Pharusi to have been an opulent people in antient times, and to have bordered upon the Nigritæ, in the neighbourhood of the river Niger, which, with Ptolemy, they make one of the boundaries of the Gætulians. The vicinity of the Nigritæ and Pharusi is likewise taken notice of by Dionysius Afer and Strabo.

According to Jofephus and St. Jerom, Chavila, or Havilah, the son of Cufh, was the father of the Gætulians; for which reason we find them called Evilæi, or Havilæi. As it is well known, that Havilah, or Chavila, settled in Arabia Felix, and that from him his descendents there assumed the name of Chaulotæi and Chaulafii, the same words with Evilæi, it cannot well be doubted, but that Gætulia was first peopled from Arabia Felix, as has been already hinted. This likewise renders probable the authority of the antients, who assert, that the Gætulians intermixed themselves with the Persians, and that the Pharusi, in particular, were of Persic extraction; since Persia and Arabia being in a manner contiguous regions, many Persians probably attended some of the Arabian colonies passing into Africa, or at least followed Sefac and Hercules in their Libyan expeditions. We find no obscure traces of the Darræ, a Gætulian tribe above-mentioned, in Leo and Marmol, who describe a province, bounded on the west by those of Gezula and Sus, called Dara, corresponding nearly with the tract assigned that people by Pliny; and 'tis well known, that the Darræ are a nation of Arabia Felix, taken notice of by Stephanus, Ptolemy, and Pliny; which may serve as an additional argument in favour of an early migration of Arabs into Gætulia. To which we may farther add, in support of that migration, that, considering how remote

The History of the Gaetulians. Book IV.

Gaetulia was from Arabia Felix, what a series of ages had passed from the first plantations of colonies there to the most early occurrences of that country transmitted down to posterity by the Greeks and Romans, what other nations were intermixed with the first migrating Arabs, viz: the Persians, Indians, &c. the word Gaetulia, or Chetulia, is no very strange corruption of Chavilah, Chevilah, Chavilath, Chevilath, Chevilat, or Chevilat. Both Pliny and Ptolemy have remembered the river, Dara, or Darat, which they say produced great numbers of crocodiles. If our readers should be disposed to allow the modern Darodus, or Darodt, to be that river, as 'tis not improbable some of them may, they would be convinced, that Ptolemy had not only placed his Darat, or Darus, vastly too much to the southward, but likewise made his Mauritia Tingitania to comprehend a great part of Gaetulia, if not the whole country. 'Tis certain, that the names and situation of the provinces of Gezula and Dara render this not a little probable. The word Dara seems to signify a generation or habitation of sheperds, and is therefore very applicable to a tribe of Gaetulians, who, as well as the modern Darans and Gezulians, had scarce any other possessions than their flocks. Both the name therefore and manner of life of this people plainly pointed out the nation from whence they deduced their origin. Some antient authors related, that the Tyrians had, in very early ages, many cities here, and in the neighbouring parts of Libya Interior, which were destroyed by the Nigrites and Pharusii; but this notion is rejected as fabulous by Strabo.

The first Gaetulians, according to the Punic historians, were some of the most antient inhabitants of Africa, extremely rude and barbarous, without any form of government, laws, or manners, especially such as ever prevailed in a civilized state. They lived upon the flesh of wild beasts, eating upon the ground, after the manner of cattle. They roved about the country, taking up their lodging where-ever the night surprized them. Some of the Pharusii, or Phaurusii, at first, if any credit may be given to Strabo, lived in caves like the Troglydotes. But this state of

of barbarity, Sallust tells us, continued only till Hercules came amongst them; which is a farther proof of what Sir Isaac Newton has advanced with regard to the age of that hero; since, as we have lately observed, the Gætulians were far from being perfectly civilized in the time of Jugurtha, and therefore Hercules did not probably precede that age so long as the generality of the antient chronologers suppos'd. It is believed by some good authors, to whose sentiments we pay great deference, that the Gætulians, however rude and barbarous, at least towards the Roman times, were under the direction of certain (C) phylarchs, or heads of Kabyles, as their successors at this day are. However, if they had then any fixed or stated laws, we are now entirely ignorant of them. If they had any (D) customs likewise, different from those of their neighbours the Numidians and Mauritanians, the knowledge of them has not reached us. As all the authors mentioning them are utterly silent as to any particulars relating to their religion, we must suppose it to have been the same with that of their neighbours already taken notice of, or with that of their progenitors the antient Arabs, which will hereafter be briefly described. Leo relates, that many of the antient Africans erected magnificent temples in honour of the Sun and Fire, which they worshipped, where-in they had a perpetual fire; though others of them adored another planet. Probably the Gætulians were some of the former, as being partly descended from the Persians, who professed

(C) Strabo calls these phylarchs kings and tells us, that they so delighted in horses, that amongst them they brought up yearly an hundred thousand colts. He likewise informs us, that these horses, as well as the Gætulian larger cattle, had hoofs longer than those of any other nation (3).

(D) One custom, however, we must not pass over here. Lucan seems to observe, that the Gætulians were mixed with their cattle in their mapalia, as Dr. Shaw relates of the Bedoweens in the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis at this day. The former author also insinuates, that many of the Gætulians were carried about the country, with their Penates, in carts or waggons, after the manner of the antient Scythians (4).

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proffessed the Magian religion. Their language must undoubtedly have borne a near resemblance to the antient A-rabic, and the other Oriental tongues. This does not only appear from what has been already advanced, but likewise from the Showiahan vocabulary given us by Dr. Shaw, most, if not all, of whose words are easily deducible from the Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac. Our readers will not expect to meet with any arts or erudition in such a country as Gætulial, and therefore will not suppose, that we have any thing to offer on that head here d.

With regard to the transactions of this nation, we have not much to say. Herodotus and Scylax take no notice of the Gætulians, which renders it probable, that, when those writers lived, they were very obscure. The first authors that mentioned them were probably some of those old historians from whom Livy extracted the materials for his work; since he gives us to understand, that a corps of them served under Hannibal in the second Punic war. That general, according to him, having taken and razed Acerræ, formed a design upon Casilinum, and sent a body of Gæ-
tulians, under the command of their general Isalca, to attack it. Isalca soon took post before the town, when, finding every-where a profound silence, and not observing a creature to appear, he imagined, that the garrison kept themselves still within the town through fear; which encouraged him to attempt forcing open the gates: but he was repulsed by two Praenestine cohorts; who, falling out upon him, cut many of the Gætulians to pieces, and obliged the rest to retire, with great precipitation, to the Carthaginian army, which was advancing to support them. Whether or no Masinissa, who so greatly extended his con-
quests in Africa, ever subdued them, history informs us not; but we are assured by Sallust, that his grandson Ju-
gurtha taught them to keep their ranks, and instructed them in military discipline. However, they served that prince more by plundering the allies of the Romans, than by their bravery in time of action; for the army he had rais-
ed and disciplined in Gætulia was easily routed by Marius near Cirta. That part of Gætulia under the dominion of Juba, for it does not appear that the whole country was ever subject to him, revolted to Julius Cæsar; but, that with

A brief ac-
count of the
Gætulians
till the time
of Vespasian.

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with Numidia it was reduced into a Roman province, we
cannot positively affirm; especially, since Augustus gave
a part of Gætulia, probably this, with the Mauritaniae, to
the younger Juba, as an equivalent for Numidia, his fa-
ther's kingdom, which, says Dio, had before put on the
form of a province. Be that as it will, it was ravaged
by Sittius, as has been already observed, when Juba had
drawn all his forces out of it, in order to join the Pom-
peians; which might possibly occasion the aforesaid revolt.
About the year of Rome 759, the Gætulians rebelled a-
gainst king Juba, massacring all the Romans settled in his
dominions, and committing most dreadful ravages in all the
provinces subject to him. Dio ascribes this defection to the
resentment of the Gætulians, who were extremely incen-
ced against the Romans for imposing a prince upon them,
and not permitting them to live under their government.
But however this may be, Cornelius Coffs gave them
so complete an overthrow, that they were obliged to sub-
mit upon the terms he thought fit to prescribe. This was
looked upon at Rome as so considerable an exploit, that
he had triumphal honours decreed him, and was permit-
ted to assume the cognomen Gætulicus. Notwithstanding
which, this people so recovered themselves, that in the elder
Pliny's time they had settlements in Numidia and Tingita-
nia, as may be inferred from that author and Philostrat-
tus c.

C H A P. IV.

The history of the Melanogætuli, Nigritæ, and Garamantes.

PTOLEMY places the Melanogætuli, or black Gæt-
lians, between the mountains Sagapola and Ufargala,
in a district south-east of Gætulia Propria, to which it is
contiguous, and north of the river Niger. They were a na-
tion undoubtedly different from the Gætulians, and consid-
ed in that view by Ptolemy, though Cellarius insinuates
them to have been a tribe of that people. Their complexi-
on not only evinces this, but likewise, that their proge-
nitors were different from those of the Gaetulians. Of course
therefore the Darae ought not, as Cellarius imagines, to be
looked upon as a clan of the Melanogetauli; nor does the
situation of Leo's Dara above-mentioned quadrate with such
a supposition. Mount Usargala is called by Leo Guargala,
and by Dr. Shaw Huergla. The former of those authors
informs us, that near the foot of this ridge of mountains
there were, in his time, some castles, and a great number
of villages, whose inhabitants were very rich, as being
adjacent to the Agades, an opulent trading nation, and all
of them perfectly black. Ptolemy says, that the Bagrada
derives its streams from some fountains on mount Usargala;
but the latest observations demonstrate this to be a mistake.
The modern district of Wad-reag in the province of Con-
stantina, containing a collection of twenty-five villages, rang-
ed in a N. E. and S. W. direction, seems to correspond
with a part of the country of the Melanogetauli, according
to Dr. Shaw. Ma-ryre, the nearest of these villages to
Zaab, a territory answering, as should seem to the south-east-
er part of Gaetulia, is ten leagues to the S. of El-Fythe,
the last village of Zaab. Tum-marnah, the next place of
note, is six leagues to the westward of Ma-ryre, and twelve
to the N. E. of Tuggurt, the capital of Wad-reag, and
the Tegort of Leo. Tuggurt stands in a plain, without any
river running by it; the inhabitants, as well as those of
the other villages of Wad-reag, being supplied with water
by wells, dug an hundred, and sometimes two hundred, fa-
athom deep. This method they are obliged to have recourse
to, their territory being in a manner destitute both of ri-
vulets and fountains. They dig through different layers of
sand and gravel, till they come to a leaky kind of stone
like unto slate, which is known to lie immediately above
the abyss, called by them "The sea below-ground." This
stone is no sooner broken through, than a flux of water
ascends so suddenly, and in such abundance, that the per-
son let down to perform the operation has sometimes been
overtaken and suffocated by it, though raised up with the
greatest dexterity. The country likewise of the Beni Mez-
zab, situated thirty-five leagues to the S. of the mountains
of the Amner, supposed to be a part of the Mons Phru-
ræsus of Ptolemy, the large village of En-goufah, thirty
leagues
leagues to the S. W. by W. of Tuggurt, and the populous city of Wurghah, with their dependencies, even to the banks of the Nigir, our learned and ingenious traveller believes might have been included in Melanogætulian. As Ptolemy places the Melanogætuli next to the Pharusi in a southern direction, fixing his Nigritian Ethiopians in a tract lying to the N. of the Nigir; and as Mela, Pliny, and Strabo, seem to give the Nigrætæ exactly the same situation with regard to the Pharusi and the Nigir, but are quite silent as to the Melanogætuli; we cannot help thinking the Melanogætuli and Nigrætæ one and the same people. If this be admitted, it will appear extremely probable, that their territories extended to the Nigir, and that they had some places of note in those parts; since, according to Ptolemy, many towns stood not far from that river, of which the principal were Pesside, Saluce, Nigira, Thige, Cuphe, Tha-mondicana, and Vellegia. The most noted rivers of this country were the Gir and the Nigir. The Gir, or, as it is now called in our best maps, Ghir, had its fountains on mount Phuræfus, or according to Dr. Shaw, the mountains of the Amner. It took its course through part of the Sahara, in a S. E. direction, some degrees to the southward of the tropic of Cancer. The ingenious traveller just mentioned believes the modern Wed Adge-dee to be the Gir of Ptolemy, Agathemerus, and Claudian. But the principal river of Nigritia, and one of the most famous in the world, is that called by Ptolemy the Nigir, by the Nigrítian, Wed, or Huid Nijar, i. e. The black river, and by the Europeans the Nigir. This river, according to the best modern geographers, has its source near a ridge of mountains in the kingdom of Gorhan, not far from the confines of Abyssinia, or upper Ethiopia. It crosses the whole region of Nigritia in a western direction, and, after being swelled by the accession of several rivers in its march, at last discharges itself into the Atlantic ocean. The Negroes likewise call it the river of Senegal, and the Arabs the Nile of the Nigrítiens; this last nation considering it as a branch of the Nile or rather the Nile and the Niger as two branches of the same river. According to Pliny and Leo, it overflows the adjacent territories in the same manner as the Nile; which, if true, may be another reason for the Arabic appellation. If any credit may be given to Leo, and the African historians, Sabtecha, the son of Cufh, first peopled the Sahara betwixt the mountains of Atlas and Nigritia.
and therefore probably Nigritia itself, or at least part of it. From the same author it appears, that the various Nigritian dialects bear an affinity to the Chaldee, Arabic, and Egyptian tongues; to which we may add, and consequentely to the Ethiopic, which does not differ widely from them. As for the customs, &c. of the people we are now upon, they must be referred for that branch of the modern history to which they most properly belong. Our readers may likewise there expect to find an accurate geographical description, and natural history, of this country from the best observations that have been made; since it would be absurd to infer them here, as the antients were so little acquainted with it. The Carthaginians, however, had undoubtedly some knowledge of the Nigritæ, since it appears probable from Frontinus (A), that one part of their armies consisted of Nigritian troops. They used scythed chariots in their wars, and

(A) From the passage of Frontinus here referred to it is evident, that the Carthaginians had Melanogætulian or Nigritian troops in their service before the time of Gelon, and consequentely that they had some knowledge of the Blacks above five hundred years before the birth of Christ. This will enable us to account for a strange phenomenon in antiquity, i.e. several antique coins with a Negro’s or Nigritian’s head upon them. One of these coins is to be found in the earl of Pembroke’s invaluable cabinet, and another in that of the reverend and learned Mr. Wife, curator archivorum, and fellow of Trinity-college, in the university of Oxford. That of my lord Pembroke, being well preferred, is a most noble curiosity. Mr. Wife received his from one of the authors of this history, who had it from Mr. Beswick, whose brother was for some time the British consul at Tripoly, near which city it was found. As the Carthaginians had a communication with Nigritia, ‘tis probable, that they sent some of their artificers upon certain occasions thither; and since they coined money in a very elegant manner, as above observed, we may conclude, that upon some extraordinary event, either in Nigritia, or their own dominions, they struck those pieces. This will receive a farther accession of strength from the country wherein Mr. Wife’s was dug up, which was subject to the Carthaginians; that nation being in possession of all the maritime territories extending from their capital city to the borders of Cyrenaica (1).

(1) Frontin. strat. i. i. c. 11, ex. 13. Univ. hist. Vol. xvii. p. 45. &c. note. (C).
and were armed after the manner of the western Ethiopians, i.e. with bows and arrows of the same make, as we learn from Strabo. According to the same author, the Pharusii, and therefore, probably, the Negritæ, adjacent to them, travelled in caravans through the deserts to Cirta, and kept open a communication with the Maurusii, carrying with them bottles filled with water, tied to their horses' bellies, left they should die of thirst in the vast deserts they were obliged to traverse. From this passage it is undeniably clear, that these Pharusian and Negritian merchants must have lived at a vast distance from Cirta, and those places of Mauritania to which they resorted; a point that evinces the Negroes, or Blacks, to have held an early correspondence with the antient Mauritanians, Numidians, and Carthaginians.  

The Garamantes were situated to the S. E. of Gætulia, The Garamantes. The limits of their country we cannot take upon us to ascertain (B); though, from what the antients have delivered in general concerning it, we may prefigure, that it extended to the borders of the (C) proper Ethiopia. That it consisted of many large territories, may likewise

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(B) That the Misulani, Misulami, or Mufulani, were seated near the country of the Garamantes, or at least not at a very great distance from it, appears from Tacitus. But we can neither precisely determine the situation of this Numidian tribe, tho' at the foot of Mount Andus, nor that of many others, viz. the Nafabutes, Mucuni, Tulensii, Machufii, Taladufii, &c (2).

(C) Virgil joins the Garamantes with the Indians, only to denote, that they were both very remote nations, and that the Roman empire was to extend, or rather did extend, to the farthest parts; for they were not contiguous to each other, Ethiopia, Arabia, Perśia, &c. lying between them. So Horace, when

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(2) Tacit. annal. ii. iii. iv. Plin. & Ptol. ubi sup.
likewise be inferred (D) from Herodotus, Virgil, Festus Avienus, and others. However, it was not of any very considerable breadth, according to Strabo. Dr. Shaw believes, that part of the antient Garamantes spread themselves over that tract comprehending the districts of Gad-demz, Fezzan, and some of the more distant cities and villages of the kingdom of Tripoli. Be that as it will, the region we are now upon abounded with wild beasts, and its most antient inhabitants were so savage, that they fled at the sight of a person belonging to any other nation. They were at the same time entirely deficient of arms, and had not the courage to defend themselves, if attacked; from which circumstances 'tis apparent, that they industriously avoided all kind of correspondence with other nations. However, in process of time they built towns, or rather dakhtras, the principal of which were Garama, the metropolis, near mount Girgiris, and the source of the Cinyphus, Debris, and Matelge. They likewise associated with the Marmaridæ, a neighbouring people; and carried on a trade with the Carthaginians, Arabs, Persians, and Ethiopians. This could scarce be avoided, if one branch of the Carthaginian commerce extended to those remote countries by means of Caravans, passing to Carthage from thence through the sandy deserts of the Garamantes; which we cannot think improbable.

when he would intimate, that the merchant traversed the remotest regions for gain, says,

"Impiger extremos currit mercator ad Indos;"

where he is not to be understood as intending precisely the Indians, but any nation at a vast distance from Rome. Servius and others confirm what we here suggest (3).

(D) We might here give our readers a catalogue of the names of towns and clans, said to have appertained to the Garamantes by Pliny and Ptolemy; but as the situation of none of them can be defined, and nothing but their names has been transmitted down to us by those authors, we think an insertion of it entirely superfluous. No rivers of note, belonging to the country of the Garamantes, except the Cinyphus, or Cinipus, and the Gir, are taken notice of by the antients; nor do they mention any mountains in it except those called by Ptolemy Girgiris and Vallis Garamantica (4).

(3) Virg. ecl. viii. & Æn. vi. Serv. in loc. Hor. i. i. ep. i.
(4) Herodot, i. iv. Plin. & Ptol. ubi sup.
improbable. Though several arguments might be offered in support of this opinion, we shall content ourselves here with observing, as a strong presumption of its truth, that, according to several authors, the Garamantes, Persians, and Ethiopians, supplied the Carthaginians with vast numbers of gems, which were almost invaluable. Notwithstanding the cowardice of the most antient Garamantes mentioned by Herodotus, yet, in after-ages, their posterity seem to have been of another disposition, as may be collected from Pliny, Tacitus, and Festus Avienus. Some of them roved about the deserts of Libya in the same manner as their successors the modern Bedoweens do at this day; whilst others inhabited the (E) dashkras scattered up and down these parched and unfruitful plains. The former lived very frugally in their Mapalia, and supported themselves by hunting, which sometimes they continued to the winter solstice; the wild beasts being refreshed by the copious rains which fell at that time, and affording them then excellent diversion. Nay, according to Herodotus, they hunted the Troglodytes themselves, a barbarous nation living in caves under-ground, in vehicles drawn by two pair of horbes, made for that purpose. Nigritia, and the country of the Garamantes, seem, for the most part, to have been peopled at first from Egypt and Ethiopia, and consequently to have been the descen
dents of Misram and Cufh, though we doubt not but some colonies of Arabs likewise settled here. It appears from some of the most perfect Egyptian mummies now remaining, that the features of the antient Egyptians much resembled those of the present Negroes; which is a proof, that the latter must have been originally nearly related to the former. The language, or languages, therefore spoken in these re
gions, bore a great affinity at first to the Egyptian, Arabic, and Ethiopic; and may at this time, probably, be impure dialects of them. We have no farther particulars of mo

(E) Herodotus informs us, that in the country of the Gara
mantes there was a pillar, or rather mountain of salt, with a fountain issueing from the summit of it, and palm-trees covering the adjacent lands; that the natives first laid fresh earth upon the salt, and then sowed their corn there; and that they bordered upon the Lotophagi, whom we shall presently have occasion to mention (5).

(5) Herodot. l. iv
ment relating to the religion of the Garamantes, than that they, in common with the Arabs, Indians, and Ethiopians (F), worshipped Jupiter Ammon (G), representing him, for the most part, with a ram's head, or, at least, with ram's horns, and had a famous temple sacred to him. Pliny mentions a surprising fountain near Debris, whose waters, from noon to midnight, grow extremely warm, but from thence to the sun's next approach to the meridian were so cold as to be congealed. Matrimony did not prevail amongst the Garamantes, the men making use of the women just as they fell in their way. At first they were governed by heads of tribes, or phylarchs, as the Gætulians, Arabs, &c. but afterwards monarchy seems to have taken place amongst them, as we learn from Tacitus. Pliny mentions a king of the Garamantes, who was brought back from exile by two hundred dogs, that relifted all who opposed them. Though Ptolemy asserts them to have been a large and powerful nation,

(F) The great veneration in which the nations here mentioned had Jupiter Ammon, as well as the form under which he was exhibited to public view in this temple, appears from the following lines of Lucan:

``Ventuni erat ad templum, Libycis quod gentibus unum
Inculci Garamantes habent: stat corniger illic
Jupiter, ut memorant, fed non aut fulmina vibrans,
Aut similitas nostro, sed tortis cornibus, Ammon.
Non illic Libycæ pœsuerunt ditia gentes
Templa, nec Eois splendens donaria gemmis,
Quamvis Æthiopum populus, Arabumque beatis
Gentibus, atq; Indis unus fit Jupiter Ammon.
``

Herodotus says, that Ammon was represented by an image with a ram's head, because Hercules faw his statue covered with the skin of a ram; and Diodorus, because Jupiter, in all his wars, wore a helmet resembling the head of that animal. But this representation seems to have been rather an allusion to the great numbers of sheep produced in Libya (6).

(G) 'Tis intimated by Virgil and Silius, that Iarbas, cotemporary with Dido, was a descendent of Ammon, and that he reigned over this country. But the authors, from whom they extracted this notion, are now lost (7).

The Melanogætuli, &c.

...tion, extending themselves from mount Usargala to the lake or moras Nuba, yet we find scarce any of their affairs recorded in history. Masinissa took refuge amongst them, after he had been driven out of his dominions by Syphax. As the roads to their country from Mauritania were rendered impracticable by robbers, the Romans knew little of them till after the expiration of the republic. Lucius Cornelius Balba entirely subdued them, for which he had a triumph granted him by Augustus. However, by some means or other, they afterwards shook off the Roman yoke; since we are informed by Florus, that, some years after, Cossus detached Curinius with a body of troops against them and the Marmaridæ; and by Tacitus, that the king of the Garamantes joined Tacfarinas, in the reign of Tiberius, against the Romans. After the last defeat and death of Tacfarinas, they sent embassadors to Rome to appease the resentment of Tiberius; which we suppose was done by an absolute submission to him, since it appears probable, that the Roman empire extended on that side almost, if not entirely, to the northern bank of the Niger b.

As for the Nubæ, Perorfi, Taraultæ, Mimaci, Aftacusi, Aroncæ, Dernones, Matites, Gongale, Nabathæ, and many other obscure nations inhabiting that part of Lybia Interior called by the antients the western Ethiopia, and extending from the Niger to the Line, we have nothing to say of them; the old geographers having handed down to us only their bare names. However, it will be proper to observe, that the vast tract occupied by them comprehended the upper or proper Guinea, together with the kingdoms of Gago, Guber, Bito, Temian, Guangara, Dauma, Biafara, Mujac, Medra, and some districts of that of Gorhan. Hence it appears, that the antient Nigritia was but a part of the modern Negroland; and that in early times the Nigritia, or Negroes, went by the general name of Ethiopians. As we find likewise the promontory Soloës,

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Soloës, or Soloentia, situated in the country we are now upon, and several places to the south of it, taken notice of by Hanno in his periplus, we may conclude from hence, that the Carthaginians had a knowledge of the Blacks some hundred years before the destruction of their state by the Romans. That the Greeks also were not ignorant of them in the age of Scylax, may be inferred from that author; but as both he and Hanno stuffed their journals with fables, scarce any thing probable relating to them can be drawn from thence. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus have given us faint descriptions of the customs and dispositions of some few of their clans, which will hereafter be touched upon. Pliny and Ptolemy were greatly in the dark with regard to all particulars of moment concerning the western Ethiopians; and Strabo only intimates, that, as scarce any intercourse had ever been kept up between them and the Roman empire, the accounts published of them in his age, were little better than downright fictions. To insert therefore a collection of such idle tales, would be unbecoming an historian; since it could neither afford instruction, nor give any real entertainment, to the rational part of his readers.


C H A P. V.

The history of the Libyans and Greeks inhabiting the tract between the borders of Egypt and the river Triton, comprehending Marmarica, Cyrenaica, and the Regio Syrta.

S E C T. I.

The History of the Libyans of Marmarica.

MARMARICA, according to Scylax, Pliny, and Agathemerus, with whom Strabo and Ptolemy agree in the main, was bounded on the east and west by Egypt and Cyrenaica; on the south by the Sahara, or deserts of Libya Interior;
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Interior; and on the north by the Mediterranean. After passing the Glaucoma Promontorium, cape Deris, the port Leucalpis, and other inconsiderable promontories and harbours, just mentioned by the antient geographers, we come to Parætonium, called Ammonia by Strabo, a city of considerable note. Florus styles this city and Pelusium the two horns of Egypt; from whence it appears, that he looked upon Marmarica as part of Egypt, and Parætonium as a fortress of great strength. The last article is confirmed by Hirtius, who seems to intimate, that he received some annoyance from it, though the garrison could not hinder him from supplying himself with water. We learn from Procopius, that it remained for a long time dismantled, but at last had its fortifications repaired by the emperor Justinian. At some distance from Parætonium towards the frontiers of Cyrenaica, flood Apis, a town so denominated from the Egyptian Deity of that name. Pliny relates, that it was famous on account of certain sacred mysteries celebrated in it; which, in conjunction with the name, intimates vast numbers of the Egyptians and Marmaridæ to have resorted hither, in order to pay their devotions to Apis. Trisarchis, Zagylias, and other places on the sea-coasts, enumerated by Ptolemy, are so obscure, that they merit no regard. The principal Libyan nations inhabiting this region were the Adyrmachidæ and Ammonii, as appears from Scylax and Herodotus. As for the Zygrieæ, seated near the Greater Catabathmus, and the Buzes, lying more to the south, they are rarely mentioned by the antients. However, it may not be improper to observe, that the chief towns of the former were Azicis, Tuccitora, and Tachorfa; and the capital of the latter Thanuthis. Pliny mentions the Mareotæ as a people seated near the Adyrmachidæ. Some authors seem to make the Marmaridæ a nation inhabiting a particular territory contiguous to the greater Catabathmus; but we are inclined to believe, that Marmaridæ was a name common to all the Libyans of Marmarica. If so, all these Libyans drank chiefly beer brewed at Alexandria; tho' sometimes they used Libyan wine. The Adyrmachidæ, according to Silius, fought with an ensis falcatus, or fycmetar; and, if Scylax may be credited, were seated not far from the Canopic mouth of the Nile. Ptolemy, on the contrary, places them, in his name of Libya, more remote from the sea. It was a common custom with their wives to wear a chain of brass on each leg; to take great pains in dressing their hair, and if they happened to find a louse, to kill it with their teeth, in revenge of the bite they received, and then to spit it out again.
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again. Their virgins, before marriage, were brought into the
king's presence, that if any one of them pleased him above the
rest, he might lie with her. We learn nothing farther concern-
ing them, except that they wore the Libyan habit, from whence
probably they derived their name, Addermuch in Arabic denot-
ing a particular kind of garment, and agreed almost in all points
with the Egyptians, which tallies with what has been already
observed. The (A) Ammonii, so called from Jupiter Am-
mon, or Ammun, their chief deity, lay nearer Cyrenaica,
and about ten days journey from Thebes in the upper Egypt.
Ptolemy mentions a place named Alexander's camp, and the
city of Ammon, as appertaining to this nation. Arrian, on
the other hand, will not allow Ammon to have been a city;
but says, that it was only the spot of ground on which the
temple of Ammon stood. It seems probable from Herodotus,
that the Ammonii were a pretty populous nation, had a king
of their own, and made war upon their neighbours; though
part of their territories could be considered only as a barren
fandy desert. Pliny makes the temple of Ammon fifteen
days journey from Memphis, and mentions the Ammoniac
name of Egypt. Diodorus Siculus relates, that though the
aforesaid (B) temple was surrounded by a sand desert,
yet

(A) Herodotus affirms the Ammonii to have been originally a
colony of Egyptians and Ethiopians; and that they spoke a lan-
guage composed of words taken from both those nations.(1)

(B) Diodorus Siculus tells us, that this district was fifty stadia
square, and that the inhabitants there enjoyed a perpetual spring.
He likewise intimates, that within the first wall of the castle
stood the palace of the ancient kings of Ammon; within the
second the Gynaeceum, containing the apartments of the royal
family; and within the third, places for the household troops to
lodge in. He farther relates, that at a small distance from the
walls, there was another temple of Ammon, shaded with fruit-
trees, and having a fountain close by it, called Fons Solis,
from the surprising effects of the Sun upon its water. The image
of Ammon, according to him, was adorned with emeralds and
other precious stones of great value, and gave responses to those
who came to consult the oracle in a singular and unusual way;
being carried about in a golden ship by eighty priests, who ad-
vanced to the place whither the god, by a nod, directed them,
great multitudes of matrons and virgins at the same time cele-
brating his praises in songs composed after the manner of their
country.

Diodorus

(1) Herodot. l. ii.
yet its proper district abounded with trees bearing great plenty of fruit, and was beautified with fountains; that it had several streets or villages in the neighbourhood of the temple, a castle fortified with a triple wall, and near it a holy fountain, called the fountain of the Sun, since the qualities of the water varied wonderfully every twenty-four hours. Pedonia, Pnigeus, Climax, and other inconsiderable mediterranean towns, deserve not the least attention; nor are the small islands on the coast, Pedonia, Phocusæ, Aënesipasta, Aëdonis, or Aëdonia, important enough to be described. We learn from Herodotus, that Cambyses, having advanced to Thebes, in his way to Ethiopia, detached from thence a body of fifty thousand men, to lay waste the country of the Ammonii, and burn the temple of Jupiter Ammon. But after several days march over the deserts, a strong and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the south, at the time of their dinner, raised the sands to such a degree, and brought in such a torrent upon them, that the whole corps was overwhelmed thereby, and perished. Alexander the Great, near two hundred years after, met with better success in his journey to the temple aforesaid. Authors are not entirely agreed whether the Marmaridsæ are to be looked upon as Libyans or Egyptians;

Diodorus also gives us to understand, that when Alexander the Great was introduced into the temple of Ammon, the seniores addressed himself to him in the following terms: "God save thee, my son, and assume to thyself this title which AMMON confers upon thee." To whom, according to the same author, that prince replied: "I accept it, father; and, provided you'll enable me to conquer the world, I shall ever esteem as the greatest honour to be called your son." Upon which the priest approached the altar; and when the perfoms lifting up the image, according to custom, upon a signal given, moved forwards, the priest answered, "That the god had granted his request. He then enquired "whether any of his father's murderers had escaped justice? To which the oracle cried out: "Express thyself better, since no mortal can kill thy father; but all the murderers of PHILIP have been brought to condign punishment." The pretended deity afterwards told him, "That the uninterrupted course of success he had met with, was a full proof of his divine origin; and that he should, for the future, ever continue to be victorious." In this manner did the awful priests of Ammon sooth Alexander's vanity, and draw from him many valuable presents; after which he returned with his army to the confines of Egypt.(2)

(2) Diod. Sic. l. xvii.
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Egyptians; but the greatest part rank them amongst the former. Father Calmet, in particular, thinks, that Marmarica was first peopled by the descendents of Lehabim, the son of Misraim, mentioned by Moses. However, he believes, that the limits of the Lehabim, or Lubim, are not known, and consequently, that they might have reached much farther than the borders of Cyrenaica; especially, since almost the whole continent of Africa is sometimes called Libya. If then the Marmaridae were Libyans, what has been already delivered concerning the origin, religion, customs, &c. of the Numidians and Libyan Nomades, &c. will, in a great measure, hold true of them. Be that as it will, Herodotus assures us, that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the Egyptians, in most points of moment. Though therefore, in compliance with the general opinion, we have here detached Marmarica from Egypt, yet, as from very remote antiquity it was subject to the kings of Egypt, and consequently ought to be considered as appertaining to that monarchy, for an account of the transactions of which it was the theatre, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the history of Egypt, as well as those of the Persians, Macedonians, and Romans, who successively subdued this kingdom.

S E C T. II.

The history of Cyrenaica.

Cyrenaica was bounded on the east by Marmarica, on the west by the Regio Syrctica, on the north by the Mediterranean, and on the south by the Sahara. In the geography of Cyrenaica, we find none of the antients inconsistent with themselves but Strabo, who, almost in the same breath, afferts it to have extended as far as Egypt, and maintains that Marmarica lay betwixt those two regions. The maritime towns Darnis, Cherlis, Phycus, Aptungis, &c. were of no great repute, and therefore we shall pass them by; as likewise

likewise the promontories Phucus and Zephyrium, the ports Parætonius, Nauftathmus, &c. with several other places of less note. The principal towns in this tract were Cyrene the metropolis, Arsinoe or Teuchira, Berenice, Ptolemais or Barce, and Apollonia, from whence the best part of it was named Pentapolis. Adriane or Hadrianopolis, so denominated from the emperor Adrian, could not vie with the others in point of antiquity, though it was no despicable place. The castle Diacheris, Tower of Hercules, port Diarrhoea, promontory Boreum, near the Greater Syrtis, deserve little attention; nor is anything further to be said of Automala, or Automalax, than that it was a fortress of considerable strength upon the frontiers of the Regio Syrtica b.

The city of Cyrene, now called Cairoan, or Corene, City of Cyrene, stood at some distance from the sea, upon a spot of ground in figure resembling a table, according to Strabo. It was large and populous, abounding with all the elegancies, as well as necessities, of life. Its territory produced vast numbers of excellent horses, which probably made the Cyreneans, whether Libyans or Greeks, apply themselves to the study and practice of every thing relating to those animals more than most other nations. Berenice, Teuchira, Ptolemais, Apollonia, and Adriane, stood along the coast of the Mediterranean; and their inhabitants carried on a considerable trade. Cyrene derived its name from the fountain (C) Cyre, near which it was situated. Bochart deduces Cyre from the Phœnician Κυρ, the radix of κυριος makur, ilons; which, considering that the Carthaginians affixed the Greeks in settling themselves here, and were acquainted with the country long before their arrival, is by no means improbable. We shall pass by here the religion, language, customs, &c. of the proper Cyreneans since whatever has been said of their Greek ancestors, on each


(J) Juflin says, that this Cyre, or Cyra, was a mountain, but at the same time intimates, that it abounded with fountains; which countenances Bochart’s etymon, as well as the notion we have followed (3).

(3) Juflin. l. xiii. c. 7.
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each of these heads, is equally applicable to them (D).

Though a great part of Cyrenaica and the Regio Syrtica was a perfect desert, yet there were some fruitful plains in both those countries. The inhabitants were very subject to fevers, which some have attributed to the insalubriety of the air. Except the Lathon, we find no considerable river of Cyrenaica taken notice of by the antients, and some of them have even fixed this in Mauritania. The Montes Velpi and Anagombri are the only mountains that seem to claim any relation to the country we are now upon; as the Palus Palluri is the only fountain or lake. Some authors have placed the gardens of the Hesperides here, but others in Mauritania. The latter opinion appears to us the most probable, since it better corresponds with the word Hesperides, which imports a western situation; and therefore we have already taken notice of those gardens in the history of Mauritania. Some parts of Cyrenaica and the Regio Syrtica were famous for the production of the filphium, a plant or shrub greatly celebrated by the antients. The Libyans looked upon the stalk, juice, leaves, fruit, and every thing belonging to this plant, as most precious; and consequently esteemed it infinitely above all other vegetable productions. Strabo intimates, that the Libyan barbarians had destroyed almost all the roots of the filphium, in their excursions before his time, which is confirmed by Scribonius Largus. Pliny relates it to have been scarce in his age, that a stalk of it was presented to Nero as a singular curiosity; and yet, that the later, a gum proceeding from the filphium, or laserpitium, as we find it sometimes called, was not difficult to be met with in the reign of Severus, may be inferred from Galen. Aristotle, Aristophanes's scholia, Tzetzes,


(D) It may not, however, be improper to take notice of one particular custom of the Cyreneans, which seems to have been peculiar to them. When any person of distinction amongst them was invited to an entertainment, he brought a great number of friends, chariots, &c. with him (4).

(4) Athen. de deipnosoph. l. xii. sub init.
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Tzetzes, Hesychius, and Suidas, instinue the figure of the filphium to have been struck on the Cyrenean coins; which is confirmed by many of them, that are still to be found in the cabinets of the curious. The Carthaginians carried vast quantities of the lafer and filphium from Charax, a city near the confines of Cyrenaica, into their dominions, for which they supplied the Cyreneans with wine. This vegetable the Cyrenians offered to their first king Battus, whom they deisized, looking upon it as the most valuable produce of their country; for which reason we find it on the reverses of several of that prince's coins. That Cyrenaica likewise abounded with amost rich and uncommon oil, we are informed by Theophrastus. Athenæus relates, that the roses, violets, and all other flowers growing in this country, except the saffron, were famous for the fragrant odours they emitted; and that in the time of Berenice a most charming ointment was made of the Cyrenean roses. As for the filphium, great quantities of it were imported into Greece, and many other countries. The antients prepared it various ways, both for food and physic, as appears from Athenæus and Hippocrates, to omit many other authors 4.

The principal nations of this tract, or at least contiguous to it, were the Barcaei, the Phylli, and the Naamones; the Abytæ, Macatæ, &c. being too obscure to merit any regard. Barce or Barca, the capital of the Barcaei, we find mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Scylax, and Ptolemy; the two former of which make it to have occupied the same spot that Ptolemais afterwards did, but the two latter are of a different opinion. It seems to have stood to the west of Cyrene, and had a port near the Greater Syrtis. As Ptolemais was a maritime city, it is most probable, that it stood by the port of the Barcaei, and not where Barce did; especially, since that capital was an hundred stadia from the sea, according to Scylax. Herodotus affirms Barca to have been built by the brothers of Arsacius III. king of Cyrene, above a generation:

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tion before the beginning of Cyrus's reign; but we rather think, that it was of Phœnician, if not Egyptian, or Libyan extraction; for Barcha was a Phœnician name, well known in these parts of Africa, as appears from Silius Italicus and others. Servius intimates the citizens of it to have come originally from Carthage, which would tempt one to believe, that Barca, Dido's brother, who attended her into Africa, with some of his countrymen, settled here. It is evident from Virgil and Silius, that the Barcae spread themselves over several considerable parts of Libya; and from Servius, that their metropolis made the greatest figure of any city in the region we are now upon, except Cyrene. St. Jerome confirms the last authorities, when he affirms this town to have been situated in a desert, and its inhabitants, or at least their dependents, to have dispersed themselves over several districts lying as far to the westward as Mauritania, and the eastward as India. The Barcae learned, says Stephanus, the art of managing horses from Neptune, and of driving chariots from Minerva; which evidently points out their high antiquity. They agreed, in most particulars, with the other Libyan Nomades already mentioned. The modern kingdom and desert of Barca, extending from Egypt to the confines of the kingdom of Tripoli, correspond with the antient Marmarica and Cyrenaica; though they undoubtedly received their name from the Barcae. This may be looked upon as an additional proof of the rank this people formerly held amongst the various nations of Libya.

The Phylli and Nafamones, according to Pliny, Silius, and Lucan, must have been seated near the Greater Syrits; or behind the Regio Syrtica and Cyrenaica, if we choose to follow Strabo. The Phylli, as Herodotus informs us, having once had all their reserovers of water dried up by the south wind, advanced into the Sahara, in order to make war upon that wind; but it blowing with extreme violence, they were overwhelmed with torrents of sand, and all perished. After which tragical event, their neighbours the Nafamones annexed the territories they possessed to their own dominions. Herodotus represents the Nafamones as a powerful nation in his time, and remarkable for some singular customs then prevailing.

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ing amongst them. During the summer-season, they left their cattle on the coast, and dispersed themselves over the plains of Aegila, in order to get the fruit of the palm-trees, with which that place abounded. Here likewise they found an immense quantity of grasshoppers, which, having dried in the sun, they pulverized, and infused them in milk. The liquor composed of these two ingredients was highly esteemed by them, as a most pleasant and rich kind of drink. They had many wives, which they used in public, like the Masticæ, after having erected a staff for a mark. The bride amongst them, lay the first night with all the guests invited to the wedding; and received from each of them the next morning a present, which he had brought with him for that purpose. When they took an oath, they laid their hands on the sepulchres of those who were generally esteemed to have been the most just and excellent persons amongst them. At their divinations, they went to the tombs of their ancestors; where, after certain prayers, they fell asleep, and grounded their predictions upon the dreams that then happened to them. In pleading their faith to each other, they mutually presented a cup of liquor; and if they had none, the parties took up some dust from the ground, which they put into their mouths. From some authors it appears, that the Nasamones were looked up-on by the ancients as little better than a great gang of robbers; since they made frequent incursions upon the territories of their neighbours, which they plundered and ravaged in a dreadful manner. We learn from Philostratus, that a people of the same name was seated in Ethiopia. The Libyan nations here mentioned possessed the countries they inhabited long before the Greeks built Cyrene.  

Battus the Therean, according to Herodotus, with a colony of his countrymen, settled first in Platææ, an island on the coast of Libya. From thence they removed to that part of the continent opposite to this island, and seated themselves in a delightful province, surrounded with agreeable hills, and watered by two rivers running on each side, called Azirifus. After six years residence here, the Libyans conducted them to Iraæ, a most charming country to the west of Azirifus. In this region, near a fountain sacred to Apollo, they fixed their habitations, and built Cyrene, about the third year of the thirty-seventh olympiad, according to Euebius. We find nothing farther remarkable related of Battus the first, except that he left the stammering in his speech by the following accident.

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accident. Being one day wandering alone in a desert place, he was surprized by a lion, which, unexpectedly rushing upon him, struck him with such terror, that he lifted up his voice in an extraordinary manner. This, according to some authors, so frightened the lion, that he immediately fled, and at the same time delivered Battus from the impediment he before laboured under. His son Arcesilaus the first probably made no great figure, since history is entirely silent as to any particulars of his reign. Battus II. son to Arcesilaus, built the city of Zoa, and reigned forty years, and his son Arcesilaus II. sixteen; which is all that we know of them. Battus III. son to Arcesilaus II. surnamed The happy, being strengthened by the accession of a vast number of Greeks, who came to live under his government, defeated Apries, king of Egypt, in a great battle, near the fountain Thestis in Irafa. The victory was so complete that scarce any of the Egyptian troops returned home; so that Adiceran, a neighbouring Libyan prince, who had drawn Apries upon Battus, could not afterwards make head against the Cyrenians, nor consequently give them any obstruction in the possession of those territories they had before wrested from him. Arcesilaus III. the son of Battus III. succeeded him; whose brothers, on account of some disputes they had with him in the beginning of his reign, retired out of his dominions, and, as Herodotus will have it, built Barca. Before that city was finished, they found means to excite Arcesilaus’s Libyan subjects to a revolt. However, he marched against them with an army, and pursued them into the eastern parts of Libya. But having there assembled a powerful body of forces, they came to a resolution to give him battle; which soon after they did, and totally routed him, cutting seven thousand of his men in pieces. Arcesilaus, in a short time after this disaster, was dispatched by his brother Aliarchus, who, in his turn, was put to death by that prince’s wife Eryxso. Battus IV. Arcesilaus’s son, surnamed The lame, mounted the throne after his father’s death. In his reign Demonax, a Mantinean legislator, arrived at Cyrene; and, at the king’s desire, introduced several alterations into the preceding form of government. Arcesilaus IV. son to the former prince, endeavouring to put the Cyrenean constitution upon its former footing, was driven by his subjects to Samos; his mother Phereuitama at the same time escaping to Salamis in the island of Cyprus. Euelthon, who then reigned there, made her many magnificent presents, but found means to evade sending an army to reinstate
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State her son in the possession of his dominions. Arcesilaus afterwards retired to Barca, having married the daughter of Alazar, king of the Barcae; but was assassinated there, together with his father-in-law, as he was walking in the marketplace. In the mean time Pheretima established her authority at Cyrene; and, after her son’s death, applied to Aryandes, the Persian governor of Egypt, for assistance, to revenge Arcesilaus’s death, who, she pretended, was murdered for his close attachment to the Medes. She had some grounds for such an application, since her son had put himself under the protection of Cambyses, and acknowledged himself a tributary to him. Aryandes first sent a herald to Barca, to demand whether the Barcae had been guilty of the assassination of Arcesilaus; and, upon their acknowledging it, he sent a land-army, commanded by Amaasis, and a fleet, under the conduct of Badres, to take vengeance of the assassins. The Persians soon invested the city of Barca, and carried on the siege ineffectually for the space of nine months. However, (E) at last they made

(E) Herodotus relates, that when the Persians endeavoured to sap the foundations of Barca, an artificer in brafs discovered their subterraneous approaches in the following manner: He carried a brazen shield round the city within the walls, and, applying it to the ground, heard no noise where the earth was solid; but when he came to the parts which were undermined, the shield rung. Upon which discovery, the besieged fell to counterming, killed all the Persians they found in the mines, and dismounted all the enemies engines of battery. Amaasis therefore, finding he could not take the city by force, had recourse to the following stratagem: He opened a large trench in the night, which he covered with slight planks of wood, and threw a proper quantity of earth upon them; which rendered that part like the adjacent ground. Early the next morning, after a conference with the besieged, he concluded a treaty with them upon the spot that was undermined, the terms of which were to the following effect: “That the agreement should continue in force as long as the earth on which they stood should remain in the present condition; that the Barcae should pay a competent tribute to the king of Persia; and that the Persians should introduce no innovations into Barca.” The Barcae then opened their gates to Amaasis, upon the faith of this treaty. That general, finding himself master of the town, in order to free himself from the oath he had just taken, ordered the covering of the trench to be broken down, and afterwards treated the inhabitants in the manner here related (5).

(5) Herodot. l. iv. sub fin.
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made themselves masters of it by treachery. Amaufis, after the reduction of Barca, put the city into the hands of Pheretima; who caused all the men concerned in the murder of Arceflaus to be impaled round the walls, and affixed near them the breasts of their wives, which she ordered to be cut off for that purpose. The place, by her consent, the Persian general gave up to his soldiers to be plundered; though he spared those persons who had been averse to the assassination of Arceflaus, and permitted Pheretima to put Barca into their hands. Badres, the Persian admiral, had a strong desire, before his return to Egypt, to plunder Cyrene; but was prevented by Amaufis: The Libyans extremely harrassed the Persians in their march, cutting in pieces all the stragglers they met with, which must have been many, since they attended the enemy to the borders of Egypt. All the prisoners were sent to Darius Hytafapis, in whose reign those transactions happened, who settled them in a district of Bactria, which was from them denominated Barca. Pheretima is said afterwards to have been devoured alive by worms, which the historian looks upon as a punishment inflicted upon her by Providence for her enormous cruelty. From this time the Cyrenians, and Libyans with whom they were intermixed, till the conquest of the Persian empire, are not very remarkable in history. Ariftotle gives us to understand, that in his time Cyrene was a republic; which seems to imply, that, upon the extinction of Battus's line, Demonax's form of government took place; tho' the Cyrenians might have been tributary to, or at least under the protection of, the Persians. It appears from Sallust, that the people of Cyrene were free, when the contention happened betwixt them and the Carthaginians about a regulation of limits; and that they were governed by their own laws, till the Macedonians subdued Egypt, we find affected by Strabo. Towards the beginning of the ninety-fifth olympiad, one Ariston seized upon Cyrene, put five hundred of the principal citizens to death, and obliged all the others to abandon the city: but matters were soon after composed, and all former acts of hostility buried in oblivion. Alexander had not been long dead, when Thimbro invaded Cyrenaica, overthrew the Cyrenians, and obliged them to buy a peace with five thousand talents of silver, and half of their armed chariots. However, Mnasicles a Cretan, one of his officers, afterwards spirited them up against him, forced him to abandon the port of Cyrene, and obtained several conde-
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rable advantages over him. Notwithstanding which, Thimbro, bringing them to another general action, entirely defeated them, though he was soon after overthrown by Ophellas, and taken prisoner. This victory rendered that general master of Cyrenaica, and he delivered it into the hands of Ptolemy. However, it seems probable, from what we have observed in the history of the Carthaginians, that Ophellas by some means or other, obtained the sovereignty of this country. Magas, the brother of Ptolemy Lagus, whose daughter Ptolemy Philadelphus married, reigned at Cyrene fifty years, as we learn from Agatharchides. That this prince was a man of genius, appears from Polyænus, who has transmitted to us an account of one of his stratagems. Plutarch intimates, that Nicocrates, tyrant of Cyrene, being in love with Aretaphila, the wife of one Phæminus, or, as Polyænus will have it, Melanippus the priest of Apollo killed her husband in order to enjoy her; and that she dissembled her resentment, till she found an opportunity of destroying him; which she at last did, and thereby delivered her country from servitude. But whether this last event happened before the time of Magas, or afterwards, we are not given to understand. Be that as it will, it remained under the kings of Egypt, till Ptolemy Physeon made it over to his baffe son surnamed Apion, who, in the year of Rome 658, left it by will to the Romans. The senate, instead of accepting it, permitted all the cities to be governed by their own laws; which immediately filled the country with tyrants, those who were most potent in every difficulty endeavouring to make themselves sovereigns of it. This threw the kingdom of Cyrenaica into great confusion; but Lucullus in a good measure restored the public tranquillity, on his coming thither during the first Mithridatic war. The descendennts of the (E) Jews, settled here by the first Ptolemy, are said to have greatly contributed to the disturbances just hinted at. Be that as it will, all troubles could not be finally removed, till this country was reduced to the form of a Roman province, which happened about twenty years after the death of Apion, and seventy-six before.

(E) Amongst the descendants of these Cyrenean Jews may be ranked Japhon, who wrote the history of the Maccabees in five books, of which the second book of Maccabees, still extant, is an abridgment; Simon, who carried our favour’s cross; and others mentioned in the acts of the apostles (5).

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before the birth of Christ. Strabo tells us, that in his time Crete and Cyrenaica formed one Roman province. Upon a revolt Cyrene was ruined by the Romans; but they afterwards rebuilt it. In process of time it fell to the Arabs, and at last to the Turks, who are the present possessors of it. For some of the principal learned men it produced, we shall refer our readers to the following note (F).

S E C T.


(F) This country produced several persons who made an illustrious figure in the republic of letters, amongst the principal of whom may be ranked the following:

1. Aristippus, a disciple of Socrates, and the chief of the Cyrenaic sect. He lived about the ninety-sixth olympiad, and the year of Rome 360. He was the first that took money of his scholars for teaching them philosophy. He once sent his master Socrates twenty minas; but that philosopher refused it, saying, "God would not permit him to receive it." Xenophon was an enemy to him; on which account he wrote a treatise against pleasure, in order to expose him. Theodorus and Plato likewise were very severe upon him. He could adapt himself to all persons, places, and times, and, without difficulty, act any part: which rendered him agreeable to Dionysius. He went frequently to court, kept several mistresses, and, amongst the rest, the famous Lais, and dined deliciously, in conformity to the principles of his philosophy. When he was censured by an acquaintance for living too luxuriously, he said, "That if it were not a good thing to feast and eat well, people would not practice it on their holy festivals." He was extremely quick at repartees, as appears from Diogenes Laertius. He asked a certain person who reproached him for having had a sumptuous entertainment, "Whether he would not have lived in as elegant a manner, if he could have done it for three oboli?" To which the other replied, he would. "Then," said he, "I find you are fond of money, and not I of pleasure." One time a fellow pursuing him with opprobrious and scurrilous language, and asking him, "Why he made such haste away?" "Because," said he, "thou art accustomed to give foul language, and I am not accustomed to hear it."
The History of the Regio Syrtica.

The Regio Syrtica, so called because the two Syrtes were the northern extremities of its eastern and western limits, was bounded on the north by the Mediterranean; on the south by the country of the Nasamones and the Sahara.

"it." Dionysius had once three harlots to wait upon Aristippus, out of whom he ordered that philosopher to choose one; but he carried them all three off, saying, "That Paris had greatly suffered by preferring one goddess to another." One desired to know of him what he would have for educating his son; to whom he answered, "Five hundred drachmas. I can buy a slave, answer the other, for that sum. Do so, replied Aristippus, and then you will have two." He wrote three books of the history of Libya, which he dedicated to Dionysius; and a volume consisting of twenty-five dialogues, composed partly in the Attic, and partly in the Doric dialect. The principles of his philosophy were these: The soul has two particular motions, or sensations, viz. pain and pleasure; all pleasures are alike; virtue is only so far to be esteemed, as it conduces to sensuality. For all the other particulars of his life, we must refer our readers to Diogenes Laertius. His name seems to confirm what several authors have suggested of the Cyrenaeans, viz. that they were famous for being good horsemens.

2. Areta, daughter to Aristippus, who presided over the Cyrenaic school after the death of her father.

3. Aristippus the younger, son to Areta, by whose instructions he became a famous philosopher, and from thence was styled Metrodoraetos.

4. Anniceris, who reformed the Cyrenaic sect, or rather founded another that was called the Annicerian.

5. Callimachus, a celebrated poet and historian, the son of Battus and Meletem, and disciple of Hermocrates the grammarian. He married the daughter of Euphrates Syrcusianus, and lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, being then the royal librarian. Several pieces we find ascribed to him, tho" he was no voluminous author, it being a trite observation with him, "That a great book was a great evil." The principal of these were: 1. A satirical poem upon his adversary, whom he called Ibis. 2. Those hymns which are still extant. 3. "Avia", or a treatise upon the origin and causes of sacred things, taken notice of by Martial. 4. A poem intituled de coma Berenices. Suidas mentions another Callimachus, nephew to this, as a tolerable poet; but 'tis generally agreed, that he did not make any great figure in the learned world.
6. Eratosthenes, the son of one Aglaus, or, according to others, Ambroseus, a celebrated philosopher and mathematician, in great favour at the Egyptian court. He was the scholar of Ariosto the Chian, Lyfias the grammarian, and the poet Callimachus. He flourished in the hundred twenty-sixth Olympiad, being about that time librarian to the king of Egypt. He first asserted the ambit or circumference of the earth to be two hundred and fifty-two thousand stadia; on which account we find him styled the measurer of the earth. Besides his philosophical pieces, he wrote some poems, several historical and astronomical tracts, a collection of dialogues, and some observations relating to comedy. He died at eighty-one years of age.

7. Carneades, the son of Epicomus, or Philocomus, and founder of the third academy, which differed but little from the second founded by Arceflalus. He pretended to discover an uncertainty in the most evident notions, and was a grand stickler against the Stoics, attempting vigorously to confute Chryfippus one of their principal pillars. Carneades did not much apply himself to physic and natural philosophy, but cultivated morals with particular diligence. His surpising eloquence made him feared by the Roman senate, during his residence at Rome with two other embassadors. Whilst he was there, he is said to have disputed admirably well for justice one day, and the next against it. He gave himself up to entirely to study, that he neglected frequently all other things; in so much that he sometimes sat at table, and forgot to eat, till roused from his thoughtfulness by his maid Malvia. According to Diogenes Laertius, he died in the eighty-fifth year of his age, about the fourth year of the clxxiv Olympiad, though Cicero stretched his life to ninety; which makes it difficult to determine precisely the time of his death. The former author says, that when Carneades had passed, that Antipater had poisoned himself, he did the like; he likewise makes an eclipse of the moon to have then happened. He is said to have written many letters to Ariarathes king of Armenia. For a fuller account of him we must beg leave to refer our readers to Diogenes Laertius, Cicero, Aulus Gellius, Valerius Maximus, and others.

8. Cronus Apollonius, the master of Diodorus the logician, whose name was assumed by his scholar (6).

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ax above-mentioned, were the principal maritime places in the neighbourhood of Cyrenaica, as Auxiqua, Leptis Magna, Garapha, Abrotonum, Sabrata, and Tacape, were on the sea-coast betwixt the rivers Cinyps and Triton. As for Gerisa, Isicina, Amuncla, Sicapha, Musta, Butta, and several other obscure mediterranean towns mentioned by Ptolemy and the Itinerary, we scarce ever find them taken notice of by any antient historian. The Cinyps of Scylax, however, seems to have been a city of some repute. Pliny and Herodotus intimate, that there was in this region a fruitful districht called Cinyphe, which, as well as the city above-mentioned, might have been so denominated from the river of the same name. To pass by the Samamycii, Damensii, Nigbeni, Nycpii, Nigintimi, Muchthufii, and many other inconsiderable tribes recited by Pliny and Ptolemy, the only nations of this country deserving any regard were the Cinethii, Gindanes, Macæ, and Lotophagi. The Cinethii, or Cinithii, mentioned by Ptolemy, situated behind the Machyni, about the Lesser Syrtis, were a respectable nation, as we learn from Tacitus. The Gindanes, according to Herodotus, were seated not far from the Cinyps; their wives wore as many borders on their gowns as they had lovers, and the who had the greatest number was the most esteemed. The Macæ bordered upon the Garamantes, and were a pretty potent nation. They shaved their heads all over, except the middle of the crown, where they permitted a lock of hair to grow. When they made war upon any of their neighbours, they wore the skins of ostriches instead of armour. In the winter they drove their flocks to the sea-side and in summer to the inland places near some fountain or river, for the sake of water, according to Scylax. They are called like-wife by the antients Macæ Cinyphii, and Macæ Syritæ, from their vicinity to the Cinyps and the Greater Syrtis. But the Lotophagi were the most famous people of the tract we are now upon. If we may believe Scylax, they extended themselves almost from the Greater to the Lesser Syrtis. That author calls them Libyes Lotophagi, and tells us, that the lotus served them both for meat and drink; from which

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which circumstance they derived their name. Pliny says, that some authors called them Alachroæ, and that many of them were found about the Philænorum Aëre. Strabo likewise affirms the country of the Lotophagi to have extended from the Lesser Syrtis, which he calls Lotophagitidis Syrtis, to the confines of Cyrenaica; and that this people were not sensible of the want of water in the burning sandy region they inhabited, since the root, stalks, &c. of the lotus supplied them with rich liquor as well as delicious food. Homer relates, that in his time the island Meninx, on the coast of Byzacium; abounded with the lotus, and was the chief seat of the Lotophagi; as also, that Ulysses touched here in his return to Ithaca. A good part of the Regio Syritica was a perfect desert; but the other part productive of corn, oil, fruit, and particularly both the tree and plant of the lotus. Herodotus tells us, that the fruit of the tree was of the same size with that of the lentificus, but exceedingly sweet like the date; as also that the Lotophagi made wine of it. Pliny says, that the lotus was transplanted to Italy, but that its qualities were pretty much altered by that transplantation. He likewise affirms its fruit to have been of the size of a bean, and of the colour of saffron, when ripe; tho' he allows this to have been different, according to the different degrees of maturity at which it arrived. In Africa it resembled that of a myrtle. The beat species of this tree produced a fruit without any kernel; but that of the other had a kernel in it as hard as a stone. The wine expressed from it tasted like mead, being extremely sweet; which quality it derived from the fruit itself, but would not keep above ten days. The berries, bruised and mixed with wheat, the Libyans laid up in large vessels, which served them for food. Theophrastus and Dioscorides make the plant lotus to have resembled a lily, and represent it both as physic and food. Some of the moderns think one species of it to have been the same as the colocasia, or faba Αἰγυπτία, and the other as the nymphæa Nilotica. But though it might agree with these plants in many particulars, yet that it differed considerably from them, is evident from the figure of it, which we find on the reverses of many antient Egyptian coins. Several of these coins, struck in the times of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, exhibit the leaves, stalk, and fruit of the plant lotus, and consequently give us a tolerable idea of it; however, the moderns can come to no certain conclusions concerning either the plant or the tree. The principal river of this
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this tract was the Cinyps, which derived its stream from a fountain, or a hill, called Zuchabari, in the country of the Maecæ, and emptied itself into the Sinus Syrticus. The word Zuchabari in Punic, Phænician, or Libyan, signified the hill of the Graces as we find it called by Herodotus. The river Cinyps, according to Bochart, derived its name from the great number of porcupines produced in the country adjacent to it. The chief mountains of the Regio Syrta were Gigius and Thizibi, of which yet we find nothing related but the bare names. The promontories Hippus and Cephalæ sarcere deserve to be mentioned. Of the islands appertaining to this country the most noted were Meninx and Cercina; Ptolemy's Gaia, Pontia, and Misynus, being quite obscure. The island Myrmex more properly belonged to Cyrenaica, as it was not far distant from the port of the Barcae. Pliny makes Meninx (F), near the Lesser Syrtis, to be twenty-five miles long, and twenty-two broad; and further observes, that it had two towns, viz. Meninx facing the coast of Africa, and Thoar opposite to the Lesser Syrtis. We find it named Lotophagitis, not only by the authors above-mentioned, but likewise by Polybius and Eratosthenes. As for Cercina, it lay N. E. of Meninx, was twenty-five miles in length, about twelve in breadth, had a tolerable good town of the same name, and two most commodious harbours. Thus stands the geography of the Regio Syrta, with which tract the northern part of the kingdom of Tripoli seems at present to correspond.

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(F) This island was called Girba about the middle age, and is at this day known by the name Zerbi or Zarbi (6).

(6). Cellar, geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 3.
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As the inhabitants of this region agreed in all points of moment with the other Libyan Nomades, whose history has already been given, we can say nothing of their antiquity, government, laws, religions, language, &c. (G) without being guilty of a repetition. The transactions they were concerned in, before they became subject to Carthage, could not, we apprehend, have been very considerable. However, we believe them to have been subdued by the founder of the Egyptian empire, whom Josephus and Sir Isaac Newton take to be the same prince with Sefac. How long they remained subject to the Egyptians, history informs us not; but 'tis probable a corps of them formed part of Zerah's numerous army, for the reasons already offered. Part of the Regio Syrta seems to have been under the dominion of the Cyreneans till the regulation of limits agreed upon between that people and the Carthaginians mentioned by Sallust; but when this happened, cannot be precisely determined. After that regulation it continued in the hands of the Carthaginians till it was wrested out of them by Maminissa; for that it was wrested out of them by that prince, appears clearly from Appian. In after-ages it met with the same fate as the rest of his dominions, an ample account of which has been already exhibited to our readers in the history of the Numidians 1.

Thus have we gone through the history of all the principal Libyan nations, which, we may venture to assure our readers, has not been done by any other author. Some few particulars, however relating to them, hitherto omitted, we must not pass over in silence. Herodotus observes, that the Libyans in general went by the name of Atlantes or Atlantides, though at the same time he remarks that appellation to have been applied to one particular nation; who, he


(G) From Egypt to the lake Tritonis the Libyans were breeders of cattle; ate flesh, and drank milk; but abtained from beef and pork, as well as the Egyptians. The women of Cyrene accounted it a crime to strike a cow. For the customs, manners, and religion of the Libyans inhabiting the country to the west of the Triton, we must refer our readers to Herodotus (7).

(7) Herodot. l. iv.
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he tells us, curfed the Sun every day, as he advanced towards the meridian, pursuing him with the bitterest invectives, because he consumed both them, and their country, with his burning rays. From that author and Diodorus it likewise appears, that the Atlantides were seated upon, and in the neighbourhood of, mount Atlas, which from its height, the Libyans styled the pillar of heaven, i.e. the high or lofty pillar; which evinces the Libyan language or languages to have been related to the oriental tongues. Herodotus also intimates, that no one of this nation did either eat flesh, or was ever disturbed in his sleep by dreams; the last of which properties was probably the consequence of the first.

In the territories of the Atlantides, as well as the neighbouring countries, the inhabitants reaped considerable advantages from several mines of salt, which was of two colours, viz. white and purple. Herodotus further says, that many of the Libyans built houses of this salt, which, as no rain ever fell in those parts, were very durable. To what has been already offered with regard to the Nigritæ, we must beg leave to add, that they were known to the Egyptians, Ammonii, and Cyreneans, before the time of Herodotus. For that author, when in Egypt, learned from some Cyreneans, who had the relation from Etearchus king of the Ammonii, that five bold Nafamonian youths, sent to make new discoveries thro' the deserts of Libya, at last came to a city inhabited by men of a low stature, by which ran a great river abounding with crocodiles, that Etearchus judged to be the Nile. This relation tallies extremely well with Marmol, who assures us, that the people seated on the northern bank of the Nigir are perfect dwarfs (H); and also seems to add some weight to the authority of the Arabian geographers, who make the Nile and the Nigir different branches of the same river, and assert the source of this river to be in Ethiopia. From hence we may deduce the probability of the Negroes being descended from the Ethiopians.

(H) From the situation of the Nafamones, it is evident, that these youths must have approached the northern bank of the river, which the dwarfs here mentioned are said to have inhabited. Now Marmol assures us, that on the southern bank of the Senegal the inhabitants are large and lofty, but on the opposite side small and puny; which last article, agreeing so well with Herodotus, almost demonstrates the river here hinted at to have been the Nigir (8).

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(8) Marm.
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Ethiopians, and likewise the region of Nigritia's being peopled very early, as Leo fuggeles. For the Ethiopians on the banks, or near the source, of the great river above-mentioned, observing how the adjacent grounds were fertilized by its inundations, as they encroached, might follow it westward, every one striving to be the first possessor of a great quantity of such excellent soil, and therefore advance forward till the Atlantic ocean put a stop to any farther progress. If this be admitted, it will follow, that the Blacks are not so different from all the rest of mankind as some are willing to suppose; that their descent from Adam is easy and natural, in opposition to what our modern infidels pretend; and that their colour is only an accidental consideration. But these points will be fully discussed in that branch of the modern history which they will naturally fall under. The word Libya may be deduced either from the proper names Lehabim, Lubim, &c. above-mentioned, or from the Hebrew laab, with which the Arabic lub corresponds, signifying dry, parched, &c. or rather a dry parched country, &c. Such an appellation agrees extremely well with what the antients have related of Libya, and particularly the tract between Tripolis and Pentapolis, which went by the names of Xerolibya and Libya Propria. Dr. Hyde, however, thinks that this word may be more naturally deduced from labi, a lion, or rather a yellow, flame-coloured lion, with which species of animals Libya was known to abound; or else from lahab, a flame, since the burning sands of Libya, by the continual reflexion of a vast quantity of the solar rays, appeared, at some distance, to travellers like a flame. As these sands were frequently so heated as to be almost in a state of inflammation, we must own some regard due to such an etymon. As for the word Africa, or, as the Arabs pronounce it, Afrikia, which seems to have been unknown to Herodotus, Aristotle, Strabo, and the other most antient Greek authors, Dr. Hvede takes it to be the same with the Phoenician or Punic נברת Habarra, Havara, Havreca, &c. or Ἀφρική Avreca, i. e. "The Barca, or the "country of Barca." This, our readers will allow extremely probable, especially since Barca was a most remarkable part of Africa, as above observed; and the Romans, who first brought the name of Africa into Europe, might not pronounce it exactly in the same manner as the Carthaginians and Phoenicians, from whom they received it. The principal difficulty in this etymon will vanish, when we consider, that the orientals for the most part pronounced the second letter
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letter of their alphabet like a V, and that nothing was more usual with them than to add a letter to, or take one from, the beginning of a word, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner necessary. We must not omit observing here, that the first division of the world was into two parts only, viz. Asia and Europe, or the eastern and western part, Europe comprehending both the continent now going under that name, and Africa; which division still prevails amongst many of the orientals. This may not only be inferred from a variety of authors, but likewise from the words Europe and Asia themselves, the former importing occidental or western, and the latter half. When that vast region now called Africa was first considered as a distinct part of the world, we cannot take upon us to determine; nor whether Europe and Africa were ever joined together by an isthmus uniting Spain and Mauritania, as some authors suggest; nor lastly, if this should be admitted, when, or by what means, such an isthmus came to be destroyed, the Nubian geographer declaring this to have been effected by labour and art, and Averroes by an earthquake. The island Cerne, taken notice of by Hanno and Scylax, seems to have been somewhere on the coast of Libya Interior; but in what part of the ocean it lay, cannot be discovered from the antients, who differ widely amongst themselves with regard to its situation; which probably induced Strabo to deny the very being of it. We must own ourselves likewise as much in the dark in relation to Plato’s island Atlantis, which he makes of a larger extent than Asia and Africa together. Some of the moderns are disposed to think, from several circumstances, that it was that vast continent called now America; others, that it lay nearer the pillars of Hercules; and lastly, others, that every thing related of it is to be considered as a downright fiction. Much may be said in defence of each opinion; however, the first appears to us the most probable. For Ammianus Marcellinus affirms Plato on this occasion not to have written a fable, but a true history; and Proclus cites Marcellus an Ethiopic historian in defence of what that philosopher has advanced concerning this island. Crantor also, Plato’s first interpreter, takes this relation to be a true history. That the island here under consideration was not so near the Streights as some modern authors suppose, seems probable from Diodorus Siculus, who tells us, that the Phœnicians in early times sailed beyond Hercules’s Pillars, along the African coast, and, there meeting with storms and tempests, were carried
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ried to the remotest parts of the ocean, and, after many days, came to a vast island at a great distance from Libya, and lying very far west. This place continues the same author, had a fruitful soil, navigable rivers, &c. and, from the Phœcinians, the Carthaginians came to the knowledge of it. And in the same place he says, that the Carthaginians would not permit any other nation to settle in this new region, but referred it for themselves, that, if ever they should be driven from their native soil, they might have a place to retire to. Ælian brings Silenus expressly affirming to Midas, that there was a vast continent beyond Europe, Asia, and Africa, which ought to be considered as islands surrounded by the ocean. These, and other passages, that might be extracted from the antients, induced the learned Perizonius to conclude, that the inhabitants of the old world had some faint knowledge of America, derived to them either from the Egyptian and Carthaginian traditions, or from the figure of the earth, which was not unknown to them.


C H A P. VI.

The history of the Ethiopians.

S E C T. I.

Description of Ethiopia.

The proper Ethiopia where situated. SEVERAL of the antients gave the name of Ethiopians to all persons either perfectly black, or of a very tawdry complexion. The Arabs therefore, and other Af-
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atics, as well as a great number of Africans, came under this denomination. The Africans we find divided into the western or Hesperian Ethiopians, and the Ethiopians above Egypt, situate to the E. of the former. The Hesperian Ethiopians inhabited that vast tract called Libya Interior, the history of whose principal nations we have already gone through. The eastern African Ethiopians, for those above Egypt may be properly styled, were much better known to the antients than the others, by reason of their commerce with the Egyptians, and looked upon by them as the proper Ethiopians. These are the people, whose transactions, from the earliest accounts of time, we are now to relate; which we hope to do in such a manner as will prove satisfactory to all, at least the most candid part of our readers.

Ethiopia then, or rather Ethiopia Propria, was limited on the north by Egypt, on which side it extended to the extent of the Lesser Cataract, and the island Elephantine; on the west by Libya Interior; on the east by the Red Sea; and on the south by a part of Africa unknown to the antients, but probably that including the modern kingdoms of Gingiro, Alaba, Machida, and part of Adel or Zeila. However, as the proper Ethiopia might be of a different extent at different times, particularly on the sides of Libya Interior and Libya incognita, we cannot pretend to fix, with any precision, its frontiers. Nevertheless it seems, for many ages at least, to have been the same tract which at this day comprehends the kingdoms of Dongola, Sennar, and Abaffia, with part of Adel or Zeila; and consequently to have taken up seventeen degrees of longitude, and to have reached from the tropic of Cancer to within five degrees of the Line. Ludolphus intimates, that the modern geographers, depending upon the authority of Paulus Jovius, have extended the southern limits of Abaffia much farther; but at the same time that author rightly observes them to be guilty of a mistake. It is of no great consequence to our readers how this point stands, and therefore we shall not dwell any longer upon it.

The proper Ethiopia had various names given it by the antients. Sometimes they called it India, and its inhabitants Indians; sometimes different names of Ethiopians.
Indians; which appellation they applied to many of the remotest nations, as we have observed in the history of the Garamantes (A). This country was likewise denominated Atlantia and Ætheria, according to Pliny and Strabo, or, as

(A) Bochart thinks, that the Garamantes were a colony of the Amantes or Hammanierences of Pliny and Solinus, seated to the W. of the greater Syrirs. This notion he grounds not only upon the neighbouring situation of those nations, but likewise upon the affinity of their names. For as גָאָר signifies in Hebrew to inhabit, Gar-Amante might originally have denoted The habitation or dwelling of the Amantes; or rather גָאָר ger, from the aforesaid verb, may be naturally supposed to have signified colonus, advena, &c. and then Gar-Amante will be equivalent to One belonging to a colony of the Amantes. The last nation that ingenious author likewise believes to have been the name with the Ammonii or Amonii, whose name, by an easy transposition of letters, entirely agrees with that of Moses's Anamim or Anumai. Several things, according to him, concur to render this conjecture probable: 1. The Anamim in all likelihood deduced their name from the word אָנָא Anam, which might have denoted a sheep in the Egyptian language, as a word composed of the same letters did in Arabic. 2. According to some authors, the idol of Jupiter, in the territory of the Ammonii, was called Ammon from the ram that pointed out the spot of ground his temple was erected upon; and it is well known, that the Ammonii, in the opinion of the antients, were so denominated from Ammon or Ammūn, a name the Egyptians gave Jupiter. 3. That part of Libya, where Moses seems to place the Anamim, abounded with sheep, which supplied the natives not only with food but cloaths, and agreed very well in situation with the country of the Ammonii. 4. The idol of Jupiter Ammon had either ram's horns, or a ram's head upon it; which seemed to point at the origin of the word Anamim. If we admit what Bochart has advanced on this occasion, the etymology of the name Nafamones, or Nafemon, applied to a neighbouring people, may easily be discovered. For Nafamon, on this supposition, must be apparently the same as נָאָמֹן Nafe-Amon, i.e. Homines Ammon or Ammonii; and consequently the Nafamones as well as the Garamantes, were a branch of the Anamim. That the Garamantes in their own tongue, werestyled Gar-Amane, Ger-Amane, or, by contraction, Gar-Ame, Ger-Ame, &c. appears from the name of their metropolis Garama, or, as the Nubian geographer intimates it to have been denominated in his time, Germa. This observation will go a good way towards confirming those ingenious conjectures which we have here inferred from the
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as Hesychius will have it, Aeria. It also went, in very early ages, under the name of Cephenia. But we apprehend it to have been most usually called Abafene, a word approaching very near, both in sound and signification, to the modern Hobaf, Habefh, or Abafia; the true etymology of which will be exhibited to our readers, when we come to the history of Arabia.

On the other hand, we find Chaldæa, Assyria, Perœia, &c. styled Ethiopia by some very good authors; nay, it must be allowed, that the antients called all those countries, extending themselves beyond each side of the Red Sea, indifferently India or Ethiopia. Those eastern people at this day sometimes name that kingdom India, which the Europeans call Abafia, particularly the Persians, who for the most part give the appellation of Siah Hindou or Hindi, to an Abafine or modern Ethiopian. It appears from several authors, that the Red Sea itself went formerly under the name of the Indian Sea; and Ludolphus observes, that the antients denominated all those nations under the Torrid Zone, whose names they were ignorant of, Indians.

According to the Jews, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and other versions (B), Cufh, when taken for a country in scripture, called in Cufh.


the learned Bochart; especially, since Herodotus affirms that part of Libya adjacent to the country of the Ammonii to have been famous for the sheep it abounded with. These nations were nearly related to the Ethiopians, as we learn from the fame Herodotus (1).

(B) The eastern people affirm Cufh the son of Canaan, and grandson of Ham, to have had a son whose name was Habafchi or Habofchi, the father of the Abyssinians, or Egyptians, whom the Persians call Black Indians. The Hebrew grammarians

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scripture, is always to be understood of the proper Ethiopia. This notion is supported by Philo, Josephus, Eupolemus in Eusebius, Eustathius, the author of the Alexandrian chronicon, and the concurrent testimony of the Greek and Latin fathers. Notwithstanding which, Bochart, depending upon the authority of Jonathan’s Targum, and several plausible arguments, affirms the land of Cush to have been situated in Arabia.

rians derive the word Habaschah, which signifies Ethiopia, from Habouscha, which denotes a people raised from a mixture of different nations, originally of different countries. According to D’Herbelot and others, the Abyssinians, Nubians, and Fungi, are all comprehended under the word Habasch. The inspired writers are silent as to Cush the son of Canaan, and his son Habasachi. We find mention made there only of Cush the son of Ham, and his sons Seba, Havilah, Sabatah, Raamah, Sabtcha, and Nimrod. It is said, that Arabia Felix went formerly under the name of Ethiopia, because the Abyssinians, who conquered it, possessed it for a long time. Dhou-Iren king of Yaman drove them from thence with the assistance of the Persians. Some authors believe, that by Cush upon the river Gihon is meant only the ancient country of the Scythians upon the Araxes. Herodotus intimates, that the first habitation this people had was upon the Araxes; and that, being forced from thence by the Massagetae, they passed this river, and retired into the country of the Cimmerians. Jullin makes the Phasis and Araxes to be, as it were, the limits of the Scythians on the south side. Diodorus Siculus says, that the Scythians who were near Media abode at first upon the Araxes, and that the Sacæ and Massagetae are different branches of the Scythians. The words Cuthai and Cutha, whence some have deduced Scythe or Scythe, are the same as Cush. The Chaldeans generally put the Tau where the Hebrews use Schin, and therefore say Cut or Cuth instead of Cush. The Cutheans, who came to and inhabited the country of Samaria, did originally belong to that part of Media which bordered upon the Cappian sea, and therefore must have appertained to the Cush we are speaking of. There are very sensible footsteps of this name to be met with in various parts round about this country, as the district of Cotacene; the cities of Citamum, Cotomana, Cyta, Cotaca, Cotamba, Cotea; the Cotti, Coffae; river of Ciffa, &c. (2).

Arabia; and consequently maintains, that Cuth never in scripture denotes the proper Ethiopia. But neither of these opinions ought to be looked upon as strictly true: for Cuth is sometimes in scripture undoubtedly to be taken for the proper Ethiopia, as may be evinced not only by the great authorities above-mentioned, but several circumstances likewise which evidently point at that country; and, on the other hand, it must be allowed, that some of the sacred writers give the name of Cuth to the whole peninsula of Arabia, or a part of it bordering upon the Red Sea, or both. When the prophet Jeremiah asks his countrymen, *Whether the Cuthite can change his skin?* he must be considered as having in his eye a proper Ethiopian. For the nation there pointed at was black, differing greatly in colour from the Jews; the prophet's question being proverbial, of the same import with that common adage of prophane writers, "to wash the Ethiopian or Blackmoor white." Now this cannot be understood of the Arabs, who were of much the same complexion with the Jews, as Bochart himself not only allows, but proves; but the Abaflines or proper Ethiopians, might easily and naturally have given occasion to such a proverb. In the book of Isaiah we find Egypt, Pathros, and Cuth, joined together, and consequently Cuth taken for Ethiopia. For it appears from various authors, and even Bochart himself, that the land of Pathros was either the upper Egypt, or a part of that country near the confines of Ethiopia; and therefore Cuth, in this passage, must naturally refer to Ethiopia, since the region here denoted by that word was S. of the upper Egypt, and contiguous to it. In defence of our second assertion, several passages of scripture may likewise be produced. When the Lord threatened Egypt with utter desolation, he declared, *That he would lay it waste from the tower of Syene to the border of Cuth* (C). Now that the "border of Cuth and the tower of Syene" are intended

(C) Our readers will observe, that, out of complaisance to a great number of learned men, we have here given this text the most received interpretation; though we must own ourselves by no means inclinable to come into it. The words in the original are, מְנֻגָּל מֶרֶדֶל יָהֳעַר בָּעָר בָּעָר כֹּשׁ i. e. From Migdol to Syene and the border of Cuth; or From Migdol and Syene, and to the border of Cush. If we admit the first of these translations, we must suppose an ellipsis of the preposition חַגִּיד between מָנֹגָל and שְׁוָאָלוֹן, than which nothing
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here to represent two opposite limits of Egypt, cannot be denied; and that Syene was the Egyptian frontier on the side of Ethiopia, appears from Pliny and Strabo: therefore Cufh evidently denotes Arabia, or at least that part of it adjacent to Egypt, which was diametrically opposite to the tower of Syene, and not Ethiopia, whose border extended to that tower. Mofes's wife Zippora was a native of Cufh, and at the same time a Midianite; the prophet Habakkuk makes the territories

nothing is more frequent in the Hebrew Scripture; as may be inferred from Deut. c. xxxiii. ver. 17. Mich. c. vii. ver. 12. and many other passages enumerated by Noldius. If we prefer the latter, we must admit a suppression of the copulative \\u03c9 before \( \pi \nu \), which is likewise extremely common in the original of the Old Testament, as appears from Gen. c. xxvii. ver. 33. Cant. c. viii. ver. 6. Jud. c. ix. ver. 2. and an infinite number of other instances produced by the name Nolidus. Now Migdol is the proper name of a town about twelve miles from Pelusium on the Nile near the coast of the Mediterranean, and diametrically opposite to Syene; and of course, in conjunction with Syene, denotes the whole breadth of the land of Egypt, agreeably to the prophet's intention. This city we find mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah, c. xlv. ver. 1. and c. xlvi. ver. 14. who joins it with Tahpanhes, or as the Greeks called it, Daphne, and Daphne Pelusiac, another city in the neighbourhood of Pelusium. This circumstance, in conjunction with the Septuagint, which has there ἐν Μαγδαλή, at Migdol, and ἐπὶ Μαγδαλῆν in Migdol, renders extremely probable the version of this passage, which we would propose to the consideration of our learned readers. In the mean time we cannot but own ourselves greatly surprised at Cellarius, who has with so much boldness infused, or rather affirmed, that the Greek interpreters have, in agreement with the Vulgate, translated the text at present under consideration ἀπὸ πυγμέων Συσελίς ἐς ὥσ ὧς ἲμαρτον Ἀθηνασίων. Whereas both the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS. of the Septuagint have it ἀπὸ Μαγδαλῆς ἐς Συσελίς ἐς ὥσ ὧς ἲμαρτον Ἀθηνασίων. Which, together with the Arabic version expressing it From Migdol and Asuan to the borders of Ethiopia, seems to render indispensive what is here advanced; and consequently, to evince, that this famous passage is so far from proving Cufh to point out Arabia, that, on the contrary, it evidently demonstrates that word sometimes to denote the proper Ethiopia (3).

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tories of Cushan or Cush, and Midian or Madian, to have been the same; Jofephus, Ptolemy, and St. Jerom, mention a city of Arabia on the coast of the Red Sea, called Madian; from all which we may infer, that part of Arabia at least goes sometimes in scripture under the name of Cush. Job intimates, that Cush was famous for the excellent topazes it produced: now none of the antients have taken notice of the Ethiopian topaz; whereas Pliny relates, that the best topazes came from the Arabic island Chitis or Chutis, whose name seems to have been the same with Cush or Cuth; and Agatharchides Cnidius, Diodorus, and Strabo, have likewise mentioned this island; therefore some of the sacred writers denominated at least part of Arabia Cush. In that day, says the Lord, shall messengers go from me in ships, to make the careless Cushites afraid, &c. which menace may be supposed more properly to point at the Arabs, whom the Egyptians and others visited in ships on the Red Sea, than the Ethiopians, with whom they had a communication by land. But, to omit other passages that occur, both the Arabs and Ethiopians might have very properly been styled Cushites, since the descendents of Cush formed a great part of both nations. Nay, that the Arabs themselves had the appellation of Ethiopians, and Asiatic Ethiopians, clearly follows from what has been advanced by Xenophon and Herodotus. However we cannot help thinking, that the antient Hebrews rightly looked upon the Ethiopians as the proper Cushites. For Zerah’s most formidable army consisted chiefly of Cushites, neighbours to the Libyans, i.e. the Ethiopians, of which people only he is called king by the sacred historian; though from Sir Isaac Newton, and what we have already observed, it may be proved, that he was in possession of all the dominions of Egypt, Libya, Troglydycia, Arabia, &c. The extremely numerous host he commanded adds great weight to this notion. Pliny intimates, that the Ethiopians, whom he distinguishes from the Arabians, were masters of Egypt not long before the destruction of Troy; which, considering that this period falls in with the time of Zerah, brings no small accession of strength to what is here advanced.

We cannot therefore allow, that Ludim is the only name given in scripture to the Ethiopians, as M. Bochart undertakes to prove. Most of the arguments he offers to evince this point are extremely frivolous, as our readers will find upon an examination of them, and the others not of any considerable force. But, supposing them to prove, that the word Ludim, in all places of scripture he cites on this occasion, is to be understood of the Ethiopians, which is the utmost that he could ever have pretended to; yet it will not follow from hence, that Ethiopia is never called Cuth by any of the sacred writers. Such an assertion cannot be maintained, though it should be granted, as we are willing to do, that part of the Ludim took up their habitations in Ethiopia. And yet several learned men have come into Bochart's opinion.

The antients believed the blackness of the Abaffines or Abyssinians to be occasioned by the intense heat of the climate, and therefore called them Ethiopians. We find them likewise called Aetherei and Aeri by Hefychius, Pliny, and Strabo. Pliny relates, that the Blemmyes, an Ethiopian nation seated near the borders of Egypt, had no heads, their mouths and eyes being fixed on their breasts. This ought undoubtedly to be looked upon as fabulous, and might probably proceed from their having very short necks; however, that some Blemmyan captives exhibited an extremely odd appearance at Rome, we learn from Vopiscus. The Nobatae inhabited one of the banks of the Nile, near the island Elephantine, having been removed thither from Oasis, in order to have a watchful eye upon, and repress the courtes, of the Blemmyes. Some authors refer the Troglydotes to Egypt, and others to Ethiopia; but that as it will, they were a very savage nation, living in caves, according to Strabo, feeding upon serpents, lizards, &c. and having a language consisting of no articulate sounds, but resembling the shrieking of bats, according to Herodotus. The Nubians we find just mentioned by the antients as a people of

of Ethiopia, but nothing particular related of them. Some authors assert the Pygmies to have been a canton of the Trog-loydites, and others one of the Nubians; but 'tis generally agreed, that they had their situation not far from the Ethio-
pic shore of the Red Sea. Nonnus in Photius tells us, that they were extremely short, black, and hairy all over. Most of these nations are represented by Strabo as inconsiderable, and little better than so many gangs of robbers. Bochart thinks, that the Trogloydites, including the Pygmies or Pyg-
maei, were styled by the Hebrews סְכֹחַ, i.e. Succah, from סְכֹחַ succah, a den; for that word signifies as well a cave or den, as a tent. Hence it is natural to suppose the Trog-
loyditic town Succha, on the coast of the Red Sea, mentioned by Pliny, the modern Suaquem, the seat of a Turkish Ba-
haw, deduced its name. In support of this notion it may be observed, that the Septuagint and Vulgate versions render ἄλατοι τραγαλώται, Trogloydites, a word derived apparent-
ly from τραγάλος, i.e. a cave den, passage, &c. and rank this people among the Cunhites, Libyans, and other nations, that formed the numerous army of Sefac. The Aualiae or Abalitae were seated near the Abalitic gulf, which is all that we have to say of them. Agatharchides, Diodorus, Strabo, Pto-
lemey, and Agathemerus, inform us, that the Struthophagi, who lived upon ostriches as big as flags, were seated immediately to the south of the Memnones. The Acridophagi, Chelono-
phagi, Ichthyophagi, Cynamolgi, Elephantophagi, Rhizopha-
ghi, Spermatophagi, Hylophagi, Ophiophagi, &c. derived their names from the locusts, tortoises, fisch, bitches milk, elephants, &c. they fed upon. The Acridophagi were very small, swift, black, and short-lived, the oldest of them not exceeding forty years of age. They used locusts for food, with which they were plentifully supplied by certain winds that covered their country with them, as we learn from Diodorus and Strabo. As for the Chelonophagi, they covered their houses with the shells of tor-
toises, and lived upon their flesh. The Ichthyophagi occupied a maritime part of Ethiopia, bordering on the Red Sea, and not far from the frontiers of Egypt. As they lived upon all kinds of fish, large as well as small, Aben-Ezra takes them to be the יִֽזְי Tziim of the Psalmist, to whom God gave the heads of Leviathan, under which name, ac-
ording to that author, Moses comprehends all fisch of a vast size, for meat. This notion seems to receive some accession of strength from several circumstances hinted at in the passage referred to. For the Trogloydites made their very bread of the flesh of fishes dried in the sun; the Psalmist is there speak-
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ing of Pharaoh, and the Egyptians, who were drowned in the Red Sea, and afterwards thrown upon the Troglodytic shore; Tziim properly imports a nation inhabiting a barren dry country, such as was that of the Troglodytes; and other texts of scripture, compared with this, not a little favour such an opinion. They built their houses of whalebones, and shells of fishes. The ribs served for rafters, and the jaws for portals. They fed their very cattle with fish. Some of them inhabited caves in mountains, formed by vast quantities of sea-weed from time to time thrown on shore, and consolidated by the force of the tide beating upon it, and perpetually bringing a fresh accession of matter to it, together with the heat of the sun. From this, as well as from what has been advanced by several authors, it appears, that the Red Sea was exceeding shallow at certain times; that it was covered with an immense quantity of this sea-weed, which gave it a very green colour; and that from hence the Hebrews denominated it מִן יָם suph, i.e. "The sea of the "weeds." The Cynamolgi kept great numbers of dogs, in order to hunt wild beasts, and sometimes fed upon bitches milk. Pliny fabulously relates, that they had dogs deads. The Elephantophagi seem to have had their situation in the southern parts of Ethiopia, and destroyed elephants in a very dextrous manner, as will be related elsewhere. The Rhizophagi were seated not far from the conflux of the Aftaboras, Aftapus, and the Nile. Their territory abounded with morasses that produced a great number of canes, whose roots served them for food. The Spermatophagi and Hylophagi formed two neighbouring cantons; the first of which fed upon the fruits that fell from the trees in summer, but the rest of the year upon a sweet plant with a stalk something resembling that of a turnep; and the latter, with their wives and children, upon the buds and tender shoots of trees. The Hylogones, neighbours to the Elephantophagi, lived for the most part in the woods, and generally slept on trees. Their curious method of killing lions, leopards, and other wild beasts, we shall hereafter describe. The Pamphagi ufed every thing indiscriminately for food; and the Agriophagi fed upon the flesh of wild beasts. The Ophiophagi or Serpent-eaters inhabited a very fertile tract, as we learn from Pliny. The Ethiopian Anthrophagi or Man-eaters, mentioned by Marcianus and Ptolemy, seem to have been the Cafres, and not a people of proper Ethiopia. As for the Gapachi, Ptoemphanes, Catabupi, Pechini, Catadre, and other obscure Ethiopian tribes, we know nothing of them but the bare names. The number of nations
nations inhabiting antient Ethiopia will not surprise us, when we have seen Ludolphus's description of the kingdom of Abyssinia (D).

This region did not abound in cities and towns of any considerable note. Auxume, Auxumis, or Axome, the metropolis of Ethiopia, according to Arrian and Nonnosus in Photius, undoubtedly was the same city as the modern Axuma, or, as the Abassines call it, Ascum. The noble palace, beautiful structures, &c. this city was formerly so famous for, sufficiently appear from the present remains of it. It stands about forty-five Portuguese leagues from the Red Sea, and in 14° 30' N. lat. It looks now like a village, being almost totally ruined, and scarcely affording shelter to an hundred inhabitants. Some authors relate, that there may be seen here the remains of a magnificent temple, which have supported themselves against the injuries of time. The Portuguese, who first visited this country, called Axuma corruptly Chaxumo or Cassumo. Behind the temple above-mentioned, which was an hundred and ten feet in length, had two wings on each side, and a double porch, with an ascent of twelve steps, stand several obelisks of different sizes, and others have been thrown down by the Turks. Amongst the rubbish is a great square stone, on which appears some part of an antient inscription, so effaced by time, that it is not legible, and nothing

(D) To the clans or tribes here enumerated may be added the Hippophagi or Horse-eaters of Agathemers, who were bounded on the south by the northern borders of Libya Incognita; the Macrobi, a powerful nation, some of whom attained to the age of an hundred-and-twenty years, according to Herodotus; the Sambri, not far from the Nubian city Tenupis upon the Nile, all whose quadrupeds, even the elephants themselves, were without ears; and the Asachae, a mountainous people continually employed in hunting of elephants (4).

nothing can be distinguished except some Greek and Latin letters, and the word Basilius. When the Abassine monarchs were formerly crowned here, they sat on a throne of stone in the inner porch of the aforesaid temple. Pselchis or Pielca, and Premnis, through which Petronius marched in his Ethiopic expedition, stood upon the western bank of the Nile, but their true situation cannot be discovered. Napatia, where Candace queen of Ethiopia resided, was on the opposite bank, but in what direction it is to be sought for, we cannot precisely inform our readers. Ptolemy mentions two towns called Premis or Primis, one of which might possibly have been the Premnis of Strabo. The emporia or marts of Malis, Mondus, Abalis, Mosylon, Cloe, and Opone, probably made a good figure in ancient times, though we have no particulars of moment handed down to us concerning them. Petronius reduced Pielcha, Premnis, and Napatia, in the above-mentioned expedition, razing Napatia, and leaving a garrison of four hundred men in Premnis, with provisions for two years. Pliny mentions a city of the Nubians upon the Nile called Tenuphis, with which possibly either Couxa, Nuvâla, Galva, Duncâla, or Ielâc, all placed by the Nubian geographer near the conflux of the Nile and the Aftaboras, may correspond. Duncâla, the Dumcâla of Jacutus, the Dungâla of Leo, and the present Dongola, the capital of the Nubians, all whose cities are seated upon the Nile, seems to bid the fairest for it. None of the other towns taken notice of by the old geographers deserve the least attention h.

Ethiopia, as appears from the best modern geographical descriptions of Abassia, as well as the antients, was extremely mountainous; though we find no mountains of note taken notice of by the antients except the mounts Garbata, and Elephas or Phalangis. Whether or no the mountains of Tigre, the highest of which is Lamalmon, beginning about two days journey from the Red Sea, answer to either of these, we shall not presume to assert; though that they did, by the situation assigned them, seems not improbable. Be that as it will, the path over Lamalmon, whose ascent is vastly steep and dangerous, is so narrow, that the person

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per son who gives way to another there falls headlong into an abyss, and is irrecoverably lost. Several provinces of Abassia, viz. Bagemdra or Bagemder, Gojam, Waleka, Shewa, &c. are but one continued chain of mountains, the principal of which are those of Amhara and Samen. The Aorni, as the Abassines call them, are rugged rocks of such an incredible height, that the Alps and Pyrenees are but low hills in comparison of them. Curtius relates, that the Indians called a famous rock in their country Aornos, as being above the flight of a bird; but that author mistakes the etymology, since the word, from what has been here observed, cannot be looked upon as of Greek extraction. Amongst the mountains, and even frequently in the plains of Abassia, arise steep and craggy rocks of various forms, some resembling towers, others pyramids, &c. so even on the sides, that they seem to be the effect of labour and art; insomuch that men, cattle, &c. are craned up by the help of ladders and ropes. And yet the tops of these rocks are covered with woods, meadows, fountains, fish-ponds, &c. which very copiously supply the animals fed thereon with all the conveniences of life. The most remarkable of these rocks is Geshen or Amba-Geshen, on the confines of Amhara, towards Shewa, prodigiously steep, in the form of a castle built of free-stone, and almost impregnable. Its summits is about half a Portuguese league in breadth, and its circumference at the bottom near half a day's journey. The ascent at first is easy, but afterwards so steep and rugged, that the Abassine oxen, which will otherwise clamber like goats, must be craned up and let down with ropes. Here the princes of the blood were formerly confined, in low cottages among shrubs and wild cedars, with an allowance barely sufficient to keep them alive. There is, according to Kircher, in the province of Gojam, a rock so curiously hollowed by nature, that at a distance it resembles a looking-glass; and opposite to this another, on the top of which nothing can be so softly whispered but that it may be heard a great way off. Between many of these rocks and mountains are vast profundities or abysses, which appear most dreadful to the eye. The natives call every one of the rocks above-mentioned Amba, as Amba-Salam, Amba-Geshen, Amba-Dorho, Amba-damo, Amba-Samet, &c.

In so mountainous a region as Ethiopia, the air cannot be always alike, and perhaps there is no country in the world where so many different seasons may be found in so small a compass. The Ethiopic, as well as the opposite coast of the Red Sea, together with those low open places called by the

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modern Abaffines Kolla, and the islands of this sea, are intolerably scorched by the solar rays in the summer-season; insomuch that Gregory the Abaffine related the heat in the island of Suaquema or Suaquena to be so intense as to excoriate any part of the body, melt hard Indian wax in a cabinet, and sear a garment like red-hot iron. However, the air is much more temperate in the mountainous parts; nay, according to Tellezzus, the summer heats are milder in several districts of Abaffia than in Portugal; and even in Samen the cold is more dreaded than the heat. In some provinces of Ethiopia the winter is extremely severe, in others as warm as the summer in several parts of Europe. The Ethiopians have little or no snow, but only a small sort of hail that sometimes covers the ground, and at a distance looks like snow. Frequent and dreadful thunders, however, they have, attended with tempests that terrify both man and beast, which proceed from the excessive variety of air. 1 Ludolphus thinks, that Gregory’s four seasons, Matzau, Tzadai, Hagai, and Cramt, are in reality but three, i.e. the spring, which begins on the twenty-fifth day of September; the summer, consisting of two parts, the first called Tzadai, beginning upon the twenty-fifth of December, and the second denominated Hagai in the Abaffine tongue, commencing on the twenty-fifth of June; and lastly, Cramt, or winter, which concludes the Ethiopian year. The climate here in general is so healthy, that it is no uncommon thing for the natives to arrive at an hundred years of age; however, towards the beginning of the spring, that is to say, in the months of September and October, an epidemic fever sometimes makes great havoc amongst the inhabitants of Tigre.

The days and nights in Ethiopia, as lying betwixt the tropic of Cancer and the line, are for the most part nearly equal. The winds that blow on the mountains are generally speaking fuliginous and pleant; but the atmosphere over the plains, for want of them, fagnates, and becomes unwholesome. The wind Sendo, however, is far from being beneficial to the Abaffines. It is a whirlwind so impetuously violent, that it throws down all before it, and therefore in some

1 Strab. l. xvii. Agathemer. geogr l. ii. c. 15. Ludolph. l. 4. c. 6. Curt. l. viii. P. Balthazar Tellez. apud Ludolph. ubi sup. ut & ipse Ludolph. in comment. ad hist. Αθιοπ. pass. Le Grand, dissert. ii. Αθαν. Kirch. in Mufurg. universt. t. iii. l. ix. c. 6.  k Nonnosus apud Phot. n. 3.p. m. 2. Gregor. Abaffin. apud Job. Ludolph. hist. Αθιοπ. l. i. c. 5.
some respect may seem to answer its name, which in the Amharic dialect signifies a serpent or snake. Gregory told Ludolphus, that it might be seen, and represented an immense serpent, whose head moved on the ground, and the body erected itself in curls and windings up to the sky. The soil in those parts capable of cultivation is extremely fertile, and produces vast quantities of grain, pulse, and fruit. Metals likewise, particularly gold, minerals, vegetables, and a surprising variety of animals, it abounds with; but these our readers will expect a description of in another place. We find it affronted by the best authors, that the Abaffines have sometimes two, and sometimes three harvests in a year. They neither sow nor mow for the sake of their cattle, the perpetual heat and continual distillation of moisture from the mountains, producing grass in great abundance, and covering the fields with a most beautiful verdure thro' all the different seasons of the year. Though they have most delicious grapes, and honey is very cheap amongst them, yet they almost entirely confine themselves to malt liquor, which is not very unlike that brewed in some parts of Europe. 1 (D).

Of all the rivers, that water Ethiopia, the most famous is the Nile, which has its source in that country. Many of the antient geographers, and in particular Ptolemy, placed the fountains of this river beyond the Line, on some mountains which they call the mountains of the moon. But the moderns, particularly the Portuguese, have discovered this to be a mistake. What they have advanced on this head has been in a great measure confirmed by Gregory the Abaffine in a letter to M. Ludolphus. According to that curious person, the spring-head of the Nile first appears in a tract called Secut, upon the top of Dengla, near the frontiers of Gojam, to the W. of Bagemdra, Dara, the lake of Tzana, and Bada. From thence it takes its course towards Amhara, leaving Gojam on the right, and G 2 Bagemdra


(D) This appears from what the young Abaffian told the learned gentleman hereafter mentioned at Jerualem, and receives some accession of strength from Diodorus and Strabo. Those authors affirm this liquor to have been extracted from Millet, as well as barley, and in flavour and excellency to have equalled wine (5).

(5) Diod. Sic. l. i. Strab. l. xvii.
Bagemdra on the left. Having passed the limits of Amhara, and in such a manner surrounded the kingdom of Gojam as always to leave it on the right, it washes the confines of Waleka, and then approaches the farthest bounds of Mugara and Shewa. Then, running between Bizama and Gongar, it comes into the country of the Chankalas; from whence, winding to the right and gradually leaving the western climate on the left, it advances towards the kingdom of Sennar. But before its arrival there, it is greatly encreased by the accession of two large rivers from the east, viz. the Tacaza falling out of Tigre, and the Guagua descending from Dambea. After taking a view of the kingdom of Sennar, it moves to the borders of Dongola, and so to the kingdom of Nubia (E); from hence, turning to the right, it reaches at last a region called Abram, where its stream becomes un navigable by reason of the cliffs and rocks, and soon afterwards enters Egypt. The travellers therefore from Sennar and Abaffa, after having crossed Nubia, leave the Nile to the E., and cross upon camels a defert of fifteen days journey, where neither tree, water, nor any thing else but sand, is to be seen. From Abram it continues its course to Riff or Upper Egypt, where the above-mentioned travellers again come up with it; and, after having traversed the kingdom of Egypt in a northern direction, empties itself into the Mediterranean near Alexandria.

(E) 'Tis observable, that Gregory here distinguishes the kingdom of Sennar from that of Nubia, though at present they are looked upon to be the same. However, in our opinion Gregory's authority is superior to that of Pomet and the missionaries, upon which that of the modern geographers depends. We find no mention of Sennar in any of that numerous tribe of oriental and other authors cited by the excellent Golius in his incomparable notes upon Alfraganus, though they take notice both of Nuba or Nubia, and the country of the Fungi; therefore it should seem probable, that Sennar is only a part of Nubia, or else a kingdom different from it. The Nubian geographer intimates, that in his time the city of Sennar, probably Sennar, was an inconsiderable place, and its district or territory distinct from the kingdom of Nuba or Nubia. Ludolphus makes the modern kingdom of Sennar to be the same with the country of the Fungi, and a part of the ancient Nubia (5).

(5) Geogr. Nubiens. clin. i. par. 5. sub. fin. Ludolph. hist. Aethio. l. i. c. 2.
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Andria. Father Payz, who viewed the fountains of the Nile himself, adds, that the source of this river consists of two round spring-heads, very deep, upon an eminence, the ground about which is quaggy and marshy; that, however, the water does not issue out from thence, but from the foot of the hill, about a mufquet-shot from whence, towards the east, the river begins to flow; that, winding then to the north about the fourth part of a Portuguese league, it receives another river, and a little farther two more from the east, soon after which it enlarges itself with the addition of several other streams; and lastly, that about a day's journey farther it swallows up the river Jema, and, after flowing twenty Portuguese leagues in a western direction, turns to the east, and plunges itself into a vast lake (F). 'Tis remarkable, that all the rivers of Ethiopia, at any considerable distance from the ocean, except the Hanazo rising in Hangota or Angote, and the Hawash or Aoaxe running through the kingdoms of Dawara and Fatagara or Fategur, flow into the Nile. The Eteolian winds contribute little or nothing to the inundations of the Nile, though some authors have fallly imagined the contrary, nor the snow melted from the Ethiopian mountains, according to others, as Seneca and Ludolphus have fully evinced. But the prodigious mass of waters flowing from all parts, and proceeding from the immoderate showers with which the countries under the Torrid Zone are washed, when the sun returns into the winter signs, undoubtedly occasions them. Juba makes the Nile to have had its source in Mauritania, as we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus; which runs counter to fact, as well as most other authors who have treated of this river. Perhaps he might extend the

G 3

southern

(F) This is probably the lake of Tzana, through which the Nile passes, still preserving the colour of its own water. From hence, turning to the south, it washes on the left hand the principal kingdoms of Abassia, viz. Bagemdra, Ambara, Waleka, Shewa, Damota, &c. and takes along the rivers of those countries, viz. the Bashi, Tzohha, Kecem, Jema, Roma, and Woccit. Then on the right hand surrounding Gojam, and swelled with the Muga, Abaja, Afsari, Temei, Gult, and Tzul, all rivers of that region, it bends again towards the west, leaves Abassia upon the right, and runs in a northern direction through several thirsty nations, and sandy deserts, in order to fertilize Egypt with its inundations (6).

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The southern parts of Mauritania as far as the Niger, which agreed almost in all points with the Nile, as just observed; and therefore mistake the latter for the former, which he might falsely imagine had its rise in Mauritania, because it ran by the borders of that region. Strabo countenances this opinion, when he intimates, that the rivers in the southern parts of Mauritania abounded with animals and vegetables like those produced in and about the Nile (G). The modern Abaffines, tho' they are not ignorant of the fountains from which the Nile deduces its source, are far from being perfectly acquainted with the course of that river after it leaves them. However, the constant and antient tradition amongst them is, that near a certain mountain, at some distance from the city of Sennar, it divides itself into two streams, one of which runs to the westward, and forms the river Niger, and the other in a northern direction takes its course through Egypt. This we learn from the Nubian geographer, who at the same time intimates, that the channel running to the east of this mountain, watering Nubia and the land of Egypt, is divided in the Lower Egypt into four parts, three of which fall into the Syrian sea, and the other discharges itself into a salt lake near Alexandria. 'Tis probable, that the separation of these two streams is caused by some rocky mountain meeting the river above-mentioned, and splitting it into two channels. Leo Africanus adds great weight to the authority of the Nubian geographer, when he assures us, that the Nile flows through the region of the Nigritæ. The Abaffines, according to Gregory above-mentioned, say that the Niger separates from the Nile in the country of Dongola; that the greatest flow of water passes into Egypt; and that the other stream, descending towards the region of Elway, at last throws itself into the Atlantic ocean. All which seems to be confirmed by what we have lately observed from Herodotus, and by Pliny, when he assures us, that the Nile and the Niger agree in colour and taste of water, produce the same sort of reed, the same sort of paper, the same sort of animals, and encrease as

(G) 'Tis not improbable, that the Segelmessa was one of these rivers mentioned by Strabo; since, according to the Nubian geographer, it nearly resembled the Nile, in almost all particulars: nay, we are told, that the river Sus at present fertilizes all the adjacent country by its inundations, as the Nile does Egypt; which adds no small weight to the authority of Strabo (7).

as well as overflow, at the same seasons. If the above-
mentioned particulars be admitted, it seems possible for the
king of Abassia either so to stop up the fountains of the
Nile, or so to divert the course of the river proceeding
immediately from thence, that Egypt should not be overflowed;
which would prove the total ruin of that kingdom. This
receives some accession of strength from Elmacinus, who
relates, that the khalif Mustansir sent Michael the pa-
triarch with magnificent presents to the Abassine monarch, to
prevail upon him to open the channel that conveyed water to
Egypt, which for some time had been stopped. His petition
that prince immediately granted. The consequence of which
was, that the Nile, which had before greatly failed, rose
three yards in one night, and rendered the land of Egypt as
capable of cultivation as ever. This has induced some au-
thors to assert, that the grand signior pays an annual tribute
to the king of Abassia, that his Egyptian subjects may en-
joy all the advantages of the Nile's inundations which their
ancestors have done. Gregory, cited above, intimates to
Ludolphus, that he had heard from some Abassines of un-
doubted veracity, that near the Cataracts of the Nile the
land to the east was a perfect plain; and that, by only o-
pening a passage through one mountain for that river, it
would flow rather that way than into the Mediterranean
through (H) Egypt. However, we must own ourselves
far from being certain as to this point; though a gentleman
of most profound erudition, and unexceptionable authority,
has informed us, that he met with a young Abassine at
Jerusalem, who intimated to him, that such a kind of no-
tion still prevailed amongst his countrymen. The present

(H) It is observable, that the kings of Abassia are still per-
suaded, that the keys of the Nile are in their hands, and that
they can, when they please, change its course, as the king Tek-
limanout threatened the ba shaw of Cairo towards the begin-
ing of this century, that is, about the year 1766. That prince,
being greatly incensed at the assassination of the seur Du Roaule
a Frenchman at Sennar, threatened the ba shaw with his resent-
ment, in case an immediate stop was not put to such flagrant viola-
tions of the law of nations; telling him, that he could make the
Nile the instrument of his vengeance, since god, by placing in
his hands the fountains, passage, and encroach, of that river, had
put it in his power to make it do either good or harm (8).

(8) See the sequel to father Lobo's voyage to Abassinia.
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Ethiopians call their part of this river Abawi, though in the old Ethiopic language we find it styled Gejon or Gewon, probably by an antient mistake from the Greek word Ἰσίδος, Geon, or Hebrew Gihon, Gen. ii. 13. since some authors have imagined that river to be the Nile. The prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah give the river we are now upon the name of Sihor or Sichor, i.e. The black river, from the colour of its water, as the Greeks did that of Melas, and the Latins Melo, for the same reason. And, agreeably to this notion, Virgil says:

"Et viridem Alexyptum nigra fruens purpurana,
"Et diversa ruens septem difcurrit in ora
"Usque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis."


Dionysius Afer and Stephanus Byzantinus say, that the Ethiopians denominated that part of this river running through their territories Siris, which is evidently the same as Sihor; but that, as soon as it reached Syene, it received the name of (I) Nile. Besides the Nile, the antient geographers mention

(I) To what has been said of the Nile we shall beg leave to add the account of the rivers flowing into it, given us by the patriarch Alphonse Mendez. "The Nile," says he, "receives several rivers, the most remarkable of which are the Baxilo or Bachilo, which divides the kingdoms of Bagemeder or Bagemdra and Amhara; the Gulcem, which bounds the same kingdom of Amhara and Oeca; the Malec and Auguer, which, having joined their streams, water the countries of Damot, Narea, Bizamo, the Gafates, and the Gongas. The Tacaza, called by the antients Aflaboras, hath three different fources near the mountains, which separate the two kingdoms of Angote or Angota and Bagaméder; it runs towards the west thro' the desert of Oldeba; then, entering Dambar, falls into a large bed of sands, and afterwards having crossed part of the kingdom of Decan, discharges itself into the Nile. 'Tis said, that besides crocodiles and river-horses, there are in this river abundance of torpedoes, which immediately benumb the arm of any man that touches them. The Mareb, rising two leagues from Debaroa, falls, after a long course, from a rock thirty cubits in height, and sinks underground; but in the winter it runs through many other provinces, and by the monastery of Alleluia, and then loses itself. The army, when they invaded these regions, dug into the sand, and found underground both good
tion two other rivers called Astaboras and Asnapus, meeting near the island or peninsula Meroe, and joining the Nile soon after. As these rivers had their sources to the east of the Nile, the first deducing its streams from the lake Coloe in the district of Amaza, and the other from some fountains betwixt the mounts Garbata and Elephas not far from the Aualitic gulph, we must submit it to our readers, whether the modern Tacaza and Mareb, considering the situation and direction assigned them by the modern geographers, do not entirely correspond with them. Pliny, Heliodorus, and Strabo, mention a third considerable river falling into the Nile, whose name they do not entirely agree in; but as it has been omitted

"good water and excellent fish." To which we shall beg leave to subjoin a short description of the course of the Nile, as delivered to us by the best modern geographers since the time of Gregory and Ludolphus. It arises in the kingdom of Gojam, and proceeds from thence in a N. E. direction to the lake of Dambea or Tzana; afterwards it moves S. E. to the kingdom of Bagemeder, or, as Gregory calls it, Bagemdra; then, still running S. E. it approaches the kingdom of Amhara; from whence continuing it's motion S. E. it advances to the kingdom of Oleca, betwixt which and Amhara it receives a considerable river, as it did before the Bachilo on the confines of Amhara and Bagemdra. From the kingdom of Oleca it moves to that of Choa in the same direction, and from thence by Debra through Galla, and the kingdom of the Cafates, to that of Gongga. Afterwards it visits the country of the Changalas, N. E. of Gonga. From thence in a northern direction it flows to the city and kingdom of Sennar; and then to Corte or Corti in Nubia, through the desert of Bahisuda N. W. from Sennar. Betwixt Sennar and Corti it passes by Barbar, near which is a cataract N. E. of the former place, from whence it turns to the W. and reaches Corte. Kanife W. of Corte next receives a visit from it; and then Dongola N. of Kanife. Continuing its course N. E. it arrives at the Greater Cataraét; and afterwards takes its leave of Nubia near the Lesser Cataraét. Lastly, having traversed Egypt in a northern direction, it discharges itself by several mouths into the Mediterranean. We could not dispense with being thus particular, in relation to the source and course of a river the most celebrated of all others taken notice of by antiquity, on account of the vast advantages accruing from its inundations to the countries through which it passed; especially since the antients fought after the causes of these inundations, and the head of this river, in vain

(9) Alphons. Mendez apud Le Grand, dissert. iii.
omitted by several of the antient geographers, and especially by Ptolemy, who had the best means of informing himself as to the truth of every particular relating to it, we shall supercede all farther accounts of it, and conclude here what we have to say of the rivers of Ethiopia.  

We find no remarkable fountains and lakes in Ethiopia besides the sources of the rivers above-mentioned, except the lake of Pleboa above Meroe, that of Tzana being, as far as we can collect from the old geography, unknown to the antients. The principal promontories were, Basium, Mnemium, Aphis, Saturni promontorium, Mopylon, Dire, Zengita, Noti Cornu, Prafun, and Raptum, the last of which was inhabited by Cannibals or Anthropophagi. But the three last capes seem rather to have belonged to the Caffres or African barbarians than the proper Ethiopians. The chief ports and empories of Ethiopia, were those of Adulis, Mon dus, Opone, Mopylon, and the principal city of the Aulitæ, seated upon the Red Sea. From their country into these places the Arabs imported fruit, corn, wine, cloaths, &c. and exported from thence to Ocelis and


(K) We must not omit observing, that as the advantages afforded the fields in other countries by the rains are derived from the rivers in Ethiopia, the places perfectly dry in winter are overflowed in summer. Several of these rivers do not empty themselves into the sea, as in other regions, but are sucked up in the land; so that it is more difficult to discover their mouths than the sources of other streams (10).

(10) Ludolph. in prefat. ad hist. AEthiop.
and Mufa, opposite harbours in Arabia, spices, cassia, perfumes, ivory, myrrh, and several other (L) commodities. To which we may add the haven and fortresses of Sabid, probably the Saba of Ptolemy, now in a ruinous condition. The most noted islands appertaining to Ethiopia were Meroe, if that should not rather be deemed a peninsula, the Sporades of Agatharchides, Alfrates, Ara Palladis, Gythitis, Myronis, Daphnite, Magi, Acathine, Ilis, Mondus, and Menuthias (M). Meroe contained a large tract, together with a very considerable city, its metropolis, of the same name. Josephus informs us, that its original name was Saba, but that Cambyses, from his father, afterwards called it Meroe; which seems to be confirmed by Strabo, tho' it does not appear from Herodotus, that this prince penetrated so far into Ethiopia. Timotheus, Ptolemy Philadelphus's admiral, related, that the city of Meroe was sixty days journey from Syene. Eratosthenes made this distance fix hundred and twenty-five miles; Hipparchus in Strabo five thousand fathoms, which agrees with Eratosthenes; Artemidorus fix hundred miles; and Sebous computed sixteen hundred miles from the farthest or most northern part of Egypt to this famous town. But, according to Pliny (N), the road

(L) 'Tis remarkable, that most of these commodities have for a long time failed in Ethiopia, as the lotus and philpium in Egypt and Cyrenaica; but Arabia and India sufficiently supply the European merchants with them (11).

(M) To which we may add the island in the great lake of Pleboan, sometimes occupied by the Libyans, and at other times by the Ethiopians, just as succour attended their respective arms, according to Strabo. From the situation that author assigns this lake, in conjunction with what we shall offer concerning Meroe in note (N), our readers may possibly be induced to believe, that the present lake of Txana or Dembea is the Pleboan of the antients (12).

(N) The computation we find in Pliny is as follows: From Syene to Hiera fifty-four miles; from thence to Tama seventy-five miles; from thence to the borders of the Ethiopians called Eunomites an hundred-and-twenty miles; from thence to Acina fifty-four miles; from thence to Pitara twenty-five miles; from thence to Tergedus an hundred and fix miles; from thence to Napata eighty miles; and lastly, from Napata to the city of Meroe three hundred and sixty miles.

What part of Sennar or Abasha answers to Meroe, we shall not take upon us to determine. The Jesuits have pitched upon the kingdom of Gojam, as being almost encompassed by the Nile, and

(11) Bochart ubi sup. (12) Strab. l. xvii.
road between Meroe and Syene was discovered in the reign of Nero to be eight hundred and seventy-four Roman miles long. The Nubian geographer does not differ greatly from some of these computations; for he intimates, that travellers are generally above two months in traversing Nubia, or that vast tract lying betwixt the confines of Egypt and Abassia. We find, that when Ethiopia was in its most flourishing state, the city of Meroe made a prodigious figure, insomuch that, if some of the antients may be credited, it could send into the field an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, and contained four hundred thousand artificers, though in Pliny's time it was but a small town. Several queens of this part of Ethiopia, and consequently a peninsula, as Meroe was thought to have been by some of the antients. But M. Ludolphus has entirely overthrown this notion, by proving, amongst other things, that nothing related of Meroe by Diodorus, Strabo, and Pliny, is applicable to Gojam; Meroe being nearer Egypt. Besides, as that learned author observes, had Meroe been Gojam, and the antients had known that country, they must consequently have known the source of the Nile; which we find they did not. Vogius believes the city Baroo or Baroa, situated in 16° 22'. N. lat. where the Bahmagh generally resides, to correspond with the capital of Meroe. As this opinion depends upon the supposition, that the present Mareb or Moraba is the Aslaboras of the antients, which must be admitted, it seems to have some appearance of truth. Mr. Senex's map of this country, which to us appears the most accurate of any that has been hitherto published, seems to point out the tract answering to the antient Meroe. We find there a fort of peninsula with many of the distinguishing characteristics of Meroe handed down to us by the antients. This peninsula is formed by the Rahd, the Nile, the Goze, the Mareb or Moraba, the Takezel or Tacaza, and a river composed of these three last, which unites its stream with that of the Nile in near 18°. N. lat. The chief places seated on the Nile in this peninsula are Chanedi, Ghenedetoul, Garri, Helfaia, Cotragne, Nogue, and Habkharas; upon the Rahd Enbulbal and Gesen; and upon the conflue of the Moraba and Tacaza the city of Derkin or Dequin: which we mention in order to give our readers a better idea of the tract we have in view. Now the peninsula of Meroe resembled a shield, and was three thousand stadia long, and one thousand broad, according to Strabo; it was likewise surrounded on the west by the Nile, and on the east by the rivers flowing into it. Solinus says, that Meroe was formed by the Nile, and fix hundred miles from the sea; and Mela, as corrected by Salmasius, pretty nearly agrees with him. Pausanias intimates, that the
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pia, called Candace, that having for a considerable number of years been a sort of surname to them, held their residence here. Strabo makes it to have been ten thousand stadia from Alexandria, and the capital of Ethiopia. As the other islands are in a manner obscure, they merit no regard; only it may be proper to observe, that Hardouin, Bochart, and Salmacius, believe Madagascar to be the antient Menuthias, though Isaeus Vossius, takes it to have been the same with that island which the moderns call Zanzibar. How far either of these notions may be true, we cannot take upon us to say; neither is it of any confluence to our readers which of them, or whether either of them is so.

The principal curiosities of this country are: 1. The rocks called Amba-Dorho, or the rock of the hen above-mentioned. 2. The


the Nile entered a great lake beyond Meroe, which it passed through, and traversed the whole country of Ethiopia. The rivers Aftapus and Aftaboras, i. e. the Tacaza and Moraba, joined the Nile above Meroe, i. e. the city of Meroe. All which particulars, as well as several others suggested by Pliny, Timotheus, Sebosus, Eratosthenes, and the Nubian geographer, in the passages here referred to, considering the many turnings and windings of the Nile, are more applicable to the peninsula at present under consideration, than any other part of Sennar or Abaafia that can be assigned for this purpose. From the same chart, and the authors it is deduced from, we must allow it probable, that Mr. Senex's river Rahd, arising out of Dambea east of the Nile, is the Guagua of Gregory; as also that the Goze, Mareb or Moraba, and Takezel or Tacaza, may be reputed the Aftofasbas or Aftufapes, Aftaboras, and Aftapus, of the antients. Some modern writers seem inclined to believe, that the Mareb of the present Abaffines answers to the Aftufapes of the antients, though we have here supposed the Goze to be that river (13).

2. The solid gold found on the banks of several rivers about the size of a tare or vetch, taken notice of by Pliny, with which the provinces of Damot and Enarea are said to abound.

3. The iron, copper, and gold mines some parts of it are so famous for.

4. The mountains of salt in a district upon the confines of Tigre and Angota, called the land of salt. In the mountains the salt is soft, and cut out with little labour, but hardens by being exposed to the open air.

5. The mountain of red salt mentioned by the patriarch Alphonso Mendez, and said to be imbued with many medicinal virtues.

6. The mineral stibium, called in the Ethiopic tongue cuehel or cohol, which is produced in several provinces.

7. The various extraordinary animal and vegetable productions, which our readers will meet with in the modern history of Abyssinia.

SEC. II.
The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, customs, arts, &c. of the Ethiopians.

It appears from what has been advanced in the former section, that the sacred writers did not always apply the name of (P) Cush to one particular country. They sometimes understood by it that region watered by the Araxes, which was the seat of the antient Scythians or Cuthites; and sometimes that country on the eastern shore of the Red Sea, contiguous to Egypt. In some passages likewise they seem to have had in view the whole peninsula of the Arabs, or at least the greatest part of that peninsula. But, notwithstanding what has


(O) To these curiosities we may add the gold mines near the coast of the Red Sea mentioned by Agatharchides, which, according to that author, also produced the finest and whitest marble in the world (14).

(P) Sometimes in scripture the word Cush comprehends both Arabia and the proper Ethiopia, as in Ezek. c. xxxviii. v. 5. Persia, Cush, and Libya with them; all of them with shield and helmet; i. e. Persia, Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya, &c. Compare also Ezek. c. xxx. v. 5. with Jer. c. xxv. v. 20, 24.

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has been offered to the contrary by many persons of vast erudition, we cannot help believing, that it most usually and properly denoted the tract situated above the Upper Egypt, comprehending the modern kingdoms of Dongola, Sennar, and Abassia. In order to evince the probability of such a notion, we shall not only beg leave to refer our readers to the remarkable passages already cited on this occasion, but likewise observe, that the prophets Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, make the Cushites neighbours to the Libyans; which can only hold true of the proper Ethiopians. The Psalmist also foretold, that Cushi should stretch out her hands to God; and the prophet Zephaniah, that the suppliants of the Lord, from beyond the rivers of Cushi, even the daughters of his dispersed, should bring his offering: both of which predictions seem clearly to point at the eunuch baptized by Philip, who came to worship at Jerusalem; since, as he was treasurer to queen Candace, it can scarce be doubted but that he and his retinue brought a valuable offering or donation with them; and since Candace was queen of the proper Ethiopia, or at least the peninsula of Meroe, a considerable part of it, as we learn from Pliny and Strabo. The words Cushi and Aethiopis therefore, in the texts here referred to, must be understood of the territories and people of the proper Ethiopia. Ezekiel prophesied, that the Egyptians from Migdol to Syene should fall by the sword; which not a little supports the interpretation of a famous text already given in favour of our present opinion. King Ahasuerus in Esther reigned from the Indies to Cushi, that is to say, as far as the modern Abassia; since Scythia or Arabia cannot be there meant as being contiguous to Persia, and Herodotus intimates Darius Hytafpis to have received tribute from the nations bordering upon proper Ethiopia. Nebuchadnezzar in Judith sent embassadors to Gefem, and as far as the frontiers of Ethiopia: probably the kingdom so called to the south of Egypt. In fine, many of the most remarkable passages of scripture, understood, for above a century past, of Arabia or part of it, may well enough be interpreted of the proper Ethiopia, as is acknowledged by Calmet himself. It is therefore but reasonable to conclude, that Cushi the eldest son of Ham was the great progenitor of the Ethiopians.
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However, most authors are agreed, that many of the early descendents of Cush settled first in the land bordering on the east side of the Red Sea, moving gradually from thence to the southermost extremity of Arabia; and afterwards, by means of the easy passage over the straights of Bab-al-Mandab, transplanted themselves into Ethiopia. According to Eusebius, this migration happened whilst the Israelites were in Egypt; but Syncellus places it in the time of the judges. The Arabian Cufhites were antiently called Abafeni, and made up a great part of the Sabœans or Homerites, as may be inferred from several authors. The Ethiopians went under the same name, agreed in many points with the Arabian Cufhites, and were believed by most of the Asiatic nations in Josephus's time to have had the same origin. Diodorus Siculus, it must be allowed, maintains, that they never came from any other country, and that they never were corrupted by foreign customs; though he affirms, that in several things they corresponded with the Egyptians. However, notwithstanding what is advanced by that historian, our readers will naturally conclude, from what has been already suggested, that part of Cufh's posterity moved gradually along the western shore of the Red Sea into Ethiopia, which, by this means, was tolerably well peopled, when the Arabian Cufhites first found their way into it. The great difference of at least a considerable body of the Abassines from the Arabs, as well as other nations, the situation of the kingdom of Midian, where some of the earliest Cufhites probably seated themselves, and the concurrent voice of antiquity, both sacred and profane, tend to evince the justness of such a conclusion. Bochart believes some traces of Obal, or, as the Arabsians pronounce it, Aubal, one of Joktan's sons, to be discernible in the empories of Abalites, the Abalitic gulf, &c. and consequently, that some of the children of Eber, after having infused themselves into Arabia Felix, migrated into Ethiopia. Some of the Ludim likewise might find a passage into this country, though undoubtedly the bulk of them moved towards the Atlantic ocean; since, as Moses intimates them to have been the first branch of Mifrain's issue, they in all likelihood pushed forwards towards the main land of Africa. The Ethiopians therefore might very well yve with the Egyptians, and even be deemed superior to them, in point of antiquity, since Cush, their great ancestor, was the eldest son of Ham. They might likewise have been esteemed of equal antiquity with the Arabians, since from the kingdom of Midian the Cufhites penetrated both into the southern parts of the peninsula of the Arabs and Ethiopia. The communication betwixt Egypt
Egypt and Ethiopia, as well as the proximity of blood of Cuth and Misraim, introduced that similitude of manners observable amongst their respective inhabitants, which we shall soon have occasion to take notice of.

Pliny relates, that Ethiopia was antiently divided into forty-five kingdoms, of which he insinuates that of Meroe to have been the most powerful and flourishing. But whether these were independent on one another, or under one supreme head, he no-where informs us. Be that as it will, as all the old oriental governments were absolute, and the Abassine princes known to the Europeans since their first intercourse with Abassia have been despotic, there is no reason to doubt but that the kings of Ethiopia always ruled with an (Q) uncontrollable sway. If we admit the Ethiopian tradition, that a long series of princes descended from Solomon reigned in the country we are now upon, it can scarce be denied, that their authority was unlimited, as that of the Hebrew monarch knew no bounds. It appears from Strabo and Pliny, that some Ethiopic nations were governed always by queens, whose common name was Candace, as that of the Egyptian kings was Pharaoh, Ptolemy, &c. Diodorus Siculus gives us to understand, that a good part of Ethiopia was composed of several elective


(Q) This seems likewise in some measure to appear from the constitution of the present kingdom of Abassia. The king’s authority there is so unlimited, that no man can in this country be called with justice proprietor of any thing, nor doth any man, when he loves his field, know that he shall reap it; for the king may be on the fruits upon whom he pleases, and all the satisfaction the former possessor can hope for, is, that some one may be appointed to bring in the estimate of the expenses he had been at in cultivating it, in order to his reimbursement. But the arbitrator is always favourable to the present owner, whom he presupposes to have more interest than the person dispossessed (16).

(16) Le Grand, dissert. v.

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elective monarchies \( R \), the heads of which were chosen out of their priests; and that all these princes made the laws of their respective kingdoms the basis of their government. However, as the same author remarks, that every new king, immediately after his election, was worshipped as a god, and considered as invested with the supreme authority by Divine Providence, though he had a particular regard to the laws and customs of his country through the whole course of his administration, we may look upon them all as arbitrary monarchs. The extraordinary honours paid them leave no room to doubt, that they were the interpreters of these laws, and consequently made them subservient to their will; neither does this interfere with their conferring rewards, and inflicting punishments, according to the laws, that is, the political decisions and determinations, of their ancestors, since some of the most arbitrary governments in the world now do the like. But after all, the Greeks knew very little of the Ethiopians; and therefore from their authors we can form no adequate idea of any thing relating to them. Sebostris and Zerah must undoubtedly be considered as princes bearing an absolute sway over the dominions they governed, of which the proper Ethiopia was a part. The surprising conquests made by the one, and the prodigious army commanded by the other, in order to the reduction of a powerful neighbour, seem to set this point beyond dispute.

According to Diodorus Siculus, the laws of Ethiopia agreed in substance with those of Egypt. This, continues the

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1 Plin. i. vi. c. 29. Ludolph. hist. Æthiop. i. ii. c. 3, 4.

(R) Though the present kingdom of Abassia be so far hereditary, that only one family can sit on the throne, yet the reigning prince has the power of hiking out of the royal family whom he pleases for his successor, which, if he omits it, is done by the grandees of the kingdom, who elect him for their king, whom they judge most capable of so high an office. If this was the custom formerly, as does not appear improbable, it might easily have given occasion to this account of Diodorus, who cannot be supposed to have received an exact information of the customs, laws, and constitution of Ethiopia (17).

(17) Idem ibid.
the same author, the Ethiopians accounted for by ascertaining, that Egypt was first peopled by colonies drawn out of their country. In order to evince that point, they maintained the land of Egypt to have been at first, for a considerable period, entirely covered with water, and afterwards raised gradually, so as to become inhabitable, by the fresh accession of mud the Nile brought every year out of Ethiopia. This is likewise confirmed by Herodotus, who affirms Egypt to be the gift of the Nile, and that the whole region, except the territory of Thebes, in the time of Menes, was one continued morass. However, he makes the Ethiopians to have been civilized by the Egyptians, and to have learned the customs and manners of that people, so late as the reign of Ptolemy I., which, considering what has been already advanced, will not easily be admitted for truth. Yet some customs and manners, as well as laws, the former nation might possibly have received from the latter about that time, though in many particulars they agreed long before. We cannot pretend to give our readers a complete enumeration of the particular laws, or political maxims, that prevailed antiently in Ethiopia; but the following seem to have been some of the principal of them. 1. Several tribes of Ethiopians looked upon it as a fundamental law to elect their princes out of the different orders of their priests. 2. No public executioner ever made his appearance in many parts of Ethiopia, the malefactors there being obliged by a particular law to fall by their own hands. 3. According to the established order of succession among the Ethiopian nations, upon the death of a king, his sister’s son (S) mounted the throne; and in case the female branches

(S) We are informed by Plutarch, that a certain Ethiopian nation always elected a dog for their king, and paid him divine honours. The same author, however, judiciously observes, that all the high posts were filled with men. Possibly the modern kingdom of Zendero, governed always by an elected monarch, who is said to resemble an ape, or rather to be an ape, may correspond with this nation. ’Tis certain Diodorus Siculus and Pliny style the animal now called a baboon cynocephalus, from the resemblance its head bears to that of a dog; which renders it not improbable, that the creature denominated cyon or dog by Plutarch was an ape or baboon; especially since the cynocephalus was produced only in Ethiopia. However, this we can only propone to our readers as a conjecture (18).
branches of the royal family failed of issue, they chose the most beautiful and valiant person amongst them for king.

4. It was esteemed a most enormous crime in any person cal- pitally convicted to attempt making his escape into a foreign country. Diodorus relates, that a criminal condemned to die having once meditated a flight out of Ethiopia, after the sign of death had been sent him by the king, was detected by his mother, who thereupon strangled him with a gar- ter, he not offering the least resistance, left an indelible stain should thereby be fixed upon his family. 5. The king of this region was obliged to dispatch (T) himself, whenever he re- ceived a message from the priests of Meroe, the most reve- red of any in Ethiopia, with an intimation, that the gods commanded him, for the good of his subjects to do so. 6. If the king became maimed or wounded by any accident, his domestics were forced to wound and maim themselves just in the same manner. 7. At the king’s death all his household servants, either in compliance with the laws, or an indispen- sable custom, killed themselves, this being looked upon as the strongest testimony of their sincere attachment to him. 8. Some of the Ethiopic clans above Meroe on both sides the Nile, the preceding laws being chiefly confined to that peninsula, and the parts of Ethiopia nearer Egypt, elected the most industrious shepherds to preside over them; others bestowed the kingdom upon the most opulent persons they could find, imagining them the most capable of supplying with their riches the wants and necessities of the people.

Religion.

JUPITER AMMON, according to the Greek and Latin authors, seems to have been the principal object of religious worship in Ethiopia, though the natives (U) paid likewise divine


(T) This vast power the priests enjoyed till the time of Ermasenes king of Ethiopia, contemporary with Ptolemy Philadel- phus, who, being a martial prince, advanced to the golden tem- ple of Aesculapius, where they resided, with a body of troops, and put them all to the sword. After this he made several re- gulations, and in a manner new-modelled the public worship of the Ethiopians, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus (19).

(U) Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the Ethiopians valued themselves upon their being the first nation that had a religious establishment

(19) Diod. Sic. I. iii,
divine honours to Isis, Pan, Hercules, Aësculapius, and others, whom they considered as the greatest benefactors to mankind. In short, if these authors may be credited, their religion differed not much from that of the Egyptians, which is not to be wondered at, considering their vicinity to, and intercourse with, that people. However, Diodorus affirms us, that some of them were atheists, who looked upon the sun, by reason of his scorching rays, as their implacable enemy. Could we depend upon a tradition of the modern Abassines, the Ethiopians, or at least a considerable part of them, adhered zealously to the law of Moses from the time of Solomon to their conversion to christianity. According to this tradition, the queen of Sheba, whom our Saviour calls the queen of the south, and who ruled over at least a powerful nation of Ethiopia, had a son by Solomon named Menilehec, who was educated at that prince's court, and instructed there in the law of God through the great care of his father. Being afterwards appointed king of Ethiopia, and sent home to take possession of his kingdom, at the desire of several eminent Israelites, and doctors of the law, that attended him, he introduced there his father's religion, which continued amongst his subjects and their posterity till the time of St. Athanasius. What regard is to be paid to this tradition, we shall not take upon us to determine; since the learned are not a little divided in their sentiments concerning the situation of the kingdom of Sheba, whose queen had an interview with Solomon at his own court. St. Cyprian, Epiphanius, St. Cyril of Alexandria, cardinal

establishment. They believed, that for this reason, adds he, their sacrifices were more acceptable to the gods than those offered by any other people. Which notion, continues Diodorus, Homer himself seems to countenance, when he introduces Jupiter, attended by the other gods, as present at an anniversary sacrifice, or grand entertainment, prepared for him by the Ethiopians. In order to reward their transcendent piety, according to the same author, the gods never suffered them to be conquered by any foreign prince, Cambyses, Semiramis, &c. falling in their attempts upon them. But in this, as well as in many other points, he was egregiously mistaken, as will appear in the sequel of this history (20).

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cardinal Baronius, Suarez, Lorinus, Pineda, Bochart, and the Arabs in general, fix her residence in Arabia Felix. The last call her Belkis, and affirm her to have been the daughter of Hod-Had king of the Homerites. On the other hand, the Abassine nation, Jofephus, Origen, St. Austin, the learned Hugo Grotius, the patriarch Alphonso Mendez, the fathers Balthazar Tellez, and Joan Dos-Santos, have placed this celebrated princess in Ethiopia. We have not room to insert here the arguments offered on both sides in defence of their respective opinions; but shall, however, observe, that the kingdom of Abassia seems to answer better the queen of Sheba’s country, according to our Saviour’s description of it, as being more to the south of, and more remote from, Judæa, than Arabia. To which we may add, that it appears from Scripture, that some persons of distinction amongst the proper Ethiopians were of the same religion with the Jews, or nearly so, in the apostolical age, since queen Candace’s treasurer (W), baptized by Philip, went with

(W) Father Calmet and others suppose this eunuch to have been one of those proselytes which the Jews call “a proselyte of the gate,” already by us described. But we must own, that this notion seems to us not a little improbable, since those were only confined to an observance of the seven fundamental laws of natural religion enjoined by Noah to his posterity immediately after the flood, according to the opinion of the Jews, whereas we find this man peruring, and consequently not unacquainted with, the writings of the Old Testament peculiar to the natural Jews. Besides, that a treasurer or prime minister of the queen of Ethiopia should take so long a journey as that from Meroe to Jerusalem purely to worship God, and offer an oblation to him, there, seems very strange, if he was such a mungrel-convert “as the proselytes of the gate were,” who, for the most part, if not always, resided in Judæa. It is therefore much more probable, especially as scarce any instance can be produced of so eminent a personage’s being ever found amongst the residing proselytes above-mentioned, who were, generally speaking, people of no figure, much less of one who exposed himself to the various dangers of so long a journey purely to worship God at Jerusalem, that this Ethiopian had been trained up in a religion not very different from that of the Jews. Nay, as he was a person of such power and authority at the Ethiopian court, it can by no means be deemed unlikely, that the established religion of Meroe at that time pretty nearly resembled
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with an offering to Jerusalem to worship God there, and was not unacquainted with the writers of the Old Testament; which cannot, we apprehend, be said with so much propriety of the Arabians. This seems to us a sort of proof, that the Mosaic law was held to be of divine institution in Meroë, and the other parts of Ethiopia dependent on it, even a considerable time before the birth of our Saviour, if not as early as the age of Solomon; and consequently adds some weight to the arguments of those writers, who have asserted, that the queen of Sheba came out of Ethiopia. It likewise renders the authority of Josephus preferable to that of Diodorus Siculus and Stephanus, notwithstanding what M. Bochart has advanced. For, if any regard was paid to the law of Moses in Meroë, before Christianity made its appearance in the world, we cannot account for this better than by allowing, with the Abassines and authors above-mentioned, that this peninsula was the queen of Sheba’s country, that her son introduced some knowledge of the public worship of the Hebrews there, and consequently that its metropolis was called Sheba or Seba before Cambyses’s reign, as Josephus affirms, and not built by that prince, as Diodorus Siculus and Stephanus will have it. Be that as it will, this appears to have been a prevailing notion amongst some of the Jews and Greeks in Josephus’s time, and Herodotus was then cited to support it, however his text, or that of Josephus, may be now corrupted; since the latter historian cannot fairly be supposed to profligate and abandoned a writer as to impose a known falsehood and forgery upon the world, as Bochart asserts him

resembled the Jewish. This appears to be in some sort confirmed by the prophet Zephaniah, who seems evidently to predict the conversion of the eunuch here under consideration, and even to intimated, that he came to Jerusalem with an offering from queen Candace herself, since nothing is more likely, than that she was the daughter of his dispersed beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, that should bring his offering; which, if admitted, must be allowed no mean proof of what we would here suggest; but this, as well as every thing dependent upon it, must be left to the determination of our learned and judicious readers (21).

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him to have done. However, it must be owned, that Strabo suggests the people of Meroe in his time to have adored Hercules, Pan, and Isis, with another foreign god. But Strabo's authority in this point cannot overturn what is insinuated by Scripture: nay, he seems to be a little in-constant with himself, since in the same breath he assures us, that the Ethiopians in general acknowledged an immortal God, whom they considered as the first principle of all things, and a mortal god, who had no name. Such a notion might easily be formed by remote nations, who knew very little of the Ethiopians, upon supposition that some of them for a certain period worshipped the true God, and held the memory of Moses in the highest veneration. Far more absurd things than these the Greek and Latin writers related of the Jews, with whom they had a more immediate communication; and therefore we ought not to be surprized at their transmitting to us so imperfect an account of the religious tenets of the Ethiopians; tho' it should be acknowledged, that, during a certain interval, they agreed in the main with those of the Jews. The author last cited likewise informs us, that the Ethiopians ranked in the number of their deities all their most eminent benefactors, and those who were distinguished by their birth. The sun, according to him, the people under consideration in the most early times so highly adored, that they reputed those to be atheists who cursed him at his rising, as some such there were inhabiting the Torrid Zone, because he forced them to shelter themselves from his intense heat in moist and marshy places. For this reason the Greeks and Romans gave the Sun the name of the Ethiopian Jupiter. The Ethiopians themselves called him Assabin or Assabinus, as we learn from Pliny. They consecrated likewise to him the cinnamon-tree, an odoriferous shrub, which grew in their country. The priests only were allowed to gather that harvest, which they always ushered in with sacrifices of forty-four oxen, goats, and sheep, beginning the work that followed before sun-rising, and finishing it before his setting. The crop being gathered, they divided it into three parts with a spear, which was never used but on that occasion. They carried away two portions of it, and left on the same place that which fell to the sun; and forthwith, say Pliny, Solinus, and Theophrastus, if the division had been performed with equity, the sun's portion took
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fire of itself, and was consumed (X). This ceremony seems to have been common to both the Ethiopians above Egypt, and the Sabæans seated in Arabia Felix. Banier believes the Ethiopians to have had gods natural, and gods animated, as well as the Egyptians; that they worshipped the moon under the name of His, and universal nature under that of Pan. We doubt not but this may be true; especially, since they, in all likelihood, at first worshipped the planets, or some of them, in common with the Egyptians and Arabians, and likewise paid divine honours to their deceased kings, as did those nations together with the Mauritanians. Among those princes deified by this last people were the famous Juba, and Verphotina, who was probably either one of their queens, or some other woman of the first distinction signalized by her glorious actions. The Ethiopians of Meroc, according to Herodotus, in his time, worshipped Jupiter and Bacchus, and had an oracle of Jupiter. Some Ethiopian nations offered sacrifices to the day, which they esteemed as a god, according to Lucian. An ancient tradition prevails amongst the Abaffines, that the first Ethiopians adored a monstrous serpent called in their language Arwe-midre; but this favours so much of fable, that our readers will probably think it deserves little regard.

In


(X) For our part we are apt to believe, that the priests secretly conveyed some coals under the heap that was allotted to the Sun; and that those coals kindled some moments after, precisely at the time of their retiring. Such pious frauds have been,
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In a country of so vast an extent as Ethiopia, inhabited by various nations, it is natural to suppose, that no small variety of languages, at leaf of dialects, must have prevailed. The most antient of these was undoubtedly that called by the learned the Ethiopic, into which the holy Scripture was formerly translated, and in which all the books of the Abaffines, both sacred and profane, are written. Some authors have informed us, that this language nearly resembles the Chaldee; but, according to Ludolphus, who spent above sixty years in the study of it, it bears as great an affinity to the Hebrew and Syriac, and approaches nearer still to the Arabic, from which to him it seems immediately to be derived. In short, there is so perfect an agreement betwixt them, that whoever understands the one, may, without any difficulty, if we will credit him, make himself master of the other; nay, he asserts, that a competent knowledge of the Hebrew, or any other of the oriental tongues, will enable a student soon to make a very laudable progress in the Ethiopic. As many Hebrew (Y) roots, and genuine significations of Hebrew words, are still preserved, and still are, used in countries whose religion utterly disclaims frauds and impositions of any kind whatsoever, in order to serve such a turn as these priests of the Sun had in view: witness the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, &c.

(Y) Of this we shall beg leave here to produce two instances:

1. The Hebrew lexicographers derive the Hebrew and Phœnician word Adamah, earth, from אדד red, pretending the earth to be of a red colour, from whence it receives that denomination. But Kimchi takes no notice of this derivation in his collection of Hebrew roots; and how small a part of the earth, in comparison of the whole, is red, no naturalist stands in need of being informed. This etymon therefore is at best mal-à-propos. But the Ethiopic language suggests to us a much more proper one, when it proposes to our view the word Adamah signifying "beautiful, elegant, pleasant, &c." from whence if we deduce the Hebrew and Phœnician Adamah, Earth, it will not be remote from the κόσμος of the Greeks, though that seems to have had a more extensive signification. Upon this supposition, Adam derived his name not from a certain fictitious redness, but from the beauty and perfection of his nature, being, as it were, the master-piece of the creation. And agreeably hereto the Ethiopians to the word
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preferred in the Ethiopic, which would be sought for in vain either in their own or any other language except this, it certainly merits the esteem of all who diligently apply themselves to the study of the Scriptures. Besides, it is impossible to come at a thorough knowledge of the Abaffine affairs, this being the language in which all their histories, and other treatises, are penned, without being tolerably well acquainted with it. The purest dialect of this tongue was that used in the kingdom of Tigre, where Axuma, the residence of the old Ethiopian kings, was seated. Here it continued till the failure of the Zagean line; after which, a Sewan prince ascending the throne, the Amharic dialect was introduced at court, and gradually diffused itself over the whole empire. However, the language spoken in Tigre at present comes the nearest to the old Ethiopic; which still retains its pristine dignity not only in their books, but also in their divine worship, as also in their kings letters, patents, commissions, and all other public acts whatsoever. Father Tellez informs us, that in his time there were as many languages as kingdoms and provinces in Abaffia: nay, that there were different dialects in one and the same kingdom,

word Adam always annex the idea of something perfect and beautiful. Nor is it improbable, that the city Admah or Adamah, before it was destroyed with Sodom and Gomorrah, seated upon the banks of the Jordan, compared to "the gar-
den of the Lord," was so denominated from the pleasantries of its situation. 2. The word מַלְאָך Malach, an Angel or Messenger, is not to be deduced from the Arabic Malaka, poffed, dominatus etf., &c. for that is not sufficiently apposite, but from the Ethiopic Layka, mifit, legavit, &c. Nay, sometimes the roots of Arabic words themselves are to be sought for in the Ethiopic: so in the Alcoran the apostles are called Hhawwāri, whose origin cannot be discovered in the Arabic lexicons, since it certainly comes from the Ethiopic Hawyra, ivit, incefit, &c. than which nothing can be more suitable to the office of an apostle. Our readers will find this point more fully discussed by the learned Ludolphus, to whom, for their further satisfaction, we must beg leave to refer them. (23).

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kingdom. As the language of Tigre is at present deeply tinged with the antient Ethiopic, so those of most of the other kingdoms partake greatly of the Amharic; though they considerably differ one from another. The people of Bagemdra or Bagemeder use a dialect peculiar to themselves; those of Hangota, Ifata, Gojam, and Shewa, one common to them all; the Gafatas have many Amharic words, but their tongue is extremely difficult to be understood by any of the other Abassines; in the kingdom of Dambea a language is spoken very different from both the Amharic and Ethiopic; the dialect of Gonga agrees with that of Enarea, though it does not bear a near resemblance to any of the others in Ethiopia. But we shall entertain our readers with a more particular account of all these, as well as those of the Gallans, Agawi, Chankalas, &c. when we come to the modern history of Abassia.

As it will be expected, that we should say something of the letters, or (Z) alphabetic characters, of the nation we are


(Z) We are informed by Diodorus Siculus, that the Ethiopians had antiently hieroglyphic characters as well as the Egyptians. Thus amongst them a hawk signified anything that made a quick dispatch, that bird in swiftness exceeding most others; the crocodile denoted malice; the eye the maintainer of justice, and the guard of the body; the right-hand, open, represented plenty; and the left, closed, a secure possession of property, &c. But whether the Egyptians or Ethiopians first in reality hit upon this way of writing, cannot certainly be known, though Diodorus attributes the invention of it to the latter. 'Tis not improbable, that the people of all nations at first recorded their conceptions by tracing out the images of things in a coarse manner, which was gradually improved into hieroglyphics, as in some measure appears from the rude picture-writing of the Mexicans, the antient character of the Chinese, and from what we find related of the Scythians by Clemens Alexandrinus, Eustathius, and Herodotus.

These hieroglyphic characters, according to the same Diodorus, were not only understood by the priests, as amongst the Egyptians,
are now upon, which naturally fall under this head, our readers

Egyptians, but likewise by all the people, as well as the alphabet here mentioned. However, it does not appear from that author, as M. Fourmont seems to assert, that the Ethiopic alphabet was made up of these hieroglyphic characters; nor indeed can this be allowed very probable, the letters of an alphabet being essentially different from even the characteristic marks deduced from hieroglyphics. The last represent things, ideas, or even whole conceptions, in the same manner as the antient and modern characters of the Chinese, whereas the former are expressive of sounds. In short, though we should allow it an easy transition from the rude picture-writing of the Mexicans to the Egyptian hieroglyphics, as well as from the Egyptian hieroglyphics to the characteristic marks of the Chinese, which Du Halde demonstrates to be perfectly hieroglyphic, yet we cannot see how the invention of an alphabet might as naturally succeed these marks. There is, it must be owned, a sufficient resemblance between the American and Egyptian hieroglyphics and the Chinese characters; but these all seem entirely foreign to alphabetic letters, and in reality do not bear the least relation to them. As an affinity between all these is the point necessary to be proved, in order to evince a gradual and easy descent from picture-writing to letters, some better argument ought to be offered in support of it, than a supposition extremely precarious, if not plainly false, and which, if true, would be little to the purpose. Now, that the notion of the Ethiopic alphabet's being made up of hieroglyphics is such a supposition, evidently appears from what we have just hinted, as well as from the antient alphabet of that nation exhibited by Ludolphus; and yet the very learned and ingenious Mr. Warburton has in fact offered only this hypothesis, on M. Fourmont's authority, to prove the connection between an alphabet and hieroglyphics. How far, therefore, all novel opinions, founded upon the truth of such a connection, are to be depended upon, we leave our readers to judge. Diodorus indeed, in the same place, intimates, that the forms of the Ethiopic letters (τυπος) resembled various animals, parts of human bodies, artificers tools, &c. But that this is not to be understood of alphabetic letters, but hieroglyphics, follows from what he immediately subjoins: "For their writing (ἡ γραμματικ) is expressive of the subject, not by a composition of syllables, but by the signification of certain images delineated, and a metaphorical application of it impressed on the memory by exercise. For, they write (γραφή) a hawk, a crocodile, a serpent, a part of the human body, as an eye, a hand, the face, &c. A hawk signifies with them dispatch
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readers will not be displeased to find here the antient Ethiopic alphabet, as given us by the learned Job Ludolphus in his excellent history of Ethiopia.

From comparing these letters with the old oriental alphabets taken from antique coins, inscriptions, &c. by Loeicher, and

"dispatch, because this bird in cerelity exceeds almost all o-
thers, &c.” Nay, he here expressly afferts, that the Ethiopic
letters were the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and consequentl
allows, that they could not be alphabetic characters: this passage, therefore, which seems to have misled M. Fourmont, is so far from proving the Ethiopian alphabet to have consisted of hieroglyphic
characters, that it strongly intimates the contrary.

Heliodorus says, that the Ethiopians had two sorts of letters, the one called regal, the other vulgar; and that the regal
resembled the facerdotal characters of the Egyptians. Dio-
genes Laertius, from Thrasyllos, also informs us, that Demo-
critus wrote two books, the one of the sacred letters of the
Babylonians, the other of the sacred letters of the city of Meroe.
M. Fourmont believes, that most of the eastern nations likewise had a facerdotal alphabet (24.)

crit. sur les hist. des anc. peup. tom. ii. p. 500, 501. à Paris,
6. par. 1. sect. 4.
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and consulting what we have already observed in our account of the Carthaginian, it may perhaps not seem absolutely improbable, that some of them were derived from the old Assyrian, Phœnician, Samaritan, Syriac, &c. characters. The number of the letters likewise in this alphabet, and the names of several of them, tend to evince the same thing, though Ludolphus believes them to have been invented by the Axumites or Ethiopians themselves, and to be much older than even the Cufic character of the Arabs. 'Tis remarkable, that the Abaffines have no grammar; and, that when Gregory was shewn the use of one, he could not forbear breaking out into a sort of exclamation, crying out, "Thanks to God!" as though some secret of great importance had been discovered to him. We must not forget observing, that the Ethiopians both wrote and read from the left-hand to the right, contrary to the custom of the Orientals; which looks like an indication, that their alphabet was not of the same extraction with that of the Arabs. But for a farther account of the antient Ethiopick letters, as well as language, we must beg leave to refer the curious and inquisitive part of our readers to Ludolphus's Ethiopic history, commentaries, and grammar, which are generally allowed to be the best pieces of their kind extant.

The Ethiopians, as has been already observed, agreed in several points with the Egyptians, though they had many customs peculiar to themselves, some of which were very singular and uncommon. As we have not time at present to expatiate upon all such customs to be met with in history, we must content ourselves with touching upon some of the principal of them. 1. The Ethiopian Ichthyophagi differed from other nations in several particulars. By stopping up the passages of certain caverns on the coast of the Red Sea with stones, they inclofed vast numbers of large and small fishes, which, upon the reflux of the tide, were left there as in a net, and served them for food. The women and children employed themselves in throwing on shore those of a lesser size, whilst the men secured the sharks, sea-calves, congers,

gers, monstrous lobsters, &c. with which the aforesaid sea abounded, killing them with sharp goat-horns, and rough stones broken off the rocks. These they exposed to the solar rays in stone pots turned towards the south, where the flesh was soon separated from the bones by the intense heat. The latter they applied to the use already mentioned, and boiled up the former with the seed of palirus. The mass formed by these two ingredients was at first liquid, and of a reddish colour; but being spread on tiles, and dried, or rather baked, by the sun, it became hard and savoury. This they commonly fed upon; but when any inundations happened, that they could not for several days together approach the shore, they were constrained to eat shell-fish, some of which were so large, that they weighed four minas. If these at any time failed, they found themselves obliged to have recourse to the bones, though destined for another use, which preserved them till the sea sent them their usual supplies. They drank water only every fifth day, but that in such immoderate quantities, that they were scarce able to breathe. They seemed not to utter any articulate sounds, and consequently to be void of a language. Some of them, according to Agatharchides, never drank at all, living only upon raw fish. These, continues the same author, might have been deemed perfect stoics, as being never ruffled or disposed by the violence of any prevailing passion. However barbarous their neighbours might take them to be, they had the art of teaching the phocæ or sea-calves, produced by the neighbouring gulph, to assist them in catching other fish. Several clans of them lived in such caves as we have described in the former section; others erected huts of fir-trees, which grew there in great abundance, bearing fruit like a chestnut, of the boughs and leaves of which they formed a sort of canopy, whereby, together with the pleasant breezes coming from off the sea, they were sheltered from the scorching rays of the sun; and lastly, others fixed their habitations in certain inaccessible hollows surrounded with high precipices and the sea. The Ichthyophagi for the most part enjoyed an uninterrupted state of health, but few of them attained to old age, as above observed. They carried their dead to the sea-shore, where they lay exposed till the return of the tide, which carried them off; so that, as they fed upon fish in their life-time, they after their death in return afforded those animals a repast. 2. The Chelonophagi above-mentioned did not
not only use the flesh of tortoises for food, but likewise covered their huts or cottages with the shells of those animals. As both in size and figure these shells resembled a small fishing- vessel, the Chelonophagi also used them as boats on some occasions. They had a particular manner of surpising this fish, which we find described from Agatharchides by Diodorus Siculus. 3. Another Ethiopian canton lived upon fish of the cetaceous kind, which they found thrown upon the shore by chance. When they were pressed by famine, they devoured the bones of these creatures, whose flesh at other times sustained them. 4. The Ethiopian Rhizophagi, after they had washed the roots of the canes growing in marshy ground, bruised them, and prepared them by the heat of the sun, fared deliciously upon them. This canton was greatly infested by lions, which came out of the deferts in vast numbers, and had quite depopulated the country they inhabited, had not a prodigious multitude of gnats of an enormous size annually expelled them from thence. At the same time the Rhizophagi, in order to avoid these gnats, retired towards the morasses, which greatly contributed to their preservation. 5. The Hylophagi were people of such surpising activity, that they skipped from one tree to another like birds. They always went naked, lived upon the young shoots of trees, had their wives in common, and frequently quarrelled about their respective habitations. On these occasions they fought with clubs, after the manner of the Libyans, which sometimes did great execution. 6. One tribe of Ethiopians, watching an opportunity, killed leopards, buffaloes, &c. after they had drank so copiously, that they were ready to burst, with clubs burnt at one end, stones, darts, &c. in the manner described by Agatharchides and Diodorus Siculus. They trained up their children in throwing the dart, and would not suffer them to eat till they had hit the mark. 7. Another Ethiopian nation had two very particular ways of taking elephants, hinted at by us above, for a full description of which our readers must have recourse to the authors last mentioned. 8. The Struthophagi had several arts and devices to take ostriches, on which they fed. That animal defended itself against them with stones, which it threw out of its feet, in this respect resembling a fling, with great violence. The Struthophagi of the skins of these ostriches made both garments and coverlets for their beds. 9. The Acrido-
phagi had a deep valley in their country, of many furlongs' extent, which they took care to fill with wood, and other combustible materials; and, when the south wind drove vast numbers of locusts thither, set them on fire, the smoak suffocating all those animals. Such infinite numbers of locusts were destroyed on these occasions, that the ground for some leagues was covered with their bodies, which the people under consideration seasoned with salt, produced most copiously in their territories, and lived upon for the following year. But they were probably very unwholesome food; for the Acridophagi (Z) did not exceed the age of forty years, and at last died in a miserable manner. They were devoured by winged insects of different species, of a strange and ugly form, expiring for the most part in exquisite torture. Possibly the air itself as well as the locusts, might have greatly contributed to so uncommon and fatal a malady. 10. The Cy-namolgi, seated in the southern parts of Ethiopia, wore long beards, and kept dogs extremely fierce, in order to hunt (A). Indian oxen, prodigious herds of which came every year amongst them. 11. The nations placed still more to the south, according to Agatharchides and Diodorus, lived the life of savages, if not that of the worst of brutes. From hence we are inclined to believe, that the Cafres were not unknown to the antients, and consequently that they had seen more of the southern parts of Africa than the moderns imagine. 12. The above-mentioned authors inform us, that the greatest part of the Trogloidytes (B) in their manner of life nearly resembled the

(Z) Plutarch mentions a tribe of Ethiopians that were very short-lived, the oldest among them scarce ever exceeding the age of thirty years. These were probably the Acridophagi of Agatharchides Cnidius, Diodorus Siculus, and Pliny (25).

(A) The antients sometimes included the western and proper Ethiopia, as well as Arabia, under the name of India.

(B) We are informed by Strabo, that all the different species of cattle these Ethiopians took with them from place to place were extremely small. Their dogs were likewise very little, but vauntly fierce. Some of these Ethiopians, or at least the neighbouring cantons, lived chiefly upon barley and millet; which served them both for meat and drink. They also used butter and fat instead of oil. Their kings had divine honours paid them, and never appeared in public, in order the more greatly to attract the veneration of their subjects (26).

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the Libyan Nomades, that they were divided into tribes, and that all of these were under one supreme head. This confirms what we have elsewhere observed of the form of government antiently prevailing in Numidia and Mauritania. 

13. The Troglodytes, during the time of the Eterian winds, drank a liquor composed of blood and milk boiled up together. In the summer months they lived about the morasses with their flocks, where they frequently fought for convenient pastures. The old and infirm cattle always supplied them with food, for which reason they called the males their fathers, and the females their mothers, never giving those denominations to their natural parents. They had no other garments than a few beasts skins, with which they covered only their loins. 

14. They held all their old women in the highest veneration, inasmuch that, in their most bloody contests, if any of them appeared, they threw down their arms. When the men were worn out with age, they tied themselves by the neck to an ox's tail, and were dragged about till they expired; and, if upon admonition from a friend they refused to do this, they might be strangled without any crime. As it was deemed an unpardonable offence to desire life when a person was incapable of contributing to the welfare of the public, if any one amongst them was seized with an incurable distemper, or maimed by accident, it was not only lawful, but meritorious, to dispatch him. Their dead they carried to the top of some hill, where they first covered them with stones, and then fixed a goat's horn upon them. So void were they of a sense of compassion, that the ceremony of burying the deceased in this manner was one of their most celebrated diversions. 

15. The Ethiopians made use of bows and arrows, darts, lances, and several other weapons (C), in their wars, which they managed with great strength and dexterity. 16. Circumcision (D) was a rite observed amongst them, as well as

(C) The Megabari, a canton, as should seem, of the Troglodytes, fought with clubs, and carried before them round shields made of raw ox-hides; many of their neighbours, however, were armed with bows and arrows (27).

(D) We have observed in a former note, that Herodotus is not entirely consistent with himself in what he says of circumcision, as a rite practised in Egypt and Ethiopia; which must undoubtedly not a little contribute towards invalidating his authority in this

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The Egyptians, from very early antiquity, though which of these this particular. But, waving this consideration, when he affirms circumcision to have prevailed "\(\sigma \tau \sigma \gamma \chi \iota \), from the beginning, amongst the Egyptians, Colchi, and Ethiopians, he cannot be supposed to mean, that they received it from their first ancestors. For in such a case it must have passed from him to the Philistines, who were likewise his descendents; which all, who pay the least regard to scripture, will allow to be false. That expression, therefore, must either import indefinitely, that it had been observed in Egypt from time immemorial, or from some period near the beginning of the great Egyptian empire formed by Ammenemes and Setac, about the reign of Solomon, one of the greatest and most powerful princes of his age, and in alliance with Egypt, between five and six hundred years before Herodotus wrote his history. And here in fact several learned men have placed the introduction of this institution into Egypt. Besides, what has been advanced by Herodotus, in the point before us, seems to be founded on a mistake, as may be inferred from Diodorus and Strabo. Those authors, who probably followed him, believed, or at least pretended to believe, the Hebrews to have derived the rite of circumcision from Egypt, because they were originally a colony of the Egyptians, and consequently agreed with them in all their customs and manners, in both their sacred and civil institutions. But, as nothing can be more false than such a notion, not the least regard is due to what they have advanced upon a supposition of its truth. That the Samaritans or Cuthaeans, whom Herodotus calls Syrians of Palestine, should declare to him, that they received circumcision from the Egyptians, must be attributed to their hatred of the Jews. As for Herodotus, he was frequently imposed upon most egregiously by the Egyptians, especially in points relating either to the antiquity of their monarchy, or those customs they had in common with other nations. Their excessive vanity would not permit them to speak the truth, when they imagined it would reflect the least honour or glory upon any of the neighbouring states. For which reason, as well as others that might be offered, and particularly because it seems to us diametrically opposite to scripture, we cannot pay any regard to the sentiments of those authors, who either deduced circumcision originally out of Egypt, or make the Hebrews to have borrowed it of the Egyptians (28).

these nations first received it, cannot certainly be known. 17. The Ethiopian soldiers tied their arrows round their (E) heads, the feathered part of which touched their foreheads, temples, &c. and the other projected out like so many rays, which formed a kind of crown. These arrows were extremely short, pointed with sharp stones instead of iron, and dipped in the virus of dragons, or some other lethiferous poison, insomuch that all the wounds given by them were attended with immediate death. The bows from which they shot these arrows were four cubits long, and required so much strength to manage them, that no nation could make use of them but the Ethiopians. According to several authors, when they came to a general action with an enemy, they darkened the air with clouds or showers of those arrows. Many tribes of the people now under consideration, particularly the Blemmyes, had wonderful skill in using the weapons here mentioned, taking aim so well, and hitting the mark so exactly, that some of the antients imagined every individual of them to have had four eyes. The Ethiopians retreated fighting in the same manner as the Parthians, discharging volleys of arrows with such dexterity and address whilst they were retiring full speed, that they terribly galled the enemy. It appears from Scylax, Horace, and Ælian, that the Mauritanians and Blacks, or western Ethiopians, were likewise very expert archers, and shot poisoned arrows; and the same thing has been observed of their potterity by the epitomizer of Edrisi, or, as he is more usually called, the Nubian geographer. 18. Their lances or darts were of an immense size, which may be deemed a farther proof of their vast bodily strength. 19. The Macrobian or long-lived Ethiopians fed for the most part upon roasted flesh, drank milk, and frequently attained to the age of one hundred and twenty years. 'Tis said, that this longevity was principally owing to a rich and fragrant fountain rendering their bodies smooth as if anointed with oil, and perfuming them with the odour of violets, wherein they frequently bathed themselves. 20. These Ethiopians looked upon brass as the most valuable of metals, and had gold in

(E) Before they took any arrows from their heads, in order to begin a general action, they had a particular kind of dance, as we learn from Lucian. But how such a custom came first to be introduced amongst them, or what they intended by it, has not not been intimated by any antient author (29).

such little esteem, that they fettered their prisoners with golden chains. 21. They dried the bodies (F) of their ancestors, and laid thereon a covering of white plaister, on which they drew a picture as nearly resembling the deceased as possible, and inclosed the whole in a case of crystal, according to Herodotus. Diodorus also affirms, that they kept the bodies of their friends and relations in their houses within cases of glass, not thinking it right, that the knowlege of the features and the likeness of their dead relations, should be concealed from their surviving kindred, or that they should be forgotten by their posterity. Herodotus adds, that the dead were clearly seen through the crystal above-mentioned, emitting no ill scent, nor being at all disagreeable to the eye, since they perfectly resembled the persons when alive. They were kept, continues the same author, a whole year in the houses of their nearest relations, who, during that term, honoured their manes with sacrifices, and first-fruits of all kinds: after which they carried them out, and placed them upright round the parts adjoining to their cities. 22. Other Ethiopic cantons buried their dead in earthen coffins about their temples, and swore by their manes, as has been before related of the Nasaonies; and lastly, others threw them into the river, looking upon this as the best sort of burial that could possibly be allotted them. 23. Some of the Ethiopians had no regular meals, or stated times of eating, but always refreshed themselves when hunger and thirst prompted them thereto. 24. The Ethiopian Anthropophagi lived upon human flesh, as we learn from Philostratus, Pliny, Solinus, and Ptolemy. This seems fully to evince, that the Cafres, and consequently the territories they inhabited,

(F) In another place the same Diodorus observes, that when the corpse came from the embalmer's, the very eye-lashes, brows, and features, were so well preserved, that the whole form of the body was invariably retained, and the original effigies or likeness known. Wherefore, continues he, many of the Egyptians kept the bodies of their ancestors within magnificent repositories, in order to behold the complete images of those who had been dead perhaps many ages before they themselves had been born. There they not only saw the lineaments of their faces, but also the make of their bodies; all which they contemplated with great delight (30).

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inhabited, were known to the antients, though we find scarce anything in the old geographers concerning them x.

As the Ethiopians agreed with the Egyptians in most of their laws, their splendid funerals, the (H) deification of their princes, the several colleges of priests, circumcision, and in fine most of their sacred and civil institutions, 'tis highly probable, that the same arts, sciences, and learning, as well as religion, prevailed amongst both nations. Nay, this seems to be expressly asserted by Diodorus Siculus, when he informs us, that not only the same kind of statues, but likewise the same hieroglyphic figures and characters, were used in Egypt and Ethiopia; since it is generally allowed, that these were the repositories of the Egyptian wisdom and literature. It must be owned, that an ingenious modern writer roundly affirms, that no nation besides the Egyptians continued to write with marks after the invention of letters; all others immediately dropping their hieroglyphics on the discovery of that more commodious method, because the Egyptian hieroglyphics only contained any wisdom or learning. But these seem to be assertions not only arbitrary and precarious, but plainly false.


(H) Diodorus relates, that the Egyptians learned the custom of deifying their kings from the Ethiopians. Nay, according to him, the Egyptians derived statues, and even their letters themselves from the same source. This author also observes, that the Egyptian and Ethiopian priests, as well as kings, wore caps wreathed round with serpents called aps; by which was intimated, that every person guilty of treason would as certainly suffer death, as if he had been bit by that poisonous animal (32).
fulfe, as appearing both incapable of proof, and diametrically opposite to what Diodorus Siculus has advanced from the best authors who had written before his time of the nation we are now upon. Nay, that they had persons amongst them eminent for their wisdom, may be inferred from a writer cited by Photius; and that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the Egyptians, in most points of importance, seems to have been the general sentiment of the Romans as well as the Greeks, as is implied by Festus, when he calls them Egyptini. Homer also celebrates both their wisdom and religion, when he makes Jupiter, and the rest of the gods, to attend their entertainments. That they even were instructed in several branches of literature by Moles himself, who was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, may be collected from Artapanus in Eusebius, Josephus, and others. But, waving all other proofs and authorities that might be offered in favour of the point here insisted upon, it will be sufficient to observe, that a nation so near Egypt, the centre of learning and politeness in very early ages, with which the Ethiopians always kept open a communication, and so potent as this appears from history in most times to have been, could not avoid arriving at a very laudable degree of (1) knowledge both in the liberal arts and sciences, and those termed mechanical.

The Ethiopians were naturally bold and intrepid, but violent in their temper. They likewise surpased most other nations in beauty, and largenes of size, to which a proportionable


(1) Lucian makes the Ethiopians to have excelled all other nations in wisdom and literature. According to him, they invented astronomy and astrology, and communicated those sciences, as well as many other branches of learning to the Egyptians. As their country was very fit for making celestial observations, such a notion seems not entirely groundless; though scarce any particulars of their knowledge have reached us (33).

tionable degree of strength was generally annexed. For which reason Herodotus intimates, that the Macrobius conferred the royal dignity upon the most beautiful, large, and strongest person they could find amongst them. Both they and the Arabsians had an invincible aversion to mice, as we learn from Plutarch. If the modern Abaffines resemble their ancestors, they were well-shaped, of a generous disposition, and exceeding quick parts. Upon the same supposition, some of them must have been free, cheerful, humane, forgivers of injuries, and great lovers of (K) justice. According to various authors, the proper antient Ethiopians were, for the most part, perfectly black, as we find their posterity at this day; tho' some particular cantons were white, called, by Pliny, white Ethiopians. 'Tis probable they were pleased with their natural colour, and preferred it to those of other nations. Some writers affirm, that the children of the present Abaffines are terrified at the sight of an European, as much as ours are at that of a Negro; and that they paint the devil white, in order to ridicule all complexions of, or bordering upon, that colour. Others relate, that in some provinces of Abaffia the people are of an olive-colour; that in general they are born white, with a black spot upon their navel, which in a short time after their birth spreads over their whole body; and that, being transported into Europe, they become white at the second or third generation. Gregory the Abaffine informed Ludolphus, that his countrymen came into the world of a reddish hue, but in a short time turned black. Their women are strong and lusty, and bring forth with little pain, as usually happens in the warmer climates. When they are in labour they kneel down upon their knees, as the Hebrew women did, and are delivered without the help of a midwife.

Many

(K) Pausanias, when he distinguishes the proper Ethiopians from those bordering upon the Mauri and Nafamones, remarks, that the people of Meroe, as well as the other neighbouring Ethiopians, were eminent for their love of justice. This observation was probably truer than what he subjoins to it, viz. that the Ethiopians had no other river but the Nile; though as all other rivers join the Nile, this is no unpardonable mistake. However, the accounts he had received of the country inhabited by that people were not over-accurate; as we may collect from his confounding the Ethiopian ox or bull with the rhinoceros, and other instances that might be produced (34).

(34) Pausan. in Boeotic. & in Attic. p. 62, 63.
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Many, if not all, of these particulars undoubtedly held equally true of the antient Ethiopians, who, from what is observable in their posterity, seem to have been likewise very patient of labour, capable of bearing the greatest fatigues, and endued with uncommon vivacity. Lastly, from Herodotus compared with the relations of some modern authors, 'tis not unlikely, that they died purely of old-age, a few only excepted, who either fell by the sword, or were devoured by wild beasts, as Sallust has observed of the antient Africans.


C H A P. VII.

The history of the Ethiopians, to the usurpation of the Zagæan family, which commenced about the year of Christ 960.

Where the first kingdom of Cuth was situated uncertain.

We have already observed, that not only the vast tract stretching from the southern limits of Egypt to Libya Incognita, and the peninsula of Arabia, as well as one part of it on the coast of the Red Sea, contiguous to Egypt, but likewise Susiana, called by the Orientals Khuzestân, and the country watered by the Araxes, the seat of the antient Scythians, went under the denomination of Cuth amongst the Asiatic nations, and Ethiopia amongst the Greeks. Where Cuth himself settled immediately after the dispersion, authors are far from being agreed; some placing him in Susiana or Khuzestân, others in Arabia Felix, and others in that district near the confines of Egypt, called in Scripture the land of Midian or Madian. Possibly some of his descendants might contribute towards peopling all the different regions here mentioned; but 'tis probable, that the greatest body of them advanced towards Arabia and Egypt, since the posterity of Shem refilled,
nished, in all likelihood, most of the provinces of Persia, and particularly Elamais contiguous to Susiana or Khuzestân. Be that as it will, 'tis certain, the land of Midian went by the name of Cufh before the age of Moses, when, 'tis natural to suppose, the country washed by the Araxes was but thinly peopled, and even scarce known. That the children of Cufh should have migrated in the most numerous parties into Arabia, and particularly that part of Yaman bordering upon the freights of Bab al Mandab, as well as the country afterwards called the land of Midian, has the greatest appearance of truth, since these seem to be the most commodious situations for throwing large colonies of Cufhites into the proper Ethiopia, as well as the inland parts of Africa. To support farther the conjecture offered to the consideration of our readers here, it may be observed from various authors, that a good part of the upper Egypt was poffessed by the Cufhites in the most early ages, and that the city of Cos, Kus, or Kufh,situated upon the Nile in that country, confounded by some with the famous Thebes, took its name from Cufh, the father of the Ethiopians. The Arabs call Ethiopia not only Habath, from Habath the supposed son of Cufh, but likewise Cufh or Cuffch, in like manner as the Hebrews. The first kings of this country we have no account of, that deserves the least regard. 'Tis probable, that several princes reigned here at the same time, before any of the great empires were formed as in Egypt. Some of the modern Abassines pretend, that one Arwe was the first king of Ethiopia, but relate nothing memorable of him, only that he was assassinated by one Angab, who afterwards ascended the throne, and was succeeded by Sabanut, Gedur, &c. As for the catalogue annexed to the fabulous history of Tzagauxus, and what we find on this head in Jerome Vecchietti, not the least degree of credit is due to them. The present king of Ethiopia, or emperor of Abassia, is styled by his subjects Negus, i. e. king; but, as the governors of provinces are sometimes honoured with that appellation, his proper title is Negula Nagatt Zaitiopia, i. c. king of the kings of Ethiopia.

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It may be inferred from some authors, that the Ethiopians possessed Thebais before Moses's time, and consequently that they were a powerful nation from the remotest antiquity. According to these authors, they made an irruption into the Lower Egypt whilst Moses was there, and penetrated as far as Memphis. Having defeated the Egyptians in a pitched battle, they threatened them with immediate destruction. Whereupon the Egyptian gods, being consulted, ordered, their votaries to put an Hebrew at the head of their forces, and then march against the enemy. The king, in pursuance of this order, prevailed upon Moses to accept the command of his army, and to take an oath of fidelity to him. Moses, being vested with an unlimited power to act as he should thing proper for the good of his master's service, immediately advanced at the head of his troops into the heart of the enemy's country. As he did not judge it expedient to march along the banks of the Nile, in conformity to their expectations, but to push through some mediterranean provinces, greatly infested with serpents of an enormous size, towards Meroe the capital of Ethiopia, he was obliged to have recourse to the following stratagem, in order to save his men: He filled many chests or panniers, made of the Egyptian plant papyrus, with vast numbers of the ibis, an Egyptian bird, that had a natural antipathy to serpents of all kinds and made great havoc of them. When he approached the tract abounding with those animals, he let out his birds, which destroyed all of them they met with, and opened a passage for the Egyptian forces. Moses, therefore, without any difficulty, surprised the Ethiopians, gave them a total defeat, and at last shut them up in Meroe. But this place was rendered in a manner impregnable by the Nile, the Aftapus, and the Aftaboras, which so surrounded it, that it was almost impossible for an army to approach it. However, Moses's good fortune interposing, he found means to make himself master of it. The king of Ethiopia's daughter, observing from the walls Moses's bravery in repelling several
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several fallies of the besieged, and being charmed with his
success, fell desperately in love with him, and, by the af-
sittance of some friends she could confide in, offered to
deliver up the place to him, provided he would swear to
marry her. This overture, continue the same authors,
Mofes complied with, was thereupon admitted into the
town, and married her. However, he treated the citizens
with great rigour and severity, first plundering them, and
then putting most of them to the sword. In fine, having
raived the whole country, razed or dismantled all the
places of strength, and consequently rendered the Ethi-
pians for a long time incapable of making head against the
Egyptians, he returned home with great glory. Cedrenus
intimates, that this war lasted ten years b.

The Abaffines are firmly persuaded, that the celebrat-
ed queen (A) of Sheba, who had an interview with Solo-
mon, reigned over the proper Ethiopia. They have an his-
tory of her written at large, but interspersed with various fables. The substance of it is as follows: Makeda, for ac-
cording to them that was her name, receiving an account, from Tamerin an Ethiopian merchant, of the surprizing pow-
er and wisdom of Solomon, took a journey to Jerusalem
to know the truth of this report. She was attended by a
great train of her prime nobility, and carried with her a
variety of most magnificent presents. After she had been
instructed at Jerusalem in the worship of the true God, she
returned home, and within the space of a year brought forth
a son begotten by Solomon, who named him David; but
he was called by his mother and her subjects Menelech,
or Menilecheh, that is, another fell. He received his edu-
cation at Solomon's court and was accompanied home by
many doctors of the law, and Israelites of distinction, and
particularly Azariah the son of Zadoc the high priest. By
the

b Eupolem. & Artapan. apud Eusfb. de præp. evang. l. ix.

(A) Josephus says, that the queen of Sheba governed Egypt
as well as Ethiopia; but as this notion runs counter to the
whole stream both of sacred and profane antiquity, we shall not
scruple to reject it (1).

(1) Joseph. antiquit. l. viii. c. 6.
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The assistance of these Hebrew attendants he established the
religion, professed by his father, in Ethiopia, where it con-
tinued till that kingdom embraced Christianity. The Arabs
and Abaffines have given the princes above-mentioned se-
veral names, as Makeda, Belkis, Balkis, or Bulkis, Ne-
ghetta Azeb, i.e. queen of the south, as we find her styled
by our Saviour, and the Ethiopic version, &c. The Abaffi-
nes pretend, that their kings are descended in a right line
from Menelech, and even most of the noble families in
Abaffia at this day trace their respective pedigrees up to
Solomon.

This tradition clogged with some absurdities,
will appear to any one who confiders it with the least atten-
tion, though at the same time it must be allowed, as hinted
above, that part of it is not void of an appearance of truth.

Ethiopia is more to the south of Judea than the territory
or kingdom of Saba in Arabia Felix, and consequently
seems to bid fairer than that country for the dominions
of that prince whom our Saviour calls the queen of the
south. Ethiopia is styled the remotest part of the habitable
world by Herodotus and Strabo, and therefore better agrees
with what our Saviour has said of the queen of Sheba,
viz. that she came from the uttermost parts of the earth,
than Arabia possibly can do. Nor can it be deemed a suffi-
cient reply to this argument, that Arabia Felix was the ut-
termost part of the earth in respect of Judea, since it was
bounded by the Red Sea; for that not only Egypt, but even
Ethiopia, regions beyond that sea, were known to, and even
had a communication with, the Jews, both before and in
our Saviour’s time, is indisputably clear. Lastly, from what
has been suggested above, it appears no improbable con-
jecture, that Judaism was not only known in a part at least
of Ethiopia, but likewise nearly related to the established
religion there at the beginning of the apostolical age, if
not much earlier. However, we would not be understood
as pretending to determine the residence of the queen of
the south; especially since so much may be said for Arabia,
as well as the country we are now upon. After all, these
two opinions, so contrary in appearance, may be made con-

42.
fittest without great difficulty; since 'tis agreed, that Arabia and Ethiopia have antiently borne the same name, been included, during certain intervals, in one empire, and governed by one prince. Part of the Arabs and Ethiopians had the same origin, and very considerable numbers of the Abasseni transplanted themselves from Arabia Felix into Ethiopia, as already observed; which seems sufficient to make appear the intercourse that has formerly subsisted between the Cushites or Ethiopians of Asia and Africa.

But whether our readers will think proper to fix the Ethiopian queen of Sheba in Arabia or Ethiopia, whether they will admit or reject the history of that princes and her son given us by the Abassines, it seems clear from scripture, that the Ethiopians were subject to Sefac, either in Solomon's time, or soon after his death. For, that the Cushites mentioned in the passage here referred to, were the proper Ethiopians, appears from their being joined with the Lubim or Libyans, who likewise served in the army of that prince. This, it must be owned, is a strong proof, that Sesostris and Sefac were the same person, in conformity to what Josephus affirms, since we read not in scripture of any Egyptian but Sefac that was master of Ethiopia, and since Herodotus positively affirms, that Sesostris alone, of all the Egyptian monarchs, enjoyed the empire of that country. But further, as the scripture takes no notice of any great conqueror that was king of Egypt before Sefac, it is in the highest degree probable, that he was the first who extended his conquests in so wonderful a manner as we find the antients have related of Sesostris; since, had such great achievements been performed sooner, the sacred history would undoubtedly have given us some hint of them, especially as the Hebrews had such an intercourse with the Egyptians almost from the remotest antiquity. The silence therefore of scripture in this particular is an argument of no small force in favour of what Josephus has advanced relating to the identity of Sesostris and Sefac. Nay, we will venture to affirm, that it tends strongly to evince the Egyptian empire, founded by Ammenneses and Sefac, to have been the first great empire that ever was formed. For the high, and even incredible, antiquity

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Equity of the Assyrian empire depends only upon the authority of Ctefias, not the least hint in support of such antiquity being visible in scripture; on the contrary, it plainly appearing from thence, that it was founded by Pul, about two hundred years after the taking of Jerusalem by Sefac. Notwithstanding, therefore, the ineffectual labours of so many learned men to vindicate the notorious fallhoods of Ctefias, or, which is the same thing, of the antient Greek and Latin authors who copied from him, no one, who has the least regard for scripture, can possibly imagine any Egyptian monarch of great note to have flourished before Sefac, or Assyrian before Pul. This notion has been set in the strongest light by Sir Isaac Newton, but opposed by many ingenious and learned men. However, as these learned men seem not to have duly attended to what Sir Isaac has advanced, and as it has been that illustrious author’s misfortune to have his works at first misunderstood, though they have afterwards shone out with a double lustre, we shall beg leave to make a general remark upon the most considerable writers, who have endeavoured to overthrow his system of chronology, which to us seems nearer the truth than any other. We do not pretend to adopt every particular sentiment advanced in this noble piece, and therefore shall not offer an answer to all the objections urged against it; nor indeed, were we so disposed, would the nature of the work we are at present engaged in render this practicable.

Sir Isaac allows, that before the time of Ammon or Ammonemes the father of Sefac, there were several kings in Egypt, and even adopts what Manetho has written of the kings of the Lower Egypt; only he contends, that the Upper and Lower Egypt were not united under one prince before the reign of Ammon. And how does this contradict scripture, which takes notice only of the kings of Misraim, or that part of the Lower Egypt bordering upon Arabia and Palestine? Nay, does he not suppose the truth of the most early Scripture-accounts of Egypt, by referring to the book of Genesis on several occasions, by deducing from thence several facts corrobatory of his system? Does he not intimate, that the lower part of Egypt was governed by a series of kings from the remotest antiquity, even from the first invention of corn there,

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there, to Joshua's invasion of Canaan; that the people of this country worshipped the prince at the head of this series, who taught them to make bread, after his death, in the ox or calf, for this benefaction? And can any thing better tally with Scripture, or rather be more firmly founded upon it, as well as consonant to all profane antiquity, than this observation? Nay, does he not offer it as his opinion, that this prince reigned in the Lower Egypt as early as the first plantation of it, and therefore might, for ought that appears to the contrary from him, or rather as he strongly infinuates, be Misraim? To what purpose then have we been troubled with so much empty jangling, and outcry against him, as though he had attacked the authority of Scripture, by denying the being of that antient kingdom in the Lower Egypt so frequently mentioned by the sacred historian? In short, most of those persons, who have so grossly misrepresented Sir Isaac in this particular, have been either professed infidels, or such as secretly favoured infidelity; or lastly, such as have implicitly swallowed the absurdities of Ctesias. But from these our great author is neither to expect candour nor impartiality. He has so effectually overthrown that romantic antiquity of the Egyptian empire, which the Egyptian priests endeavoured to palm upon the world, and which so long has been one of the last resources of infidelity, that all our modern deists, as well as their secret abettors, must of course declare against him: and those persons, who are so hardy as to attempt in earnest the reconciliation of Ctesias with Scripture, are, in our opinion, not only capable of opposing what Sir Isaac has offered in defence of his system, but all the mathematical demonstration that ever appeared in the world.

But it is said, that Sir Isaac makes Sesophris or Sefac to have introduced instruments of war, the exact distribution of property, &c. amongst the Egyptians; which is not only contrary to Scripture, but likewise to what we have just advanced. And was there then no other country called Egypt but the land of Misraim mentioned by Moses in the first book of the pentateuch, or rather did that kingdom include all the tract the Greeks called Egypt? No, this cannot be maintained; since that country is known not to have contained all the Lower Egypt, much less the Lower and Upper Egypt united; and it may be as well known, by perusing Sir Isaac with a proper

Newt. of the empire of Egypt, and chronol. of the Greeks, pass.

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proper attention, that both these united were the Egypt go-
vern'd by Sefac. That prince, therefore, might have intro-
duced the things enumerated by our great chronologer, for so
we shall not scruple to call him, notwithstanding the cavils of
his adversaries, into some parts of the Upper Egypt, or several
savage districts not far from the western coast of the Red Sea,
and civilized the inhabitants, though a kingdom had subsisted
in the Lower Egypt, whose members had been tolerably po-
lished before the reign of Sefac, from the age of Misraim.
These points are by no means incompatible, and therefore
nothing to the prejudice of Sir Isaac's system of chronology
can be inferred from the supposed disagreement of them. On
the contrary, as the Troglydotes, appertaining partly to Egypt,
and partly to Ethiopia, remained in a state of barbarity many
ages after Sefac, 'tis no such improbable notion, that before
his time several other tribes inhabiting the Upper Egypt might
be as rude and barbarous as some of the antients represented
them. But it is farther urged, that Sir Isaac makes Ammon
and Sefac to have been the great gods of the Egyptians and
Ethiopians, known amongst the Greeks and Romans by the
names Zeus, Jupiter, Dionysius, Bacchus, &c. which runs
counter to the whole stream of antiquity, and withal contra-
dicts Scripture; since Apis, Serapis, i. e. Jupiter, was wor-
shipped by the Egyptians before the exodus of the Israelites,
the golden calf being set up by that nation in the wilderness in
imitation of the Egyptian Apis. Now, that the first king of
that very antient monarchy in the Lower Egypt, so frequently
mentioned by Mofes, was deified for the reason already af-
signed, and worshipped in the ox or calf, is expressly asserted by
Sir Isaac; and therefore we may most rationally account for
the Israelites paying divine honours to the golden calf from
him, without having recourse to the worship of Apis. For
although this worship, in several particulars, resembled that of
a more antient deity, even the first king of the land of Mis-
raim, it does not from thence follow, that this deified prince
was the Egyptian Apis. One strong presumption, that these
two pagan divinities were really different, is, that the god
Mnevis seems more properly to correspond with the founder
of the kingdom of Misraim than Apis. For Mnevis (B) was
kept

(B) That Mnevis and Apis were different deities, or rather re-
presentatives of different deities, appears from hence, that the
Egyptians held the latter in much higher veneration than the for-
mer. The worship of Apis seems to have been not only universal
in
kept at Heliopolis, and consequently held in the highest veneration there, whereas Apis resided at Memphis. Now Heliopolis was much more antient than Memphis, being the city On, whose priest’s daughter Joseph married, as appears clearly from the Septuagint. It was likewise nearer the confines of Palestine and Arabia than Memphis, nay, it seems to have been in the very land of Gofhen or Gefen, where the Israelites dwelt immediately before the exodus; on which accounts the principal deity there must bid fairer for the most antient deified prince above-mentioned, and that reprented by the Israelites’ golden calf, than any other. Which single observation, exclusive of many others that might be offered, ought to be deemed a full refutation of the point so confidently advanced in this objection. Again, we are told, that Sir Isaac Newton invalidates the authority of Scripture, when he intimates alphabetic letters not to have been received in Egypt before the time of Ammon the father of Sêfâc, that is, in some part of David’s reign. But how does this appear? Does the Scripture say any thing of the alphabetic characters of Egypt before that period, either directly or by implication? And if not, how can such a notion in any manner affect Scripture? We cannot, therefore, but own ourselves greatly surprized at the conduct of a very learned and ingenious author, who charges this opinion with being contrary to Scripture, and, in support of that charge, quotes the following passage—“As to the precise time of the invention of Egyptian letters, it can never be so much as guessed at.” —— “However, in Egypt, but likewise common to most of the nations of Arabia, India, and Ethiopia; whereas the chief divine honours paid Mnevis did not extend much farther than the district of Heliopolis, if they were not absolutely confined to that place. Now this is easy to be conceived, nay, perfectly rational, upon Sir Isaac Newton’s principles; for he supposes, that Sesostris or Sêfâc was the first prince in possession both of the Upper and Lower Egypt, Ethiopia, &c. and that he civilized several nations; whereas he believes the antient kingdom of Mifraim, or the Scripture Egypt, to have been of no larger an extent than we have already hinted. Ammianus Marcellinus seems plainly to give Mnevis the preference to Apis in point of antiquity; and the notion he appears to espouse will be rendered probable, not only by what we here advance, but likewise by a careful and diligent comparison of the authors here referred to with one another (2).

(2) Herodot. i. iii. Strab. i. xvii. Plut. de Isid. & Osfrid. Plin. i. viii. c. 46. Ælian. hist. animal. i. xi. c. 9. Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 554.
ever, that letters (in Egypt) were very early, we have
clearly shewn above, as well from other circumstances as
from this, that the invention of them was given to their
gods." Now 'tis remarkable, that these circumstances no-
where appear; and that the other passage referred to, in order
to support what is here advanced, only takes notice of writ-
ing, which, it is well known, in the earlist times always
consisted of hieroglyphic characters. As for the origin of
arts and sciences in the land of Misraim, or the Scripture Egypt,
all that we can say of it is, that it preceded the age of Moses,
who, as St. Stephen himself, under the actual influence of
the Holy Ghost, informs us, was learned in all the wisdom
of the Egyptians. But what a progress literature had then
made there, we cannot pretend to say. 'Tis not improbable,
that the art of onirocritic, or interpretation of dreams, astro-
logy, including so much of the simple elements of astronomy
as contained the knowledge of the true system of the world,
some maxims of civil policy, with certain theological notions,
made up the greatest part of it. But we cannot collect from
hence, that they knew even so much of the principles of a-
stronomy and geometry, as to understand the art of naviga-
tion before the time Sir Isaac mentions; nor that any of the
arts or sciences, which he intimates began to flourish amongst
the Egyptians about the reigns of Ammon and Sefac, were
cultivated there to any great purpose before that period. But
admitting, that the Egyptians of the land of Misraim, before
the reigns of the princes above-mentioned, were as learned
and polite as Sir Isaac's adversaries would insinuate, which yet
is utterly improbable, it will not follow, that the Upper Egypt,
Libya, &c. had then any great pretensions to learning and
politenefs; and therefore every thing advanced upon that sup-
position, which is almost the sum of what has been offered a-
gainst Sir Isaac's system of chronology, deserves not the least
attention. In fine, most of those gentlemen, who have op-
pofed this excellent piece, seem to have confounded the king-
dom of Misraim with that Egyptian empire which arrived at
its last perfection in the days of Sefac, if not with Libya,
Troglydtytica, and other barbarous countries over-run and
civilized by that prince. And not only fo, but they have con-
idered some of his notions as detached from others, with
which, in reality, they have a close connection; have attack-
ed several points without informing their readers what he has
urged in defence of them; have attempted an answer to some
of his weaker arguments without touching upon those of
greater strength; lastly, have never taken a full survey of the
system,
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system, but only fallen upon some of those parts they thought the most liable to exception, and, from a supposed refutation of them, collected the fallacy of the whole. However, 'tis not our business here to enter into a nice discussion of all the particulars relating to this controversy, nor to examine every cavil levelled at a work, the main part of which, we believe, will, sooner or later, meet with a general good reception from the learned world. For, with regard to some particular sentiments in it, learned men will always think differently of them, as has been the fate of several parts of the most excellent productions of all ages. As such a digression merited a place in some part of this work, and comes in naturally enough here, we hope it will be pardoned, if not favourably received by our readers.---- But to resume the thread of our history:

We have already observed, that Sebæc subdued and reigned over Ethiopia. After his death a civil war seems to have broke out in Egypt, which Sir Isaac Newton believes to have been invaded at this juncture by the Libyans, and defended by the Ethiopians. But about ten years afterwards, continues the same illustrious author, the Ethiopians drowned Sebæc's successor in the Nile, and seized upon Egypt. With that kingdom, Libya also fell into their hands, which will enable us to account for the numerous host with which Zerah the Ethiopian advanced against Aṣa king of Judah. However, Aṣa overthrew that army, consisting of a million of men, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and dispersed it in such a manner, that Zerah could never afterwards rally his scattered forces. Upon which, the people of the Lower Egypt revolted from the Ethiopians, and, being sustained by a body of two hundred thousand Jewish or Canaanitish auxiliaries, forced Memnon or Amenophis, king of that nation, to retire to Memphis. 'Tis probable, that the Egyptians, under the conduct of their chief priest Uforthon, Oforcho, Ofarchor, or Osaraphus, followed their blow; since, after Memnon had turned the course of the (C) Nile, built a bridge over that river, and fortified


(C) This famous river, we suppose, by way of eminence, was called the Nile, i.e. the river, the torrent, &c. for that the word Naal or Nil imports. Amongst the Orientals the vowels were
fortified the pass there, he retreated with great precipitation into Ethiopia. However, about thirteen years after this disgrace, he and his young son Ramesses returned at the head of a powerful army, and drove the above-mentioned Jews or Phoenicians out of the Lower Egypt; which action the Egyptian writers called the second expulsion of the shepherds, as we learn from the aforesaid illustrious author, in conjunction with Manetho.

We are told by Cedrenus, a writer of good authority, that, about fifty years after Cecrops the first king of Athens began to reign, there happened a deluge in Ethiopia; but what damage the inhabitants of that country sustained on this occasion, he informs us not. However, it is probable, that the effects of it were sufficiently felt; since otherwise it would not have merited the notice of any historian. As Cedrenus follows the technical chronology of Eratosthenes, he places this event too high; but this in no manner affects us, who are not disposed to pay any great regard to that chronology. From what writer he extracted this article, we cannot take upon us so much as to conjecture.

From several historical facts, Sir Isaac renders it extremely probable, that Menes, Memnon, and Amenophis, were the same person; that the Ethiopian prince, who went by these names, was the son of Zerah; and that he died in a very advanced age (D), about ninety years after the death of Solomon. According to the same incomparable writer, the city of Memphis, called in Scripture Mopb and Noph, as likewise Menoph or Menuf by the Arabian historians, derived its name

were nearly related to one another, and consequently a permutation of them frequent; and that the letter, in some words, had not formerly so much as the force even of a note of aspiration, is evinced by Bochart. Neba and Nilus, therefore, are only with a Greek and Latin termination (3).

(D) That this prince attained to an extreme old age is intimated by Philostratus, when he affirms Memnon to have reigned five ages or generations in Ethiopia. He also gives us to understand, that

(3) Val. Schind. pentaglot. p. 1104. Bochart. Phal. i. i. c. i.
name from that of this prince, who either built it, or first fortified it, to prevent Osariphus from entering Ethiopia. The Argonautic expedition happened in the reign of Amemphis, according to the principles of the system we have at present in view. Some Greek authors relate, that he asisted king Priamus with a body of Ethiopian troops. After his decease, his son Rameses ascended the throne of Ethiopia, who built the northern portico of the temple of Vulcan at Memphis. Maeras, his successor, adorned Memphis, and fixed his residence there, near two generations after the Trojan war, upon the same principles. Cheops, Cephren, and Mycerinus, were the three next kings, the last of which was succeeded by his litter Nitocris. Then came Abychis, in whose reign both Assyria and Ethiopia revolted from Egypt; which thereupon was again divided into several small kingdoms. Gnephaetus governed one of these, and resided at Memphis; but his son Bocchoris was slain by So or Sabacon the Ethiopian, who made himself master of Egypt. As all the principal achievements of these monarchs, transmitted down to us by sacred and profane antiquity, have already been taken notice of in the history of Egypt, we have almost entirely passed them over here. However, we must not omit informing our readers, that, in the twenty-second year of Bocchoris's reign, Africanus has fixed the commencement of the era of Nabonassar 1.

SABACON, or So, as he is called in Scripture, soon after the reduction of Egypt, entered into an alliance with Hophael, king of Israel; which induced that prince to attempt shaking off the yoke of the Assyrians; but his efforts proving unsuccessful,

that the Ethiopians, some of them, he means, were longer-lived than any other nation; which seems to agree with Herodotus. But when he relates, that the proper Ethiopians were originally of India, and expelled that country for an assassination of one king Ganges, he defers not the least credit (4).

cellesful, a period was put to the kingdom of Israel by Shal-
maneser, in the twenty-fourth year of the æra of Nabonaasra.
According to Herodotus, Sabacon, after a reign of fifty
years, voluntarily relinquished Egypt, and retired into E-
thiopia. But, according to Africanus, he reigned only eight
years in Egypt, and died in the ninth year of Hezekiah, or
twenty-ninth of Nabonaasr. The former author likewise
informs us, that Sethon, whom some take to be the Se-
vechus of Manetho, his successor, advanced to Pelusium,
with a powerful army, against Sennacherib king of Af-
syria, whom he was enabled to defeat by a vast number
of mice, which devoured the shield-straps and bow-strings
of the Assyrians; and that, to perpetuate the memory of
so surprising an event, the statue of Sethon, which he
saw, had a mouse in its hand. As a mouse was the Egyp-
tian and Ethiopian symbol of destruction, this seems to
intimate, that he overthrew the Assyrians with a great
destruction. Sir Isaac Newton therefore believes, that Se-
thon, in conjunction with Tirhakah, either king of the
Arabian Cushiotes, or a relation of Sethon, and his viceroy
in the Proper Ethiopia, surprized and defeated Sennache-
rib betwixt Libnah and Pelusium, making as great a
slaughter amongst his troops, as if their bow-strings had
been eaten by mice. This may be rendered consistent
enough with the Scripture-account of the blow received
by Sennacherib, as we have elsewhere observed. The
Egyptian priests computed three hundred and forty-one ge-
nerations, or eleven thousand three hundred and forty years,
from the beginning of their monarchy and priesthood, to
the time when Sethon ascended the throne of Egypt.
The priests, during that period, as they pretended, had
succeeded one another, without interruption, under the
name of Piromis, an Egyptian word, signifying a good
and virtuous man. Herodotus intimates, that Sennacherib
was king of Arabia, as well as Assyria; which, if admit-
ted, will prove, that Tirhakah prefixed over the Proper
Ethiopia, and not Arabia, as some learned men have sup-
poied. If this be allowed, it will strengthen, in some sort,
the conjecture we have already propofed to the confide-
ration of the learned, viz. that Tirhakah was no other
than Sabacon, who had before confined himself to Ethio-
pia, and left the Egyptian crown to Sethon. However,
as this notion must be owned to be clogged with some
dificulties, and even absurd, upon the principles of those,
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who make Tirhakah successor to Sethon, we shall leave our readers to believe as much or as little of it as they please.

From this time, to the seventy-eighth year of Nabonnassar, we hear little of the kingdom of Ethiopia, which was then subjugated by Efar-haddon king of Assyria. Many enormous cruelties he committed both there and in Egypt, as had been predicted by the prophet Isaiah; and governed both those countries three years, that is, till the time of his death, which happened in the year of Nabonnassar 81. But then the Ethiopians, revolting from the Assyrians, asserted their independency, which they maintained, though a monarchy distinct from Egypt, till the days of Cyrus, who, from Xenophon, seems to have been master of Ethiopia, or at least a considerable part of it. However, soon after the decease of that prince, they withdrew themselves from their subjection to the Persians, since we find his son Cambyses engaged in a fruitless expedition against them. Herodotus says, that, before he undertook this expedition, he sent an embassy made up of the Ic.:hyophagi, as understanding the language of that nation, to the king of the Macrobius, or long-lived Ethiopians. The true end of this embassy was not so much to cultivate a good understanding with that prince, as to learn the strength and condition of his kingdom; though, in order to conceal his design, he sent him a purple robe, bracelets of gold, an alabaster box of rich ointment, a vessel of palm-wine, and other magnificent presents. But the Ethiopian was too acute not to penetrate the Persian monarch's views on this occasion, and therefore frankly told the Ichthyophagi, that he was no stranger to their errand, and that, if Cambyses entertained any sentiments of equity, he would never desire another prince's territories, nor to reduce to a state of servitude a people, who had never injured him. "How ever," added he, "give him this bow from me, and tell him, that he may think of invading the country of the Macrobian Ethiopians, when his subjects can thus easily draw it; and that, in the mean time, he ought to thank

"thank the gods, that they never inspired the Ethiopians
with a desire of extending their dominions beyond the
limits of their own country." Then, unbending the
bow, he gave it to the embassadors: after which, taking
up the royal garment, he demanded of them, What it was,
and how made? And being satisfied in both these particu-
lars, he could not forbear observing, "That the robe was
a proper emblem and representation of the deceitful prince
who wore it." All the other presents likewise, except
the wine, he despised, preferring the iron chains of the
Ethiopians, which, he said, were far stronger, to the gold-
en bracelets, &c. of the Persians. However, he owned,
that the wine excelled any liquor produced in Ethiopia,
and intimated, that the Persians, short-lived as they were,
owed most of their days to noble a cordial. When he
heard, that a good part of their food was bread, he said,
He was not at all surprised, that a people, who fed upon
dung, did not attain to the longevity of the Macrobian
Ethiopians. As for what Herodotus relates of the table of
the fun in this country, it favours so much of fable, that
we cannot help thinking it beneath the dignity of history to
take notice of it. Cambyses, being extremely incensed at
the answer brought by the Ichthyophagi from the Ethiopian,
in a mad irrational humour, immediately began his march
towards his frontiers, though he wanted all manner of pro-
visions for the subsistence of his troops. This at last intro-
duced such a famine amongst them, that the soldiers were
obliged to eat one another; so that, not being able to tra-
verse the vast sandy deserts of Ethiopia, he found himself
constrained to return, first to Thebes, and afterwards to
Memphis, with the loss of a great part of his army. But,
could he have penetrated to the centre of this region, it is
probable he would have met there with a warm reception,
since, by the accession of a large body of Egyptians in the
reign of Ptolemychus, the Ethiopians must have been very
formidable; for we learn from Herodotus, that two hun-
dred and forty thousand Egyptians, posted in different places
by that prince, to guard the (E) frontiers on the sides of
Arabia,

(E) Herodotus, in the passage here referred to, makes Ele-
phantis or Elephantine, and Daphnæ Pelusæ, opposite bound-
aries or frontiers of Egypt, and places both of them on the
borders of Ethiopia. This seems to point out the true translation
Arabia, Assyria, Libya, and Ethiopia, having not been relieved within the space of three years, deserted to the king of Ethiopia, who placed them in a country disaffected to him, with orders to expel the inhabitants, and take possession of their lands. He also informs us, that, in the Egyptian language, they were called Asmak, i. e. "those who stand on the left hand of the king;" as likewise, that they civilized the Ethiopians. But the last article we can scarce give any credit to, since, from this very historian himself, and Africanus, it appears, that the Ethiopians were masters of Egypt at least eighty years before the time of Psammithicus; and therefore might have learnt every thing the Egyptians could teach them before, if they were not, from the earliest ages, in all particulars as wise as that people. Sir Isaac Newton insinuates, that Cambyses conquered Ethiopia, as well as Egypt, about the year of Nabonassar, 223, or 224. But this, as far as we can recollect, can neither be inferred from Herodotus, nor any other good author. Possibly Ethiopia, like Egypt, might have had several collateral princes, whom the antients, through mistake, placed in continual succession; which could not but occasion many blunders and errors in the history of that kingdom. However, Herodotus affirms, that Cambyses reduced some of the provinces of Ethiopia contiguous to Egypt in the unfortunate expedition above-mentioned; and that they, together with the Troglodytes, sent an annual present to the

of a text in Ezekiel, rendered in our version — I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from the tower of Syene, even unto the border of Ethiopia; which ought to be translated, either as we have formerly done it, or in the following terms: I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from Migdol to Syene, even to the border of Ethiopia; for if we suppose Migdol and Syene, or, as Herodotus affirms, Elephantine and Daphne Pelusiae, to be opposite frontiers of Egypt, and both on the confines of Ethiopia, then we may look upon the words from Migdol to Syene as a parenthesis, and equivalent to the following words, to the border of Ethiopia. Such a translation will render the passage exceeding obvious and clear, and is supported by a vast number of such parenthetics to be met with in the old testament (5).

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the Persian monarch, consisting of two chariotes of unrefined gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five Ethiopian boys, and twenty elephants teeth of the largest size, even to his time. But though the Persians subdued not only these provinces, but likewise that part of Libya bordering upon the western confines of Egypt, and carried their arms as far as the city of Cyrene, yet, that they brought under their dominion all that vast tract, comprehending the kingdoms of Sennar, Abassia, and other countries, answering to the proper Ethiopia of the antients, we cannot help thinking at least very improbable.

Amongst the various nations that composed the numerous army, with which (F) Xerxes invaded Greece, Herodotus ranks the Ethiopians. He mentions on this occasion two sorts of that people; the eastern, who had their abode in his army.

\[\text{Xerxes has a body of eastern and western Ethiopians, Libyans, &c. in his army.}\]


(F) Herodotus informs us, that Xerxes had not only eastern and western, or Asiatic and African, Ethiopians in his army, but likewise Libyans. The eastern or Asiatic Ethiopians, he tells us, anointed one part of their bodies with a species of gypsum or plaster, and another with minium or red-lead, immediately before they came to a general action. The Libyans, from his account of them, seem to have been negroes, who by Diodorus Siculus are called Ethiopians. That author gives us the following description of them: "They are," says he, "flat-faced, exceeding fierce and cruel, in their manners resembling beasts, extremely wicked, and have frizzled hair. Their bodies are nasty and loathsome, their voice shrill, and their disposition such as renders them incapable of being civilized. Some of them carry shields made of the raw hide of an ox, and short lances, in their wars; others use darts forked at the ends, together with bows four cubits long, out of which they discharge their arrows by the help of their feet. When their shafts are spent, they fall on with clubs. Their women likewise, till they arrive at a certain age, take on in the service; and many of them hang a braws ring at their lips. Some go always naked, sheltering themselves from the scorching rays of the sun with whatever falls in their way. Several cover their pudenda with sheep-tails;"
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in Asia, and were looked upon as Indians, from whom they differed only in their hair and language, and the western or African Ethiopians. The former carried the same arms as the Indians, wore for helmets the skins of horse heads, the ears and manes whereof served them for tufts and plumes of feathers, bore before them the skins of cranes for shields, and had long hair. The Africans were armed with darts lighted at one end, covered with leather, and had black frizzled hair. Their commander was Mafanges, the son of Aorizus, a person doubtless of great distinction amongst them. Nothing remarkable of the nation we are now upon occurs from this period to the dissolution of the Persian empire, though it is probable matters, with respect to them, all along remained in the same situation; that is to say, the Ethiopian provinces contiguous to Egypt were subject to the Persians, and the others in a state of indepen
dency, either so little known, or made so inconsiderable a figure,

"and others apply beast-skins to that use. Lastly, it is not uncommon amongst this people to wear a garment about their loins made of human hair, the sheep in this country carrying no fleeces at all. They feed, for the most part, upon the tender shoots of trees, the roots of canes, the lotus and sefa-mus, together with another species of fruit produced in marshy places. Many also live upon fowl, which, being excel-
lent archers, they kill in vast numbers; but most of them use flesh, milk, and cheese, for their sustenance." As Diodorus intimates many of these to have been feasted in the heart of Africa, as well as on both sides the Nile, and expressly calls them Blacks, we doubt not but he had the negroes here in view, as well as some of the proper Ethiopians; nay, as he seems to join together "the heart of Africa and both sides of the Nile," and the description he gives of the Blacks on both sides the Nile agrees, in most particulars, with the present Blacks, possibly several of our readers may be induced to infer from hence, that, in the age of Diodorus, the Niger and the Nile were believed to have been branches of the same river. Be that as it will, the passage here referred to by no means discounte-
nances such a notion; which adds some weight to what has been already advanced in the history of the Melanogestuli and Ni-
griae, as our readers will find, by consulting it (6).

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figure, as not to deserve the attention of any celebrated historian 1.

It does not appear, that Alexander the Great ever undertook an expedition against the Ethiopians, though, when he consulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, one of the first enquiries he made was after the sources of the Nile, and, having afterwards encamped at the head of the river Indus, which he imagined to be that of the Nile, was overjoyed at his success. But Ptolemy Euergetes, one of his successors in Egypt, having a passionate desire, in common with some of the greatest men of antiquity, to discover the fountains of the Nile, with this view carried his arms into Ethiopia. The particulars of this enterprise we find nowhere related in history, though that he penetrated to the farthest parts of this region, and subdued most, if not all, the powerful nations feated in it, appears from an inscription (G) preserved down to us by Cosmas Ægyptiatus

1 Herodot. l. vii. c. 69, 70, 71. Univerfl. hist. vol. ii. p. 56.

(G) Elefsbaan, king of the Axumites or Ethiopians, ordered Aflas, governor of Adule, to send him a copy of this inscription. This happened about the beginning of Justin's reign, just before Elefsbaan undertook the expedition against the Homerites, which will be hereafter mentioned, and twenty-five years before our author wrote the piece here referred to. Aflas employed Cosmas, and one Menas, a merchant, who afterwards became a religious at Raithus, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Rhaptus, possibly the Raufio of Cosmas, to take him an exact copy of it, and therefore we may depend upon the relation the former has given us: "At the entrance," says he, "into the western part of the city, facing the road to Axuma, stood a chair of white marble, consisting of a square base, a small thin column at each angle of this base, with a larger wreathed one in the middle, a seat or throne upon theé, a back, and two sides. Behind this chair there was a large stone three cubits high, which had suffered considerable injury from time." This stone, and the chair, contained a Greek inscription, part of which imported, "that Ptolemy Euergetes had penetrated to the farthest parts of Ethiopia; that he subdued Gaza, Agame, Sigue, Ava, Tiamo or Tziamo, Gambela, Zingabene, Angabe, Tiama, Athagaaos, Calaa, Semene, Lafine, Zaa, Gabala, Atalmo, Bega, the Tangaitæ, Anine, Metine, Sefe, Raufo, Solate, the territory of Roufo, and several other kingdoms;"
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ius (H), or, as some call him, Cosmas Indicopleustes, which he copied upon the spot in the time of the emperor

"that amongst the nations he reduced were some inhabiting
mountains always covered with a deep snow; and others
seated upon ridges of hills, from whence issued boiling
streams, and craggy precipices, who all therefore seemed in-
accessible; that having finally, after all these conquests, af-
fled his whole army at Adule, and sacrificed to Mars,
Neptune, and Jupiter, for his great success, he had dedicat-
ed this chair or throne to Mars." It may not be improper to
remark here, that Gaza seems to correspond with Ghezza, a
name of the kingdom of Abassia, in use amongst the natives
at this day; that Agame and Ava seem to be the same with Aga-
mia and Afa, two presbyteries of the present kingdom of Tigre;
that Tiamo or Tzamo, and Tiama, answer to Tzama in the
kingdom of Tigre, and Tzama in that of Bagemedo; that
Athagaos must agree with one of the two regions called Agao;
and that Semene is undoubtedly the country now denominat-
ed Samen, or Semen. This, to omit other proofs, that might
be offered, is no contemptible argument in favour of the au-
thority of Cosmas Indicopleustes. For a full account of every
thing relating to this inscription, published first by Leo Allatius,
and afterwards by Berkelius, Spon, and Monsaucon, we must re-
fer our readers to the learned Dr. Chishul (7).

(H) Cosmas informs us, that from Alexandria to the Cata-
rafts were thirty stations; from the Cataracts to Axuma thirty
more; and from thence to the farthest part of Ethiopia pro-
ducing frankincense, and contiguous to the ocean, called Bar-
baria, fifty stations. Near Barbaria lay the country known by
the name of Safus, according to the same author, which
was likewise reputed one of the remotest regions in Ethio-
pia.

The Barbarians, says Cosmas, imported various sorts of spices,
frankincense, caffia, and other commodities, the produce of
their territory, into the country of the Homites, separated
from them by the streights of Babal Mandab. They supplied
likewise the Persians and Indians with the same commodities.
The sea beyond Barbaria our author calls the Zingian ocean,
and intimates, that Safus abounded with gold-mines. Every
other year the king of Axuma sent several persons of distinc-
tion

Pay, &c. pass.
peror Justin I. It is probable however, that he abandoned these conquests, since henceforth we find nothing of moment concerning any branch of the proper Ethiopians

tion to Agau, to traffick with the natives for gold; and other merchants, to the number of five hundred, attended them. They brought with them cattle, falt, and iron, to barter for the gold. Upon their arrival there, they fixed themselves on a certain spot of ground, killed and cut in pieces several oxen, which they exposed, together with the falt and iron, to the view of the natives. Some of these then approaching with small ingots of gold, which they called Tancharas, laid down one or more of them, as they pleased, upon the piece of the ox, falt, or iron, they had a mind to purchase, and then retired to a place at some distance. The proprietor, seeing this, took the gold, if he thought it sufficient, and went away; and the person who had left it, came and carried off the commodity he had pitched upon. If the gold was not deemed enough, the Axumite or Ethiopian, who owned the commodity to which it was affixed, let it remain; which the other observing, either made an addition to what he had before deposited, or departed with it. This manner of trading they found necessary, as being strangers to each others language; and it was generally finished in five days. This journey the Axumites commonly performed in six months time, and were longer in going than returning, by reason of their cattle. They were obliged to travel armed, since several gangs of robbers sometimes attacked them upon the road, especially in their return, when they were loaded with gold. As the fountains of the Nile were in this district, and as the rivers they found themselves obliged to pass were greatly swelled by the violent rains that fell in the winter, they took care to be at home before that season could intercept them. By the violence of those rains, continuing three months, many small torrents became rivers, that emptied themselves into the Nile. This method of trading is still used in various parts of Africa, as appears from several modern relations, which it is needless here to produce. We must not omit observing, that the district of Agau, mentioned by Cofinas, is undoubtedly the country of the Agaus taken notice of by father Pays, the name of both these provinces being the same, and the source of the Nile being placed in both of them by these authors (8),

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pions in the writings of the antients, till the days of Augustus.

About the year of Rome 732, when Ælius Gallus had drawn most of the Roman forces out of Egypt, in order to invade Arabia, Candace queen of Ethiopia, or rather of the kingdom of Meroe, made an irruption into the province of Thebais with a numerous army. According to Dio, Candace herself headed her troops in this expedition; which seems to be confirmed by Strabo, when he intimates, that she was a lady of uncommon bravery and resolution. At first she met with great success, ravaged all the country as she advanced, took Syene, Elephantine, and Philæ, the Egyptian frontiers on the side of Ethiopia, without opposition, and made three Roman cohorts, garrisoned therein, prisoners of war. But receiving intelligence, that Petronius, the governor of Egypt, was in full march to attack her, she retired into her own dominions. The Roman general pursued the Ethiopians as far as Pselcha, from whence he sent a deputation to the queen, to know the reason of the late hollies, and to demand all the prisoners, as well as a restitution of all the effects, particularly the statues of Augustus, carried off from the cities above-mentioned. But Candace not sending a satisfactory answer, and seeking only to gain time, Petronius immediately attacked the Ethiopian army, consisting of thirty thousand men, tho' his forces amounted to ten thousand, in the neighbourhood of Pselcha. As the Ethiopians were, for the most part, only armed with poles, hatchets, &c. and entirely undisciplined, he gained an easy victory over them. Some fled into the town, others dispersed in the adjacent deserts, and others swam to a neighbouring island of the Nile, few crocodiles infesting that part of the river, by reason of the rapidity of the torrent. Soon after this victory, Pselcha surrendered to him; and one of his detachments brought off the corps, that had escaped to the aforesaid island, in which were several of queen Candace's general officers. At Pselcha he reviewed his forces, and, finding them in good condition, advanced to Premnis, a fortress of great strength, which he made himself master of. Flushed with this success, the Roman general


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 general marched to Napata, where Candace held her residence, which he took, and destroyed. Her son however found means to make his escape. The queen herself had retired to one of her castles at some distance from Napata, where, receiving advice of what had happened, and finding herself not in a condition to make head against the Romans, she thought proper to make overtures for an accommodation. But Petronius, by reason of the excessive heats, and a want of provisions, soon finding himself obliged to return to Alexandria, the conferences were broke off. After the departure of Petronius, Candace besieged Premnis, where the Romans had left a garrison of four hundred men; but, being soon forced to raise the siege, she dispatched ambassadors a second time to treat of a peace with the Roman general, who sent them with an effort to Augustus. That prince, whom they found at Samos, gave them a most gracious reception, and granted their mistress a peace upon her own terms. This unexpected condescension may be attributed to the rich presents those ministers carried with them. Pliny intimates, that the kingdom of Meroe had been governed by queens for several preceding generations, who all went under the name of Candace.

Though Augustus restored all the towns taken by Petronius, and remitted the tribute, which that general either did, or would have exacted from Candace, yet the Romans now looked upon themselves as masters of Ethiopia. They complimented Augustus on the great glory he had acquired, in subduing a country unknown even to his great predecessor, which finished the reduction of Africa. Hence we find, on the reverse of one of that prince's medals struck this very year 732, three globes, denoting undoubtedly the complete conquest of Europe, Asia, and Africa, the three large continents or parts of the antient world. However, this ought to be considered as nothing more than an instance of the Roman vanity, since not only the Ethiopians, but several other nations, had hitherto preferred their liberties. No material alteration in the civil affairs of the kingdom of Meroe, which seems to have been the Ethiopia known to the Romans, happened either during the remainder of Augustus’s reign, or that of his successor Tiberius, queens still

still continuing to govern there, as we learn from Scripture. But that the christian religion was introduced into Meroe about the nineteenth or twentieth year of Tiberius’s reign, has been believed by some writers of good authority. These writers make the eunuch baptized by Philip the deacon to have converted his royal mistress, after his return home, to the christian faith. St. Luke calls that princes Candace; from whence some have inferred, that she was the fairest queen of Ethiopia mentioned by Pliny and Strabo. But as the interval betwixt the invasion of Ethiopia by Petronius, and the conversion of the aforesaid eunuch, was a term much longer than kings usually reign, and as the former author remarks Candace to have been an appellation common to the sovereigns of Meroe, we are, by no means, inclinable to come into such an opinion. Several of the fathers thought, that the eunuch’s name was Candace; which must certainly be deemed a mistake: for that this word either signified sovereign authority, or at least was a title peculiar to the royal family of Meroë, the testimony already produced seems to put beyond all doubt.

Little after this period, for above two hundred years, occurs concerning the Ethiopians. Aelius Spartianus relates, that the emperor Heliogabalus frequently confined his most intimate friends for whole nights together with little old Ethiopian women, by way of diversion, saying, that these women were the most beautiful of all others. From hence we may infer, that, in his reign, about the year of Christ 220, there was an intercourse betwixt the Roman empire and the Ethiopians. Probus, above fifty years afterwards, undertook an expedition against the Blemmyes, a nation, or rather gang of banditti, bordering upon the frontiers of Thebais, vanquished them, and sent many of them prisoners to Rome. What occasioned this expedition, is not told us by any author; but that the Blemmyan captives graced Probus’s triumph, and exhibited such an odd appearance, as greatly astonished the Romans, we learn from Vopiscus. Towards the close of the third century, that nation and the

Nobatae, a people inhabiting the banks of the Nile near the Upper Egypt, committing great depredations upon the Roman territories, and the adjacent part of Thebais being, probably on this account, but thinly peopled, the emperor Dioclesian found his revenue in those parts scarce sufficient to maintain the garrisons placed there to repress the courses of the Ethiopians. He therefore assigned the Nobatae lands in the Roman dominions, and gave both them and the Blemmyes a considerable annual sum, to desist from their former practices; but, notwithstanding their solemn assurances to the contrary, they continued pillaging the Roman subjects to the time of Justinian, according toProcopius. That prince did not treat them with such lenity as they had met with from Dioclesian. For this last emperor did not only grant them the favour above-mentioned, but likewise transplanted some of them to an island in the Nile near Elephantine, gave them the use of the (I) temples there in common with the Romans, and ordered priests to be selected from them all to officiate therein, thinking this would produce a perfect and perpetual harmony betwixt them. But Justinian ordered Narseh, the commandant of the garrison in Philae, to demolish the temples of the barbarians, imprison their priests, and send all the images of their gods to Byzantium; which he did accordingly. That Dioclesian built the fortress of Philae, and gave it that name, from the friendship and union, which, he imagined, the measures he had taken would occasion betwixt the Romans, Egyptians, and Ethiopians settled there, as we find advanced by Procopius, can by no means be allowed, since this very fortress was in being, and called by the same name, in the days of Strabo. Procopius, in agreement with Cosmas Indicopleustes, affirms Elephantine to have been thirty days journey from Axuma, or, as he calls it, Auzomis. The same author also affirms, that, before the reign of Dioclesian, the frontiers of the Roman empire on that side extended so far into Ethiopia, that they were not above

(I) Procopius says, that the barbarians worshipped the Sun, Isis, Osiris, Priapus, and other pagan deities. It likewise appears from him, that they offered human sacrifices to their idols. Their religion was probably the same, or nearly so, with that of the Romans; which, had the Nobatae and Blemmyes been people of any principles, might have greatly contributed to the keeping up a good correspondence between them (9).

(9) Procop. in loc. laudat.
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Above twenty-three days journey distant from this capital.

We find nothing worthy of observation recorded of the Ethiopians, from the reign of Dioclesian, to the time of their conversion to Christianity, which was but a short interval, by the Greek and Latin historians. The modern Abassines inform us, that our Saviour was born in the eighteenth year of Bazen, a prince of the Solomonian line, and the twenty-fourth from Menilehec, surnamed El Hakim, i.e. the wise, or son of the wise above-mentioned. They likewise enumerate thirteen kings, who reigned three hundred and twenty-seven years, betwixt him and Abreha and Atzbeha, or Abra and Afsa, who sat upon the throne when Frumentius carried the light of the gospel into Abassia. Frumentius, according to some, found his work facilitated by the labours of St. Matthew, who had applied himself to the conversion of the Nubians, a nation before disposed for the reception of Christianity by the eunuch of Candace, who had already sown in their minds the first seeds of that religion. These St. Matthew, continue the same authors, took care to cultivate, and raise to fruit, tho' he could not reach Abassia. The planting of the Christian faith in that country was reserved for the age of St. Athanasius patriarch of Alexandria; of which great event Rufinus and others have given us the following relation.  

Meropius the philosopher, a native of Tyre, took a resolution to travel, either that he might enjoy the conversation of other philosophers, or for the sake of traffic, which was not thought inconsistent with the profession of philosophy. This man, after having wandered over all India, determined at length to return home, with two young men nearly related to him, the companions of his travels, and, touching at an island in the Red Sea, was either cut to pieces by the natives, or died a natural death. Frumentius and Aedefius, or, as the Abassines will have it, Fremonatus and Sidracus, (for so were his kinsmen called) falling into the hands of the barbarians, were brought before the king, who gave them a kind reception, placed them near to his person, and advanced them. Their talents and industry procured them such distinguishing marks of this prince's favour. Finding in Frumentius a greater capacity, he made him his treasurer, and Aedefius his butler.
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ler; in which posts they behaved themselves with so much applause, that, upon the king's death, which followed some time after, the queen, who had been appointed guardian to her son, would not grant either of them permission to leave the kingdom, as they desired. On the contrary, she left the management of public affairs entirely to Frumentius, who made use of this new authority to bring the people under his inspection to the knowledge of Jesus Christ. Contracting an acquaintance with some Christian merchants, either trading to or settled in Abyssinia, who sometimes came to that island, he granted them great privileges, and places to assemble in for public worship. This first excited in the Abaffines a desire to be instructed in the principles of Christianity; which induced Frumentius, after having got the queen's leave, to take a journey to Alexandria, in order to inform St. Athanasius of the disposition of that people. The patriarch hereupon consecrated him bishop of Axuma, and about the year of our Lord 335, sent him to propagate the Christian religion in Ethiopia. Soon after his arrival there, he baptized vast numbers of the Abaffines, ordained deacons and prebys ters, built churches, and in short gained an assent to the divine truths of the gospel in almost every part of that vast region. The Ethiopian book at Axuma, held in the highest veneration by the Abyssines, agreeing in the main with this relation, as well as several Greek and Latin authors of good repute, it must deserve the greatest regard. That Adad or Aidog, therefore, king of the Axumites, first introduced Christianity into Ethiopia about the fifteenth year of the emperor Justinian, after an unparalleled defeat given the king of the Homerites, in consequence of a vow made before the engagement, as some have not scrupled to assert, cannot be allowed. However, either the nation in general, or at least the court and noblesse, afterwards relapsed into paganism, according to an oriental author of some note; and embraced again the Christian religion, at the command of Aidog, about the fourth year of the emperor Justinian, an. Chr. 521, for the reason just assigned. A full and minute account of this memorable transaction may be drawn from the extracts of several Syriac writers, to be met with in the learned M. Affemanus's bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana.

Abras

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Abram and Abba, who jointly swayed the sceptre, are greatly celebrated by the Ethiopian historians. The harmony that reigned betwixt them was so singular and uncommon, that it almost became a proverb in Ethiopia. Constantius the emperor made use of many expedients to introduce Arianism into the country we are now upon, but without effect. He sent embassadors to those kings, in order to prevail upon them to put Frementius the bishop of Axuma into the hands of George the Arian bishop of Alexandria, substituted in the place of Athanasius, who was forced to quit that see, and retire to a place of obscurity. But they refused to deliver up that prelate, and adhered to his doctrines as well as person with an unshaken resolution, notwithstanding Philostorgius fallly affirms an Arian bishop to have been settled at Axuma. So mild and amiable was his conduct among them, that they called him Abba Salamah, the pacific father. The Copts and Abaffines have a notion, that one Tacalhaianownt, a saint or Abaffine monk, descened from Sadoch the high priest in the days of David and Solomon, attended Abba Salama into Ethiopia, to demonstrate to the people there, the necessity of baptism, they having till that time practised (K) circumcision.

(L) 4

The origin of circumcision amongst the Abaffines. Some maintain, that this institution was introduced amongst them by Moses; others, that they received it from Menilehech the son of Solomon. Which of these opinions is true, or whether either of them be so, we shall not pretend to determine. That it was not in use amongst the Arabian Cushites before the time of Moses, appears from Scripture. One strong presumption against Herodotus's notion, that the Egyptians first practised circumcision, is, that this author has not told us how, or when, that nation came first to admit so painful a rite; whereas the scripture is express in both those particulars, with regard to the origin of it amongst the Hebrews. Grotius has evinced, from a multitude of different authors, that God, in commanding Abraham to use the rite of circumcision, meant it a mark of covenant between his posterity and the Creator; and that every other nation, practising it, learned it either from him or his descendents. The firm persuasion of the Abaffines is, that they derived it from the Hebrews. We may perhaps say something of the circumcision of women when we come to the modern history of Abaffa (10).

The twenty-fourth day of the month Mesiri, corresponding with that of August in the Julian calendar, is celebrated as the festival of this saint by the Copts. The word Tacalhaimanout is Ethiopic, and, according to M. D'Herbelot, signifies the paradise of the Trinity. But Ludolphus gives us to understand, that this Tacalhaimanout, or, as he calls him, Tecla Haimanout, that is, according to his interpretation of those words, the plant of faith, restored the monastic way of life in Ethiopia about the year of Christ 600, and lived till A. D. 630. The Abassines believe, that he spoke in his cradle, and wrought several miracles in his infancy; as also, that he was ordained deacon in the fifteenth year of his age by Cyril metropolitan of Ethiopia, cotemporary with Benjamin patriarch of Alexandria, of the Jacobite sect. Gonzales relates, that he first converted the Ethiopians to christianity, by destroying a serpent before worshipped amongst them; which, if admitted, will bring him to the age M. D'Herbelot assigns him. Be that as it will, next to Gabra-Menfes-Keddus (L), i. e. the servant of the Holy Ghost, in honour of whom they kept one holy-day every month, he was the most celebrated saint in Ethiopia. D'Herbelot farther informs us, that Claudius king of the Abassines sent the life of this saint written in Ethiopic to Gabriel the ninety-fifth patriarch of Alexandria, which is at this day to be seen in the royal library at Paris, num. 796, under the title of Sairat Al Ab Al Thaoubani Tacalhaimanout.

**History**


(L) Gabra-Menfes-Keddus lived only upon herbs, and used for cloathing nothing but the leaves of trees, having all wordly pleasures and delights in the utmost contempt. He subdued lions and dragons, according to the Abassines, who still preserve many fabulous traditions concerning him. One of these is, that he had a conference with the ever blessed Trinity, and our Saviour, at which he gave several answers too blasphemous to be mentioned (11).

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History scarce supplies us with any memoirs relating to Ethiopia from the reign of Constantius to the time of the famous Elefsbas or Elefsbaan king of Ethiopia, called Caleb by the Abassines, who seems to have been the same prince with Adad or Aidog above-mentioned. This conqueror, having made up matters with Xenodon or Axenodon, an Indian prince, with whom, according to Simeon Beth-Arsamensis, he had been at variance, put a period to the kingdom of the Homerites or Sabeans in Arabia Felix, after having vanquished in battle the impious Dunawas, Dunaan, or Dhu Nowas, the last king of that people, who was of the Jewish religion. Elefsbaan had some time before declared war against the king of the Homerites, for massacring certain merchants, and vowed solemnly to become a Christian, in case he proved victorious over him. Having, therefore, overthrown him, and stripped him of his dominions, he embraced the faith of Christ, in pursuance of the vow already made, and placed a Christian prince upon the throne of the Homerites; after whose death, which happened in winter, when the Ethiopians could not transport (M) a body of forces into Arabia, Dunaan found means to seize upon the crown. He began his reign with a violent persecution of the Christians, upon whom he exercised unheard-of cruelties, a detail of which has been given us by various authors. St. Aretas, in particular, and many others, he caused to be burnt in the city of Nagra. This induced the Alexandrian patriarch to invite, by letters, Elefsbaan to carry his arms into Arabia, in defence of the Christians, who had been put to death in great numbers with the most exquisite tortures

(M) One of the most noted ports of the Ethiopians on the Red Sea was Adula or Adulis, twenty fathoms from the city of that name, and twelve days journey from Auxomis or Axuma, the capital of Ethiopia. The Greek writers of the later ages designated the Ethiopians in general Axumites from the name of his city, as we learn from Nonnus, Procopius, and others. Adula was the great mart for the commodities of Egypt, Arabia, &c. to which the merchants of those countries constantly returned. Besides the wares already mentioned, those merchants exported from thence vast numbers of Ethiopian slaves, who, by this means, were dispersed over a great part of the world (12).

tortures (N). Elefsbaan embraced the occasion, and was favoured by God with an entire victory (†), which gave the Abasfines (O) the possession of Arabia Felix till the time of Abd al Motalleb grandfather of Mohammed. Abrahah Ebn al Sabah al Ashram was the governor of Yaman, under the king of Abassia, whose punishment we find mentioned in the tenth chapter of the Koran. He brought, says the author of that book, an army with a great number of elephants to the siege of Mecca; upon which came a cloud of birds, with the rage of thunder,

(N) It appears from Simeon Metaphraates, Theophanes, Simeon Beth-Arsamenis, Alphonus Mendez, and others, that this Caleb or Elefsbaan was a prince of great sanctity, and as such the church of Rome has honoured him with canonization. M. Ludolphus informs us, that father Tellez observed a surprizing agreement betwixt the Ethiopic and Latin writers, with regard to the life and actions of Elefsbaan. To which we may add, that M. Aslemanus has likewise exhibited to our view the harmony betwixt Metaphraates and Beth-Arsamenis, in relation to the conduct and great achievements of the same prince. But we shall be more particular and explicit on this head, in the history of the antient Arabs, whose country was the theatre of those achievements (12).

(†) This happened in the reign of the emperor Justin, probably about the seventh or eighth year of it, A. C. 524, or 525, and not, as Theophanes and Cedrenus seem to intimate, 522, or 523. (13).

(O) Procopius attributes this famous exploit to Helleslaeus, Elefsbaan's son, whom he calls king of the Axumites, and is followed hereby by cardinal Baronius. But as this notion has been overthrown by Ludolphus, as so noble an action seems more agreeable to the high encomia passed upon Elefsbaan, than the reign of his son, of whom the Abassine historians say but little, and as Metaphraates and Beth-Arsamenis positively affirm Elefsbaan (that prince who embraced christianity after the victory obtained over a former king of the Homerites) to have taken vengeance on Dunaan, we cannot but declare ourselves of another opinion (14).

der, upon him. Each of these birds had a stone in its beak, which it dropped with such violence upon the elephants, that they were pierced through; nor did the vengeance end here, but, according to some, pursued the viceroy into his master's dominions, where one of these fowls let its stone fall upon his head, and killed him.

The Mohammedan writers generally agree, that Atzham, or Ashamah Ebn Abbar, the Najafhi, or king of Ethiopia during Mohammed's mission, did not only take under his protection a considerable number of Mahomed's friends, who were driven out of Hejaz by the Koreish, but likewise became a convert to the new religion of that impostor. This conversion, according to Mohammed Ebn Abdo'l Baki, happened in the second year of the Hejra; though it is placed ten years higher by Abulfeda and Al Jannabi. Some learned men have, without any difficulty, admitted the truth of this relation, particularly Selden and Colomefius. But the absurdities with which Abdo'l Bakides's narration, which by a very able Oriental critic seems to have been judged more accurate and better than any other, is stuffed, and the absolute silence of the Ethiopians, as well as those authors who have written the histories of the patriarchs of Alexandria and the Saracens, on this head, will not permit us to come into such an opinion. That Atzham, all his bishops, presbyters, monks, &c. should allow, that our Saviour foretold another great prophet to come after him, and that Mohammed was this prophet; that the Abyssinian bishops and presbyters, by citing it to the Najafhi in favour of Mohammed, should admit for genuine a passage of the New Testament not to be found there; and, to omit other points carrying with them the like air of probability, that, upon the fight of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth chapters of the Koran, they should all burst out into a flood of tears, and be in the forefright affection; in short, that they should be converted to Moslemism by the Gospel itself; these, we say, are such glaring absurdities, as can be swallowed by none but a most bigotted Mohammedan. And such a train of remarkable effects


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jects must have followed a king of Ethiopia’s embracing Moflemifin, that the above-mentioned historians could not have omitted taking notice of it; nay, the Mohammedan writers themselves would undoubtedly have recorded many transactions, the necessary consequences of such an event, which we find they have not so much as touched upon, had their prophet converted the king of Ethiopia, even before the Arabs themselves. It is to us, therefore, matter of great surprize, that the very learned M. Ludolphus should run himself into difficulties and errors, in order to evade the authority of Abdol Bakides and Abulfeda with regard to the introduction of Moflemifin into Ethiopia. The spirit with which the Koran was written, that is, a lying spirit; the genius of the Mohammedan writers, not only with the worst kind of enthusiasm and superstition, but likewise addicted to romance and fiction in points abstracted from religion; these, we say, in conjunction with what has been just offered, amount to little less than a demonstration, that this story was invented by the Moflems, purely with a design to do honour to Mohammed and the Koran. For which reason we shall make no scruple to reject it entirely, with father Marracci.¹

GEBRA-MESKEL, successor to Elebaan, according to the Ethiopian poet so often cited by Ludolphus, was a prince who greatly extended the limits of his dominions; though we have no particulars of his conquests. His subjects, however, enjoyed the sweets of peace a good part of his reign, which proceeded chiefly from the terror of his arms, all the neighbouring nations being kept in awe by him. Procopius gives us to understand, that the emperor Justinian entered into an alliance with him; but what hereupon ensued, we nowhere find. The same author also relates, that even in Gebra-Meskel’s time the Axumites or Ethiopians were so little acquainted with the art of navigation, that they crossed the straights of Bal al Mandab in rude vessels, consisting of nothing but planks or boards fastened together with ropes. This seems to have been chiefly owing to their want of proper materials for shipping, their maritime provinces affording them scarce any thing of this kind, and the

the Romans being obliged, by a particular law, not to transport any naval stores into Ethiopia. Next to this pious king, for as such he is described by the Abaffines, one Conftantine ascended the throne, and after him one Fresenna, whose name imports good fruit. During the (P) interval between Fresenna and Delnoad, who reigned about the year of the Christian era 960, the Ethiopian history is so barren, as not to supply us with one article meriting any great regard. About this time the usurpation of the Zagean family commenced, the cause of which will hereafter be fully explained.


(P) We are told, that about A. D. 836, Ethiopia groaned under the complicated miseries of war, pestilence, and famine; that their armies were routed and put to flight, whenever they came in sight of the enemy. The Abaffines, continues this author, attributed these evils to the violence and indignities offered John the metropolitan sent them by James the fiftieth patriarch of Alexandria. A knot of the nobility had before caballed against this prelate, and, after bringing others over to their party, driven him out of the country. Under the influence, therefore, of the above-mentioned persuasion, he was recalled and re-established. But the queen, who at that time held the reins of government, raised new persecutions against the Abuna, and left him only the choice of being circumcised, or leaving the kingdom. John chose to undergo circumcision, and, being stripped in order to the operation, had upon him, by a singular miracle, say the Copts and Abaffines, evident tokens that he had been circumcised on the eighth day. We must here observe, that as the church of Abasla acknowledges that of Alexandria as its mother, it is subject to it in a particular manner, not having the liberty of electing its own bishop. This subjection is as antient as the conversion of the Abaffines to Christianity, and confirmed by that book of canons which they held in equal esteem with the sacred writings. The particular canon here hinted at will be inferred when we come to the modern history of Abasla (15).

(15) Le Grand, dissert. viii. c. 9.
The independency most of the Arabs maintained to
the downfall of the Roman empire, and the surprising
conquests they made under Mohammed and his successors,
rendered their country so famous, that 'tis no wonder many
authors should have taken such pains to give an accurate
description of it. Ptolemy seems to have laboured this point
more than any other: Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny, with
many more of the antients, in their accounts of Arabia, are
likewise pretty prōlix. But the Arab writers themselves have
been indefatigable on this head. They are very particular
and minute, both in their historical and geographical rela-
tions; which would have met with a more general esteem, had
not the Arab genius, so strongly tinted with enthusiasm
and superstition, and consequently inclined to fable and ro-
mance, so eminently displayed itself through almost every
part of those compositions a.

Whence Arabia, or at least the most considerable part of it,
was, from remote antiquity, called by the natives Arabah; which
name it still retains. However, we find it frequently styled by
their historians Gjazirah or Jeazirat al Arab, the peninsula
of the Arabs, Belad al Arab, the region of the
Arabs, Diyar al Arab, the provinces of the Arabs; and,
by many of the Orientals, Arabiflān. Amongst some of
the Syriac writers it seems to have gone under the apella-
tion of Cufhatha, and sometimes in Scripture that of Cufb,
as we have already observed in the history of the Ethio-
pians. 'Al-Motarelli, in the book Mogreb, derives the
name

l. i. l. xvi. & alib. Plin. l. vi. c. 27, & alib. Abulfed. descript.
Arab. edit Oxon. 1712. Vid. etiam Steph. Byzant. in voce
Xζαζιρας, & Hudf. in praefat. ad vol. iii. geograph. vet.
name Arabah from Arbah, a district of Tehâma, where Ishmael dwelt, or, according to Sâfioddin, a town in the neighbourhood of Mecca; and 'Ebn Said 'Al-Magrebi, in 'Abu'l-Fedah, from Ya'rab, the son of Kahtân or Joktan, and grandson of Eber. But those bid the fairest for truth; who deduce it from an Hebrew original; the word arab or erab having several significations very favourable to such a conjecture. For it imports, the west; a mixture, and merchandise, or traffic. Now, that the western part of Arabia was at first called בָּרָה הָעָרֶץ eretz arab or (A) erab; the western country, may be deemed highly probable from hence, that its eastern provinces are denominated in Scripture בָּרָה הָעָרֶץ eretz kedem, the land of the east. Which if we admit, from בָּרָה arab naturally and easily flows Arabah. This notion seems the less liable to exception as Moses himself styles the western Arabia Arabah; which goes a good way towards evincing, that, from its situation, it first received that name. Afterward the Ishmaelites, who were possessed of it, gradually reducing the other parts, carried the word Arabah along with them, and applied it to the whole peninsula. Some, however, think, that this tract might have assumed the name we are now considering, from that mixture of different tribes, which, they pretend, formed the Arab nation. In support of this opinion it is alleged, that in Scripture the Arabs are termed a mingled people, and that the antients enumerate many nations inhabiting Arabia. But, as the passage of Scripture here hinted at does not appear necessarily to denote the Arabs, as the various names given by the antients to the different clans of this region do not absolutely imply, that all those clans had a different original, and as the best Arabian historians attest all their countrymen to be sprung from two stocks only, perhaps our readers will allow a greater degree of probability to the former etymology. Lastly, others deduce the name Arabah from the third signification

(A) From hence, by the insertion of an epenthetic N, comes the word Erembi, the name of a nation mentioned by Homer and Strabo. Homer's scholiast and Bochart intimate, that the Erembi were the same people with the Troglydotes; though they likewise allow, that they might have been a branch of the Arabians. For a more ample discussion of this point, we must refer our readers to Bochart (1).

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ification of Ḫub above-mentioned, because the Arabs in very early ages took their principal delight in merchandize or traffic; the gold, frankincense, myrrh, jewels, spices, and many other valuable commodities, either the natural produce of their country, or brought thither from India, prompting them thereto. Now, though it cannot be denied, that this carries a good appearance of truth, and that the facts on which it is founded are clear and incontrovertible; yet, as the most antient names of places seem chiefly to have been taken, either from those of the first planters of colonies, builders of cities, &c. or some circumstances in the situation, we are inclined to adhere to the etymon suggested by the first signification of Ḫūd Arab. The sacred historian calls the territory, where the descendants of Joktan settled, Kedem, the east; which renders it probable, that in his time the name Arabah was not known there. This is sufficient to invalidate what has been advanced in the point before us by 'Ebn Sa'īd 'Al-Magrebī, which depends only upon an Arabian tradition, that can by no means stand in competition with Scripture. Neither ought we to be censured for deducing the most noted name of Arabia from the Hebrew tongue: for, that Moses uses this very name, has been already observed; and that in early ages the Hebrew and Arabic languages were the same, seems to be acknowledged by the Arabs, when they make themselves the descendants of Eber and Abraham, the two great ancestors of the Hebrews.

The largest extent of Arabia.

Arabia, taken in its largest extent, lies between the twelfth and thirty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and the fifty-third and seventy-eighth of longitude. The greatest length, or a line drawn from a point on the coast of the Red Sea about 1° 25' S. of the tropic of Cancer to the extremity of

of cape Ras al Ghat, is above eleven hundred miles; and its greatest breadth, that is to say, the distance from the northern extremity of the deserts of 'Al-Jazira to the streights of Bab al Mandab, between thirteen and fourteen hundred. It is bounded on the west by Palestine, part of Syria, the isthmus of Suez, and the Red Sea, called by the Arabs the Sea 'Al-Kolzom; on the east by the Euphrates, the Persian gulph, and bay of Ormuz; on the north by part of Syria, Diyar-Becr, Írák, and Khúzeftán; and on the south by the streights of Bab al Mandab, and the Indian ocean. It grows narrower as we approach the frontiers of Syria and Diyar-Becr; and, by reason of the proximity of the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, may be looked upon as a peninsula, and that one of the largest in the world.

But the limits of the proper Arabia are much narrower, its proper limits, as reaching no farther northward than the isthmus, which runs from Ailah to the head of the Persian gulph, and the borders of the territory of Cúfa; which tract of land the Greeks nearly comprehended under the name of Arabia the happy. Here the Arabs have been settled almost ever since the flood. The eastern geographers make Arabia Petraea to belong partly to Egypt, and partly to Shám or Syria; and Arabia Deserta they call the deserts of Syria. But as the Arabs have for many ages reduced these two provinces or kingdoms, either by settlements or continual incursions, the Turks and Persians at this day include them in Arabístán. The antients in like manner assigned different limits to this vast peninsula. Pliny extended it as far as the borders of Commagene, the north part of Syria, on account of the many Arabian colonies planted there by Tigranes; and Xenophont included in it the greatest part of Mesoopotamia. But Ptolemy, who gives us a more accurate description of Arabia, determines its dimensions differently from those authors. According to him, the city of Phara, between the Elanitic and Heropolitan gulphs, or rather a line drawn a little to the westward of this city near the district of Heroopolis, was its boundary on the side of Egypt. On the west it was terminated by Palestine, art of Syria, the confines of Egypt, and the Arabian gulph; on the north by the Euphrates, from the city of Thapha-

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cus, near the borders of Palmyrene, to the district of Idicara in Babylonia; on the east by the Chaldaean mountains, and the Persian gulf; and on the south by the Erythraean sea. The same situation and extent, or nearly so, are assigned by Diodorus and Strabo. Conformably to the sentiment of the Arabs, this region may be deemed a peninsula, whether we consider it as answering to the name of Arabia in its most usual sense, or as it is variously described by the antients, or, lastly, as comprehending all that large tract bounded almost entirely by the Euphrates, the Persian gulf, the (B) Sindian, Indian, Red seas, and part of the Mediterranean 

The first division of the peninsula of the Arabs was into Kedem and Arabah, as we learn from Scripture. Kedem, or the land of Kedem, comprehended the Arabia Felix and Arabia Deserta of Ptolemy, whose limits and extent we shall soon define from that geographer. Arabah answered to that country called, from Petra its metropolis, Arabia Petraea by Ptolemy; Arabia Citerior, from its situation in respect of Italy, by Pliny; and Arabia Vetus by Stephanus and Procopius, according to Ortelius. Moses seems to have determined the bounds of this kingdom with a precision worthy an accurate geographer, when he tells us, that on the south it reached to the sea of Suph, or the Red Sea; on the west to Paran and Tophel; on the north to Laban, Hatpheroh, and Di-Zahab, that is, to the borders of Syria; and on the east to Kadesh-Barnea, eleven days


(B) Sind or Sindia is that large tract comprehending all those countries between India, Carmania, and Sigistân. On the south it is washed by the sea, which from thence is called the Sindian sea, contiguous to the bay of Ormuz and the Indian ocean. Its metropolis is known by the name of Mansoura, according to the eastern writers. The findon of the antients was so denominated from Sindia, where it was produced in vast quantities. The Arabs believe the people of this region to be the pofterity of Cham (z).

days journey from mount Horeb. As Arabah imports the west, so Kedem does the east; and these significations agree with the situations of those regions. The Arabic version makes Kedem to extend as far as Rekem or Petra, which runs counter to some other authors. In one passage Moes apparently comprehends Chaldæa under the name of Kedem; but this will not overturn what is here advanced. The first inhabitants of Arabah, or the western Arabia, were the Callûshhim, descended from Misraim, the Caphtorim, and the Horites, who occupied mount Seir, before they were expelled from thence by Esau and his posterity. Afterwards Ishmael and his descendants settled here; and last of all the Edomites, or Idumæans. As for Kedem, or the eastern Arabia, it was first peopled by the sons of Joktan, who are reputed the genuine Arabians; though in process of time the Ishmaelites spread themselves over this country. That some of the Cushites also possest themselves of part of it in early times, has been already observed. The children of Abraham by his concubine Keturah likewise contributed towards replenishing it with inhabitants, as appears from the sacred historian.

Ptolemy seems to be the first who divided the peninsula we are now upon into three parts. These he termed Arabia Petræa, Arabia Deserta, and Arabia Felix; and since his time that division has generally prevailed. In order therefore, to give our readers a succinct idea of every one of these provinces, we shall pursue the method he has observed, and describe them upon the plan he has laid down.

Arabia Petræa on the east was contiguous to Syria and Arabia Deserta; on the west to Egypt, or rather that neck of land separating Africa from Asia, called at this day the isthmus of Suez, and the (C) Heroopolitan gulph; on the north

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(C) The Heroopolitan gulph received its name from the city of Heroopolis bordering upon it. This gulph, the western arm of
north to Palestine, the lake Asphaltitis and Cæle-Syria; and on the south to Arabia Felix. This tract was for the most part uncultivated, the greatest part of it being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, interspersed here-and-there with some fruitful spots. Petra, its metropolis, seems to

of the sea Al-Kolzom, is the Yam Suph, or Yam Souph, The weedy sea, of the Scripture. The ingenious Dr. Shaw supposes it to have been so called from the variety of algae and fuci, that grow within its channel, and, at low water particularly, are left in great quantities upon the sea-shore. If this be admitted, the word Ἑαθρα souph has not been rendered so properly flags by our translators, Exod. c. 2. ver. 8. Is. c. xix. ver. 6. nor juncus or juncetum by Buxtorf. The same worthy gentleman relates, that whilst the surface of the sea is calm, such a diversity of madrepores, fuci, and other marine vegetables, presented itself to the eye, that it is natural to take those plants for a forest under water, agreeably to what we find observed by Pliny. It may not be improper farther to remark, that the Yam Souph was likewise denominated Yam Edom, or the sea of Edom, by the ancient inhabitants of the countries adjoining to it. For the fons of Edom, having possessed themselves of those parts, from their father Edom, called the gulph we are now upon the sea of Edom. But the Greeks, who took this name from the Phoenicians, rendered Yam Edom improperly εὐαθρα τὰῦτα, The Red Sea, mistaking the word Edom for an appellative. However, they seem to have been well apprised, that this name was not derived from any redness peculiar to the territory bordering upon the sea of Edom; since many of the Greek and Latin authors expressly assert, that this sea was so denominated from one king Erythrus, who could be no other than Esau or Edom. Though there are several thickets of the arundinaceous plants, at some small distances from the immediate banks of the Yam Souph, yet none are observed either upon them, or growing out of the sea; which is an additional argument in favour of Dr. Shaw's notion. The cattle and garrison of Adjeroute are supposed to occupy at present the spot of ground on which the ancient Heroopolis stood (3).

to have been denominated by the Hebrews Selah, both which words were of the same import in the Greek and Hebrew languages. St. Jerom intimates, that among the Syrians it went by the name of Rekem, and was the same town that we find in Scripture styled Joktheel. Josephus calls it Arke and Arakeme, which Bochart takes to be equivalent to Rekem, as being only that word with an article prefixed. Petra was the chief fortress of the Idumæans, Edomites, or Nabathæans, as already observed, and derived its name from its rocky situation. It was accessible only by one narrow path, wherein but few could go at once; which, with the steepness of the ascent, rendered it almost impregnable. (D) Authors, however, differ with regard to its situation. It was seated in a plain

(D) It will be found difficult enough to determine the situation of Petra. Strabo places it three or four days journey from Jericho, and five days journey from the forest of Palm-trees, which was upon the Red Sea. Pliny makes it to be six hundred miles distant from Gaza, and an hundred twenty-five miles from the Persian gulph. But Reland and Cellarius think, that the numbers have been changed, and that the true reading in the last author is an hundred twenty-five miles from Gaza, and six hundred miles from the Persian gulph. Eusebius places Themæ five miles from Petra, Carcaria a day's journey from the same city, and Elath or Allah ten miles to the east of it. Some geographers believe, that there were more than one Petra. St. Athanasius distinguishes two, one in Palestine, and the other in Arabia. The paraphraists Jonathan and Onkelos also represent Rekem and Petra as two different cities. Josephus mentions Petra and Rekem in the country of the Amalekites, near which Aaron died, and Petra in the land of the Midianites, though he seems to confound those two places. Petra, the capital of Arabia Petraea, is appropriated to Palestine by the author of the antient Notitia ecclesiastica, being the metropolis of what was called the Third Palestine. Eusebius and St. Jerom also extend Palestine as far as the Red Sea, to Elath; so that with them it comprehended Idumæa, and Arabia Petraea. But those countries were looked upon as distinct from Palestine in all the ages preceding Eusebius. Lastly, father Calmet supposeth the Petra called Selah by Isaiah, and the author of the book of kings, to have been seated in the land of Moab, or the eastern part of Idumæa, and afterwards named Joktheel; whereas the other, called Rekem, was, according to him, situated in the south Idumæa, or Arabia Petraea, or the country
full of gardens, and watered with fountains, but surrounded with rocks, according to Strabo. Pliny speaks of it almost in the same terms. He says, the Nabathæans inhabited the city of Petra, situated in a plain of about two thousand paces over, watered by a river, and encompassed by inaccessible mountains. But that it stood upon a steep rock, in a very dry and barren country, is intimated by Dio; with whom Herodian and the Nubian geographer in some part agree. For the former describes the capital of the Agaren as standing upon the point of a very high mountain; and the latter represents the city of Petra as consisting of houses dug or cut out of a rock. As great a diversity of opinions, in this particular, prevails amongst the moderns. Some think, that the city of Karak, or Krak, lying on the confines of Arabia and Syria, inclining towards the north, is the antient Petra. According to them, this fortress, for that the word signifies in the Syriac and Chaldee tongues, answers to the Characha in the Maccabees, the Karkaa in the book of Joshua, the Charac Moab or Charac Moba of Ptolemy, and the Charakmob of Stephanus. Others make this city to be the same with Hagr or Hejr the capital of a district in the kingdom of Hejaz. And, lastly, others believe Errakim, or Arrakeh, a town in a northerly direction from Hagr near Krak or Caracha, to correspond with the Petra of the antients. None of these notions seems remote from truth; though, by the assistance of 'Al-Makrisi, Bohadin, and the Nubian geographer, such reasons have been assigned for the last, as, we think, cannot easily be answered.

It


country of the Amalekites. The same author, together with M. Tillemont, also believes, that the Petra, ineffectually attacked by Trajan, which Dio had in view, appertained to Mesopotamia, and consequently was different from the city we are now upon (4).

Chap. 8. The History of the Arabs.

It cannot be supposed, that such a barren region should abound with large and populous cities; and therefore most of those places, whose names have been transmitted down to us by Ptolemy, must be considered as insignificant and obscure. The principal towns appertaining to Arabia Petraea, taken notice of by Scripture, besides those already mentioned, were Paran, Duma, Dibathaim, Dibo, Nebo, Bethmeon, Karioth or Kirioth, Nemrim, and Pithom. Paran, the Phara of Ptolemy, that gave name to a famous desert adjoining to it, was three days journey to the east of Elath. Duma stood upon mount Seir, and, from what the prophet Isaiiah intimates, was probably a place of some consideration. Dibathaim, Dibo, Nebo, Bethmeon, Kirioth, and Nemrim, from several passages in the old testament, appear also to have been places of some note, though their situation cannot from thence be ascertained. Heroopolis, on the western extremity of the Arabian gulf, is by some supposed to be Pithom, built by the Israelites for Pharaoh, during their servitude in Egypt, and the Pataiium or Patumon of Herodotus. Be that as it will, it is certain the Septuagint and Coptic versions countenance such a supposition, the one rendering Gothon Heroopolis, and the other Pethom. The generality of the antient geographers have ranked this city among those belonging to Egypt; but Herodotus was of another opinion. Haura, Zathag or Zatha, and Zize, three modern places of this country, correspond tolerably well with the Auara, Zanaatha, and Ziza of Ptolemy; but as for Lyfa, Gyparia, Gerafa, and most, if not all, the other villages and towns enumerated by that geographer,

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The most considerable nations inhabiting this tract, in the earlier ages, were the Ishmaelites, the Nabatæi or Nabathæans, the Cedrei or Kedareni, and the Agareni or Hagareni (E). Of these the Ishmaelites were the most potent, if they did not comprehend all the rest. The Nabathæans and Kedareni apparently deduced their names from Nebaioth and Kedar, the sons of Ishmael, and consequently ought to be looked upon either as branches of the Ishmaelites, or in all respects as the same nation with them. It is probable the descendents of Midian, one of Abraham’s sons by Keturah, seated themselves in the neighbourhood of the Ishmaelites; since we find the same people called in Scripture Ishmaelites and Midianites. Amongst the antient Greeks and Romans, the inhabitants of Arabia Petraea and Arabia Deserta, at least the bulk of them, for many ages, went by the names of Arabes, and Nabatæi, Nauataei, or Nabatae. They extended themselves, according to St. Jerom, from the Red sea to the Euphrates; and all the tract they inhabited was, from them, denominated Nabatæa; nay, so numerous were the Nabathæans, that we find them mixed with the Reubenites, Gadites, and people of Moab. The Cedrei or Kedareni and Chanclei, seem to have been two tribes of them, the former of which Celarius places near the northern confines of Arabia Felix. The Midianites made a settlement behind the Elanitic gulf, and incorporated themselves with the Cufhites. If the Hagareni did not correspond entirely with the Ishmaelites, they must have been nearly related to them. Kimchi infinuates, that they were originally the children of Hagar by an Arab, after she had left Abraham; but others rather apprehend they assumed


(E) To these we may add the inhabitants of the wilderness of Mahon, called in Scripture Mehumim, who bordered upon Gerar and Pharan, and consequently were seated in the neighbourhood of Egypt. For a further account of this people, our readers may have recourse to the first volume of the universal history (5).

fumed their name from the stony region they inhabited. Cel-
larius thinks, that at first they must have been but an obscure
people, though neither Trajan nor Severus could reduce their
metropolis, according to Dio. Their territory bordered upon
the land of Moab, as may be inferred from Scripture. In
after-ages, the names of all the nations here touched upon,
were absorbed in that of Saracens, which continued famous
for several centuries over the eastern and western parts of the
world. It is observable, that the Jerusalem Targum styles the
Ihsmaelites Saracens. That the Arraceni of Pliny were the Sa-
raceni of Ptolemy and Dioscorides, may be evinced by several
arguments: 1. The same proper name has frequently an S and a
vowel for its initial letters in different authors; as Ἀλμυρνᾶσες and
Σαλμυρνᾶσες, Ἀνδρακόπι and Σανδρακόπι, Ἔξεισια and
Σἐξεισία, Ἰασιεῖας and Σιασιεῖας, Ἀρηνεῖοι and Σαρνεῖοι,
Elana and Selana, Samnitae and Amnita, &c. 2. Ptolemy
assigns the same situation to the Saraceni, that Pliny does to
the Arraceni. 3. They had both the same origin, and de-
duced their names from that of the same city. This will
more evidently appear from the account we shall give of the
Saracens in the following section.

Before we leave Arabia Petræa, our readers will expect us to
touch upon the following remarkable places: 1. The
town of Colzum or Kolzom, giving name to the sea adjoining
to it, the Clyfina, as may be supposed, of Ptolemy, which
stood on the western extremity of the Red sea, near the spot
where the present city of Suez was erected, and not far from
the ancient Heroopolis. Betwixt this place and Elath or Ailah
was Eziongeber, a celebrated port in the reigns of Solomon
and Jehofaphat, called afterwards Berenice. 2. The pro-
montory of Phara or Paran, betwixt the Heroopolitan and
Elanitic gulfs, on which stood the town of the same name. 3.
The wilderness of Sur, extending from Palestine to the Ara-

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Plin. l. v. c. 11. l. vi. c. 28. & l. xii. c. 17. Epiphan.
Ptol. ubi supra. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 18. & c. xxxvii. ver. 25, 27.
Hieronym. in loc. Hebr. & alib. Pflal. lxxxiii. ver. 6. & Kimchi
Casaub. in comment. ad Strab. p. 32. col. 2. Gagn. ubi sup.
sect. 8, 9. & alib.
bian gulf, so celebrated in sacred writ. 4. The desert of Sin, which the Israelites entered into after they had left that of Sur. 5. The wilderness of Sinai, which the same nation traversed after the former. 6. That of Paran, terminated by Kadesh-barnea, on the confines of the land of Canaan. 7. That of Zin, contiguous to the south-western part of Idumæa, and terminated by Kadesh. This may possibly have been the wilderness or solitude of Kadesh or Cades, mentioned by the Psalmist. 8. The mounts Cañius and Sinai, both which were in Arabia, according to St. Paul, Pliny, and Strabo. 9. The several stations of the Israelites here, on their march to the land of Canaan from Egypt, viz. Zalmona, Phunun or Fenon, Oboth, Jinn, Abarim, &c.

10. Adra, in the northern part of Arabia Petraea, an episcopal see, over which Proclus presided at the council of Chalcedon, according to Lucas Holstenius. 11. Elusa, which, according to the Jerusalem Targum, seems to have corresponded with Sur, and likewise the seat of a bishop. 12. Bostræa, twenty-five miles from Adra, a town of this region greatly honoured by Trajan, and called also Philippopolis, from the emperor Philip, furred Arabs by Aurelius Victor. 13. Moca, a city taken notice of by a medal of Antoninus Pius as governed by its own laws. We shall pass over in silence here every thing relating to the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites or Idumæans, Amalekites, and Midianites, though settled in Arabia Petraea, since they have been already treated of at large in the second volume of this history.

Arabia Deserta

Arabia Deserta was bounded on the north by the Euphrates, which, bending its course easterly, separated it from Mesopotamia (F); on the west by Syria, Judæa, and Araba


(F) It appears from Strabo, that all the Arab tribes bordering on
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Arabia Petraea; on the east by Chaldaea and Babylonia, or more precisely by a ridge of mountains dividing it from those countries; and on the south by Arabia Felix, from whence it was likewise disjoined by several ranges of hills. The Cau- chabeni, according to Ptolemy, inhabited that part of this province bordering upon the Euphrates, as the Batanæi did that upon the confines of Syria. The Agubeni and Rhaabeni were placed more southerly, towards the frontiers of Arabia Felix; and by the Persian gulf the Orcheni. Under the Cauchoscheni, near the borders of Babylonia, the Ἐσίτες had their habitation; and above the Rhaabeni the Masani. In the interior part the Agræi were seated; and in the mountainous region, near Chaldaea, the Marteni or Martini. All these nations, or rather tribes, except the Ἐσίτες and Agræi, were very obscure; but these deserving some regard, a word or two concerning them may not prove unacceptable to our readers.¹

Bochart supposes the Ἐσίτες to have inhabited that tract, where the holy and patient Job was seated. He believes, that Ptolemy wrote Ἀουσίτου Ἐσίτας; and that Uz the son of Nahor, settling here, gave name to the whole district. This notion, it must be owned, as well as the emendation that supports it, is not void of a good degree of probability; for the septuagint version renders in the land of Uz ἐν Χαλδαίᾳ Ἀουσίτου, in the land of the Aufites; and Haran or Charræ, where Terah's family resided, was on the opposite bank of the Euphrates, and consequently in the neighbourhood of this place. Add to this, that the Chaldeans and Sabæans are represented as Job's neighbours in Scripture; which circumstance agrees extremely well with the country of the Aufites or Ἐσίτες, as being contiguous to Chaldaea, and having, according to Ptolemy, a city called Sabe situate in it. Further,

¹ Ptol. ubi sup.

on Mesopotamia, from the way of life, where by the Greeks and Romans denominated Arabæ Scenitæ. That roving people, whom some authors make the name with the Saracens and Naba- thæans, dispersed themselves over several parts of Arabia Petraea and Arabia Felix, as well as through almost every district of this barren province (6).

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ther, Buz was Nahor's second son; and we find, adjoining to this territory, a district called Busitis, of which Elith, one of Job's friends, was a native; and another of them came from Tema or Them, a town of Arabia Deserta, not very remote from hence: which considerations, as well as several others that might be offered, render it not a little probable, that the land of Uz, and the territory of the Ausitae or Æsitsae, were one and the same country.

The Agræi. The Agræi lay more westerly, and even close upon the skirts of Arabia Petraea; which possibly may have induced some learned men to call them Agræi, and make them the same people with the Hagareni above-mentioned, whom we have placed in Arabia Petraea. If this be admitted, they must have possessed a good part of Arabia, and been much more powerful than Cellarius is willing to allow them. Be that as it will, it is certain Pliny in the same passage takes notice of the Agræi and the city of Egra or Agra; that, in the cabinets of the curious, antique (G) coins have been discovered, with the words ΖΕΥΣ ΑΤΡΕΥΣ, Jupiter of Agra, or Jupiter the protector of Agra, upon them; and lastly, that the situation the Oriental geographers assign Hagr, a name not very remote from Agra, quadrates well enough with such a supposition. But as it is not a matter of any great moment whether the Agræi and Hagareni were the same people or not, whether their territories were extensive, or confined within narrow


(G) That the coins here mentioned belonged to this city, seems plain, not only from the legend they exhibit, but likewise from the workmanship, taste, and manner of them, since they agree entirely with those of the cities in the neighbourhood of Palestine. They prove therefore Pliny's text to have been corrupted, and that his present Egra was originally Agra. That Jupiter should have been honoured with such an appellation, will not appear strange, when we consider the Diana Ephesia, Apollo Delphicus, Apollo Clarius, &c. of the antients (7).

narrow bounds, we leave our readers to take which side of 
the question they please. It is very well known, that the antient Ituræans, Edomites, Nabathæans, people of Kedar, and other nations settled in Arabia Petæa and Arabia Deserta, led, for the most part, a wandering life, like their posterity the present Bedoweeens, without houses, towns, or any fixed habitations. By far the greatest part of both these provinces or kingdoms was a lone-
some, desolate wilderness, no otherwise diversified than by 
plains covered with sand, or mountains consisting of naked rocks and precipices; neither were they ever, unless sometimes at the equinoxes, refreshed with rain. The few vege-
tables therefore, which they produced, must have been stunted by a perpetual drought, and the nourishment afforded them by the nocturnal dews sufficiently impaired by the intense heat of the sun in the day. Throughout the sandy deserts were found huge mountains of sand, formed by the violence of the winds, that continually blew over them in the day-time, though they ceased in the night. As for wells and fountains, they were so very rare in these parts, that it is no wonder they should haveoccasioned so much strife and contention. However, notwithstanding the natural sterility of the tract we are now upon, those vast plains of sand above-mentioned were here-and-there interpersed with fruitful spots, which appear-
ed like so many little islands surrounded by an immense ocean, as has been observed by Pliny. These being rendered extreme-
ly delightful by fountains, rivulets, palm-trees, a variety of 
vegetables, and most excellent fruits, the Arabs, with their 
flocks, encamped upon some of them, and, having consumed everything there, retired to others, as is the custom of the Be-
doweeans at this day. Such fruitful spots were likewise frequent in Libya, and by the Egyptians called Auaæses or Abæses, as we learn from Strabo. The barren part of Arabia Felix, bordering upon the Red sea, was, in like manner, interpersed with such Abæses; which probably gave name to the Abæsien, a nation settled there, and in the adjacent fertile region. A body of these, crossing the strights of Bab-al-Mandab, passed into Ethiopia, which from them received the denomination of

of Abassia. This, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by M. Ludolphus, appears to us much more likely, than that either the Arabs or Ethiopians should have been called Abaffines, from we know not what mixture peculiar to the former nation; for the very notion of such a mixture is repugnant to the whole stream of Oriental antiquity, and even to the sacred writings themselves, as our readers will easily collect from several passages of this history. It is certain the Nubians (H), a people inhabiting part of Libya Interior, abounding with Abases, and Ethiopia, went antiently under the appellation of Abafeni; which adds no small weight to our opinion. That even the fruitful part of Arabia Felix itself should be called Abafene, is not to be wondered at, since it might as well derive this name from Arabia Petraea, as it did from thence that of Arabah or Arabia; for that Arabia Petraea was styled Abafene, appears from Herodian and Dio, who have given an account of Severus's expedition into this country, in conjunction with a coin of that emperor, having on the reverse the word ΑΒΑΣΗΝΩΝ, exhibited by Goltzius. And this takes off the whole force of the objection offered by M. Ludolphus against the etymon of Abafene or Abassia here proposed ⁰.


(H) That the Nubians were a branch of the antient Ethiopians, appears from Arilitotle, Ptolemy, and others; and that the Ethiopians were nearly related to the Egyptians, after consulting Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo, no one can doubt. The Ethiopic and Egyptian languages therefore, in early ages, must have been, in a manner, the same; which likewise may be immediately collected from the aforesaid authors. Abases or Abafes therefore was probably an Ethiopic as well as an Egyptian word. Now, that that Arabic tongue antiently agreed with the Ethiopic, cannot
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Though Ptolemy has handed down to us a large list of the towns appertaining to Arabia Deserta, our readers will be apt to conclude, from the foregoing observations, that few of them were places of any great repute. That geographer makes Thapficus on the Euphrates, a city of some note on account of the bridge over which Alexander and Darius marched their respective armies, its frontier on the side of Mesopotamia; but Pliny and Stephanus think this town belonged to Syria. Near the mountains separating Arabia from Chaldaea stood Themma, Thema, or Tema, so called from Themma or Tema the son of Ishmael, and mentioned in various passages of Scripture; for the Ishmaelites extended themselves from the land of Havilah near the Euphrates to the confines of Egypt. Seba was upon the borders of Arabia Felix, and founded probably by Seba Abraham's grandson; since all that patriarch's children by Keturah, according to Moses, moved towards the east. Gadirtha, Auzara, Audattha or Aditha, Balataea, Pharga, Belginæa, and the other antient cities situated along the banks of the Euphrates, have long since disappeared; unless we will allow some traces of Audattha, or Aditha, and Balatæa, to be still visible in the modern Haditha and Balladoc. Ammæa, Idacara, and Jucaura, towards the Persian gulf, are equally obscure; except the present Al-Kere should be thought to bear some resemblance to the two latter. Salma, Calathusa, Arrade, Tedium, Odagena, Luma, Dumætha, &c. in the mediterranean parts; Artemita and Abara on the skirts of Arabia Felix; Thauba, Erupa, Alata, Aurana, Choce, Barathena, &c. to the northward, never probably made any considerable figure. However, that some memory of Salma seems at this day to be preserved in mount Salma, of Dumætha in Dawmat-al-Jandal, of

cannot well be denied, so uncommon an affinity betwixt them remaining to this day; so that Auæses or Abaes may be considered likewise as a word used by the antient Arabs. These points add great weight to the conjecture here proposed (8).

of Aurana in Auran, and of Alata in Aladi, we think, cannot well be denied. ARA

BIA FELIX was limited on the north by the two provinces or kingdoms just described; on the south by the Erythraean sea; on the east and west by part of that sea, together with the Arabian and Persian gulfs. In short, it pretty nearly answered to that tract, which is looked upon as the proper peninsula of the Arabs by the Oriental geographers. Strabo tells us, that in his time it was divided into five kingdoms, which well enough corresponds with the division of the proper Arabia into five provinces by the eastern writers. These provinces are Yaman, Hejaz, Tehama, Najd, and Yamama; to which some add Bahrein, as a fifth. But the more exact make this a part of Irak, and therefore come nearer to an agreement with Strabo. However, others reduce them all to two, Yaman and Hejaz, the last including the three provinces of Tehama, Najd, and Yamama. The principal nations taken notice of by the antients as settled here were the Sabaei, Gerrei, Minei or Minnei, Atramite, Maranite, Catabani, Ascite, Homerite, Sapphoreite, Omanite, Saraceni, Nabathaei, Thamydeni, Bizomene, &c. As the limits and situation of these nations cannot be determined with any manner of precision, we shall be as concise as possible in the particular geography of the Happy Arabia.

The Sabaei. The Sabaei seem to have possessed a very considerable territory in the southern and best part of this peninsula. Their country was greatly celebrated amongst the antients for the vast quantity of frankincense it produced. Saba or Sabae, its metropolis, according to the antient geographers, stood upon a hill, at no very considerable distance from the Red Sea, being a large, opulent, and strong city. It was defended by a cattle, and, as has been supposed by many learned men, together with the Arab nation in general, the residence of the queen of Sheba. However, provided we allow the modern Mareb, in the province of Hadramaut, to correspond with the antient Saba, this last must have been seated more to the south.

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south, and near the coast of the Erythraean sea, or, as it is now called, the Indian ocean. And that the modern Mâreb answers to Saba, must be admitted at least extremely probable from Pliny, who, together with Strabo, mentions Mariaba or Meriaba, the same words apparently with Mâreb, as the capital of the Sabæi, but is entirely silent as to the city of Saba. According to the eastern geographers, the town of Mâreb or Mârab is something above three days journey from Sanaa the capital of Yaman, in an eastern direction. From the same authors it also appears, that Saba was originally the name of a district, as well as a city, which could only be deemed a small part of the kingdom of Yaman. But that this district should have been always confined to the province of Hadramaut or Shibâm, if not a part of it, as they seem to insinuate, cannot be allowed; since frankincense, for the production of which the territory of the Sabæi was so famous, is only found in the province of Shihr, different from that of Hadramaut. The Arabs affirm both the town and district to have been so denominated from Saba the son of Jexhab, and grandson of Joktan, whose name imports "to lead into captivity," because he was the first who reduced men to a state of servitude. Pliny makes the Persian and Arabian gulphs the eastern and western boundaries of this nation. The maritime towns were Marana, Marma, (I) Corolia, Sabatha, &c. and inland cities Naucus, Cardaua, Carnus, &c. R hegama or R hegma, founded probably by Raamah the son of Cushi, seated on the Persian gulph, seems likewise to have appertained to the Sabæi.

The


(I) It is possible, that this town might be seated on some part of the Red Sea abounding with coral, especially since that sea was famous for the production of this marine vegetable; which if we admit, it may appear probable, that Corolia received its name from the coral in its neighbourhood. Notwithstanding what has been advanced by Pliny, the word coral seems to be of Oriental extraction. For לוח or לוח signifies a thorn, a nettle, a thistle, &c. which are vegetables, and consequently bear some analogy to coral. Some may perhaps imagine, that coral was so denominated from the town we are here speaking of.

(9) Plin. l. xxxii. c. 2. Schind. pentaglot: in voc. לוח.

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The Gerraë and Minæi, according to Strabo, brought vast quantities of frankincense, and other kinds of perfumes, from the upper or southern parts of Arabia Felix to the seaports; which is a strong presumption of their being two tribes or cantons of the Sabæi. We find the towns of Bilæna or Bilbana, Gera and Magindana, mentioned by Ptolemy as belonging to the Gerraë; and the Minæi, a powerful nation, joined with the Gerraë by Diodorus and Strabo. The last author calls the region of the Minæi Mineæa or Meinaæa, and makes its northern frontiers seventy days journey from Ailah. Its principal city was Carna or Carana, called, as should seem, Carnus by Pliny, and placed by him in the country of the Sabæi; which brings no small accession of strength to what we have just advanced. Some authors take notice of the Charmæi as a people contiguous to the Minæi and Gerraë, but deliver nothing of moment concerning them.

As for the Atramiteæ or Adramiteæ, they undoubtedly inhabited part at least of the province at this day named Hadramaut or Hadramuta, and consequently were a tribe of the Sabæi. Their metropolis was called Sabota or Sabatha, as may be inferred from Pliny and Ptolemy; besides which the port of Cane, at the southern extremity of Arabia Felix, belonged to them. Xibân or Shibâm, and Tezim, are now the principal towns of Hadramaut, both of them about a day's journey from the Indian ocean. Shibâm stands upon a rough and rocky mountain of the same name, is fortified with a citadel of great strength, and rendered almost impregnable by its situation. It goes likewise under the name of Hadramaut amongst the Arabs, lies in about 13° 30' N. latitude, and is seven days journey from Aden. The province was denominated Hadramaut from one of the sons of Joktan, whose descendents first peopled it. Shibâm and Tezim were also the names of two tribes, who founded, and settled themselves in, the cities so called, as we learn from the Arab historians. Ebitina, Dama, Ægifææ, Trulla, Mœphath, and other places fixed by Ptolemy here, deserve not the least attention.

The Maranitæ or Maranenses must have been in the neighbourhood of the two former cantons, though we cannot pretend to ascertain their situation. The metropolis of this nation was probably the Mara or Amara of Ptolemy, and the Mara of some of the Oriental geographers.

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*Diod. Sic. 1. iii. Strab. 1 xvi.*

*Plin. ubi sup. Ptol. ibid.*

*Golii note ad Alfragän. p. 82.*

*Ptol. l. viii.*

*Cotboldiæ & Ebn Joun, apud Gol. ubi sup. p. 84.*

*Ptol. geogr. l. viii.*
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Cellarius makes the Catabani a people of good confide-
ration; which is confirmed by Pliny, who tells us, that the
Larendani, Catabani, and Gebanitae, had many towns, parti-
cularly Nagia, and Tamna that contained sixty-five temples.
Tamna must have been the feat of some Arab prince govern-
ing the Catabani, according to Strabo; from whence we may
conclude, that they inhabited the province of Tehama stretch-
ing out as far to the southward as the city of Aden. Golius
says, that the word signifies a violent heat; and that the coun-
try was so denominated from its being greatly exposed to the
solar rays, whose heat there is very intense. But as many o-
ther places in Arabia were subject to the same inconvenience,
our readers may possibly suppose it rather to have deduced its
name from Tema the son of Ishmael, whose posterity in pro-
cess of time might settle themselves in it. This seems to be
confirmed by Almotarezzi, who says, that Ishmael himself re-
 sided in Araba a district of Tehama. Tebala, the capital of
Tehama, a town of considerable note, built by Tebala the
son of Midian, stands in the road from Mecca to Sanaa the
metropolis of Yaman.

The Ascita possessed all that tract about the promontory
Syagrus, the cape Ras al Ghat of the moderns, including, as
should seem, part of the provinces of Omân and Mahra. Nay,
they must have spread themselves much farther, if we suppose
Häfæc, a maritime town on the coast of Hadramaut, to have
been so denominated from them. Whether any traces of the
Ascitaæ are still visible in Maskat an Arab town on the bay of
Ormuz, a little above a degree north of the extremity of cape
Ras al Ghat, and almost under the tropic of Cancer, we must
submit to the judgment of our curious and inquisitive readers.

Ptolemy mentions the Homerites as a nation feated in the
southern part of Arabia Felix, and bounded on the east by the
vicus. Adramitae, or province of Hadramaut. His Arabiae Empor-
rium he likewise places in their country, as Pliny does his Mas-
fala. Some authors make them the same people with the
Sabaæans, whilst others consider them in a different light.
For our part, we look upon Sabæi and Homeritæ to have been
different names of the same nation, and are countenanced
herein by the Oriental historians. For these inform us, that

locor. apud Col. ubi sup. p. 85. Geogr. Nubien$. & Yacût
ibid. Almotarezzi in Mogreb apud Cl. Pocockium, in not. ad
pet. hist. Arab. p. 33. Ptol. & Albufed. in Arab.
The Sabæans were called Hamyarites from Hamyar the son of their great ancestor Saba; and that they ruled over almost the whole country of Yaman. Though the kingdom of the Hamyarites, or Homerites, was at length translated from the princes of Hamyar to the descendents of Cahlan his brother, yet they all retained the title of king of Hamyar. We find them styled Immireni by Theodorus Lector, and Theophanes Byzantius gives them the name of Ethiopians, insinuating them to be the Maecrobii of Herodotus, which yet we are by no means disposed to admit. They made a great figure amongst the antient Arabs before the time of Mohammed, as will more fully appear in the sequel of this history.  

The Sapphoritae of Ptolemy cannot be considered as a people distinct from the Homerites, notwithstanding the authority of Ptolemy and Cellarius. They were only the citizens of Saphar, or, as Pliny has it, Saphar, a city of note in the dominions of the Homerites. Ptolemy ascribes this place a position nearly agreeing with that of the present Sanaa, which we cannot help looking upon as extremely probable, especially as Saphar is affirmed to be the metropolis of this county by Pliny. The Arabs believe, that all the mountainous part of the region producing frankincense went, in the earliest times, by the name of Sephar; from whence the excellent Golius concludes this tract to have been the mount Sephar of Moses. A strong presumption of the truth of which notion is, that Dhabar, the same word with the modern Arabs as the antient Saphar, is the name of a town in Shihr, the only province of Arabia bearing frankincense, on the coast of the Indian ocean, five parasangs from (K) Merbat, as we learn from Saphoddin, who likewise informs us, that this thuriferous mountainous country of Dhabar is about three days journey long, and of an equal breadth. Bochart therefore deserves little regard, when he intimates, that the Mefha of Moses was the Muza of Ptolemy, or the Mocha of the moderns, a celebrated port of the Red


(K) A parasang is about three miles. Eight parasangs, according to Abulfeda, or twenty-four miles, make a sultion, or a day’s journey. But the Nubian geographer says, that a sultion consists of thirty miles (10).

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Red Sea, about four or five days journey from Dhafar; since this is much too narrow an extent of territory to receive all the povertiness of the thirteen sons of Joktan, as we are assured by Moses the tract between Mesha and Separ did. For which reason we cannot help preferring the sentiment of R. Saadies and R. Abraham Zachutus, who affirm Mecha to be Mecca; especially since it is a point agreed upon by the Arabs, that Mecha was one of the most antient names of Mecca. Some authors believe, that in early times there stood a city called Dhafar or Saphar, the Arabic letter ס frequently answering to the Hebrew ע and Greek Σ, in the neighbourhood of Sanaa, and others that Sanaa itself went formerly by that name; which in a great measure confirms what we have just advanced.

We find the Omaniæ taken notice of by Ptolemy, and Omanum their chief city represented by him as one of the most considerable places in Arabia. It cannot be doubted but the Omân of Alfraganus, and capital of the province of the same name, the common boundary of Yaman and Bahrein, is the Omanum of Ptolemy, and the country in which it is seated, the district of the antient Omaniæ. From whence it appears extremely probable, that they were under the jurisdiction of the Homerites, and consequently ought to be looked upon as a clan of that people. The citadel of Omân is defended by a strong garrison of Arabs. Either the tract itself, or the metropolis, seems also to have been called antiently Sohâr; but at this day the former is denominated Omân, and the latter Sohâr. The province of Omân stretches itself out three hundred miles on the coast of the Persian sea, which is there called the sea of Omân. In the time of Ptolemy, Omanum, or Sohâr, was a famous mart, but has been in a manner deflected by merchants for several ages.

The Saracens or Nabathæans possessed that part of Arabia Felix bordering upon Arabia Petraea and Arabia Deferta; but what extent this territory was of, we no where find. Contiguous to them the antients placed the Thamudæi, Thamuditæ,

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dite, or Thamydeni, a people also mentioned in the Koran. Diodorus Siculus relates, that the (L) Thamydeni inhabited part of the coast of the Arabian gulf; and Pliny intimates their principal city to have been named Badanatha. In fine, Golius believes them to have occupied a good part at leaft of the province of Hejaz, and particularly that district wherein Hagr or Al Heir, the Egra or Agra of Stephanus and Ptolemy, is situated; which, as well as other considerations that might be offered, plainly evinces them to have been nearly related to the Saracens and Nabathæans, if not entirely the same people with them.

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that in the neighbourhood of the Thamydeni were likewise seated the Bnizomenæ, who lived upon wild beasts taken in hunting. In their country stood a temple held in the highest veneration amongst all the Arabs. It is probable this temple was sacred to Isis, as Diodorus relates an island near the Bnizomenæ coast to have been more immediately under her protection. These likewise must have been settled in some of the maritime parts of Hejaz, but their situation for want of sufficient light from ancient history, cannot now be exactly determined. However, we doubt not but they appertained to the Nabathæans, as well as their neighbours the Thamydeni.

We might here mention several other nations, or rather tribes, taken notice of by the antients as appertaining to Arabia Felix. But since these either coincide with some of the Ethiope cantons already described, as the Troglodytes, &c. or may be considered as branches of the Saracens, Nabathæans, Sabeans, Homerites, &c. our readers will excuse even a bare enumeration of them. The same may be said of that large catalogue of obscure and insignificant towns and villages, belonging to these tribes, to be met with in Ptolemy, of which that geographer himself had no idea. However, they will not dispense with an omission of certain towns and seaports of Arabia hitherto passed over in silence, that were held in good repute by the old geographers and historians.

Nysa

Gagn. ubi sup. sect. 9. b Diod. Sic. I. iii. c Vide Strab. 
Plin. Ptol. &c.

(L) The Thamydeni were the tribe of Thamud, so famous amongst the Arab writers, of whom we shall have occasion hereafter frequently to speak. (11).

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Nysa was a town of Arabia on the Red Sea, near the confines of Egypt, famous for the education of Bacchus, who from thence, and his father Jupiter, received the name of Dionysius. Arqa and Badeo, two maritime cities in a southerly direction from Nysa, had royal palaces in which the sovereigns of the country sometimes resided. Pudni we find esteemed by Ptolemy as one of the principal places of Arabia Felix. Musa or Moka was a celebrated emporium and harbour, to which the Arab merchants resorted with their frankincense, spices, and perfumes. The best authors take the modern Mocha or Mocka to correspond with the ancient Musa; but in our opinion, Mosa, at present a small but handsome town near ten leagues from Mocka, seemed to bid the fairest for that ancient mart. This does not only appear from the very great affinity, or rather identity, of their names and situation, but likewise from hence, that Mosia is the rendezvous and thoroughfare of the fruits which come from the mountainous parts of Arabia, a circumstance well enough suiting with what the antients have related of Musa. Be that as it will, we cannot well deny, that some traces of Musa are still preserved in Mosia; especially as Pliny intimates the Arab merchants to have brought in his time vast quantities of the produce of their country to the former place. Ocelis, according to Pliny and Arrian, stood upon the shore of that narrow sea called by the moderns the freights of Bab al Mandab, and supplied the merchants with fresh water in their Indian voyages. Arabisæ Emporium has been already mentioned, and will be described when we come to speak of the city of Aden, which is supposed to answer to it. The port of Moscha our readers will probably place upon the spot occupied at this day by the city of Maskat, which is all that we can say of it. As for the Itamas portus, the memory and situation of it still remain in Cadhema, a town or village on the Persian gulph, or bay of Basra.

Before we conclude this section, our readers will expect a sketch of the Oriental geography of the peninsula of the Arabs. The best eastern writers, as has been already observed, divide this peninsula into five provinces or kingdoms, viz. Yaman, Hejaz, Tehama, Najd, and Yamama. This division

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vision is of great antiquity, as appears from Strabo; which is not to be wondered at, since the Arab customs, names of towns, &c. are nearly the same now that they were above three thousand years ago:

The province of Yaman, so called either from its situation to the right-hand or south of the temple of Mecca, or else from the happiness and verdure of its soil, extends itself along the Indian ocean from the straits of Bab al Mandab to cape Rasalqat; part of the Red Sea bounds it on the west, as the towns of Najran, the Nagara Metropolis of Ptolemy, Haly or Haljo on the sea Al Kolzom, and Omân or Sohar, do on the north. It is subdivided into several lesser provinces, as Hadramaut, Shihr, Omân, Mahra, &c. of which Shihr alone produces the frankincense. The very learned Mr. Sale did not sufficiently attend to the Oriental geographers, when he limited Yaman on the north by Hejaz, and made Najran a province, neither of which particulars have any foundation in them.

This country has been famous from all antiquity for its fertility, riches, and happiness of its climate. The principal cities in it known to the antients are the following. 1. Mokha, if it was the Mufâ or Muza of Pliny, Ptolemy, and Arrian; which yet, we apprehend, will admit of a dispute. It is at present a port and town on the Red Sea of considerable trade; contains ten thousand inhabitants, Jews, Armenians, and Mohammedans; is surrounded with walls, after the antient manner; and has four gates without a ditch, though strengthened by four towers with a proper number of cannon placed upon them. 2. Aden, a celebrated mart on the Indian ocean, not far from the straits of Bab al Mandab, so called, according to the Arabs, from its founder Aden the son of Saba, and grandson of Abraham. Some believe the name to be the same with Eden, the Hebrew word denoting Paradise, and that the town under consideration received this name from the delightful country in which it was situated. It stands at the foot of several high mountains, which surround it almost on all sides. The Arabs have erected five or six forts on the summits of these mountains, with curtains, and many other fortifications on their necks. A fair aqueduct conveys from thence the waters into a great canal or reservoir, built about three

three quarters of a mile from the city, which supplies the inhabitants with very good water. Golius produces several reasons to prove, that Aden is the Arabiae Emormium of Ptolemy, which seem to carry considerable weight. It can scarce be doubted, but that Aden is the Adana which Stephanus mentions from Uranius. 3. Sanaa, the capital of Yaman, a very antient city, greatly resembling Damascus. It is seated in a mountainous territory, and blest with a most delightful air; in so much that it enjoys a double summer, or rather a perpetual spring. It is about fifty leagues distant from Mokha on the borders of Hadramaut, and was denounced Ozál from its founder the son of Joktan, as the Arabs pretend. They likewise make Sanaa the son of Ozál to have communicated that name to it by which it goes at present. Some assert it to be the Saphar of Ptolemy, as above observed. Sanaa, towards the beginning of the last century, consisted of good houses built with lime and stone, being as large as Bristol. It stands in a barren and stony valley, surrounded at a small distance with high hills, one of which overlooks the town to the northward. On this hill the Arabs have built a small castle to keep off the neighbouring mountaineers, who sometimes insult the city. The inhabitants have no water but what they receive from wells, which are very deep. Wood is brought from far, and consequently very dear. On the east side stands the castle environed with mud-walls, flanked with towers and redoubts, in which every night are posted proper guards. The king of Yaman does not now reside here, but at Mub, a town built by one of the last monarchs of this country, not a mile from Dhamar, a little to the S. E. of Sanaa. About three quarters of a mile from this place, on a pretty high hill, the prince above-mentioned built a palace or pleasure-house, to which he frequently retired, in order to divert himself; and, from the pleant house in which it was seated, styled it Hifn almawâheb, or the castle of delights. 4. Saba or Mareb in the province of Hadramaut, of which an account has been given above. It is at present little better than a village, and stands above three days journey E. of Sanaa. 5. Shibam, Dhafar, &c. towns of a very high antiquity, have been already described. 6. Oman or Sohar, the Omarm of

232. La Roque ubi sup. Abulfed. in Arab. 
3 La Roque, 
4 Golii not. ad Alfarag. p. 82. 84. Sir Henry Middle-
5ton's journey to Sanaa. 
6 Idem ibid. p. 82. ut & Abulfed. in Arab.
of Ptolemy, was formerly frequented by merchants of various
nations; but has for several ages been deserted by them. This
seems to have been occasioned by the vicinity of a small rocky
island called Kis, so low that it cannot be discovered at any
distance, on which many ships were dashed to pieces. Kis
lies a little to the east of Charec, another small island opposite
to the coast of Omân, and famous for a pearl-fishery, ac-
cording to Abulfeda. Jacobus and the Nubian geographer
make both these islands, now called the isles of Sohâr, about
half a day's sail from the main land of Arabia; but authors
are not agreed in this point. The heats in Omân are frequent-
ly so intense, that they have passed into a proverb amongst the
Orientals. The town of Sohâr must be in something more
than 24° N. lat. though Ptolemy places his Omanum Em-
porium in 19° 45' N. lat. and Ebâl Maruph, mathematician
to sultan Morad or Amurath II. affords Omân or Sohâr to be
in about 23° N. lat. All other particulars of note relating
to this place our readers will find in the authors here referred to

The best part of Arabia Felix, or that which the Greeks
called most happy, was probably the country of Yaman; the
delightfulness and plenty of which ought to be attributed to its
mountains. For all that part lying along the Red Sea is a dry
barren desert, in some places ten or twelve leagues over; but
in return bounded by the aforesaid mountains, which, being
well watered, enjoy an almost perpetual spring; and besides
coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty
and variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes,
and spices. The principal of these mountains taken notice of
by the ancients were Cabubathra, Melan, Prionotus, and
Didymi, whose Arabic names have not hitherto been brought
into Europe. As the Greeks and Romans were little acquisi-
ted with this region, we must allow Ptolemy to have been
very inaccurate in his geography of it; which might also be
proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner
necessary. Admit this, and we may be allowed to suppose,
that the present Arab river Falj, emptying itself into the Bay
of Basra, is the Prion of Ptolemy; and the modern city
Masfa his Maephath, situate about 0° 30' N. of the source
of that river. However, it must be owned, that a river of

a Plin. Ptol. ubi sup. Geogr. Nubiens. & philol. Xirafita in
clim. ii. Abulfed. in Arab. Yacût. & Ebû. Maruph. apud G. l'
ibid. p. 78, 81.
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Oman, falling into the Indian ocean at Sur, about 0° 40'. N. of Maskat, possibly the Moscha portus of Ptolemy, bids likewise fair for the Phoen. No other rivers of note are to be met with in Yaman; which is not to be wondered at, since the streams, which at certain times of the year descend from the mountains, seldom reach the sea, being for the most part drunk up and lost in the burning sands of that coast.

Hejaz, either so named, because it divides Najd from Tehama, or because it is surrounded with mountains, is limited on the south by Yaman and Tehama; on the west by the sea 'Al Kolzom; on the north by the deserts of Sham or Syria; and on the east by the province of Najd. This province is famous for its two chief cities Mecca and Medina, one of which is celebrated for its temple, and having given birth to Mohammed; and the other for being the place of his residence for the last ten years of his life, and of his interment. The soil of Hejaz, as well as that of Najd, Tehama, and Yamama, is much more barren than that of Yaman; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, intermixed here and there with some fruitful spots, which receive their greatest advantages from their water and palm-trees. The chief towns in Hejaz, deserving any attention on account of their antiquity, are these that follow: 1. Mecca, sometimes also called Becca, which words are synonymous, and signify a place of great concourse, is certainly one of the most ancient cities in the world. Some authors imagine it to be the Meha or Meha of the Scripture, as above observed, and that it deduced its name from one of Ishmael's sons. It stands in a stony and barren valley, surrounded on all sides by mountains under the same parallel with the Macoraba of Ptolemy, and about forty Arabian miles from the sea 'Al Kolzom. The length of Mecca, from Maalah to Mafralah, is about two miles, and its breadth, from the foot of the mountains Ajyad to the top of another called Koiaikan, about a mile. In the midst of this space the town is feated, built of stone cut from the neighbouring mountains. The Arab authors tell us, that near a chapel, or holy house, for so the Arabs term it, in the centre of 'Al-Hharâm, or great temple, here, called 'Al-Caabah, stands a white stone, which was the sepulchre of Ishmael; and that 'Al-Caabah was first built by Adam of stone, but destroyed by the deluge. However,

ever, add they, God commanded Abraham and Ihmael to re-build it; which they did, covering it with the boughs of olive-trees, and for pillars erecting the trunks of palm-trees. There being no springs at Mecca, at least none but what are bitter, and unfit to drink, except only the well Zemzem, the water of which, though far the best, yet cannot be drank for any continuance, being brackish, and causing eruptions in those who drink plentifully of it, the inhabitants are obliged to use rain-water, which they catch in cisterns. But this not being sufficient, several attempts were made to bring water thither from other places by aqueducts; and particularly about Mohammed's time, Zobair, one of the principal men of the tribe of Koreif, endeavoured at a great expense to supply the city with water from Mount Arafat, but without success; yet this was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of Soliman the Turkish emperor. But long before the time of that prince, another aqueduct had been made from a spring at a considerable distance, which was, after several years labour, finished by the Khalif al Moktader Abbaidia. Notwithstanding the sterility of the soil near Mecca, it being so barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deserts, yet a traveller is no sooner out of its territory, than he meets on all sides with plenty of good springs and streams of running water, with many gardens, and cultivated lands. The prince or Sharif of Mecca has a garden well planted at his castle of Marbaa, about three miles westward from the city, where he usually resides. This prince is lineally descended from Hashem, Mohammed's great-grandfather, who, being the head of his tribe, appointed two caravans to set out yearly, the one in summer, and the other in winter, to foreign parts, in order the more effectually to supply his countrymen with provisions, the people of Mecca having no corn or grain of their own growth. They are supplied with dates in vast abundance from the adjacent country, and with grapes from Tayef, about sixty miles distant, very few growing at Mecca. As for the citizens of Mecca, they are generally very rich, being considerable gainers by the prodigious concourse of people of almost all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of merchandize. They have also great numbers of cattle, and particularly of camels: however, the poorer sort cannot but live very indifferently, in a place where almost every necessary of life must be purchased with money. The Sharif of Mecca's troops consist entirely of infantry, which the Arabs call 'Al-Harrabah, i. e. archers
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Archers or dartmen. We must not omit observing, that Sata and Marwhah were two places in Mecca, in which the idols Asaph and Nayelah, were placed before the time of Mohammed. As for the temple of Mecca, and the reputed holiness of this territory, they will be treated of in the modern history of the Arabs. Some authors write, that the interior or middle part of Mecca only had the name of Becca assigned it, because it was greatly crowded with inhabitants, which that word imports; others believe, that Mecca was the name of the city, and Becca of the temple; and lastly others think, that Becca paffed into Mecca, as Balbec into Malbec, Banbe into Manbe, &c. which seems to us the most probable opinion. We must distinguish between the Hharam of Mecca, considered as the territory of the Sharif, extending some miles beyond the city, and the magnificent temple in it so called, being three hundred and seventy cubits long, three hundred and fifteen broad, and supported by four hundred and thirty-four pillars. It must not be forgot, that the Arabs have a tradition amongst them, that Ishmael, with his mother Hagar, fixed his residence here; which seems to have induced them frequently to visit Mecca, and hold it in high veneration, even before the age of Mohammed. They likewise believe Zemzem to have been the well, near which Hagar sat down with her son Ishmael, and was comforted by the angel. Abulfeda places the city we are now upon in 67°. 31. long. and 21°. 20'. N. lat. Some of the Orientals make the patriarch Abraham to have been the founder of it; but others with more reason attribute its foundation to one of the sons of Ishmael. It does not follow from Moses's mentioning Mecha as inhabited by the posterity of Joktan, that Mecca was built before the time of Ishmael, suppo-

supposing those places to have been the same, since he more than once uses the appellations by which towns went in his age, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner necessary. 2. Medina, which, till Mohammed's retreat thither, was called Yathreb, is a city standing in a plain, surronded with a brick wall, and about half a degree from the coast of the Red Sea. Abulfeda intimates, that one of its antient names was Taibah, a word importing fulidious, derived from the healthy air its inhabitants breathed. It is about half as big as Mecca, and ten days journey from thence. In some parts its territory produces palm-trees, fruits, several sallfuggious plants, and falt itself in many places. About the mountains Air and Ohud, the first of which is about two leagues to the south, and the other as many to the north, of Medina, the country is fruitful in dates. The name Yathreb was derived from the chief of the tribe that first settled here, whom the Arabs make the great-grandson of Aram. Golius takes it to be the ταθρητα of Stephanus, and the Αθηρητα of Ptolemy. Here Mohammed lies interred in a magnificent building, covered with a cupola, and adjoining to the east side of the great temple, which is built in the midst of the city. Its situation has not been exactly defined, some authors determining its longitude to be 67°, 30'. and others 65°, 20'. and its latitude either 24°. or 25°. N. The most ingenious Mr. Sale must be deemed guilty of an error, when he makes mount Thabit two leagues distant only from Medina, since that mountain is in the neighbourhood of Mecca. Medina is dignified by the Mohammedans with the title of the city of the prophet, from the kind reception Mohammed met with there, as we shall hereafter have occasion more fully to observe. 3. Thaifa or Taifa, a town sixty miles to the east of Mecca, behind mount Gazwan;

wan, where the cold is more intense than in any other part of Hejaz, but the air most salubrious. It had the name of Yeg ja given it at first by its founder. The Turks call it the region of Al Abbas from the uncle of Mohammed, who fixed his residence here. The word Taifa plainly alludes to the wall with which this town is surrounded. Lat. 21° 20', N 4° 4. Gjudda or Jodda a port and maritime city, the bulwark of Mecca, must undoubtedly be a place of great antiquity, though scarce ever taken notice of by the Greek or Roman authors. The town of Aidab, on the confines of Abaffia, stands on the opposite shore, where great numbers of the African Moham medans take shipping, in order to visit the holy city of Mecca. Lat. 21° 45', N 5°. Yanbo', or 'Al-Yanbo', is undoubtedly the Iambia of Ptolemy, and not far from Medina, or as the Arabs more properly style it, 'Al-Madinah. We find it reprented as a small city by Abulfeda, who likewise cites 'Ebn Said, as affirming it to have a castle, and several fountains, in its neighbourhood. The port is about a day's journey from the high road leading to Al-Madinah. A little to the east of Yanbo' stands mount Radwâ, about seven stations from Al-Madinah whence a vast quantity of the whetstone is exported into various regions. All the district of Zanbo' produces palm-trees, water, corn, &c. and was inhabited by the Hhasanites, who lived after the manner of the ancient Arabes Scenitez, and resembled them in all particulars. Ebn Hhawkal observes, that the Hhasanites and Giafarites, whose territories were contiguous, so weakened one another by bloody wars, that their country became a prey to the king of Yaman. 6. Madian, the Modiana of Ptolemy, and Midian or Madian of Scripture, is a city of Hejaz, at present little better than a heap of ruins. It is situated on the eastern shore of the sea 'Al-Kolzom, at no great distance from the gulf of Ailah. The Arabs have several traditions relating to this place, viz. that it received its name from the tribe of Madian, who first built and inhabited it; that Shoaib, the son of Mikail, the son of Yathjar, the son of Madian, of that tribe, was the same person with the father-

father-in-law of Moses, called in Scripture Reuel or Reguel, and Jethro; and that the well, whence Moses, or, as they call him, Mufs, watered Jethro's flocks, still remained when Abulfeda wrote his geographical description of Arabia. Most authors agree, that the Midianites ought to be looked upon as the descendents of Abraham by Keturah, who afterwards seem to have coalesced with the Ishmaelites; since Moses names the same merchants, who sold Joseph to Potiphar, in one place Ishmaelites, and in another Midianites. The sacred historian makes Jethro both the priest and prince of Midian. Ptolemy affirms the latitude of Modiana to be 27° 45' N. which almost exactly corresponds with that assigned it by 'Ebn Said, viz. 27° 50' N though other Oriental writers place it in 29° 00' N. lat. 7. Hejr, or 'Al-Hheg'r, in 28° 30' N. lat. according to 'Ebn Hhawkal, was the seat of the tribe of Thamud, the Thamydeni of the antients. This clearly evinces Hejr to be the Egra or Agra of Pliny, since that author makes the Thamydeni neighbours to that city. As Ptolemy likewise is far from being accurate in his determination of the longitude and latitude of places, we may safely enough take his Negra for the Egra of Pliny, and Hejr of the moderns, since the latitude of the former differs but two degrees from that of the latter of these towns. 'Al-Hheg'r stands amidst a ridge of rocky mountains, out of which many houses have been cut, as some suppose, by the Amalekites, or their ancestors the Adites, Iramites, Thamudites, &c. But this notion we cannot rely upon, as depending chiefly on the authority of the Koran. 'Ebn Hhawkal calls this ridge of mountains 'Al-Athâleb, i.e. the fragments of stones.  

Tihama,

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Tihama, or Tehama, is a small province, whose limits have not been sufficiently defined by the Arab geographers, who have sometimes confounded it with Yaman and Hejaz. Tehama, according to Golius, derived that name from its sandy soil, as it did another, viz. Gaur, from its low situation. It is bounded on the west by the Red Sea, and on the other sides by Hejaz and Yaman extending almost from Mecca to Aden. Abulfeda mentions several towns in this province undoubtedly of great antiquity, but unknown both to the Greeks and Romans. The Tamna of Pliny, and Thumna of Ptolemy, by the latitude he assigns it, viz. 17° 15' N. seem to bear some relation to Tehama 2.

As the Nabathæans possessed the best part, if not all, of the province of Hejaz, contiguous to Tihama, the Thimaniei of Pliny, neighbours to the Nabathæans, must be the Arabs of Tihama.

The province of Najd, which word signifies a ri-Najd, singing country, lies between those of Yaman, Yaman, and Hejaz, and is limited on the east by Irak. Najd is peculiarly opposed to Tehama, as the name implies, though this last has several ridges of mountains in it.

Yamama, also called Arud, from its oblique situation, in respect of Yaman, is encompassed by Najd, Tehama, Bahrein, Omân, Shihr, Hadramaut, and Saba. The chief city is Yamama, which gives name to the province, and was antiently called Jaw, or Gjaua. It is four degrees to the E. of Mecca, and deduced its name, according to the excellent Golius, from the niece of Tafin, whose brilliant and piercing eyes rendered her so famous amongst the Arabs, that one of their proverbs was, more sharp-fighted than Yamama. This lady governed Yamama, and therefore the quality above-mentioned was the more conspicuous in her. However, some authors relate, that there was a river, or fountain, in this province, called Yamama, from whence the province itself was so denominated. The false prophet Mofeilama, Mohammed's competitor, rendered this place

2 Golius ubi sup. p. 95. Sharif al Edrîsî clim. ii. par. 5. Plin l. vi. c. 28. Ptol. ubi sup. 3 Golius ubi sup. p. 94. Abulfeda. in Arab. pass.

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place famous by residing in it. But, he being vanquished and killed, it submitted to Abubecr.

Through the more accurate Oriental geographers make Bahrain part of Irak, yet a short description of it ought not to be omitted here. Bahrain then, in the most extensive acceptance of the word, denotes that maritime tract lying between Basra and the farthest limits of Oman; to which the Arabs have given the name of Bahrain, i.e. "Of "two seas, or the country of two seas," because it connects the Persian gulf with the Indian ocean. In a more confined sense it is applied to an island, or rather two, of the Persian gulf, in 26° 30' N. lat. about a league from the town of Al-Katif seated on that gulf. One of these islands seems to be the Ichara of Ptolemy, and Icharia of Strabo. As Julfar and the other principal towns of Bahrain were built after Mohammed's death, our readers will expect some account of them in the modern history of Arabia.

As for the islands of Aenus, Timagenes, Zygaena, and many others, both in the Arabian and (M) Persian gulps, enumerated.


(M) The antients frequently called the Persian gulf, or gulf of Basra, as well as the Indian ocean, the Erythrean or Red Sea, as we learn from Herodotus, Polybius, Strabo, Philostratus, Mela, Pliny, Solinus, Dionyfius Afer, and Aelian. Several reasons have been assigned for that appellation; but the most probable seems to be the reflection of the solar rays in that hot climate, which gave the water a reddish colour. The learned Dr. Prideaux without a sufficient foundation affirms this to have been the only proper Red Sea of the antients; since, according to Pliny, the Arabian and Persian gulps were both branches of that sea. He seems likewise to be mistaken, when he affirms the whole Arabian gulf to have been the Yam Souph of the Hebrews; since 'tis highly probable, that the Heropolitan gulf only was so called by that people (12).

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enumerated by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Ptolemy, Ælian, &c. as appertaining to Arabia, they merit not the least attention. But it may not be improper to observe, that, in our opinion, Ptolemy's island of Socrates may be looked upon as the same with the Socotra of the moderns. 'Tis true, he places the former two or three degrees more to the northward, than the latter is found to be by experience. However, his inaccuracy, which we have frequently had occasion to observe, and the little acquaintance the Greeks and Romans had with the people of Arabia Felix, sufficiently account for such a difference; which being admitted, the affinity of the names Socrates and Socotra seems no inconsiderable argument in favour of the conjecture here proposed. With this observation we shall close our description of Arabia d.

S E C T. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, learning, arts and sciences, disposition, manner of life, &c. of the Arabs.

The descendents of Cush formed a kingdom in that part of Arabia Petrea bordering upon Egypt, and extending itself along the eastern shore of the Red Sea towards the frontiers of Paleitine and Arabia Felix, in very early times, as has been already observed in the history of the Ethiopians. His sons Sheba or Saba, Sabtah, Regma or Raamah, Sabtecha, and grandsons Sheba and Dedan, seated themselves likewise in the Happy and Desert Arabia, as appears from the cities Sabota, Rhecana, Rhecama or Rhecma, Saba, Saue, Saptha or Saptah, Dedan, and the country of the Sabæi, whose metropolis was the great city Saba; all of which preserved very sensible footsteps of the names of the first planters of those two provinces or kingdoms. However, it seems to us most probable, for the reasons already given, that the bulk of the Cufhites made settlements in other

other parts. As a farther proof of this, it may be ob-
erved, that the eastern writers take little or no notice of
them.

As for the Caṣlūḥhim, Caphtorim, and Hhorites, occu-
pying the hilly district about mount Seir, though very antient,
they never made any considerable figure. The posterity of
Edom, who after their excision seized upon the tract they in-
habited, in process of time intermixing with the proper Arabs,
formed one people with them. But neither do the present
Arabs look upon Esau or Edom as one of the proper founders
of their nation.

We have already observed, that the Arraceni and Saraceni
of the antients were the same people. From the situation
affigned them by the old geographers, it can scarce be
doubted but that the Arra of Pliny and Ptolemy was the
capital of the region they inhabited, and gave them the app-
pellation they went under. Strabo, describing Ælius Gal-
lus's expedition into Arabia, intimates, that the province
of Ararena was thirty days journey from Petra, and fifty from
the city of the Negrani, or Negara Metropolis of Ptolemy,
i.e. the modern Nag'ran; that it was for the most part
defert, and inhabited by the Nomades, or Arabes Scenitaë;
and that the interjacent tract betwixt it and the former city
was a wild pathles region, intersperfed in some parts with
palm-trees. All which particulars, as well as the name it-
sel, clearly evince this province to be the country of the
Arraceni or Saraceni, which had the above-mentioned Arra
for its capital city. From several circumstances in the de-
scription of the expeditions into Arabia made by Trajan and
Severus, to be met with in Dio, it appears that the Arraceni
or Saraceni were likewise sometimes in the east deno-
minted Agareni, and their chief town Arra Atra, or, as
Herodian calls it, Atræ. It is therefore highly probable, that
the antient Saracens were styled Hagarenes, either from the
disposition of the tract they inhabited, or, from Hagar the
mother of Ishmael.

In

\[\text{Univer. hist. vol. xviii. p. } 88, 89, 110, 111, \text{ & alib. Gen.}
\text{c. x. ver. 7. Agatharchid. Cnid. apud Phot. Diod. Sic. l. iii.}
\text{alib. Sale’s prelim. disc. p. 9.} \]

\[\text{Gen. c. x. ver. 14. c.}
\text{xxxvi. ver. 8. c. xiv. ver. 6. Deut. c. ii. ver. 12. Vide etiam}
\text{Cl. Gagn. distrib. feft. 4.} \]

\[\text{Univ. hist. vol. xviii. p.}
\text{185. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. Ptol. in Arab. Strab. l. xvi. p. 781.}
\text{Dio. l. lxviii. p. 785. & l. lxxx. p. 855. Herodian. l. iii.}
\text{c. 28. edit. Oxon. 1678. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14.} \]
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In order to confirm what is here advanced, it may be farther observed, that Stephanus mentions a country called Saraca, inhabited by the Saraceni (N), as contiguous to that of the Nabathæans; and that the Arab geographer Yakut takes notice of the town ‘Al-’Arakh seated on Agja, one of the two celebrated mountains of the Taïtes, or tribe of Taï, the Taueni of Pliny, and Taii Taiii of Bardeanes in Eusebius, who joins them with the Saracens. From hence, in conjunction with the reasons adduced by the learned Mr. Gagnier, we may conclude, that Pliny called this nation Arraceni; and that Diocorides was the first of the antients now extant that prefixed to that word the hissing letter S, as has been determined by the excellent Salmasius h.

The Jerusalem Targum takes the names Ishmaelites and Saracens to have been of an equal extent, and to have denoted the same nation. This not only included the Arabes Scenite, bordering upon Palestine, Syria, and Chaldæa, but likewise those separated by the Red Sea from Ethiopia; all of whom we find in Scripture going under the general name of Arabians. That the word Saraceni cannot be derived from any of the following sources, withstanding the authority of the learned men here mentioned, we believe our readers will allow i.

O 3

1. Joannes


(N) Mr. Gagnier thinks, that the Saracens of Arabia Felix and Arabia Petraea were two different nations; and that the latter received their name Aracen from the city of Arke, Arakeme, or Petra, their metropolis. But in the first article we humbly conceive, he seems to contradict himself; since in the former part of the Diatribo so often cited, he appears to us to be of opinion, that the Ishmaelites spread themselves gradually over Arabia Felix as well as Arabia Petraea; and that the Ishmaelites, Arabes Scenite, and Saracens, were frequently taken for the same people. This notion we own ourselves inclined to espouse.
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1. Joannes Damascenus, Nicetas Choniates, and others, suppose this word to have been of Greek extraction, aluding to Sarah's sending away Hagar empty, without any sort of necessaries or accommodations. But this is too absurd to merit any attention. 2. Scaliger deduces the name Saraceni from the Arabic سراک, i.e. "He stole privately," aluding, as that great critic observes, to their ancestor Ishmael, who lived upon rapine and robbery. This, it must be owned, carries with it a greater appearance of truth than the former, since 'tis much more probable that the word should be of an Arab than a Greek origin. But the misfortune is, that Ishmael was not a pickpocket, but a robber or highwayman; and therefore the root سراک by no means comes up to the signification of Saraceni as determined even by this author himself. 3. Dr. Pocock affirms Saraceni to import Oriental, or "people of the east." But as Mr. Gagnier has demonstrated, that the chief arguments he has offered in defence of this opinion hold equally true of the Chaldaens, Persians, Indians, and Chinese, they prove too much, and therefore we think not the least regard is due unto them. The etymon of Saraceni we have given must therefore be allowed to approach the nearest to truth. As the Saracens were so celebrated a nation, and such different notions relating to their name, which points out their origin, have been advanced, we could not well avoid the prolixity our readers may possibly think us guilty of on this occasion.


spouse, as being not only supported by the proofs brought by Mr. Gagnier for that purpose, but likewise by Scripture, all those authors who have so justly represented the Saracens as a most numerous and powerful nation, Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius, and other eastern writers (13).

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If we follow the Oriental writers, we must divide the Arabs into two classes, viz. “the old lost Arabians, and the present.” The most famous tribes amongst the former were Ad, Thamud, Taif, Jadis, the first Jorham, Amalek, Amtem, Haibem, Abil, and Bar. Though these were very numerous, yet they are now either all destroyed, or lost and swallowed up among the other tribes; nor are there any certain memoirs or records extant concerning them. However, as the memory of some very remarkable events, that happened amongst them, and the catastrophe of some of these tribes have been preferred by tradition, and since confirmed by the authority of the Koran, we think it not improper to give our readers a succinct and concise account of them.

The tribe of Ad deduced their origin from Ad, the son of Aws, or Uz, the son of Aram, the son of Shem, the son of Noah, who after the confusion of tongues settled in Al Akkaf, or “the winding sands” in the province of Hadramaut, upon the confines of Oman and Yaman, where his posterity greatly multiplied. The first prince that reigned over them was Sheddad the son of Ad, of whom we find many fabulous things related by the eastern writers. Some of these however tell us, that Ad had two sons Sheddad and Sheddid, who jointly swayed the sceptre after his decease, and extended their dominions from the sands of Alaj to the trees of Oman. Sheddid dying first, his brother became sole monarch, and having built a sumptuous palace, made a delightful garden in the deserts of Aden, in imitation of the celestial paradise, which he called Irem, after the name of his great grandfather. When it was finished, he set out with a great retinue in order to take a view of it; but, being arrived at a place within a day’s journey of it, they were all destroyed by a terrible noise from heaven. However, according to them, the city still remains, though invisible, being preferred by Providence as a monument of divine justice, Sheddad proposing by this impious imitation to create in his subjects a superfluous veneration of himself as a god. Al Beidawi adds, that one Abdallah Ebn Kelabah, or, as D’Herbelet calls him, Colabah, in the reign of the khalif Moawiyah, accidentally had Irem discovered to him, as he was seeking a camel he had lost; but seeing no creature there, he was so terrified, that he stayed no longer than to take

with him from thence some fine stones, which he shewed the 
khalif m.

After the death of Sheddâd, the kingdom of Ad was 
governed by a long series of princes, of whom the Oriental 
hi storians deliver many particulars, that have no great 
appearance of truth. The Adites in process of time falling 
from the worship of the true God into idolatry, God sent 
the prophet Hûd, supposed to be the same with Heber, to 
preach to and reclaim them. But they refusing to acknow-
ledge his mission, or to obey him, God sent a hot and 
suffocating wind, which blew seven nights and eight days 
without intermission, and entering at their nostrils, pâst 
through their bodies, and destroyed them all, a very few 
only excepted, who had listened to Hûd, and retired with 
him to another place. Others relate, that before this ter-
rrible destruction they had been previously chastised with a 
three years drought; and therefore sent Kail Ebn Ithar, and 
Morthed Ebn Saad, with seventy other principal men, to 
Mecca, then in the hands of the tribe of Amalek, whose 
prince was Moâwiyah Ebn Beér, to obtain of God some 
rain. Kail, continue these authors, having begged of God, 
that He would send rain to the people of Ad, three clouds 
appeared, a white one, a red one, and a black one; and a 
voice from heaven ordered him to choose which he would. 
Kail failed not to make choice of the last, thinking it to be 
loaded with the most rain; but when this cloud came over 
them, it proved to be fraught with the divine vengeance, 
and a tempest broke forth from it which destroyed them 
all. Some authors affirm, that Lokmân king of the Adites, 
after his subjects had been afflicted with a drought for four 
years, to incline them to hearken to the preaching of Hûd, 
and brought to the very brink of destruction, went with 
sixty others to Mecca to beg rain; which they not ob-
taining, Lokmân with some of the company stayed there, 
and by this means escaped being involved in the common 
calamity. They farther relate of this Lokmân, that his life 
was extended by God to the length of those of seven eagles, 
each of the six last of which was hatched the instant its 
predecessor expired. The few Adites with Lokmân that 
subsisted their countrymen, gave rise to a tribe called "the 

m Gen. c. x. ver. 22, 23. Al-Kor. Mohammed. c. 89. 
D'Herb. bibl. Orient. p. 51, 498. Al-Beïdawi, Jallalo'ddin, 
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"latter Ad, who were afterwards changed into monkeys. Hûd returned into Hadramaut, and was buried near Hâfic, where there is a small town now standing called Kabr Hûd, or " the sepulchre of Hûd." When the Arabs would signify the high antiquity of any thing, they say "as old as " king Ad, in like manner as the Greeks, when they would express any thing extremely antient, made it coaeval with Chronus, or Saturn, and Ogyges ".

The tribe of Thamûd were the posterity of Thamûd Thamûd, the son of Gather or Gether, the son of Aram, who falling into idolatrty, the prophet Sâleb was sent to bring them back to the worship of the true God. M. Bochart takes this prophet to be Phaleg, and M. D'Herbelot Salah the son of Arphaxad, and father of Heber or Hûd. The learned Mr. Sale determines in favour of M. Bochart, because, says he, the prophet Sâleb lived between the time of Hûd and of Abraham. On the contrary, we own ourselves of M. D'Herbelot's opinion, because the identity of names is a stronger argument in favour of that opinion, than any small inaccuracy in chronology of the Arab historians can be against it. Besides, it does not appear from any Oriental author, that the prophet Sâleb did actually live between the times of Hûd and Abraham, as Mr. Sale suggests; nay, Mr. Sale himself disproves this, when he cites with approbation an eastern author making him later than Abraham. Some few of the Thamudites received Sâleb as a true prophet, but the rest, as a proof of his mission, required that he should cause a she-camel big with young to come out of a rock in their presence; which having obtained of God, the camel was immediately delivered of a young one ready weaned. But instead of believing, the Thamudites cut the ham-strings of the camel, and killed her; at which act of impiety God being highly displeased, three days after struck them dead in their houses by an earthquake, and a terrible noise from heaven, which, some say, was the voice of Gabriel the archangel crying aloud, "Die all of you." Jonda Ebn Amru, prince of the Thamudites, proposed this miracle to Sâleb, promising, that if it was wrought, he and his people would believe. Accordingly Jonda acknowledged the prophet's mission, but

zûd Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 36.
the greatest part of his subjects perished in their infidelity, as above observed. Sâleh, with those reformed by him, was saved from this destruction. The prophet afterwards went to Palestine, and from thence to Mecca, where he ended his days. This tribe first dwelt in Yaman, but being expelled thence by Hamyarl the son of Saba, they settled in the territory of Hejr, in the province of Hejaz, where their habitations, cut out of the rocks, mentionned in the Koran, are still to be seen, and also the crack of the rock whence the camel issued, which, as an eye-witness hath declared, is sixty cubits wide. These houses of the Thamudites being of the ordinary proportion, are used as an argument to convince those of a mistake, who make this people to have been of a gigantic stature. They will likewise confute those commentators on the Koran, who affirm that the largest of the old Adites were an hundred cubits high, and the leaf of them sixty. By comparing the eastern writers with those of the antient Greeks and Romans, we shall find, that the tribe of Thamûd corresponded exactly with the Thamudeni or Thamydeni of Diodorus, Pliny, and Ptolemy.  

The tribe of Tasm were the descendents of Lûd the son of Shem, and that of Jadis a branch of the posterity of Gethor, as we learn from Abulfeda. Both these tribes lived promiscuously together under the government of Tasm, till a certain tyrant made a law, that twenty maids of the tribe of Jadis should not marry, unless first deflowered by him; which the Jadisians not enduring, formed a conspiracy, and, inviting the king and chiefs of Tasm to an entertainment, privately hid their swords in the sand, and in the midst of their mirth fell on them, flew them all, and extirpated the greatest part of that tribe. However, the few who escaped obtaining aid of the king of Yaman, Dhu Habshân Ebn Akrân, assaulted Jadis, and utterly destroyed them, there being scarce any mention made from that time of either of those tribes. As all the traditions relating to Tasm are reckoned of a very dubious authority, when any thing is advanced without a proper foundation to support it, the Arabs call it a story of Tasm.

* A Genealogical Table of the Tribes of the Genuine Arabs descended from Kahtan or Joktan.
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Tafin. The notion many of the Orientals have of Tafin’s grand-daughter Yamama, our readers will find in the former section, where we give a short description of the province of the same name.

All that we find delivered by the Arabs of the former Horam tribe of Horam is, that their ancestor was an antediluvian, and one of the eighty persons, who, according to a Mahomedan tradition, were saved with Noah in the ark. This tribe was cotemporal with that of Ad, and utterly perished, in a manner to us unknown.

Some of the Oriental authors inform us, that Amalek, the progenitor of the tribe of the same name, was the son of Eliphaz the son of Esau, though others make him the son of Ham the son of Noah. This tribe under their king Walid, the first who assumed the name of Pharaoh, before the time of Joseph, conquered Egypt, according to the eastern writers, who seem to confound the Amalekites with the Phenician shepherds of Manetho. After they had possessed the throne of Egypt for a considerable period, they were expelled by the natives, and at last totally destroyed by the Israelites.

As for the tribes of Amtem, Hafhem, Abil, and Bar, all that the Orientals know of them is, that by some means or other they became extinct, most of them being cut off, and the rest incorporating with the other tribes.

According to their own historians, the present Arabs are sprung from two stocks, Kahtan, the same with Joktan the son of Eber, and Adnan descended in a direct line from Ishmael the son of Abraham and Hagar (O). The posterity of

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(O) As the genealogy of these tribes is of great use to illustrate the Arabian history, our readers would have judged this work incomplete, had we not here inserted the two genealogical tables of the descendents of Kahtan and Ishmael, formed by the late learned and ingenious Mr. Sale from the most approved Oriental authors. In order to render that of the descendents of Ishmael...
of the former they call al Arab al Ariba, i. e. the genuine or pure Arabs, and those of the latter al Arab al Mottareba, i. e. naturalized or insidious Arabs, though some reckon the antient loft tribes to have been the only pure Arabians, and therefore call the descendents of Kahtan also Mottareba, which word likewise signifies insidious Arabs, though in a nearer degree than Mottareba; those acknowledging Adnân for their great ancestor, being the more distant graff. As Ithmael was by origin and language a Hebrew, it is no wonder those supposed to be descendened from him should have no claim to be admitted as pure Arabs; however, since he contracted an alliance with the Jorhamites, by marrying a daughter of Modâd, accustomed himself to their manner of living and language, and became blended with them into one nation, they have certainly a right to be considered as Mottareba. The uncertainty of the descents between Ithmael and Adnân is the reason why they seldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they therefore look upon as the father of their tribes; the descents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted. It is remarkable, that the eastern writers scarce take any notice at all of Abraham's progeny by Keturah, though they undoubtedly made up a considerable part of the inhabitants of Arabia. Their names were, Zimran, Jokhan, Medan, Midian or Madian, Isbakh, and Shuah. Notwithstanding the Arabs affirm Ithmael's wife to have been a genuine Arabian, the Scripture says she was an Egyptian; which greatly shakes the authority of their historians.

Ithmael the more perfect, we have added thereto the nine generations between Ithmael and Adnân, which is the most approved series of descents between them; though this, as here observed, cannot be absolutely depended upon; for Al Beihaki reckons one generation less, differing also in the names, in the following manner: Ithmael, Nabet, Yaabby, Yarah, Yârah, Yâbur, al Mokawwam, Odd, Odd, Adnân, and Mohammed himself, according to a tradition of his wife Omm Salma, counted but three persons between Ithmael and Adnân, viz. Bera, Zeid, and Odd. With the tables here exhibited, we have intermixed some few additional observations, that may tend either to illustrate or correct them, as our readers will find, by comparing them with the originals in Mr. Sale's excellent preliminary discourse. We must not forget to remark, that in the first series of descents between Ithmael and Adnân Mr. Sale has omitted Odd, which makes him run counter to the best Oriental writers, and therefore in that particular we have dissented from him.
A Genealogical Table of the Tribes of Arabs, being the Third Part.
A Genealogical Table of the Tribes of the naturalized Arabs, being the Descendants of Ishmael the Son of Abraham by a Daughter of Modad the Jorhamite.
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rians, except it should be admitted, that he had a second wife, or several at once. His sons were Nebaioth, Kedar, Adeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Maffa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphtsa, and Kedemah; besides which he had a daughter called Mahalath and Bashemath, whom Edom took to wife. Some writers make Kahtan a descendent of Ishmael; but among the Orientals this is not the most received opinion. However, it agrees the best with the Chaldee and Arabic paraphrahrs, who believed the name of Ishmaelites to be as general and extensive as that of Arabs.

We have already observed, that the customs, manners, and genius, of the Arabs, except in matters of religion, are in effect the same at this day that they were betwixt three and four thousand years ago; and therefore we may presume, that the antient and modern forms of government of this nation may be considered as agreeing in almost all particulars. The Arabes Scenitae, therefore, as their successors the present Bedoweens, were governed by Shekhs and Emirs. The Shekhs superintended only particular Dou-wars, that is, collections of tents called Hlymas, answering to villages or towns, already described. Every one of these Dow-wars, therefore, might have been looked upon as a little principality, governed by the chief of that particular family, which was of the greatest name, substance, and reputation, amongst the Arabs that composed it. The Emirs or Emeers, the Phylarchs of the Greeks, ruled over a whole tribe, and consequently their authority extended to many of the above-mentioned Dow-wars. It is probable, that they were sometimes dignified with the title of (P) Shekh al Kibeer, as some of their successors are at this day. And lastly, from what has been observed of the Phylarchs of the Nomades, agreeing


(P) Shekh or Sheikh, according to Golius, is equivalent to the Latin senex, senior, doctor; or aucttoritate, principatu, piate & arte conspicuus. Emir or Emeer, according to the same author, is to be deduced from the verb mandavit, jussit, pracepit, &c. (15).

(15) Gr. l in vocab.
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ing in most points with the Arabes Scenitae, we may conclude, that the Emirs were under the domination of one particular prince, who was the sovereign of these Arabs, or at least distinguished from the other Emirs by the title of the Grand Emir, consonant to the form of government still prevailing amongst the modern Bedoweens. However, we take this prince not to have been entirely despotic, but considered by his subjects only as their supreme magistrate, who maintained them in the possession of their private laws, privileges, and customs.¹

The Arabs that dwelt in cities and towns were undoubtedly ruled in the same manner as the Bedoweens. That many cities of Arabia Felix, particularly those of the Adramitae or Chlamamotae, were governed by princes of their own, we learn from Eratosthenes in Strabo. That author likewise informs us, that the order of succession in these cities was not hereditary, but that the first child born in any of the noble families after the king’s accession was deemed the presumptive heir to the crown. As soon, therefore, as any prince ascended the throne, a list was taken of all the pregnant ladies of quality, who were guarded in a proper manner, till one of them was delivered of a son, who always received an education suitable to his high birth. However, Artemidorus in the same author intimates, that the Sabæan nation had only one sovereign; which manifestly implies, that all the little princes or Emirs above-mentioned had a supreme head presiding over the whole region. And that regal government prevailed here as described by Artemidorus and Eratosthenes, seems confirmed by Scripture, when the Psalmist mentions the kings of Arabia and Saba. The Arabians were for some centuries under the government of the descendents of Kāhṭan; Yārab, one of his sons, founding the kingdom of Yaman, and Jōhar, another of them, that of Hejāz. The kings of Hanyar, who possessed the kingdom of Yaman, or at least the best part of it, had the general title of Tobba, which signifies successor, and was affected by these princes as that of Cæsar was by the Roman emperors, and Khalif by the successors of Mohammed. There were several lesser princes, who reigned in other parts of Yaman, and were

were mostly, if not altogether, subject to the king of Hamyar, whom they called the great king; but of these history has recorded nothing remarkable, or that may be depended upon. “May you avert all maledition,” or “May God be propitious to you,” was the form in which the ancient Arabs used to address themselves to their king.  

The principal civil institutions among the Arabs, that seemed to wear the face of laws, were the following: 1. That establishing the above-mentioned order of succession. 2. That in force among the Sabæans, whereby the king was solemnly invested with his prerogative by an assembly of the people. 3. That enjoining the said king never to go out of his palace after he had taken upon him the reins of government. 4. That commanding his subjects to stone him to death, in case he should be found guilty of a violation of the former law. 5. That obliging them to an absolute and implicit obedience to all his commands, consistent with the aforesaid fundamental condition. As the other political maxims the Arabs observed may be considered as coinciding with their customs, there is no necessity of touching upon them here.  

The religion of the Arabs before Mohammed, which they call the “state of ignorance,” was chiefly gross idolatry; the Sabian religion having almost over-run the whole nation, though there were also great numbers of Christians, Jews, and Magians, among them. The idolatry of the Arabs, as Sabians, chiefly consisted in worshipping the fixed stars and planets, and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities, and whose intercession they begged, as their mediators with God. For they acknowledged one supreme God, the creator and lord of the universe, whom they called Allah Ta‘ala, “the most high God;” and their other deities, who were subordinate to him, they called simply Al Ilahât, i. e. the goddeesses. “These words,” says Mr. Sale,” the Greeks not understanding, and it being their constant custom to resolve the religion of every other nation into their own, and

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"find out gods of theirs to match the others, they pretended the Arabs worshipped only two deities, Orotalt, and Alilat, as those names are corruptly written, whom they will have to be the same with Bacchus and Urania; pitching on the former as one of the greatest of their own gods, and educated in Arabia; and on the other, because of the veneration shewn by the Arabs to the stars." But the impertinence of this observation will be touched upon immediately.

That the Arabs should easily be led into the worship of the stars, is not at all surprizing, since by observing the changes of the weather to happen at the rising or setting of certain of them for a considerable period, they might easily be induced to ascribe a divine power to those stars, and think themselves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreshment to their parched country. Hence possibly it came to pass, that they had seven celebrated temples dedicated to the seven planets; one of these, in particular, called Beit Ghomdan, was built in Sanaa, the metropolis of Yaman, by Dahac, to the honour of Al Zoharah, or the planet Venus, and was demolished by the khaliif Othman. By the murder of this khaliif was fulfilled, as the Mohammedans pretend, the prophetical inscription, set, as is reported, over this temple, viz. Ghomdan, "He who destroyeth thee, shall be slain." The temple of Mecca is also said to have been consecrated to Zohal, or Saturn. That planetary worship was the first species of idolatry, we have already observed; and therefore it is no wonder the Arabs, at present the most antient nation in the world, should have been infected with it. To what has been already offered on this head, we shall here beg leave to add the testimony of Pausianias, who intimates, that the worship of the planets was earlier than the first arrival of the Pelasgi in Greece; and that before this time they had statues erected in their honour. This observation will

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Koreish

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will not only illustrate, but likewise bring a fresh accession of strength to what has been advanced in a former note.

But besides those stars which were the general objects of worship throughout Arabia, there were some more peculiarly reverenced in particular provinces. Thus the Hamyanites chiefly worshipped the Sun; Misam, al Debarān, or "the bull's eye," Lakhm and Jodām, al Mohtari, or Jupiter; Tāy, Sohail, or Canopus; Kais, Sirius, or "the dog-star;" and Afād, Otāred, or Mercury. Abu Cabha, a worshipping of Sirius, whom some will have to be the same with Waheb, Mohammed's grandfather on the mother's side, though others make him of the tribe of Khozaah, used his utmost endeavours to persuade the Koreish to leave their images, and worship this star. For which reason, when Mohammed endeavoured also to draw them off from image-worship, they nicknamed him the son of Abu Cabha. However, the Arabs, together with the Indians in general, paid a greater regard to the fixed stars, than to the planets; which distinguished the Sabians amongst them from those amongst the Greeks, who directed their worship to the planets. The Arabs did not only attribute their rains to the influence of the fixed stars, but likewise their winds, storms, tempests, heat, cold, and all kinds of alterations in their atmosphere. They differed, however, amongst themselves in this, that some ascribed the influence producing all the meteorological phenomena to the rising, and others to the setting, of the constellations known amongst them by the name of Al-Anwa.

Of the angels or intelligences which they worshipped, as likewise we find only three mentioned in the Koran, viz. Allat, Al-Uzza, and Manah; these they called "godesses," and "the daughters of God;" an appellation they gave not only to angels, but also to their images, which they believed either to be inspired with life by God, or else to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them; and they paid them divine honours, because they believed them

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them to intercede for their votaries with God. The Arab Sabians likewise, in common with those of other nations, imagined, that the Sun, Moon, and fixed stars, were habitations of intelligences of a middle nature betwixt men and the Supreme Being, who actuated their orbs in the same manner as the human body does the soul; and that this was the true cause of all their motions. These beings, they had a notion, became mediators between God and them; for the necessity of a mediator they clearly discovered from the beginning, and therefore, as God's mediators, directed divine worship to them. They first worshipped them by their tabernacles, i.e. their orbs themselves; but these, by their rising and setting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loss how to address themselves to them in their absence. To remedy this defect, they had recourse to the invention of images, in which, after their consecration, they thought these inferior deities to be as much present by their influence, as in the stars themselves; and that all addresses to them were rendered as effectual before the one, as before the other. And this may be considered as the origin of image-worship. All other material particulars relating to the Sabians, omitted here, will either be found in note (Q.), or the forth volume of this history.

Allat,


(Q.) The Sabian, Jewish, and Christian religions, are the only religions tolerated by the Koran. We are told, that the eastern writers vary greatly in their notions of the religious tenets of the first sect; though those here mentioned seem to be attested by the best of them. The Sabians produce many strong arguments for the unity of God, and address themselves to Him in the following terms: "I dedicate my self to thy service, O God! I dedicate myself to thy service, O God! Thou hast no companion, except thy companion, of whom thou art absolute master, and of whatever is his." From whence it appears, that they suppose idols not to be sui juris, though they offer sacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to God.
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Allat, whom some of the Arabs called Allah, was the Allat, idol of the tribe of Thakif, who dwelt at Tayef, and had a temple

God, "who was also formerly often put off with the least portion," as Mohammed upbraids them. The reason assigned by them for this was, that "the idol wanted what was God's, but God himself wanted nothing." A sort of baptism they admit, and profess a great veneration for St. John Baptist, styling themselves, in their language, which is composed of the Chaldee and Syriac, Mendai Jahia, i. e. "Disciples of St. John;" and by this name they go amongst the Christians of the Levant. Besides the book of Psalms, the only true Scripture they read, they have another supposed to have been wrote by Adam, which they regard as their bibles, whose language almost entirely agrees with the Chaldee, but the characters differ from those of all other nations. Ebn Shonah makes them the descendents of the most ancient people in the world, and intimates, that besides the books just mentioned, they have others esteemed equally sacred, particularly one full of moral discourses, denominated by them the book of Seth and Enoch, or, as they name him, Edris. They are obliged to pray three, or, according to others, seven times a day; the first half an hour, or less, before sun-rise, ordering it so that they may, just as the sun rises, finish eight adorations, each containing three prostrations: the second prayer they end at noon, when the sun begins to decline, in saying of which they perform five such adorations as the former: and the same they do the third time, concluding just as the sun sets. They are very fervent in their devotions. They fast three times a year, the first time thirty days, the next nine, and the last seven. They offer many sacrifices, but eat no part of them, burning them all. They abstain from beans, garlick, and some other pulse and vegetables. As to the Sabian Kebla, or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly differ; one affirming it to be the north, another the south, a third Mecca, and a fourth the star to which they pay their devotions. They have a great respect for the temple of Mecca, as also the pyramids, in the third of which they believe Sabi, the author of their religion, lies buried. They go on pilgrimage to Harran, either out of regard to the memory of Abraham, or of Sabi Ebn Mari, who lived in Abraham's time, and is looked upon by some as the first propagator of their religion. Ebn Hazem affirms Sabianism to have been the universal religion till the age of Abraham, from whence all the succeeding sects were derived. According to Al-Shareftani, the Sabians say, that the difference between them and the Mohammedans consists in this, that among creatures they give the preference to spirits, angels, or intelligences
temple consecrated to her in a place called Nakhlah. We shall

intelligences moving the celestial orbs; whereas the Mohammedans chuse to pay the greatest honour to body and matter, i.e. "men," as prophets, patriarchs, &c. Houfain Vaez, in his Peric commentary on the Koran, says, that they were a sort of Sadducees, not believing a future state. We must not omit observing, that at the pyramids they sacrificed a cock and a black calf, and offered up incense. Ebn Khalecan, in his life of Ibrahim al Sabi, affirms, that the Sabians are as antient as the Magians, but different from them; however, that both of them pretended to deduce their origin from Abraham, whom they confounded with Zerdusht. The same author relates, that the word Sabi in the Arabic tongues denotes one who leaves the religion of his forefathers, and introduces a new one; for which reason the Korefth, by way of reproach, called Mohammed Sabi, or Sabian. The eastern Christians scruple not to affirm, that Constantine the great himself professed Sabianism before he became a convert to Christianity. Shahrestani divides the Sabians into two sects, those that worship the stars, and those that worship images. The first maintain, that God created the world, but has commanded his servants to pay great regard to the stars, and to turn themselves towards those luminous bodies whenever they pray; the other, that, by the mediation of images, they have access to the stars, and, through the assistance of those intellectual agents informing them, to the Supreme Being. They all believe, that the souls of wicked men will be punished for 9,000 ages, but that afterwards they shall be received to mercy. Their feasts in general they have appointed upon the days when the exaltations of the planets happen; but the greatest of them, in particular, upon the day that the sun enters Aries, which, with them, is the first day of the year, when they all wear their best cloaths. They celebrate the feast of every planet in a chapel dedicated to him, and derive their religion from Noah himself. The Sabians of mount Lebanon seem to pay a greater regard to Seth, than the Supreme Being; for they always keep their oath when they swear by the former, but frequently break it when they swear by the latter. They likewise maintain, that once in 36425 years there will be a complete revolution in all mundane things. They endeavour to perfect themselves in the four intellectual virtues; God they call God of gods, and Lord of lords; but those intelligences supposed to actuate the stars gods and lords. This sect fay, they took the name of Sabians from the above-mentioned Sabi, though it seems rather to be derived from Saba, or Tsaba, the hoist of heaven, which they worship. Before the growth
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shall see more of this deity hereafter, when we come to the modern history of Arabia, especially that of it which relates to the transactions wherein Mohammed was more immediately concerned.

Al-Uzza, or Al-Ozza, was the idol of the tribes of Al-Uzza. Koreifh and Kenannah, and part of the tribe of Salim, as some affirm; but a tree called the Egyptian thorn, or Aca- cia, worshipped by the tribe of Ghatfan, first consecrated by one Dhâlem, who built a chapel over it named Bof's, so contrived, as to give a found when any one entered, according to others. When Khâled Ebn Walid, by Mohammed's order, had demolished the chapel, cut down the image, or tree, and slain the priests of Al Uzza, Mohammed, al- luding to the death of the priests, said, she was Al Uzza, who therefore will never hereafter be worshipped. The name Uzza is derived from the root azza, and signifies "the most mighty."

Manah was the object of worship of the tribes of Hod-Manah. hail and Khozâah, possibly the Caffanite of Ptolemy, who dwelt between Mecca and Medina, and, as some say, of the tribes of Aws, Khazraj, and Thakif also. Dr. Pocock renders it highly probable, that the Manah of the Arabs was the Meni of the prophet Isaiah. This idol was a large stone, demolished by one Saad in the eighth year of the Hejra, so fatal to the idols of Arabia. The name seems derived from mana, to flow, from the flowing of the blood of the victims sacrificed to the deity; whence the valley of Mina, near Mecca, had also its name, where the pilgrims at this day slay their sacrifices. Some take Meni, or Manah, to be the name of a constellation, which notion is favoured by

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growth of Christianity and Mohammedanism, the greatest part of the world professed the Sabian religion. The other particulars, relating to this sect, our readers will find, either in a former part of this work, or in the authors here referred to (16).

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by the most obvious signification of the word Manah in the Arabic tongue.

Besides these, we find five antediluvian idols taken notice of by the Arabian writers, viz. Wadd, Sawą, Yaghuth, Yaūk, and Nafr. They are said to have been men of great repute and piety in their time, whose statues the Arabs at first reverenced with a civil honour only, which in process of time became heightened to a divine worship.

Wadd was supposed to represent the heaven, and was worshipped under the form of a man by the tribe of Calb, in Dawmat al Jandal. For a further account of him, we must refer our readers to the authors here cited.

Sawą was adored under the shape of a woman by the tribe of Hamadan, or, as others write, of Hodhail in Rohat. This idol, lying under water for some time after the deluge, was at length, as the Arab writers assert, discovered by the devil, and worshipped by those of Hodhail, who instituted pilgrimages to it.

Yaghuth was an idol in the shape of a lion, and was the deity of the tribe of Madhaj, and others, who dwelt in Yaman. Its name seems to be derived from ghatha, which signifies to help.

Yaūk the tribe of Morád esteemed as their proper object of worship, or, according to that of Hamadan, under the figure of a horse. The name Yaūk probably comes from their verb āka, to prevent, or avert.

(R) It is said Yaūk was a man of great piety, and his death much regretted; whereupon the devil appeared to his friends in a human form, and, undertaking to represent him to the life, persuaded them, by way of comfort, to place his effigies in their temples.
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Naṣr seems to have been the proper deity of the tribe of Nafr. Hamyar, whom we may consider either as the Homerites or Hamiræi of Pliny, or adored at Dhūʾl Khalālah in their territories in the image of an eagle, which the name signifiesκ.

The four deities Sākia, Ḥāfedha, Râzeda and Ṣalema, Sākia, Ḥāfedha, Râzeda, and Ṣalema, were peculiar to the tribe of Ad. The first supplied them with rain, the second preferred them from all dangers abroad, the third provided food for their sustenance, and the fourth restored them to health when afflicted with sickness; according to the signification of their several names. To these may be added Al-Daizan, or Saturn, a most antient Arab idol, Hhehar, Al-Auf, &c., mentioned by Al-Jauharianus, Al-Firuzabadius, and others ¹.

As image-worship in some measure proceeded from the deification of dead men, who had been the authors of some signal advantages and benefits to the people they governed, or else greatly famed for their conquests, as well as the cause above-mentioned, it is no wonder the Arabs, as well as other nations, should fall into it. Sir Isaac Newton takes hero worship, or the worship of deified men, to have been no older than the age of Sefac, the great Egyptian conqueror so often mentioned, who ordered all the nations he conquered, and among the rest a good part of the Arabians at least, to pay divine honours to his father Ammenenes, or Ammon, under the name of Jupiter, or Jupiter Ammon. This therefore was the great hero-god of the Arabs; as well as of the Egyptians, Garamantes, Ethiopians, Indians, &c. and his fun and successor, Sefac, who enjoined this worship, the Bacchus, according to Sir Isaac Newton, of the antients, little inferior to him. The Arabs, it is probable, set up oracles to Ammon, who reduced at least a good part of their country, as well as the Libyans and Egyptians; and Sefac, on account of his having coasted Arabia Felix, failed to the Persian gulph, penetrated afterwards into India, where he erected temples, that they might have it in view when at their devotions. This was done, and seven others of extraordinary merit, had the fame honours shewn them, till at length their poiterity made idols of them in earrnt(17).

κ Al-Jauhar, Shahrestan. & Pocock. ubi sup. p. 93.  ¹Abul-

(17) Poc. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 94
rected two pillars on two mountains near the mouth of the Ganges, and another at Dire, a promontory of Ethiopia, was, according to very good authors, esteemed as his father's colleague in Arabia, as well as the other regions subjegated by him. This, considering the authorities on which it is founded, is a much stronger proof in favour of the Arabs really worshippine Jupiter and Bacchus, or Ammon and Sebac, than what Mr. Sale has offered, from the supposed vanity and ignorance of the Greeks, is to evince the Arab worship of those deities to be purely imaginary. Nay, we may venture to add, that could he have produced a whole volume of Arab traditions, stuffed as they are with fables and absurdities, in support of his opinion, it would not have mended the matter; especially as he gives up the main point by allowing Bacchus to have been educated in Arabia. For this concession, though the thing granted is false, must be deemed a sufficient reason, on his part, for the Arabs to have paid divine honours to so celebrated a personage as Bacchus, as well as his father Jupiter, or Jupiter Uranius.\(^n\) (S).

Arabs call their children after the names of their idols.

Have a great variety of idols.

We must not omit observing here, that the antient Arabs, in order to shew the high veneration in which they had their idols, reckoned it glorious to be accounted their servants and votaries; which they demonstvated by the names given to their children, viz, Abd Wadd, Abd Yaghuth, Abd Manah, Abd Uzza, &c. i. e. the servant of Wadd, the servant of Yaghuth, the servant of Manah, the servant of Uzzah, &c.\(^n\)

Besides the idols already mentioned, the Arabs worshiped many others, the chief of whom was Hobal, brought from Belka in Syria to Arabia by Emra Ebn Lohai, pretending it would procure them rain whenever they wanted it. According to Saffodin, Hobal was placed without the Caaba, under the figure of a man. His statue was made of red agate, which having, by some accident, loft a hand, the Korish repaired it with one of gold: he held in his hand seven arrows without heads or feathers, such as the Arabs used in divination. This idol is supposed to have been the same with the image

\(^{n}\) Newt. chronol. pass. Herodot. i. iii. Diod. Sic. i. i. Dio-

\(^{n}\) Al-Koran Mohammed, Poc. ubi supra, p. 95.

(S) The Arabs also worshipped Mars, according to Suidas (t8).

(18) Suid. in voc. "Aens."
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image of Abraham, found and destroyed by Mohammed in the Caaba, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the Hejra, when he took Mecca, and surrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities; among whom, as some lay, was Ishmael, with divining arrows in his hand, Hobal, according to Al-Jannabius, was the chief of three hundred and sixty idols, a fresh one of which the Arabs might, if they thought proper, worship every day in the year. We are told, that among the idols in the Caaba was a wooden pigeon, as likewise another above that structure, to destroy which, Mohammed lifted Ali upon his shoulders. Asaf and Nayelah, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were also two idols brought with Hobal from Syria, and placed, the one on mount Safa, and the other on mount Merwa. They tell us, Asaf was the son of Amru, and Nayelah the daughter of Sahal, both of the tribe of Jorsham, who committing whoredom together in the Caaba, were by God converted into stone, and afterwards worshipped by the Korish, and so much reverenced by them, that tho’ this superstition was condemned by Mohammed, yet he was forced to allow them to visit those mountains as monuments of the divine justice. We are told, that these idols were first fixed on the mounts Safa and Merwa by one Amru in the reign of Sapor or Sabur surnamed Dil Esaf, king of Persia; but this notion has been overthrown by Abulfeda. As for the idols Saad, an oblong stone on the shore near Giodda, Soair or Sair worshipped by the tribe of Anza, Aud adored by the tribe of Becr Wayel, Naib or Noib, Al-Sharek, from thence the Arab name Abdol-Sharek was derived, Dar, whence Abdol-Dar, Madan, Yalil, Awal peculiar to the tribes of Becr and Taglab, Dul Caffain the deity of the tribe of Daus, Bajar or Bajer that of the tribe of Azd, Al-Okaifar worshipped in the eastern part of Syria, Bag or Bagh, from whence Abulfeda deduces the name of the city Baghdad, Al-Chalafah, Dufshara, the Dyfares of the Greeks and Romans, &c. it is sufficient just to have mentioned them. Besides these, according to the Oriental authors, every household keeper had his household god, which he left took leave of, and first saluted, at his going abroad, and returning home.

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Several of the Arab idols, besides Saad above-mentioned, and Manah in particular, were no more than large rude stones, the worship of which the posterity of Ishmael first introduced, according to Al-Jannabius. To us it seems most probable, that these great stones were the first public places of divine worship among the Arabs, on which they poured wine and oil, as Jacob did upon the stones that served him for a pillow, when he saw the vision. Afterwards they might worship these stones themselves, as the Phœnicians, in all probability, did; but this has already been touched upon. Some authors relate, that when the territory of Mecca grew too fright for the Ishmaelites, so that great numbers found themselves obliged to look out for new habitations, those that departed from Mecca took with them some of the stones of that reputed holy land; and at first only compassed them out of devotion, as they had accustomed to do the Caaba. But this at last ended in rank idolatry, the said Ishmaelites forgetting the religion, left them by their father, so far, as to pay divine honours to any fine stone they met with. To the idols already mentioned we may add another peculiar to the tribe of Hanîfa, which was nothing more than a lump of dough. This they never presumed to eat, till they were compelled to it by famine.

The Persians, by their vicinity to, and frequent intercourse with, the Arabians, introduced the Magian religion among some of their tribes, particularly that of Tamim, a long time before Mohammed, who was so far from being unacquainted with it, that from it he borrowed many of his own institutions. The professors of this religion acknowledged the world to have been created by God, as their successors do at this day; but, being at a loss otherwise to account for the origin of evil, they held two principles, a good Daemon or God, and an evil one. The first they supposed the author of all good, and the other of all evil, believing them to be represented by light and darkness, as their truest symbols, and that of the composition of these two all things in the world are made. The good principle or God they named Yezad or Yezdân, and Ormozd or Hormizda, which the Greeks wrote Oromazes; and the evil Daemon they called Ahâriman or Ahrîman, and the Greeks Arimanius.

us. Though one sect of the Magi asserted, as the Manicheans and other heretics did, both those principles to have existed from all eternity, yet they were reputed heterodox: the original doctrine being, that the good principle or God only was eternal, and the other created, as appears from Zoroastre's description of the supreme Being. Amongst other tenets they maintained, that there were good and bad angels; the former guarding and protecting men from evil, and the latter inflicting them to all kinds of wickedness. They also believed, that the wicked angels, after they had drawn men out of the paths of virtue, became the instruments of their punishment; and that these angels were continually meditating the ruin and destruction of mankind. As for Zoroastre, or Zerdusht, as the Persians called him, he made no alterations in the doctrinal and fundamental points of the Magian religion, but only abolished some superstitious rites and practices, that had crept in amongst the professors of it, who, according to Dr. Hyde, constantly adhered to the worship of the true God, as they received it from their great ancestors Sham and Elam. But, as so ample an account has already been given of the Magi, and their system of religion, we shall expatiate no farther on this head; but conclude it with observing, that whether we consider the Arabs as Sabians or followers of Zerdusht, it must be allowed, that they held the existence of Dæmons, Genii, or middle intelligences, influencing the affairs of the world: a truth indeed near as extensive as the belief of a God, and acknowledged by the ancient heathen of almost all denominations.

However, some of the pagan Arabs believed neither the notions of the creation past, nor a resurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and their dissolution to age. Others allowed both; among whom were those, who, when they died, had their camel tied by their sepulchre, and so left without meat or drink to perish, and accompany them to the other world, lest they should be obliged, at the resurrection, to go on foot, which was reckoned very scandalous. Some believed a metempsychosis, and that of the blood, near the dead.

dead person's brain, was formed a bird named Hamah, which once in an hundred years visited the sepulchre; though others say, this bird is animated by the soul of him that is unjustly slain, and continually cries Oscrün, Oscrün, i. e. Give me to drink, meaning of the murderer's blood, till his death be revenged; and then it flies away. Some of the antient Arabs seem to have been addicted to augury, since they held an owl in great abhorrence, as imagining that it always brought ill news, and portended something bad. The camel above-mentioned furnished the Arabs with a proverb, which they applied to all people doomed to a miserable end. Those, who expected a future judgment, adored idols, as they pretended, that they might be hereby induced to intercede for them with God hereafter. It appears probable from some pages of the Korân, and the commentators on those passages, that the antient Arabs under the word Jin or Genii, comprehended both angels, good as well as bad, and that intermediate species of rational invisible beings going amongst the present Orientals by the same name. From the same passages and commentators we may likewise infer, that most of the Arabians before Mohammed's time, in conformity to the Sabian scheme, paid religious honours to these Genii. The Mohammedans call the evil principle of the Magi, the Satan of the Scripture, and Sammaël of the Jews, Ebis, which seems to be a corruption of the Διαβόλος or Diabolus of the New Testament.

The Jewish religion embraced by some of the Arab tribes.

Abu Carb Asad king of Yaman, about seven hundred years before Mohammed, is said to have introduced Judaism among the idolatrous Hamyrites. The Jews likewise, who fled in great numbers into Arabia after the destruction of their country by the Romans, made proselytes of several tribes, those of Kenânah, al Hareth Ebn Caaba, and Kendah in particular. In time, therefore, they became very powerful, and possessed themselves of several towns and fortresses. At last one Yusuf, surnamed Dhu Nowás, king of Yaman, having raised a terrible persecution against all who would not turn Jews, putting them to death by various tortures, the most common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, from whence the Arabs gave him the opprobrious title of the lord of the pit, Caleb or Elsebaan king of Ethiopia, to revenge the massacre of the christians at Najran, put an end to

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to Judaism, and the kingdom of the Hamyarites, in Yaman, at the same time. This happened in the reign of the emperor Justin, as has been already related in the history of the Ethiopians, and will be more fully set forth in the following section.

Whether St. Paul preached in any part of Arabia, properly so called, we cannot pretend to determine; but that the Christian religion was planted very early in this country, will not admit of a dispute. The Arabians we find ranked among those nations, some of whose members first had the happiness of being made converts to Christianity, several of them being present when the Holy Ghost first descended upon the apostles. When the eastern church, soon after the beginning of the third century, was greatly harassed by disorders and persecutions, vast numbers of christians fought for shelter in Arabia; who being for the most part of the Jacobite communion, that sect generally prevailed among the Arabs. The principal tribes that embraced christianity were Hamyar, Ghaslan, Rabia, Taghlab, Bahra, Tonach, part of those of Tay and Kodaa, the inhabitants of Najran, and the Arabs of Hira. The people of Najran became converts to christianity in the time of Dhu Nowas above-mentioned, and those of Hira received a great accession by several tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the persecution of that prince. How Al-Nooman, surnamed Abu-Kabus, king of Hira, who was slain a few months before Mohammed's birth, came to profess himself a christian, and brought off with him from paganism the whole nation he governed, will be hereafter related. According to Abulfeda, his grandfather Mondar embraced christianity, and built several churches for the christians in Hira. Saffoddin says, that Najran was a bishop's fee, and remarkable for having a christian church in early times. From Shahreftani we learn, that Mondar king of the Arabs declared war against the emperor Justinian, because he had treated ill those who asserted only one nature in Christ, since the Arab christians at that time were of the Jacobite persuasion. This is a sufficient proof, that christianity had got footing in Arabia before the reign of that prince. The Jacobites give out, and M. Asleman thinks it probable, that the Syrian bishop Jacobus Baradæus,

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Baradæus, who, according to Abulpharagius, visited all the regions adjacent to Syria, and ordained there bishops, presbyters, &c. of the Jacobite sect, first infected the Arabian christians with Monophyism. How our Saviour appeared in the air, surrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, to the Jews of Hamyar, who had challenged some neighbouring christians to a public disputation about Dhu Nowas's time, our readers will be informed when we come towards the close of this history.

It is natural to suppose, that as the christians were so numerous in Arabia before the age of Mohammed, they had several bishops there, when that impostor first began to form a new system of religion. Accordingly we find, that the Jacobites had two bishops of the Arabs subject to their Mafrân, or "metropolitan of the east". One of these was styled absolutely "the bishop of the Arabs", whose seat was for the most part at Akula, which some authors make the same with Cufâ, others a different town near Baghdad. The other had the title of "the bishop of the Scenite Arabs", of the tribe of Thaalab in Hira or Hirta, as the Syrians call it, and feasted in that city. Gregentius, who held a famous dispute sub die for three days with Herbanus the Jew, before the king of Hamyar, was bishop or archbishop of Dhafar or Tephra, as it is called by the Greek authors, in the century preceding Mohammed; and that Najran also was a bishop's see at the same time, has been already observed from Saffoddin. We find likewise, a prelate of this country styled the bishop of the Tayites, though the extent and limits of his diocese cannot so easily be defined. The Neftorians had but one bishop, who presided over both the dioceses of Hira and Akula, and was immediately subject to their patriarch. Arabia was in the earliest ages famous for heresies, which might, as Mr. Sale observes, be in some measure attributed to the liberty and independency of its tribes. The specification of these heresies will more properly fall under our province in the modern history of the Arabs, when we shall enumerate the principal cause,

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causes, that concurred to favour the propagation of the Mohamnedan religion. Before we conclude our account of the religion, or rather religions, of the antient Arabs, we must observe, that some of them attributed a power to the fixed stars superior to what even the Sabians themselves allowed; insomuch that they already would not take the least step without receiving a favourable omen from them. Several of them also not only worshipped Daemons or Genii, but likewise asserted them to be the daughters of God. The Koreish were infected with Zendicium, an error nearly related to that of the Sadducees among the Jews. We are told, that several of this tribe worshipped one God, and differed from all the other religions of the country, before the time of Mohammed.

As the Arabs are one of the most antient nations in the language world, having inhabited the country they at present possess almost from the deluge, without intermixing with other nations, or being subjugated by any foreign power, their language must have been formed soon after, if not at, the confusion of Babel. The two principal dialects of it were that spoken by the Hamyarites and other genuine Arabs, and that of the Koreish, in which Mohammed wrote the Koran. The first is styled by the Oriental writers the Arabic of Hamyar, and the other the pure or defected Arabic. As Yarab, grandfather to Hamyar, is supposed by the Oriental writers to have been the first whose tongue deviated from the Syriac to the Arabic, the Hamyaritic dialect, according to them, must have approached nearer to the purity of the Syriac, and consequently have been more remote from the true genius of the Arabic, than that of any other tribe. The dialect of the Koreish, termed by the Koran “the perspicuous and clear Arabic”, is referred to Ishmael as its author, who, say the above-mentioned writers, first spoke it, and, as Dr. Pocock believes, after he had contracted an alliance with the family of Jorham by marriage, formed it of their language and the original

original Hebrew. As therefore the Hamyaritic dialect partook principally of the Syriac, so that of the Koréih was supposed to consist chiefly of the Hebrew. But, according to Jalla-lo’ddin, the politeness and elegance of the dialect of the Koréih ought rather to be attributed to their having, from the remotest antiquity, the custody of the Caaba, and dwelling in Mecca, the centre of Arabia. For by this situation they were not only rendered more incapable of any intercourse with foreigners, who might have corrupted their language, but likewise frequented by the Arabs of all the circumjacent country, both on a religious account, and for the composing of their differences, from whose discourse and verses they took whatever words or phrases they judged most pure and elegant; by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became transfused into this dialect. The Arabs are full of the commendations of their language, which is very harmonious, expressive, and, as they say, so immemorially copious, that no man uninspired can be a perfect master of it, in its utmost extent. How much in this last article it is superior to the Greek and Latin tongues, in some measure appears from hence, that sometimes a bare enumeration of the Arabic names of one particular thing, and an explication of them, will make a considerable volume. Thus we are told, that Ebn Khalawih, one of the most learned of the Arab grammarians, wrote a whole treatise, which consisted entirely of an interpretation of five hundred words signifying a lion; and another whose only subject was a collection of two hundred words denoting a serpent. Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius, author of the great Arabic lexicon called Kamus, or the Ocean, relates, that he composed a piece, containing a description of the nature and advantages of honey, together with an explication of eighty different terms by which it was styled; and yet that it had several other names. He likewise mentions another of his books, wherein he had enumerated above a thousand words expressive only of a sword. Notwithstanding which, the Arabs believe the greatest part of their language to be lost; which will not seem improbable, when we consider how late the art of writing became generally practised amongst them. For though it was known to Job, their countryman, to the Edomites, as well as the other Arabian nations bordering upon Egypt and Phœnicia, and to the Hamyarites many centuries before Mohammed, as appears from some ancient monuments, said to be remaining in their character; yet the other Arabs, and those of Mecca in particular, unless such of them as were either Jews or Christians,
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were to the time of Moramer perfectly ignorant of it. It was the antient Arabic language preceding the reign of Juffinian which so nearly resembled the Ethiopic; for since that time, and especially since the age of Mohamned, all the Arabic dialects have been not a little corrupted. This is now the learned language of the Mohammedans, who study it as the European Christians do the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

A very great affinity between the antient and modern Arabic must, however, be allowed; so great an affinity, that in substance we may pronounce them the same. Many considerable advantages flow from a knowledge of the Arabic tongue, all which may be considered as so many inducements to the study of it: but amongst these, the chief seems to be, an investigation of the true meaning of many Hebrew words, whose radices cannot be discovered in the Hebrew original of the Old Testament, though they are still preserved in the Arabic. This we might prove by an induction of particulars, did not the diffusion of such a point more properly belong to the modern history of Arabia. For a complete history of the language we are now upon, as well as a full display of the elegancy, beauties, and utility of it, we must refer our readers to a curious and learned piece published by the Reverend Mr. Hunt, professor of Arabic in the university of Oxford, a gentleman as well versed in the whole circle of Oriental literature as any of the present age.

We have just observed, that the Hamyarites were not letters, strangers to the art of writing. The character used by them, the most antient of any peculiar to the Arabs, wherein the letters were not distinctly separate, went by the appellation of Al Mofnad, from the mutual dependency of its letters or parts upon one another. This was neither publicly taught, nor suffered to be used, without permission first obtained. Could we depend upon what Al-Firauzabadius relates from Ebn Hamthem, this character must have been of a very high antiquity; since an inscription in it, according to the last author, was found in Yaman, as old as the time of Joseph. Be that as it will,

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will, Marâmer Ebn Morra of Anbar, a city of Irâk, who lived not many years before Mohammed, was the inventor of the present Arabic character, which Bashar the Kendiân, who married the sifter of Abu Sofân, is said to have learned from those of Anbar, and to have introduced at Mecca, but a little while before the institution of Mohammed. Morâmer's alphabet the Oriental authors agree to have been very different from the ancient one of the Hamyarites, since they distinguish the Hamyaritic and Arabic pens. In Mohammed's time the Moramic alphabet had made so small a progress, that not a soul in Yaman could either write or read it; nay, Mohammed himself was incapable of doing either; for which reason he was called the illiterate prophet. The letters of this alphabet were very rude, being either the same with, or very much like the Cuphic, which character is still found in inscriptions, and the titles of ancient books; nay, for many years it was the only one used by the Arabs, the Korân itself being at first written therein. According to Khalican, the present Arabic character was first formed from the Cuphic by Ebn Moklah, Wazîr, or Wifer, to Al Moktader, Al Kaher, and Al Râdi, khâlis of Baghdad, who lived about three hundred years after Mohammed; and brought to great perfection by Ali Ebn Bowab, who flourished in the following century, and whose name is yet famous among them on that account. Others, however, attribute the honour of the invention of this character to Ebn Moklah's brother, Abdallah al Hasan; and the perfecting of it to Ebn Amid al Kâteb, after it had been reduced to near the present form by Abd' Alhamid. But the best authors contradict the last of these notions, as well as the former, by affirming, that Yakût al Moftafemî, secretary to Al Moftafem, the last of the khâlis of the family of Abbas, gave the finishing hand to it, for which reason he was surnamed Al Khattat, or the fibrice. In order to perpetuate the memory of Morâmer's invention, some authors call the Arabic letters al Morâmer, i.e. "the progeny of Morâmer." The most remarkable specimens of the Cuphic character, so denominated from Cupha, or Cufa, a city of Irâk, where some of the first copies of the Korân were written, are the following: part of that book in it on vellum, brought from Egypt by Mr. Greaves; some other fragments of the same book in it published by Sir John Chardin; certain pages of a MS. in the Bodleian library; the legends on several Saracen coins dug up.
Chap. 8. The History of the Arabs.

up about twenty years ago on the coast of the Baltic, not far from Dantzig; and, according to Mr. professor Hunt, those noble remains of it that are, or were lately, to be seen in Mr. Joseph Ames’s valuable collection of antique curiosities. As to the true origin of the antient and modern Arabic alphabets, we must own ourselves pretty much in the dark. However, that very learned and profound orientalist Mr. Schultens, seems not very remote from truth, when he deduces the letters, of which they confist, from the most antient Hebrew or Assyrian.

In order to give our readers a clearer idea of what that antient and modern alphabet, as likewise the of the African Saracens published by Kircher, which seems to be the old Hamyaritic character mentioned by Al-Firauzabadius, Al-Jannabius, Ebn Khalikan, and Georgius Ebn Amid, under the title of Al Mosnad. As the Persians were neighbours to the Arabs, and of the same religion with part of them, before the time of Mohammed, we have thought proper here likewise to give them the old Persian alphabet (S), which, we doubt not, they will look upon as a very agreeable curiosity.

Q. 2

The


(S) For this we are obliged to the Reverend Mr. Costard, fellow of Wadham college, Oxford, a gentleman of great erudition, and particularly eminent for his skill in the Oriental tongues.
The modern Arabic alphabet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Power</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Figure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A or E.</td>
<td>Elif</td>
<td>ا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Be.</td>
<td>ب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>T.</td>
<td>Te.</td>
<td>ت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>T, blæfe, or lisping.</td>
<td>Thfe.</td>
<td>ث</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>G.</td>
<td>Gjim.</td>
<td>ج</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Hh.</td>
<td>Hha.</td>
<td>ح</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>Cha.</td>
<td>خ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Dal.</td>
<td>د</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>D, blæfe, or lisping.</td>
<td>Dhsal.</td>
<td>ذ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td>Re.</td>
<td>ر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Z.</td>
<td>Ze.</td>
<td>ز</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Sin.</td>
<td>س</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sj.</td>
<td>Sjim.</td>
<td>ش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Sad.</td>
<td>ض</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Dad.</td>
<td>ط</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>T.</td>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>ئ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Da.</td>
<td>ئ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>The Hebrew Ṭ.</td>
<td>Ain.</td>
<td>أ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>G. Latin.</td>
<td>Gain.</td>
<td>غ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>F.</td>
<td>Fe.</td>
<td>ف</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>K.</td>
<td>Kaf.</td>
<td>ك</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Kef.</td>
<td>ك</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>Lam.</td>
<td>ل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>Mim.</td>
<td>م</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>Nun.</td>
<td>ن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>W.</td>
<td>Waw.</td>
<td>و</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>H.</td>
<td>He.</td>
<td>ه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>Le.</td>
<td>ي</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The old Arabic alphabet.  The old Persian alphabet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elif.</td>
<td>أ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be.</td>
<td>ب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gain.</td>
<td>ج</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dal.</td>
<td>د</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dfal.</td>
<td>ذ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He.</td>
<td>ح</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waw.</td>
<td>و</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gim.</td>
<td>غ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hha.</td>
<td>خ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta.</td>
<td>ت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye.</td>
<td>ي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caf.</td>
<td>ئ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like the English U.  Like the English V, and at the end of a word ء.
The old Arabic alphabet continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Arabic</th>
<th>Old Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ل (Lam)</td>
<td>ل (Lam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>م (Mem)</td>
<td>م (Mem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ن (Nun)</td>
<td>ن (Nun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>س (Sad)</td>
<td>س (Sad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ع (Ain)</td>
<td>ع (Ain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ف (Fe)</td>
<td>ف (Fe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز (Zc)</td>
<td>ز (Zc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ك (Kaf)</td>
<td>ك (Kaf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ر (Re)</td>
<td>ر (Re)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ض (Sin)</td>
<td>ض (Sin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ت (Shin)</td>
<td>ت (Shin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ث (Te)</td>
<td>ث (Te)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like the English F.
Like the English P.

at the end of a word.

The
Chap. 8. The History of the Arabs.

The old Persian vowels and diphthongs.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & \quad \text{š} \\
\text{e} & \quad \text{æ} \\
\text{ao} & \quad \text{ê} \\
\text{i} & \quad \text{i} \\
\text{ê} & \quad \text{ê} \\
\text{û} & \quad \text{û} \\
\end{align*}
\]

It appears, from comparing the old Persian and modern Arabic alphabets, that the following letters of the latter are wanting in the former, viz. \text{غ، خ، ض، ص، ث}.

Now Ludovicus de Dieu, in his Persian grammar, observes, that the true Persian words have scarce ever any of these letters in them. It is observable, likewise, that the Arabic characters, which the Persians adopted in the reign of Jezdegerd, do not always answer the sounds they represent, so well as the old Persian letters did. In proof of which, it will be sufficient to produce the two following instances.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arab.</th>
<th>Old Persian.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>سرود</td>
<td>پسرود</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The African Saracenic alphabet, probably the same as the antient Hymyaritic, given us by Kircher.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
\text{Dh} & \text{D} & \text{Sh} & \text{S} & \text{Sc} & \text{S} & \text{Z} & \text{R} & \text{Dh} & \text{D} & \text{Ch} & \text{Hh} & \text{G} & \text{Th} & \text{TBA} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
\text{I} & \text{I} & \text{L} & \text{L} & \text{H} & \text{L} & \text{V} & \text{H} & \text{H} & \text{N} & \text{N} & \text{M} & \text{M} & \text{L} & \text{L} & \text{K} & \text{C} & \text{Ph} & \text{Gh} & \text{Gh} & \text{Gh} & \text{Ai} \\
\end{array}
\]
Chap. 8. The History of the Arabs.

Though by far the greatest part of the Arabs before Mohammed could neither read nor write, every one of which went under the denomination of Al Ommio; yet several of them became famous for their eloquence, and a perfect skill in their own tongue. Herein they exercised themselves by composing of orations and poems. Their orations were of two forts, metrical and prosaic, the one being compared to pearls strung, and the other to loose ones. They endeavoured to excel in both, and whoever was able in an assembly to persuade the people to a great enterprise, or dissuade them from a dangerous one, or gave them other wholesome advice, was honoured with the title of Khâteb, or orator, which is now given to the Mohammedan preachers. They called an oration giving a detail of some glorious achievements, delivered from the rostra, Khôtbah, according to Al-Barezi, a word of the same origin with Khâteb above-mentioned. From what we find in several authors, they pursued a method very different from that of the Greek and Roman orators; their sentences being like loose gems, without connection; so that this sort of composition struck the audience chiefly by the fulness of the periods, the elegance of the expression, and the acuteness of the proverbial sayings (T). So persuaded were they of their excelling

(T) Now we are speaking of the Arab literature, our readers will expect some account of the fabulous Lokmân, so famous over all the east. Lokmân, surnamed al Hakim, i.e. the wise, or the sage, according to Sadi, Akramas, and Schaab, was endued with the gift of prophecy, which came to him by succession, he having been the son or grandson of a sister or aunt of Job. The author of Taniafir makes him the son of Baura, or Bêor, the son of Nahor, the son of Terah, and consequently related to Abraham. Abouleïts gives Lockmân the surname of Abou Anam, i.e. the father of Anam, though others call his son Mathân. The author of the book intitled Ain al mânî says, he was born in the time of David, and lived till the age of Jonah; but this exceeds all belief. According to the description of his person by the Arab writers, he must have been deformed enough; for they say he was an Ethiopian or Nubian slave, and consequently of a black complexion, with thick lips, and flat feet. But in return he received from God wisdom and eloquence in a great degree, which some pretend were given him in a vision, on his making choice of wisdom preferably to the gift of prophecy, either of which were offered him. The generality of the Mohammedans therefore hold him to have been no prophet, but only a sage or
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excelling in this way, that they would not allow any nation
to understand the art of speaking in public, except themselves
and the Persians; which last were reckoned much inferior in

wise man. Others relate, that when God, in order to reward
his transcendent piety, offered to make him his vicegerent on
distinction, though with an entire resignation to the divine will, begging that
God would enable him to execute all His orders, in case He
thought proper to fix him in so sublime a post. This, continue
the same authors, so exceedingly pleased God, that he made him
superior to all other men in wisdom; insomuch that he wrote ten
thousand proverbs and fables, for the instruction of mankind.
From several authors it appears, that he lived in the reigns of
David and Solomon, and that by nation he was an Ethiopian,
sold to the Israelites, but by religion a Jew. The author of
Tarikh Montakhab affirms, that the sepulchre of Lokmân was
to be seen in his time at Ramlah or Ramah, near Jerufalem; and
that he was interred near seventy prophets, who had been starved
by the Jews, and all died in one day. He is said to have obtained
his liberty on the following occasion: His master having one day
given him a bitter melon to eat, he paid him such exact obedience
as to eat it all; at which his master being surprized, asked him
how he could eat so nauseous a fruit? To which he replied, it
was no wonder, that he should for once accept a bitter fruit from
the same hand, from which he had received so many favours.
Our readers will naturally observe, that Lokmân, who lived in
the time of the prophet Hud, or Heber, could not be the same
person with the fabulous here mentioned.

As most of the particulars relating to the person of Lokmân
here related, as well as the quick repartees of which he is made
the author by the commentators on the Korân, agree so well with
what Maximus Planudes has written of Æsop, these two sages
are generally thought to have been the same person. The great
resemblance the fables of Lokmân bear to those of Æsop is an
additional argument in favour of this notion. We are inclined to
believe, that Planudes borrowed great part of his life of Æsop
from the traditions he met with in the east concerning Lokmân,
and concluded these two persons to have been the same from the
circumstances above-mentioned. That the fables attributed to
Æsop were of Oriental extraction, cannot well be denied, since
they favour much more of the genius of the Orientals than of
that of the Greeks. Fable or apologue was of a very high anti-
quity in the east, and even the countries bordering on Arabia, if
not in Arabia itself; as may be learned from the noble example
of this form of instruction in the speech of Jotham to the men of
Shechem,
Chap. 8. The History of the Arabs.

that respect to the Arabians. Two of the antient Arabs, who immortalized their names by their eloquence, were Koss and Sabinet, of the tribe of Wayel. Hence came the proverbs, "More expert in the art of speaking than Koss," and "More eloquent than Sabinet." To their poetry they seem to have been chiefly indebted, for the polishing, and even preservation, of their language, before the use of letters was introduced amongst them; for which reason their authors generally consider this and the study of their language together. In their poems, likewise, were preserved the distinction of descents, the rights of tribes, and the memory of great actions. An excellent poet, therefore, reflected an honour on his tribe, so that as soon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes sent publicly to congratulate them on the occasion, and themselves

Shechem, which was made near two hundred years before the time of Lokmân, supposing him to have been cotemporary with David. In fine, we are disposed to think, that the Arab traditions concerning the wisdom of Lokmân were only corruptions of some passages of Scripture relating to Solomon king of Israel, especially if we admit the queen of Sheba to have been a Nubian or Ethiopian. This will appear at least probable, from 1 Kings c. iii. ver. 9--13. c. iv. ver. 30--34. compared with what has been already observed of Lokmân from the eastern writers. The generality of these writers make Lokmân cotemporary with David and Solomon, and of the same religion with those princes; which adds no small weight to our opinion. As for the deformity of his person, that might have been introduced by them, in order to set off to the greater advantage, by such a contrast, the excellency of his wisdom. We must not omit observing, that the thirty-first chapter of the Korân, from whence several hints relating to our sage may be drawn, is intituled Lokmân; nor that some fables going under his name have been published by Golius, at the end of his edition of Erpenius's Arabic grammar. What is here advanced will meet with a better reception from our readers, when they have consulted Mr. D'Herbelot in the article Lokmân (19).

themelves made entertainments, at which the women affixed, dressed in their nuptial ornaments, singing, to the sound of timbrels, the happiness of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preserve their genealogies, and the purity of their language, and to transmit their actions to posterity. For this was all performed by their poems, to which they were solely obliged for their knowledge, and instructions, moral and economical, and to which they had recourse, as to an oracle, in all doubts and differences. No wonder, then, that poetry was in such esteem among them, that they looked upon it as a great accomplishment, and a proof of ingenuous extraction, to be able to express one's self in verse with ease and elegance, on any extraordinary occurrence; nor that even in their common discourse they made frequent applications of celebrated passages of their famous poets. As the Arabs considered an elegant and instructive poem as the summit of human performances, a spirit of emulation was kept up amongst their poets; in order to which, the tribes had once a year a general assembly at Ocadh, a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our Sunday. This annual meeting lasted a whole month, during which time they employed themselves, not only in trading, but in repeating their poetical compositions, contending and vying with each other for the prize; whence the place, it is said, took its name. The poems that were judged to excel, were laid up in their king's treasuries, as were the seven celebrated poems, thence called Al Moallakat, rather than from their being hung up on the Caaba, which honour they also had by public order, being written on Egyptian silk, and in letters of gold; on which account they had also the name of Al Modhahabat, or the golden verses. It is worthy observation, that such a public congratulation as has been already mentioned was made only on the birth of a boy, the rife of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed; which they reckoned three great points of felicity. Though poetry was of so high an antiquity amongst the Arabs, they did not at first use to write poems of any just length, but only expressed in verse occasionally; nor was their prosody digested into rules, till some time after Mohammed; for this was done, as it is said, by Al Khalil Ahmed al Farahidi, who lived in the reign of the khalif Harun ar Rashid. The first author of a poem that consisted of thirty verses, or Al-Kafidah, was Mohalhel. According to Al-Khalil, there are fifteen different kinds of Arabic verse; Zamakhsharius makes them sixteen, and
and others only eleven or twelve. Mohammed suppressed the fair and assembly at Ocdah, which occasioned poetry to decline in his time, and for some years after, the Arabs being then employed in extending their conquests; which having done, upon the return of peace this study was revived, and almost all sorts of learning encouraged, and not a little improved by them. However, this interruption occasioned the loss of most of their antient pieces of poetry, which were then chiefly preserved by memory. The Arabian poetry agrees with the Greek and Roman in this, that it consists of Ajzac, parts corresponding with their feet; and these differ, according to the different number and quantity of syllables, as the Greek and Roman feet did. The whole art of the Arab versification consists in the due position of letters called moveable and quiescent. A moveable letter has its proper vowel; a quiescent letter one that has no vowel of its own, but is joined to the preceding letter, and with it makes one syllable. Thus, for instance, in Ḥarfon, Ḥ (H) has its vowel (a), and therefore is moveable; but Ṣ (R) is destitute of one, and therefore joined to the preceding Ḥ (H), with which, it forms but one syllable. We must not here omit taking notice of the quick transitions from subject to subject in the Arab poetry, nor of the most celebrated antient Arab poets, whose works were hung up in the Caaba, adorned in the above-mentioned manner: viz. 1. Amriol Kais. 2. Tarafah. 3. Zohair. 4. Labid. 5. Antarah. 6. Al-Hareth. 7. Amru Ebn Kalthum. Some authors, in the room of Antarah and Al-Hareth, substitute Al-Aafha and Al-Nabega. The title affixed to every copy of verses in the Caaba was, Modhahhabato Fohlan, i.e. "the golden verses of a certain poet, which are the best he ever wrote."
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Before we dismiss our present subject, it will be proper to take notice of some few particulars relating to the chronology of the Arabs. They divided the year into twelve months, whose antient names were, 1. Mutemer. 2. Nagir. 3. Chavan. 4. Savan. 5. Ritma. 6. Ida. 7. Afam. 8. Adil. 9. Natil. 10. Vail. 11. Varun. 12. Burec. But Kelab, the son of Morrah, from whom Mohammed was lineally descended, having, from certain events happening in every month, given new names to them, the old ones in his time began to grow obsolete amongst the Korifi; and afterwards, by the authority of Mohammed, when he had brought all the rest of the Arab tribes under his power, were totally abolished in every part of Arabia. As Mohammed made the use of the modern names one of the distinguishing characteristics of his followers, it is no wonder they should still prevail amongst the Mohammedans. The first day of Mutemer, or Muharram, being the first day of the year, was celebrated by the antient kings of Yaman with great festivity and munificence, as it was likewise by the Perhans, and other eastern nations. The nation we are now upon antiently divided the year also into six feasons. 1. The feason of herbs, flowers, &c. 2. Summer. 3. The hot feason. 4. The feason of fruits. 5. Autumn, or rather the latter part of autumn. 6. Winter. That the antient Arab year was lunifolar, has been already observed; but the custom of intercalating months, in order to make the course of the moon to agree with that of the sun, was abolished by Mohammed. The Arabs, like the Egyptians, Indians, Greeks, Romans, &c. antiently computed their time by weeks, or periods of seven days, as we learn from a very antient Arab poet, who died many ages before the publication of the Korân. The old names of these days are given us by that poet in the following order: 1. Euvel. 2. Bahân. 3. Gebår. 4. Debår. 5. Mûnis. 6. Aruba. 7. Xijar. We have already delivered our sentiments concerning the origin of this manner of computing time, and may possibly say something farther of it, when we come to the history of the Indians b.

Chap. 8. The History of the Arabs.

The sciences chiefly cultivated by the antient Arabians were three; that of their history and genealogies, such a knowledge of the stars as to foretell the changes of weather, and the interpretation of dreams. They valued themselves extremely on account of the nobility of their families, and so many disputes happened on that occasion, that it is no wonder, if they took great pains in settling their descents. Their knowledge of the stars was gathered from long experience, and not from any regular study, or astronomical rules. The Arabians and Indians, as has been already hinted, applied themselves to observe the fixed stars, contrary to other nations, whose observations were almost confined to the planets; and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature. The stars or asterisms they most usually foretold the weather by, were those they call Anwâ, or the houses of the moon. These are 28 in number, and divide the zodiac into as many parts, through one of which the moon passes every night. As some of them set in the morning, others rise opposite to them, which happens every thirteenth night; and from their rising and setting, the Arabs, by long experience, observed what changes happened in the air; and at length came to ascribe divine power to them, saying, that their rain was from such or such a star. This expression Mohammed absolutely forbade them to use in the old sense, unless qualified in such a manner as to make the Supreme Being the director and manager of them. We find Al-Rayefh, one of the kings of Yaman, surnamed "the philosopher," not so much on account of his learning, as of his great prudence, and intellectual endowments. That the Arabs understood something of physics before the time of Mohammed, appears from hence, that the famous Arabian physician Al Harith Ebn Khalda, so celebrated amongst his countrymen, was older than that impostor. They seem to have made no farther progress in astronomy, which they afterwards cultivated with so much success and applause, than to observe the influence of the stars upon the weather, and to give them names; which it was obvious for them to do, by reason of their pastoral way of life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they imposed on the stars generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were so nice in distinguishing them, that no language has so many names of stars and asterisms as the Arabic. For though they have since borrowed the names of several constellations from the Greeks, yet the far greater part are
The History of the Arabs. Book IV.

are of their own growth, and much more antient; particularly those of the more conspicuous stars, dispersed in several constellations, and those of the lesser constellations, which are contained within the greater, and were not observed or named by the Greeks. Some of the chief of these are Auwâ in Virgo, Benât Al Nafh in Ursa major, Aiyûk and Al Gjedyân in Auriga, Ma'laph and Al Himarein in Cancer, &c. To wave all other arguments in favour of the high antiquity of the names of several stars and asterisms amongst the Arabs, it will be sufficient to observe, that some of these names were prior to the time of Job; nay that, in all probability, they were coeval with the first peopling of Arabia, since from the beginning the Arabs led a pastoral life, lying altogether in the open air, and continually viewing their flocks and the stars; from whence it came to pas, that the first appellations given to some of the latter, alluded to the former. Neither can we absolutely reject what has been hinted by Ricciolus, viz., that some degree of attention is due to those who believe astronomy to be as antient as Adam, and consequently that several names of stars and constellations now in use amongst the Arabs, may be supposed to precede even the deluge itself. Onirocritic, or the art of interpreting dreams, this nation had in common with the Egyptians, Chaldeans, &c. as likewise divination by arrows; and, as is probable, something of geomathetical astrology.

That some of the Arabs had a good degree of knowledge in several mechanical arts, appears from Strabo, who informs us, that the people of Tamma and the adjacent provinces had magnificent temples, and elegant houses, built in the Egyptian taste. The same author likewise relates, that in Arabia Felix, besides the husbandmen, there were many artificers, and, amongst others those who made palm-wine, which, he intimates, was much used by the Arabs. As for the exercise of arms and horsemanship, they looked upon this as one of their principal accomplishments, being obliged to practise and encourage it by reason of the independency of their tribes, whose frequent jarrings made wars almost continual amongst them, which for the most part ended.

ended in field battles. Hence it became an usual saying amongst them, that God had bestowed four peculiar things on the Arabs, viz. turbans instead of diadems, tents instead of walls and houses, swords instead of entrenchments, and poems instead of written laws. The principal arms used by the antient Arabs were bows and arrows, darts or javelins, and broad swords or cymeters. The bows and arrows were the most antient of these, being used by Ishmael himself, according to Scripture. It is probable also, that some of them were acquainted with every branch of the military art cultivated by their neighbours, the Egyptians, Syrians, and Phæncians.

With regard to the disposition of the antient Arabs, it will be proper to remark, that they had their good and bad qualities, their excellencies and defects, as well as other nations. Hospitality was so habitual to them, that in this they seem to have exceeded all their neighbours. Agatharchides represents them as the most hospitable people in the world to all nations, but particularly some of the Greeks. Hadem of the tribe of Tay, and Hafn of that of Fezarah, were principally famous on this account: the latter of these, we are told, fell into as great a transport of joy, when he conferred any signal favour upon a petitioner, as others did when they received such a favour. Nay, the contrary vice was so much in contempt amongst the Arabs, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of Wafet, as with the greatest reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give, nor their women to deny. As a mark of their hospitable disposition, the Arabs used to light fires on the tops of hills, which in the night conducted travellers to their tents, and afforded them a kind reception. Every one of these fires they called the fire of hospitality, and the larger and higher it was, the greater honour and glory it reflected upon the person or persons concerned in lighting it. The highest compliment that could be paid a man was, to pass an encomium upon his munificence; as that most acceptable to a woman was, to celebrate her parsimony, and her beauty. The antients likewise commend the Arabs for being exact to their words, and respectful to their kindred; and they have

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have always been celebrated for their quickness of apprehension, and penetration, as well as the vivacity of their wit; especially those of the desert e.

On the other hand, that the Arabs had a natural inclination to war, bloodshed, cruelty, and rapine, is acknowledged by their own writers. They had always been so much addicted to bear malice, that they scarce ever forgot an old grudge; which vindictive temper, some physicians say, ought to be attributed to their frequent feeding on camels flesh, that creature being most malicious, and tenacious of anger. And at this day the Arabs of the desert, who eat little else, are observed to be most inclined to these vices; which account, according to Mr. Sale, suggests a good reason for a distinction of meats f.

That the antient Scenite Arabs, Ishmaelites, or Nabathaens, in conformity to the divine prediction, lived upon plunder, harrassing their neighbours by continual robberies and excursions, we learn from Diodorus Siculus. That author observes, that it was in a manner impossible either to subdue or attack this nation of robbers; because they had wells digged at proper distances in their dry and barren country, known only to themselves: so that if any body of foreigners ever pursu'd or invaded them, they for the most part either died of thirst, or were consumed by the fatigues they found themselves obliged to sustein. Neither are their posterity less infamous at present, on account of the robberies they commit on merchants and travellers. This they are sensible of, and endeavour to excuse themselves, by alleging the hard usage of their father Ishmael, who, being turned out of doors by Abraham, had the open plains and deserts given him by God for his patrimony, with permission to take whatever he could find there. This therefore, they think, authorizes them to indemnify themselves, as well as they can, not only on the posterity of Isaac, but also on every body else; always

e Gentius in not. ad Gulistan Sheikh Sadi, p. 486, &c.

f Poc. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 87, 88, Bochart, Herzo-
ways supposing a sort of kindred between themselves and those they plunder. And, in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it sufficient to change the expression, and, instead of, I robbed a man of such and such a thing, to say, I gained it. We must not, however, imagine, that they are the less honest for this among themselves, or towards those whom they receive as friends; on the contrary, the strictest probity is observed in their camp, where every thing is open, and nothing ever known to be stolen. The Ishmaelites also employed themselves in pasturage, as well as pillaging of passengers, and lived chiefly on the milk and flesh of camels, as above-mentioned. However, some of them used horse's flesh, as well as that of camels, according to the Arab poet Tograi. They often changed their habitations, as the convenience of water, and of pasture for their cattle invited them, staying in a place no longer than that lasted, and then removing in search of another. They generally wintered in Irak, and the confines of Syria. Before the Romans subdued Syria, the Seneite Arabs made dreadful excursions into that country, where they committed great depredations, as we learn from Strabo.

Besides these free-booters, we find a more civilized kind of Arabs, who dwelt in cities and towns. These lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm-trees, breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exercise of all sorts of trades, particularly merchandizing, wherein they were very eminent, even in the time of Jacob. The tribe of Koreish were much addicted to commerce, and Mohammed, in his younger years, was brought up to the same business; it being customary for the Arabians to exercise the same trade that their parents did, according to Strabo. Neither ought it to appear surprizing, that the Arabs should have had such a genius for traffic, if their country produced such immense quantities of the most precious commodities, as some authors suggest. Balsam, cinnamon, and Caffia, the Happy Arabia abounded with, as likewise myrrh, frankincense, and all the most noble spices and perfumes. Cattle likewise its inhabitants had sufficient to supply all their neighbours with,

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and even many of the remoter nations. But, above all, the gold, which was the proper produce of this country, has been represented by Agatharchides and Strabo to be so copious as to exceed all belief. According to them, the Alilæi and Caffandrini, in the southern parts of Arabia, had gold in that plenty amongst them, that they would give double the weight of gold for iron, triple its weight for brass, and ten times its weight for silver. In digging the earth they found some pieces of pure gold, which needed no refining, as big as olive stones, others as big as medlers, and lastly others equal to walnuts. Hence it came to pass, that all the furniture of their houses, even their chairs, beds, cups, and vessels of all kinds, consisted of gold and silver. Nay, according to Agatharchides, they alone enriched Syria to a great degree under the Ptolemies, and rewarded the mercantile diligence and labour of the Phoenicians. Contiguous to the Alilæi and Caffandrini were the Dedebeæ or Debæ, through whose country passed a river so abounding with small goblets of gold, that the mud at the mouth of it seemed to consist entirely of that metal. Diodorus relates, that this gold was of so bright and glorious a colour, that it added an exceeding lustre and beauty to the most valuable gems set in it. In short, continues the last author, Arabia Felix, at least the region of the Sabæi, was so immensely rich, that all the treasures of the world seemed to centre there; all the commodities of Asia and Europe being brought thither, as to an universal mart. But, notwithstanding the happiness of its climate, its fertility and riches, Strabo intimates, that Arabia was aggrandized solely by trade, and that in reality a great part of the riches, which the antients imagined were the produce of Arabia, came from the Indies and the coast of Africa. For, the Egyptians, who had engrossed that trade, which was then carried on by way of the Red Sea, to themselves, industriously concealed the truth of the matter, and kept their ports shut, to prevent foreigners from penetrating into those countries, or receiving any information from thence. And this precaution of theirs on the one side, and the deserts, impassable to strangers on the other, were the reason why Arabia was so little known to the Greeks and Romans. Amongst other vessels the Arabs used on the Red Sea, to carry on their commerce with Egypt and Ethiopia, were some made of leather, the invention of which the reflux of that sea suggested to them.
Chap. 8. The History of the Arabs.

Amongst the principal customs of the antient Arabs, besides those couched under some of the former general heads, may be ranked the following:

1. The antient Arabs used circumcision, either on the eighth day, according to Philostorgius, or after they had completed the thirteenth year of their age when Ishmael was circumcised, as Josephus affirms. Al-Gazalim intimates, that they underwent the rite of circumcision when all their teeth were completely formed, and Ebn al Athir betwixt the tenth and fifteenth year, which seems to correspond pretty well with what we find advanced by Josephus. The Arab writers affirm Mohammed to have been born both without a navel and a prepuce.

2. They frequently fed upon black-puddings, which consisted of the intestines of camels filled with their blood, which they called mosswadd. 3. They were extremely addicted to divination and augury. When any one of them set out upon a journey, he observed the first bird he met with; and, if it flew to the right, he pursued his journey, but if to the left, he returned home. Some of them paid the like regard to the motions of all other animals. When a person, distrusting the fidelity of his wife, went a journey, he tied together some of the boughs of a tree called 'Al-Ratam, and if upon his return he found them in the same position, he judged she had been faithful to him, otherwise not. For the manner of their divination by arrows, we must beg leave to refer our readers to Dr. Pocock's specimen historiae Arabum. All the species of augury and divination were forbid by Mohammed; as likewise the plays of chefs, dice, cards, &c. which in the Koran are comprehended under the name of Al Maifer. 4. When a she-camel or ewe had brought forth twins ten times, she had an ear cut off, and was afterwards sent to graze at liberty; but women were never permitted to taste of her flesh. 5. According to some authors, many of the idolatrous Koreish buried their daughters alive as soon as they were born, upon a mountain near Mecca, called Abu-Dalamah. 6. It was not uncommon for the Arabs to marry their father's wife, who, as they imagined, by an hereditary right, belonged to the eldest son, or, if he was already provided for, to one of his brethren; but this the most virtuous of them condemned as an ignominious and shocking crime, and styled the person guilty of it Al-Daizan. 7. Some of them married two sisters; which Shahrestani looks upon as one of the worst things they were guilty of.

xxxvii. ver. 25. La Roque, voyage dans la Palest. p. 109, &c. Vid. etiam Sale, ubi sup. p. 25.
ty of. 8. Most of them went a pilgrimage to the Caaba, observing some particular ceremonies, which our readers will find described by Abulfeda. 9. The Caaba, their great temple or place of religious worship from the remotest antiquity, was their Keblah, or place towards which they turned themselves when they prayed. 10. Every third year they intercalated a month, their year consisting of lunar months, as already observed. 11. They frequently washed their mouth and nostrils, combed their hair, cleaned their teeth, pared their nails, and had other usages conducive to external purification. 12. Whenever any one was found guilty of theft, they immediately cut off his right-hand. 12. They addressed themselves to their kings in these terms, "May you avert all malédiction," or, according to Dr. Pocock, in order to shew their profound respect and reverence for, as well as submission to, his person, "He hath averted all malédiction;" i.e., "May God be propitious to you," or, "May God prolong your life." This form of salutation was first used to Yarab the son of Káhtan, whose memory is held in great veneration by the Arabs to this day. 13. In Arabia Petráea a prince of one family, called the royal family, always governed, and was attended and served by a person styled the king's brother. 14. In Arabia Felix the king's brothers preceded his sons, and had greater respect shewn them, as being more advanced in years. 15. The Troglodytes, in the neighbourhood of Arabia, lived a pastoral life, and kept their wives and children in common. They were governed by several tyrants, who had wives, whom none of their subjects must lie with under the penalty of a sheep. The women hung a fishshell about their necks, which they believed to be a preservative against all kinds of fascination. 16. Strabo seems to intimate, that there was but one wife in a family, amongst some tribes of the Arabs, with whom all the men lay by turns; and that, whilst one was engaged with her, a staff, which all of them walked with, was erected before the door of the tent, as a signal to prevent another's approach. But the senor of the family, who always governed it, lay with her in the night. Adultery they punished with death; but esteemed him only guilty of it, who had to do with a woman of another tribe. 17. The Nabathæans were good economical, and therefore inflicted punishment publicly on such as squandered away their substance; but paid great respect to such as increased it. 18. As they had very few slaves amongst them, relations either served at meals, and on other occasions, or they assisted one another, or, lustly, served themselves; which usage like-
The History of the Arabs.

wise extended to their phylarchs. 19. At their feasts they generally admitted only thirteen persons; and had always two musicians to perform during the whole entertainment. 20. Their phylarchs had so little power, that they were almost upon a level with the populace, and had their conduct frequently inspected into, and were obliged to give an account of it in person to a public assembly of their respective tribes. 21. Their cities were not walled round, scarce any foreign invader ever attempting to disturb them. 22. It was a common practice among the Saracens or Scenite Arabs to have mercenary wives, hired for a time, marrying in one place, bringing forth in another, and educating their children in a third. Nor is this matter much altered since the admission of divorces; on the contrary, amongst many of them it is in all respects the same. 23. According to some authors, the antient Arabs circumcised their daughters as well as their sons. 24. When the Sabaean found themselves near overcome by the strong odours emitted by their perfumes and aromatic plants, they had recourse to the fumes of bitumen, and the hair of goat's-beard on fire under the nose of the patient, which recovered them. 25. They reaped twice a year, having two harvests as well as the Indians and Ethiopians. 26. In their wars they brought into the field a great number of camels, carrying each of them two archers fitting back to back, that in any general action they might be able to oppose the enemy both in rear and in front at the same time. Several other customs prevailing amongst the antient Arabs, depending upon the authority of the Koran, will be touched upon hereafter occasionally, when we come to consider the tenets and doctrines of that book. 1

The history of the Arabs, to the time of Mohammed.

Joktan and his family settle in Arabia soon after the confusion of languages.

Joktan the son of Eber, whom the Arabs call Kahtán, had thirteen sons, who, some time after the confusion of languages at Babel, settled in Arabia, extending themselves from Mesha to Sephar, a mountainous district in the south-eastern part of that peninsula. To this district, in all probability, part of the provinces of Hadramaut and Shihir corresponds, particularly that adjacent to the city of Dhafar or Saphar, in which some traces of Moses's Sephar seem still to be preferred. The names of these thirteen planters were, Almodad, Shelep, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab. As for Hadramaut, Seba, Ophir, and Kawilah, the sons of Kahtán, mentioned by M. D'Herbelot, they were undoubtedly the same with Hazarmaveth, Sheba, Ophir, and Havilah; as appears, not only from the affinity of names, but likewise the order in which the three last are placed. According to Ahmed Ebn Yusuf, Kahtán had thirty-one sons by the same mother, of whom all but two, leaving Arabia, went and settled in India. Yarab, the elder of those two, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Yaman, giving his name, if we will believe the Arab writers, both to their country and language, as has been already observed: Jorham, the younger, founded the kingdom of Hejaz, where his posterity kept the throne till the time of Ishmael. That Jarab and Jorham are the Jerah and Hadoram of Scripture, we cannot help thinking probable, though we are far from inferring upon it. Let this be admitted, and it will follow, that the second king of Yaman was called Jerah or Yarah, not Yarab; and consequently, that the peninsula of Arabia (A), and

(A) It is at least equally improbable, that the peninsula of Arabia should have been so denominated from we know not what mixture of different nations inhabiting it: for the Arabs agree, that they had only two principal planters, viz. Kahtán and Ishmael,
and the Arabic tongue, could not have received their denominations from that prince, as the Arabs pretend. But whether Yarab and Jorham be the same persons with Jerah and Hadoram or not, we cannot infer from the disagreement betwixt their names, as M. Gagnier seems to have done, that every thing related by the Arabs of the former is a downright fiction; because, as the language differed gradually more and more from the Hebrew, the Arabs undoubtedly altered the most antient proper names. Of this Hazarmaveth and Hadramaut, Joktan and Kahtan, which conferredly denote the same persons, are a sufficient proof. Elmacinus says, that Kahtan was the father of the Arabs, and that he begat many children, who chose for their princes or leaders Saba, Ophir, and Gjawilah, i.e. Sheba, Ophir, and Havilah; which runs counter to what we find advanced by Ahmed Ebn Yufe, Abulfeda, and others. And this disagreement between the most celebrated eastern writers, with regard to the first kings of Arabia, clearly evinces, that none of them, at least in this point, can be entirely depended upon.

Ishmael,


mael, whose families by intermarriages became one and the same. And it is generally allowed, that no people in the world have had a less mixture with foreigners than the Arabs, nor have preserved their antient customs and manners more invariably the same than they have done. Nor indeed can we conceive an introduction of foreign customs amongst them likely to be effected, since neither the Persians, Greeks, or Romans, could ever subdue them; and as for the Egyptians, though Sefac obliged a good part of Arabia to submit to him, his successors could not long keep their footing there. All the other etymons of Arabia, except that we have already given, are so apparently remote from truth, that not the least regard is due unto them (1).

The History of the Arabs. Book IV.

As does Ishmael, and his mother Hagar, having been dismissed by Abraham in the manner already related, retired into the wilderness of Paran, where they were supported by the Divine favour and assistance. God had assured Hagar in his distress, before the birth of Ishmael, that her son should be the father of a most numerous and potent nation; that he and his descendants should be wild, and live in a state of enmity with the rest of mankind; and yet that they should never be thoroughly subjugated by any foreign power. The truth of which most surprising prediction to demonstration appears, from the manner of life, disposition, power, government, &c. of the Scenite Arabs, or, as they are frequently now styled, the wild Arabs, from the age of Ishmael to this very day. For, from Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Ammianus Marcellinus, to omit other antient authors, as well as the relations of all modern travellers, who have visited the countries they inhabit, they now live in the same manner their father Ishmael did, and have always done so from his time to the present. Their disposition likewise is the same that it was predicted to be, as it always has been; that is, "their hand has been against every man," and consequently, "every man's hand against them;" since they always have, and still do, for the most part, live by pillaging passengers of all nations. They never were reduced to, or at least for any time continued in, a state of servitude, as appears from all the principal antient historians mentioning them, and their present absolute independence on the Turk; which gives us an idea of their power and government, sufficient to convince us of the agreement of both with the Divine prediction, relating to Ishmael and his posterity. The vatt puissance and conquests of the Saracens, the descendents of Ishmael, as well as the similitude of their manners and those of the Ishmaelites, as foretold by God himself in the Mosaic history, likewise confirm the authority of Scripture in this particular. But this point our readers will find yet in a just and proper light, by two authors, who deserve well both of literature and religion.

Ishmael,


Ishmael, as we learn from the sacred historian, held his residence in the wilderness of Paran, and married an Egyptian. In conformity to the Divine prediction to Abraham, he had twelve sons, the heads of so many tribes, which in after-ages grew exceedingly potent, whose names we have already given. The Arab writers say, that he took to wife the daughter of Modad king of Hejaz, descended lineally from Jorham the founder of that kingdom. Be that as it will, he died at an hundred and thirty-seven years of age, probably not far from the borders of Egypt. As the Arabs have always considered him, and still do consider him, as the father of the greatest part of their nation, and this notion is strongly countenanced by Scripture, we may look upon him and Joktan as the principal planters of Arabia. This seems an additional proof to those already offered, that the (B) Cushites did not settle in any great numbers here, or at least, that their settlement was not of any long continuance, but that they passed, either through Egypt, or on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, and over the fireights of Bab al Mandab, into Ethiopia. The silence of the Orientals, with regard to such a settlement, seems to confirm what is here advanced. We must not imagine, that the Scenite Arabs were the only descendants of Ishmael, though probably they might be the bulk of them; since Moses gives us to understand, that some Ishmaelites had castles and towns. For all other particulars relating to Ishmael, our readers may have recourse to the Jewish History.

In order to render our history of the antient Arabs as complete as possible, we shall here give our readers catalogues of the kings of Hamyar, or Yaman, Hira, Ghassan, and Hejaz, extracted from the best Oriental historians.

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(B) The scripture seems to distinguish the Arabs from the Cushites, when it makes a branch of the former contiguous to the latter. The passage here referred to will give great strength to what has been already advanced, in relation to the first settlements of the Cushites (2).

(2) 2 Chron. c. xxi. ver. 16. Univer. hist. vol. xviii. pass.
As the kings of Hamyar were the most considerable princes in Arabia, it will be proper to begin with them. But, before we do this, some particulars relating to them must be premised. The kingdom of Yaman, or at least the better part of it, particularly the provinces of Saba and Hadramaut, was governed by princes of the tribe of Hamyar, the son of Saba, the great-grandson of Kahtân, though at length the kingdom was translated to the dependents of Cahlân his brother, who yet retained the title of king of Hamyar. The Hamyarites were called Homerites by the latter Greek and Latin authors, and Immireniens by Theodorus Lector; all their princes had the general title of Tobba, which signifies successor, as the Egyptian kings had that of Pharaoh, the Roman emperors that of Caesar, and the successors of Mohammed that of Khalif. Several lesser princes reigned in other parts of Yaman, but they were chiefly, if not entirely, subject to the king of Hamyar, who was styled the great king. But, as history has recorded nothing of these reguli, that deserves the least attention, we shall drop them, and immediately proceed to the series of the kings of Yaman or Hamyar.

Kahtân. 1. Kahtân, or Joktan, the son of Eber, is said to have first reigned, and wore a diadem, in Yaman; but how long he sat upon the throne, or what remarkable events happened during his reign, we no-where learn.

Yarab. 2. Yarab, the son of Kahtân, was a prince greatly celebrated by the Arab historians; but as the principal things related of him have already been taken notice of, we shall proceed to his successor.

Yashab. 3. Yashab, son to the preceding prince, has had only his name transmitted down to us.

Abd Shems. 4. Abd Shems, i.e. "the servant of the sun," surname of Saba, the son of Yashab, next ascended the throne; who,

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Pocockius, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 57.
who, the Arab historians tell us, was successful in his expeditions against his enemies, carried off great spoils, and took many of them prisoners. Hence, they pretend, he derived his surname, which to us seems by no means probable: it is more likely, that it was used before in his family, since the Scripture mentions Sheba, or Saba, one of the sons of Joktan. He is said to have built the city of Saba or Mâreb, as likewise that stupendous mound or building, which formed the vast reservoir above that city. By means of this reservoir, which received all the water that came down from the mountains, the kings of Yaman did not only supply the inhabitants of Saba, and their lands, with water, but likewise kept the territories they had subdued in greater awe; since, by cutting them off from a communication with it, they could at any time greatly disturb them. Abd Shems had many sons, but the most noted of them were Hamyar, Amru, Cahlân, and Al-haar.

5. Hamyar, the son of Abd Shems or Saba, according to Hamyar the Oriental authors, was so called from the red cloaths he wore. This seems a plain indication, that Hamyar was only a surname. He expelled Thamûd from Yaman, who took refuge in Hejâz. From this prince the tribe or kingdom of Hamyar deduced its name. Some assert, that not Kahtân, but Hamyar, was the first king of Yaman that wore a diadem.

6. Wayel, the son of Hamyar, according to Abulfeda, Wayel succeeded him in the kingdom; but other authors make his brother Cahlân his successor.

7. After Wayel reigned his son Alfaçac.

8. Yaafar, the son of Alfaçac, next mounted the throne.

9. To him succeeded Dhu Riyâfth.

10. After him Al Nooman, the son of Yaafar, swayed the sceptre of Yaman.

11. Then came Asmah, the son of Nooman.

4. Shaddad,

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3 Al Jauhar. Abulfed. apud Pocock. ubi supra, p. 58.
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Shaddād. 12. **Shaddād**, the son of Ad, the son of Al Matata, the son of Saba, a very potent prince, succeeded *Amah*.

Lokmān. 13. **Lokman**, the brother of Shaddād, was the next king, according to the most received opinion, though some authors are of a different sentiment.

Dhu Sadād. 14. He was succeeded by his brother Dhu Sadād.

Al Hareth. 15. **Al Hareth**, the son of Dhu Sadād, next ascended the throne. He greatly enriched the kingdom of Yaman, and was the first who had the title or surname of Tobba above-mentioned given him by his subjects.

Dhu'lar Karnaın. 16. **Dhu'lar Karnaın Assaab**, the next king, was the son of Rayefh. This was the two-horned prince mentioned in the Korān, and not Alexander the great, as we learn from *Ebn Abbas*.

Dhu'lar Manar. 17. **Dhu'lar Manar Abraham**, the son of Dhu'lar Karnaın, succeeded his father; but nothing remarkable happened during his reign.

Africus. 18. **Africus**, the son of Dhu'lar Manar Abraham, from whence that part of the world called Africa was so denominated, according to some of the eastern writers, next took the reigns of government upon him.

Dhu'lar Adhaar Amru. 19. **Dhu'lar Adhaar Amru**, the son of Africus, who reigned after his father, received the name or surname of "lord of terrors," from the terror with which his subjects were struck at the sight of certain monstrous men, or satyrs, or apes, as some will have it, whom he had taken prisoners in war, and brought into Yaman.

Sharhabil. 20. The Hamyarites placed upon the throne Sharhabil, of the posterity of Alfacfāc, in the room of Dhu'lar Adhaar Amru, whom for some enormity they expelled from thence.

Al Hodhad. 21. **Al Hodhad**, the son of Sharhabil, succeeded his father.

Balkis. 22. **Balkis**, the son of Hodhad, is said to have reigned twenty years. According to some authors, Al Hodhad was succeeded

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* Idem ibid.  * Al Jannabius, Al Firauzabadius, &c.
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succeeded by a daughter named Balkis or Belkis, whom they assert to be the famous queen of Sheba, who had an interview with Solomon, king of Israel, at Jerusalem.

23. Nasherol’neam, so called from his surprising magnificence and liberality, was likewise styled simply Macneam, or king. Having had bad success in an expedition, where his army was overwhelmed by torrents of sand, he caused a brazen statue to be erected, with this inscription, in the old Hamyaritic character, engraven upon it; “There is no passage behind me; no moving further; the son of Sharhabil.”

24. Shamer Yaraash, the son of Nasher, swayed the sceptre after Nasherol’neam. We are told, that he was Yaraash, so denominated from the tremor that always possessed him, and that he gave name to the city of Samarcan. That Samarcand was built by one of the Hamyaritic kings, furnished Tobba, seems to be a point agreed upon by the best of the eastern writers. To confirm this notion, it is pretended, an inscription in the old Hamyaritic character was found under one of the gates of Samarcand; though what this inscription imported, we are nowhere informed. It is possible the authors that relate this may mistake the old Cufic character for the Hamyaritic, since in the time of Arabshah considerable quantities of dirhems, and a small coin called a falsus, with Cufic letters upon them, were frequently dug up at old Samarcand. That the Hamyaritic, Cufic, and modern Arabic alphabets were derived from that of the Hebrews, as the excellent Loescher and Schultens with great reason suppose, seems farther to appear from hence, that the Arabs, in order to help the memory, distribute their letters into fixed words, Abjad, Howaz, Hotai, Calman, Saaphas, and Karshat; wherein the order of the Hebrew alphabet is exactly preferred. This, in conjunction with others, we take to be no contemptible argument in favour of what Loescher and Schultens have advanced.

25. Abu Malec the son of Shamer, after his father’s death, took possession of the throne.

26. Amran,

\[c\] Idem ibid.
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Amran. 26. AMRAN, the son of Amer, a descendent of Cahlan, the brother of Hamyar, to whose family the kingdom of Hamyar was now translated, was invested with the regal power upon the decease of Abu Malec. The Orientals represent this prince as a wise man, or foots- fayer.

Amru. 27. AMRU, the son of Amer, surnamed Mazikia, or Dil- lacerator, because every night he tore to pieces two garments he had worn the preceding day, succeeded the former king.

Al Akran. 28. AL AKRAN, the son of Abimalc, governed Yaman after Amru.

Dhu Hab- shan. 29. DHU HABSHAN, the son of Akran, upon the last prince’s demise, took possession of the government. This prince put to death Tafm and Jadis.

Tobba. 30. TOBBA, or Tobbaa, the son of Alkran, succeeded Dha Habshan.

Colaicarb. 31. COALICARB, or, according to some, Molaic Yacrab, ascended the throne of Hamyar after the death of the last prince.

Abu Carb. 32. ABU CARB ASAAD, the succeeding king, we find mentioned in the Korân. He lived seven hundred years before Mohammed, adorned the Caab with hangings or tapestry, and first introduced Judaism amongst the Hamyrites. The Oriental writers say, that he was put to death by his subjects, probably on the score of religion.

Afaad. 33. HASSAN TOBBAI, his son, cut off all his father’s murderers, and was at last slain by his brother.

Hassan. 34. AMRU TOBBAI, the son of Hassan Tobbai, was surnamed dominus lignorum, or “Lord of wood”, because through the whole course of his reign he was so infirm and indisposed, that he was always carried about in a wooden chair.

Tobbai. 35. ABD CELAL, the son of Dul’awad, entered upon the government after Amru Tobbai.

Tobba. 36. TOBBA, the son of Hassan, the son of Colaicarb, surnamed Tobba minor, succeeded Abd Celal.

37. Next
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38. The thirty-eighth king of Yaman was Morthed, the Morthed.
son of Celal.
39. Waciaa, the son of Morthed, was declared king Waciaa.
after his father’s decease.
40. Abraham, the son of Alfabah, reigned after Wa-
Abraham.
ciaa.
41. Sabaan mounted the throne upon Abraham’s death, Sabaan.
or, according to some of the Oriental writers, Ebn Dakikan.
Ebn Dakikan had that famous sword of Ebn Maad Cerb called
Samfama; this sword came afterwards into the hands of the
khaliif Raffid, who with it cut in two several noble swords,
sent him as a present by the Greek emperor, in the presence of
that prince’s embassadors, who brought them, without doing
it the least damage. How far this story may be depended upon,
we shall not take upon us to determine.
42. Dhu Shanater, according to Al Firauzabadius, had Dhu Shana-
fiss fingers on each hand. He was dethroned by the Hamyarites for
being abandoned to an unnatural species of lust, and abusing
several youths of some of the noblest families amongst them.
43. Yusef, surnamed Dhu Nowas, from his flowing Yusef,
curls, lived about seventy years before Mohammed. He per-
sued all who would not turn Jews, putting them to death by
various tortures, the most common of which was, throwing
them into a glowing pit of fire; whence he had the op-
probrious appellation of “the lord of the pit.” This per-
suasion we find mentioned in the Koran.
44. Dhu Jadan, i.e. “the person with a sweet voice,” Dhu Jadan-
succeeded Dhu Nowas, and was the last of the Hamyarite
monarchs, according to Abulfeda; but Ahmed Ebn Yusef and
Al Jannabius make Dhu Nowas the last prince of the true
Hamyaritic line, reigning in a continual succession. He was a
bigotted Jew, as just observed, and treated his Christian
subjects with such barbarity, that Elefsbaas, or Elefsban, king
of Ethiopia, sent over forces to assist them. Dhu Nowas, not
being

Pocock. ubi sup.  1 Idem ibid.  2 Idem ibid.
W Pocock. ubi sup.  3 Abulfeda, Al Jannabius.  4 Al
Firaouzabadius. Vide etiam Pocock. ubi supra, p. 62.  5 Bar-
vol. i. p. 359—385.

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being able to make head against the Ethiopians, was at last drove to that extremity, that he forced his horse into the sea, and left both his crown and life together. According to Ahmed Ebn Yusef above-mentioned, he reigned sixty-six years, which, though improbable, does not exceed all belief, as does the length of his reign recorded by Al Jannabius. The Najashi, or king of Ethiopia, after this, established the Christian religion in Yaman, and fixed upon the throne there.

45. ARYAT, an Ethiopian.

46. ABRAHA IBN AL SABAH, furred Al Ashram, i.e. "the slit-nosed," from a slash in his face, where he had formerly received a wound, was the second Ethiopian king, or rather viceroy to the Najashi, in Yaman. He was styled "the lord of the elephant;" the reason of which appellation appears from the following story, handed down to us by the commentators upon the Korân. Abraha built a magnificent church for the Christians in Sanaa, the metropolis of Yaman, with a design to draw the Arabs to go in pilgrimage thither, instead of visiting Mecca, as they before had done; which he imagined would greatly contribute towards their conversion to Christianitv: for he doubted not abolishing paganism, could he destroy the veneration of the Arabs for the Caaba, by bringing them to a place more sumptuous and grand, and which would more strongly attract their curiosity, and gradually excite their devotion. This had so soon such an effect, that the devotion and concourse of the pilgrims at the Caaba began considerably to diminish; which being observed by the Koreish, who were superstitiously fond of that place, they sent one Nofai, as he is named by some, of the tribe of Kenânah, to offer an indignity to the Christian church at Sanaa, in order to lessen that religious regard, which the Arabs began to have for it. Nofai therefore getting into it by night, upon a solemn festival, defiled the altar and walls thereof with his excrements; and, making his escape by favour of the night, published every-where what he had done. At this profanation Abraha being highly incensed, vowed the destruction of the Caaba, and to that end assembled a considerable body of forces, wherein were several elephants, which he had obtained of the king of Ethiopia, their number being, as some say, thirteen; though others mention but one, at the head of which he advanced towards Mecca. The Meccans, unable to

to defend their temple and city, and terrified at Abraha's approach, particularly on account of his elephants, none of which creatures had ever before been seen in Arabia, retired to the neighbouring mountains, where they entrenched themselves. But God himself, at this juncture, interposed in an extraordinary manner: for when the Ethiopian drew near to Mecca, and would have entered it, the elephant on which he rode, being a large one, and named Mahmud, refused to advance any nearer to the town, but kneeled down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would rise, and march briskly enough, if they turned him towards any other quarter. As he was the chief of the elephants, and, both by reason of his size and whiteness, greatly revered by the others, they immediately followed him, so that Abraha could not so much as reconnoitre the town. The Meccans, observing this from their retreatment, were at a loss to what to attribute so unexpected a motion, believing that the enemy were going to return home. In the mean time, whilst matters were in this situation, a large flock of birds, called Ababil, like swallows, came flying on a sudden from the sea-coast, every one of which carried three stones, one in each foot, and one in its bill, of a middle size; betwixt a small lentil and a vetch, but so ponderous, that, being let fall, they pierced through the helmets and bodies of men, and even, according to some, the elephants likewise, which they threw down upon Abraha's soldiers, certainly killing every one they struck. Then God sent a flood, which swept the dead bodies, and some of them who had not been struck by the stones, into the sea: the rest fled towards Yaman, but perished by the way, none of them reaching Sanaa, except only Abraha himself, who died soon after his arrival there, being struck with a sort of plague, or putrefaction, so that his body opened, and his limbs rotted off by piece-meal. It is said, that one of Abraha's army, named Abu Yacbum, or, according to others, Abraha himself, escaped over the Red Sea into Ethiopia, and, going directly to the king, told him the tragical story. Upon which, that prince asked him what sort of birds they were, that had occasioned such a destruction; in answer to which question he pointed to one of them, which had followed him all the way, and was at that time hovering directly over his head; which he had no sooner done, than the bird let fall the stone, and laid him dead at the king's feet. Some of the Mohammedan writers say, that the names of all the persons to be destroyed were inscribed on the stones that destroyed them;
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them; that this flock of birds consisted of two sorts, one whose feathers were black, and bill white; the other all over green except the bill, which was yellow: and that they threw all their stones at once upon the Ethiopians. This memorable event, according to the Mohammedans, is said to have happened in the time of Abd al Motalibe, the grand-father of Mohammed, and the very year in which that impostor was born b.

That this piece of history has all the air of one of those fictions with which the Arab writings in general, and the Koran in particular, abound, will be readily acknowledged by all our intelligent readers. We therefore, with Dr. Prideaux, rather take the fact therein asserted to be a creation of Mohammed's brain, than a feat of evil spirits, as is suggested by father Marracci; and yet, supposing it a real fact, we see no absurdity in this last notion. The very learned Mr. Sale, to our no small surprize, is of opinion, that this ridiculous story, for so we cannot help terming it, is not without some foundation, since "it seems to him, that there was something extraordinary in the matter." The reasons he alleges in support of this opinion, are the two following. 1. The event is said to have happened not above fifty-four years before the pretended revelation mentioning it was made; and therefore had it been a fiction, several living witnesses could have disproved it; which we find never was done, and consequently may presume, that the reality of this remarkable action could not be denied. 2. Mohammed had no occasion to coin a miracle to gain the temple of Mecca any greater veneration, the people of Mecca being already so religiously attached to it, that he was obliged, contrary to his original plan, to make it the chief place of his new-invented worship. In answer to the first reason, it will be sufficient to observe, that, according to Mr. Sale himself, after Abu Beer had vouched for Mohammed's veracity, in the twelfth year of his mission, which falls within the time mentioned, his disciples were ready to swallow whatever he was pleased to impose upon them; that the story, as told in the Koran, is supposed a revelation, and

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and therefore might only describe the supernatural unknown cause of a noted defeat; that Mr. Sale himself allows the thing might be worked up into a miracle, at which it must be owned, none of the preceding Arabs had so excellent a knack as Mohammed; and, lastly, that the same turn and genius appear in this as in the most extravagant absurdities of that impostor. To the second reason it may be replied, that we are under no necessity to allow, though Dr. Prideaux supposes it, that the gaining a veneration to the Caaba amongst the pagan Arabs was the motive to the forging such a story; on the contrary, it appears that this could not possibly be the motive, even from Mr. Sale’s own observation, viz., because the Meccans, or pagan Arabs, held their temple in the highest veneration at the time this pretended revelation happened. But, notwithstanding this, Mohammed might coin a miracle, either to draw the Christian Arabs to Mecca, and make them converts to his religion, or to render them odious to all the other Arabs; which, from the whole tenour of the story, appears to have been his design. But as what Mr. Sale has offered on this occasion seems rather to proceed from a desire of shewing some disrespect to Dr. Prideaux, on account of his attachment to religion in general, than a full persuasion of the truth of what he seems to advance, we shall offer nothing farther on this head, but immediately resume the thread of our history.

47. Yacsun, the son of Abraha, succeeded him; but Yacsun, we find nothing remarkable related of him by any ancient historians.

48. Masruk, another son of Abraha, and the last of the Masruk. Ethiopian princes in Yaman, came to the throne after Yacsun. The Ethiopians, according to some Eastern writers, occupied the kingdom of Hamyar about seventy-two years.

49. Seif Ebn Dhu Yazan, of the old royal family of Seif Ebn Hamyar, having obtained succours of Khosru Anushirwan, Duh Yazan, king of Persia, which had been denied him by the emperor Heraclius, recovered the throne, and drove out the Ethiopians, but was himself slain by some of them, who were left behind. The Persians appointed the succeeding princes, Wahzar, Marzaban, Sihan, Jorjis or Georgius, and Bazan, till

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>d Pocock. ubi sup.  
>e Al Jannahius.
till Yaman fell into the hands of Mohammed, to whom Basan, or rather Badhân the last of them, submitted, and embraced his new religion. This induced Mohammed to give Shahr, the son of Bazan, part of his father's dominions.

Thus stands the series of the kings of Hamyar, which we wish was more perfect. The petty princes already mentioned, tributary to the king of Hamyar, were styled Al Kail, and the governors of provinces Al Makawel. According to Abulfeda, this monarchy continued 2020, years or above 3000, if we will believe Ahmed Ebn Yufef, and Al Jannabius. The length of the reign of each prince must be allowed to be very uncertain. The history of the kings of Hamyar, surnamed Tobbâ or Tobbâi, which the Arabs pronounce Tabbâéah, and Tabbâïah, has been wrote by Shahabeddin Ahmed Ebn Abdalvahâh, Al Bekri, Al Teïmi, Al Kendi, surnamed Nouaïri, author of an universal history, which he dedicated to Nasser Mohammed Ebn Calaoun, sultan of the Mamalukes. For an account of this work, we must refer our readers to M. D'Herbelot. Nouaïri died in the year of the Hejra 732.

It has been already observed, that Saba made a vast mound or dam, to serve as a bason or reservoir, to supply the inhabitants of the city built by him, and called after his name, with water, which it constantly received from the mountains, as also to keep the country his predecessors had subdued in greater awe, by rendering him master of the water. This building stood like a mountain above the city, and was by the Sabæans esteemed so strong, that they were under no apprehension of its ever failing. The water rose to the height of almost twenty fathoms, and was kept in on every side by a work so solid, that many of them had their houses built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water distributed by aqueducts. But at length God, being highly displeased at their pride and insolence, and resolving to humble and disperse them, sent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night, while the inhabitants were asleep, and carried away the whole city with the neighbouring towns and people. This inundation is styled in the Koran the inundation of Al Arem, and occasioned so terrible a destruction, that from thence it became a proverbial saying, to express a total dispersion, that they

they were gone and scattered like Saba. Al Beidawi supposes the aforesaid mound to have been the work of queen Balkis, and that the above-mentioned catastrophe happened after the time of Jesus Christ. But both these notions run counter to the most received opinion, which attributes the building of Al Arem to Saba, and fixes its destruction about the time of Alexander the great. Be that as it will, no less than eight tribes, viz. those of Anmar, Jodham, Al Azd, Tay, Khozaab, Banu Amela, &c. were forced to abandon their dwellings on this occasion, some of which gave rise to the kingdoms of Hira and Ghaffan (B).

The kingdom of Hira was founded by Malec, a descendant of Cahlan, in Chaldea or Irak; but after three descents the throne came by marriage to the Lakhmians. These princes, whose general name was Mondar, preferred their dominion, notwithstanding some small interruption by the Persians, till the Khalifat of Abubekr, when Al Mondar Maghrur, the last of them, loft his life and crown by the arms of Khaled Ebn al Walid. The kingdom of the Mondars, supposed to be the descendents of Nadar Ebn Rabia, continued, according to Ahmed Ebn Yusuf, six hundred twenty-two years and eight months. Its princes were under the protection of the kings of Persia, whose lieutenants they were over the Arabs of Irak, as the kings of Ghaffan were for the Roman emperors over those of Syria. The Lakhmians were descended from Lakhm the son of Amru, the son of Saba. If the kingdom of the Lakhmians or Mondars was not of any longer duration than six hundred and twenty-two or twenty-three years, Al Beidawi seems not to be much mistaken, when he affirms the inundation of Al Arem to have happened after the birth of Christ, notwithstanding the authority of those who carry it above three centuries higher. This


(B) At this time likewise, probably happened the migration of those tribes or colonies which were led into Mesopotamia by three different chiefs, Becr, Modar, and Rabia; from whence the three provinces of that country are still named Diyar Becr, Diyar Modar, and Diyar Rabia (2).

(2) Golii note ad Alfragan. p. 232.
space was taken up by the reigns of the following kings, according to the best Oriental historians 1.

Malec.

1. MALEC, who, say some of the eastern writers, flourished in the time of the kings of the provinces, that is, of the governors Alexander the great appointed to preside over the provinces of Persia k.

Amru.

2. AMRU, Malec's brother l.

Jodaimah.

3. JODAIMAH, the son of Malec, surnamed Al Abru{khi, who first used amongst the Arabs that military engine called a ballista. He defeated Amru, an Arab prince of the tribe of Amalek, who reigned in Mesopotamia, and put him to the sword; but was afterwards himself assassinated, by the contrivance of Zoba, Amru's daughter, with whom he was greatly enamoured m.

Amru.

4. AMRU, the son of Ad and Rakash the sister of Jodaimah, by the assisstance of one Kofair, who had been servant to Jodaimah, revenged the murder of his uncle by the following stratagem: Kofair, at his own desire, had his ears cut off, and was whipped in a most cruel manner, by Amru's order; after which he fled to Zoba, making the heaviest complaints of the inhuman treatment he had met with. By this means he soon became a confidant of Zoba, who permitted him to convey into her cattle some large chests, full as was given out, of wares, but, in reality, of armed men, who immediately dispatched her. The memory of Amru is still preferred amongst the Arabs by several proverbs which particularly allude to him n.

Amrio'l.

5. AMRIO'4L KAIR, the son of Amru, surnamed Albad, succeeded his father o.

Kais.

Amru.

6. AMRU, the son of Amrio'l Kais, flourished in the time of Sabur, or Sapor, Dil A'atf, king of Persia. This Persia monarch, whose surname imports as much, according to Abulfeda, cut off the shoulders of all the Arabs he took prisoners, in a war he had with that nation. His mother's name was Mary, whose ear-rings occasioned a proverb amongst the Arabs. If this piece of history may be depended upon, it is an additional proof of the truth of what Al Beidawi has advanced in relation to the time when the inundation of Al Arem happened p.

Aus.

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7. Aus, the son of Kalam, an Amalekite.

8. Another Amalekite prince, whose name is not known, succeeded Aus; after whose decease the crown reverted to the family of the Lakhmians, after an interruption of two descendants.

9. Amrio'l Kais, the son of Amru, next ascended the Amrio'l throne. He was surnamed Almohrek, or the burner, because he first tortured criminals with fire.

10. Al Nooman, the son of Amrio'l Kais, surnamed Alawar, or the blinkard, who, when he had reigned thirty years, abdicated the government, and retired from the world, saying, "What signifies a kingdom that will certainly have an end?" Al Nooman built those castles or towers called Khaouarnak and Al Sadir, so celebrated by the Arab poets and proverbs. Senemmar, the builder of Khaouarnak, was thrown head-long from thence by Al Nooman's order, which gave occasion to the proverb, "The reward of Senemmar." We are told, that Al Nooman became a convert to the Christian religion, and in consequence thereof thought fit to resign the reins of government to his son Hendu, as just hinted. Jezdegerd, king of Persia, committed the care of his son's education, and the establishment of his constitution, to Al Nooman, who was afterwards very instrumental in fixing him upon the throne of his ancestors. The cause of Senemmar's tragical end, and all the other remarkable particulars relating to the reign of the prince we are now upon, our readers will find an ample account of in the history of the Persians.

11. Al Mondar Ebn Noomah, the Hendu of the Persian historians, attended Baharam, the son of Jezdegerd, into Persia, with an army of 40000 men, to enable him to dethrone one Kerfa, an usurper whom the Magi had elected king. The success and particulars of this expedition have been already related at large in that part of this work to which they most properly belong.

12. Al Aswad, son to Al Mondar, overthrew the king of Ghaffan, and took many of his relations prisoners, according to some of the Oriental historians; but Ahmed Ebn Yusef,

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Yusef relates, that the king of Ghassan prevailed against him, and slew him, after a short reign

13. He was succeeded by his brother Al Mondar, whose true name has not reached us. It is probable, nothing of moment happened whilst this prince sat on the throne, since the eastern writers say little of him.

Al Kamah. 14. Al Kamah, successor to the last king, was styled Al Damyali, from the family of Damyal, of which he was a member. All the transactions that happened during his reign, are likewise buried in oblivion.

Amrio’l Kais, the son of Nooman, the son of Amrio’l Kais al Mohrek, next swayed the sceptre of Hira. Ahmed Ebn Yusef affirms, that it was he who threw Senamar headlong from the top of the castle of Khaouarnak, with whom agree herein Abulfeda and Al Jannabius.

15. Al Mondar, the son of the last king and Mawiah the daughter of Aus, a lady of such transcendent beauty, that she was called Maifamai, i.e. water of heaven, governed after his father in Hira. From his mother he and his posterity were likewise surnamed Al Mondar Ebn Maifamai; which appellation they had in common with the kings of Ghassan, according to Al Jauharius. For these last princes were fo de- signed from Abu Amer, of the tribe of Aze, the father of Amru Mazikia, who by his surprizing liberality and beneficence supplied the want of rain, furnishing his people with corn, when an extreme drought had rendered it so dear, that they were incapable of buying it. This prince was deposed by Khosru Kobar, king of Persia.

Al Hareth.

17. Al Hareth Ebn Amru, of the tribe of Kenda, was placed on the throne of Hira by Khosru Kobar, in the room of Al Mondar Ebn Amrio’l Kais, whom he had deposed. However, Kobar’s son and successor Anushirwan, surnamed the just, in whose reign Mohammed was born, restored the lawful king to his dominions, and drove away the usurper Al Hareth Ebn Amru. Kobar embraced the tenets of an impostor called Mazdak, who pretended himself a prophet sent from God to preach a community of women and priesthoods, since all men were descended from the same common parents; and in most points agreed with Manes. By rendering wealth and women common, he proposed taking away

w Ahmed Ebn Yusef.  x Pocockius ubi supra, p. 60.  y Idem ibid.  z Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Abulfeda, & Al Jannabius.
away the lust of both; from whence, he insinuated, generally arose the feuds, quarrels, and animosities, that disturbed the repose and tranquillity of mankind. Such a doctrine well suiting the disposition of Kobad, he not only professed himself a convert to Mazdak’s religion, but likewise obliged all his dependents to do the same; and therefore, when Al Mondar Ebn Amrio’l Kais refused this, he stripped him of his dominions, and appointed Al Hareth, who had declared himself a zealous follower of Mazdak, to preside over them in his stead. But Anufhirwan, called Nouschirvan by the Persian historians, in consequence of a vow he had made before his accession, restored the Mondar family to the throne of Hira, put Mazdak to death, and abolished the profession of his impious opinions. It is said, when Mazdak knew his fate, he told Anufhirwan, “That God had raised him to the throne of Persia to protect his subjects, and not to destroy them.” To which that monarch answered, “True, abandoned villain; but dost thou not remember, that with the utmost difficulty, even by kisping thy loathsome feet, I prevailed upon thee not to lie with my mother, when my father, at thy impudent request, had given thee a permission so to do?” “Yes,” replied Mazdak. Upon which, the king ordered him to be executed immediately, cut off many of his followers, and established once more amongst his subjects the ancient Magian religion.

18. Al Mondar Ebn Amrio’l Kais was succeeded by his son Al Mondar, styled, according to Al Jauharius, Modret ol’ Hajarah, from his surprising strength, and unparalleled bravery. Other authors, from his mother Henda, give him the surname of Ebn Henda. In the eighth year of his reign the false prophet Mohammed was born.

19. Kabus, the brother of Amru, comes next, of whom we find nothing worthy of notice related by the eastern writers.

20. Al Mondar, brother to the former prince, succeeded him.

21. Al Nooman, surnamed Abu Kabus, was the twenty-first king of Hira, and became a convert to Christianity on the following occasion: In a drunken fit he had ordered two of

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c Al Jauharius.

d Pocockius ubi supra, p. 72.

c Idem ibid.
of his intimate companions, who, overcome with liquor, had fallen asleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himself, he was extremely concerned at what he had done; and, to expiate his crime, not only raised a monument to the memory of his friends, but set apart two days, one of which he called the unfortunate, and the other the fortunate, day; making it a perpetual rule to himself, that whoever met him on the former day, should be slain, and his blood sprinkled on the monument; but he that met him on the other day, should be dismissed in safety, with magnificent gifts. On one of the unfortunate days, there came before him accidentally an Arab, of the tribe of Tay, who had once entertained this king, when fatigued with hunting, and separated from his attendants. The king, who could neither discharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, against the laws of hospitality, which the Arabs religiously observe, proposed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's respite, and to send him home with rich gifts, to make his family amends for the great loss they were to sustain, on condition that he found a surety for his returning at the year's end, to suffer death. One of the prince's court, out of compassion, offered himself as his surety, and the Arab was discharged. When the last day of the term came, and no news of the Arab, the king, not at all displeased to save his host's life, ordered the surety to be brought out to execution. Those who were by represented to the king, that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have patience till the evening; but in the middle of their discourse the Arab appeared. The king, admiring the man's generosity, in offering himself to certain death, which he might have avoided by letting his surety suffer, asked him, what was his motive for so doing? To which he answered, he had been taught to act in that manner by the religion he professed; and Al Nooman demanding what religion that was, he replied, the Christian. Whereupon the king, desiring to have the doctrines of Christianity explained to him, was baptized, together with all his subjects; and not only pardoned the man and his surety, but abolished his barbarous custom. This prince, however, was not the first king of Hira who professed himself a convert to the Christian religion; Al Mondar, the son of Amrio'1 Kais, his grandfather, declared himself a Christian, and built large churches in his capital. As Al Nooman took a particular delight in tulips, and would not permit
mit them to grow in all gardens, the Arabs, from him, call them "the variegated flowers of Al Nooman." After a reign of twenty-two years, Al Nooman was slain by Khosru Parwiz, by whom the kingdom of Hira was translated from the family of the Lakhmians to Ayas the Tayite.

22. *Mohammed*’s mission commenced in the sixth month Ayas, of Ayas’s reign.

23. Zadawaiah, the son of Mahan of Hamadan, succeeded Ayas.

24. AL Mondar, Ebn Nooman, Ebn Mondar, Ebn Al Mondar, Ebn Maiaflamai, surnamed Al Maghrur, governed Hira, from the death of Zadawaiah to the conquest of the kingdom of Hira by the arms of Khaled Ebn al Walid. The four royal families of Peria, governing that kingdom before this period, were the Pishdadian, the Caianian, the Afghanian, and that of Khosru; which, as Hira was a state dependent on the Persians, we thought not improper to be observed.

The kingdom of Ghaflan, as well as that of Hira, owed its origin to the inundation of Al Arem. The founders of this kingdom were of the tribe of Azd, who, according to some, settling in Syria Damaascena, near a water called Ghaflan, thence took their name; though others make them to have gone under this appellation before they left Yaman. Having driven out the Dajaamian Arabs, of the tribe of Salih, who before possessed the country, they made themselves masters of a very considerable territory. Here they maintained their kingdom four hundred years, as others say, fix hundred, or, as Abulfeda more exactly computes, six hundred and sixteen. If Ghaflan was their name prior to this migration, they probably were the Caffanitae of Polemy. Be that as it will, five of the kings of Ghaflan were named Hareth, which the Greeks and Latins wrote Aretas; and one of them it was, whose governor ordered the gates of Damascus to be watched to take St. Paul. Dr. Pococke gives us the following list of the kings of Ghaflan, extracted from the Oriental historians.

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h Idem ibid.


2. Amru, the son of Jafnah, who is said to have built many monasteries in Syria.

3. Amru, the son of Tha'alibah.

4. Al Hareth, or Aretas, the son of Tha'alibah.

5. Jabalah, the son of Al Hareth.

6. Al Hareth, the son of Jabalah.

7. Al Mondar Al Acbar, that is, "the great," the son of Al Hareth.

8. Al Nooman, the brother of Al Mondar.

9. Jabalah, the brother of Al Nooman.

10. Al Ayham, brother to the last two princes.

11. Amru, who was brother to his three last predecessors.

12. Jafnah, surnamed Al Asgar, the son of Mondar Al Acbar, who set the city of Hira on fire; whence his posterity were said, to be of the family of the incumbendiary.

13. Al Nooman Al Asgar, brother to Jafnah.


15. Jabalah, Ebn Nooman, who waged war with Al Mondar Ebn Ma'llamai.

16. Al Nooman, the son of Al Ayham.

17. Al Hareth, brother to Al Nooman Ebn Al Ayham.

18. Al Nooman, the son of Al Hareth.

19. Al Mondar, the son of Al Nooman.


21. Hajar, brother to Al Mondar and Amru.

22. Al Hareth, the son of Hajar.

23. Jabalah, the son of Al Hareth.

24. Al Hareth, the son of Jabalah.

25. Al Nooman, the son of Al Hareth, who is called by some eastern writers Abu Carb, and Kotam.

26. Al Ayham, the son of Jabalah, who was likewise lord of Tadmor.

27. Al Mondar, brother to Al Ayham.

28. Sharahil, brother to the two last princes.

29. Amru, another of their brothers.


31. Jabalah
31. JABALAH, the son of Al Ayham, and the last of Jabalah, the kings of Ghaffān, who, on the great success of the Arabs in Syria, under the khalif Omar, professed Mohammedanism; but, receiving afterwards a disgust from him, returned to his former faith, and retired to Constantinople. As in the regal line of Hamyar, Hejāz, and Kenda, we find the name of Hāreth, or Al Hāreth, we think Scaliger had some colour of reason, when he asserted this to be a general name amongst the Arab emirs or phylarchs, though Dr. Pocock is of another opinion. The scholiast on the poem of Ebn Abdunī differs something from Abulfeda in his account of the kings of Hira. For he tells us, that Al Hāreth Ebn Amru, Ebn Amer, Ebn Hāreth, Ebn Amriqöl Kais, Ebn Mazen, Ebn Al Azd, surnamed Ebn Abi Shamer, was the first king; and that the whole series of these princes contained thirty-seven kings, the last of which was Jabalah, who embraced Christianity in the Khalifat of Omar: which if we admit, and that St. Paul was at Damascus A. C. 34. as Calvisius will have it, the Aretas mentioned by that apostle was in all likelihood one of the most ancient kings of Ghaffān (C), and probably the first of them. From whence it will follow, that Al Beidawi has probability on his

(C) In opposition to this it may be urged, that we find several princes called Aretas, kings of the Arabs, seated in Syria, or, at least, near the frontiers of that country, mentioned in the Maccabees, as likewise in Josephus, before the period here hinted at. But to this it may be replied, that these princes might preside over the Dajaamian Arabs, expelled by those of the tribe of Azd above-mentioned, or reign in Arabia Petraea and Deferta, especially if we admit Hāreth to have been a general name amongst the Arab emirs or phylarchs. And, in support of the last notion, it may be observed, that Petra was the metropolis of the Aretan princes mentioned by Josephus. But we leave our readers to determine for themselves, in relation to the commencement of the kingdoms of Hira and Ghaffān. The transactions specified in the passages here referred to, in which the Arabs were concerned, our readers will find an account of in the history of the Jews, to which they properly belong (3).

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his side, when he affirms the inundation of Al Arem to have happened after the birth of Christ; since the kingdom of Ghaffān commenced immediately after that inundation. And some sort of sanction is given to this notion even by Abulfeda himself, when he intimates, that Amru the son of Jafnah, the second king of Hira, founded many monasteries in Syria. Be that as it will, had the Arab historians not been so defective in point of chronology, their works would have been much more valuable, and deserved a much greater degree of credit, than at present the learned are willing to allow them 1.

It has been already observed, that Jorham, the son of Kahtān, founded the kingdom of Hejāz, where princes of his line reigned till the time of Ishmael, who married the daughter of Modād, one of those princes. Some authors relate, that Kidār, one of Ishmael’s sons, had the crown resigned to him by his uncles the Jorhamites; but, according to others, the descendents of Ishmael expelled that tribe, who retiring to Johainah, were, after various fortune, at last all destroyed by an inundation. The following catalogue of the kings of Hejaz, taken from Dr. Pocock, is the best that has been hitherto exhibited to the public m.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The kingdom of Hejaz.</th>
<th>1. Jorham, the brother of Yaarab.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jorham.</td>
<td>2. Abd Yalil, the son of Jorham.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abd Yalil.</td>
<td>3. Jorsham, the son of Abd Yalil.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jorsham.</td>
<td>4. Abd’l Madan, the son of Jorsham.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abd’l Madan.</td>
<td>5. Nogailah, the son of Abd’l Madan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nogailah.</td>
<td>6. Abd’l Masih, the son of Nogailah.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Modad.</td>
<td>7. Modad, the son of Abd’l Masih.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amru.</td>
<td>8. Amru, the son of Modad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Hareth.</td>
<td>9. Al Hareth, brother to Amru.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amru.</td>
<td>10. Amru, the son of Al Hareth.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bashar.</td>
<td>11. Bashar, brother to Amru.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Modad.</td>
<td>12. Modad, the son of Amru, the son of Modad.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonym.</td>
<td>13. ------ Anonym.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14. Kidar,</td>
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14. Kidar, the son of Ishmael, whose mother, according to the Oriental historians, was of the house of Jorham.

After the expulsion of the Jorhamites, the government of Hejaz seems not to have continued many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes; almost in the same manner as the Arabs of the desert are governed at this day. The tribe of Khozah, descended from Cahlân, the son of Saba, after the inundation of Al Arem, fled into the kingdom of Hejaz, and settled themselves in a valley called Marri, near Mecca; in which territory they founded an aristocracy, assuming to themselves both the government of the city of Mecca, and the custody of the Caaba or temple there. Their name they derived from their being cut off or separated from the other tribes of Yaman by the accident above-mentioned. They continued masters of the city and territory of Mecca, as well as presidents of the Caaba, for several ages; till at length one Koša (C), of the tribe of Koreif, circumvented them.

(C) Koša was the son of Kelab, who first gave the months of the year those names by which the Arabs ever since have called them, even to this day. The antient names were Mutemer, Nagir, Chavan, Savan, Ritma, Ida, Afam, Adil, Natil, Vail, Varna, and Burec. The present names Kelab derived from some contingencies that happened in the months to which they are applied; which names, receiving a sanction from Mohammed's authority, who made them one of the distinguishing marks of his followers, have been continued ever since they were first imposed. It will not be improper to observe here, that the Arabs had antiently four sacred months, in which they could not carry on any war, especially amongst themselves. Something of this kind was observed amongst the Greeks; since, according to Pausanias, they had always a respite from war, during the time of the celebration of the Olympic games. Some authors intimate, that the antient Arabs abstained from war only in that month which is at present called Muharrem or Moharrum (3).

ed Abu Gabshah, a weak and silly man, of whom, while in a drunken humour, he bought the keys and custody of the Caaba, for a bottle of wine. But when Abu Gabshah grew cool, and came to reflect upon what he had done, he sufficiently repented of his imprudence; whence the proverbs of the Arabs: "More vexed with late repentance than Abu Gabshah; More foolish than Abu Gabshah;" which are applied to those persons who part with things of great moment for a trifle, and are afterwards sorry for what they have done. The tribe of Khozâah endeavoured afterwards to give some disturbance to the Koreîsh in the possession of what Kofâ had purchased; which furnished the latter with an opportunity of defrauding the former of the civil government of Mecca. Notwithstanding what has been said, it is not certain, whether the tribe of Khozâah were the descendents of Ihmâel or Joktan. We find Amru, one of their kings, a descendent of Cahlân, frequently mentioned by the Arab historians; but as nothing remarkable is related either of him, or his son Caab, we shall take no further notice of them. After the Koreîsh had possessed themselves of Mecca, they kept up there the same form of government that before had prevailed.

BESIDES the kingdoms that have been already taken notice of, there were some other tribes, which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed states of lesser note. The tribe of Kenda in particular had several kings, of which the three following were the principal:  

1. Hojr, surnamed Acelo’l Morar, i.e. "the eater of " Morar," a fruit of a bitter taste, on which camels feed. That surname was given him by his wife, who had an aversion to him, because his lips were so contracted, that they did not cover his teeth; which made him resemble a camel, when brouzing upon the aforesaid shrub. Kenda, from whom the tribe deduced its name, was also called Thaur. Abulfeda affirms, that before the time of Hojr the people of Kenda were without any kind of government, from whence many inconveniences ensued; which induced them to choose him for their king.

2. Amru,

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2. Amru, the son of Hojir, surnamed Al Makfur, i.e. Amru. "contracted or confined," because he did not attempt to extend the dominions left him by his father.

3. Al Hareth, the son of Amru, was by Khosru Al Hareth, Kobad elevated to the throne of Hira, and deposed by Anushirwan, for the reasons already mentioned. He endeavoured to avoid his enemies by flying to Diyar Calb, where he died, but in what manner we are not told. Al Hareth placed his son Hojir over the Bani Afsad, and his other sons over other tribes. Hojir was the father of Amri'o' Kais, a celebrated poet. The Bani Afsad endeavouring to take off Hojir by treachery, he treated them with great rigour and severity; which occasioned his meeting with a violent death. Amri'o' Kais, being apprised of this, assembled a body of forces out of the tribes of Be'er and Taglab, with which he defeated the Bani Afsad. But afterwards, his troops being dispersed through the fear of Al Mondar, he found himself obliged to fly to the Romans, in order to implore their protection, and died in his return home near Ancyræ. Some authors say, that Caesar gave him a poisoned garment, which was the cause of his death; but Abulfeda looks upon this as a downright fable, meriting no regard. To the kings of Kenda here mentioned we find one Ebn Ommil' Kotam added by Al-Firauzabadius.

The following princes, or chiefs of tribes, deserve like wise a place in the history of the antient Arabs:

1. Zohair Ebnol Habab, who presided over the tribe Zohair, of Kelab, and, by reason of his wonderful sagacity, was surnamed "the wise." He attained to a very old age, and died at last covered with glory. He invaded the Bani Gatfan with a powerful army, because they pretended to build a temple in opposition to the Caaba, and entered into an alliance with Abrahah al Afhram, styled "master of the ele phant." Notwithstanding what has been said of him here, some authors intimate, that he came to his end by excessive drinking.

2. Colaib Ebn Rabiab governed the Bani Maad, the Colaib. Saraceni Maadeni of Procopius, and was so proud, that he would not suffer any one to hunt in his neighbourhood,


8 Poc. ubi sup. p. 81.
nor any camels to be watered with his, nor any fire to be lighted near that which he himself used. He was at Raft slain by one Alaffas, for shooting a camel named Sarab, that he found grazing on a prohibited spot of ground. This camel belonged to an Arab, who had been entertained by Bafus, a near relation of Jaffas. The murder of Ebn Rabiah occasioned a forty years war, whence came the Arab proverbs: "A worse omen than Sarab; More ominous than "Bafus." It may not be improper here to observe, that the kings and chiefs of the Arabs generally forbade others to bring their flocks upon those places and pastures, which they chose for themselves. In order to ascertain the limits of these pastures, when they came to a fruitful valley or plain, they caused a dog to bark, and the whole extent of ground over which he could be heard, they appropriated to themselves (D)."

Mohalhel.

3. Mohalhel Ebn Rabiah, brother to Colaib, formed an army out of the families of Taglab, with which he carried on a long and bloody war, as hinted above, with those of Becr, in order to revenge his brother's death ".

Zohair.

4. Zohair Ebn Jadaimah, who received a certain toll or tribute from the Arabs, that frequented the celebrated fair of Ocadh above-mentioned, was assassinated by one Khaled, who afterwards fled to Al Nooman king of Hira. That prince took him under his protection; however, he was privately

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(D) Though the flocks and herds of inferior people were absolutely prohibited coming into that spot of ground, which was looked upon as the property of the prince, yet his flocks and herds might go into any of their pastures. Mohammed abolished this custom, and did not permit a spot of ground to be confined to the use of any particular animals, except horses that had served in wars carried on for the propagation of his religion, or camels consecrated to, and set apart for, sacred uses (4).

vately murdered by one Al Háreth, who had pursued him, which occasioned long and bloody broils. 5.

Kaiś, the son of Zohair Ebn Jodaimah, had two fá-Kaiśamous horses, called Dahes and Gabrah, which ran with two others, upon a challenge, belonging to one Hadifa, for a prize of an hundred camels. This event gave rise to that bloody war called by the Arab historians the war of Dahes and Gabrah, which continued, without intermission, forty years. King Kaiś, in order to atone for so great an effusion of blood, is said to have embraced the Christian religion, and even entered upon the monastic state.

Thus have we gone through the history of the antient Arabs before Mohammed, as far as it can be collected from the most noted of the Arab historians. But, in order to render that branch of this work we are now upon the more complete, we shall give a brief account of the principal transactions the antient Arabs were concerned in with the Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, extracted from the most approved writers of the two last nations.

According to Diodorus Siculus, Secofris, that is, as The Arabs never, at least for any long time, were never thoroughly subdued, nor even long paid any subject to fort of homage to the kings of Egypt, appears from hence, that, according to the same author, Secofris himself was obliged to draw a line from Heliopolis to Pelusium, in order to secure Egypt from the excursions of the Arabs and Syrians. The Scenite Arabs contiguous to Palestine and Syria, therefore, at least, must have been independent on that prince: Nor indeed can it be inferred from Diodorus, that he ever traversed Arabia Felix, though he had a fleet of four hundred sail upon the Red Sea, but only coasted it, or at farthest seized upon some of its maritime provinces in his voyage to India. As the words Arabia sometimes denotes only Arabia Deserta, at other times Arabia Petraea, and sometimes Arabia Felix, or a part of that country, in the Greek and Latin authors, it can by no means be inferred from any of them, that the whole peninsula of the Arabs ever was, at least for any considerable time, in a state of servitude to the Egyptians. But the contrary seems to appear, even from Diodorus Siculus himself, who gives us the most pompous account of the conquests of Secofris or Secof.
Neither the Medes, Persians, nor Assyrians, could ever get any considerable footing amongst them. They were not afraid of Alexander.

We learn from the same author, that neither the Assyrians, Medes, nor Persians, could ever get any considerable footing amongst them. The Persian monarchs, indeed, were their friends, and so far respected by them, as to have an annual present of frankincense: yet they could never make them tributary; and were so far from being their masters, that Cambyses, on his expedition against Egypt, was obliged to ask their leave to pass through their territories. This we learn from Herodotus; nor does any other antient author, that we know of, contradict him herein.

When Alexander the Great had subdued the Persian empire, notwithstanding his exorbitant power, the Arabians had so little apprehension of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, sent no embassadors to him, either first or last; which, with a desire of possessing so rich a country as that they inhabited, made him form a design against them; and, had he not died before he could put it in execution, this people might possibly have convinced him, that he was not invincible. The happines of its climate, and its great fertility, as well as riches, induced him to attempt the conquest of Arabia, in order to fix there his royal seat, after his return from his Indian expedition. But, according to Strabo, he had another motive likewise to this hazardous undertaking: for, being informed, that the Arabs had only two divinities, Jupiter and Bacchus, whom they worshipped, because they supplied them with all the good things they enjoyed, he was likewise desirous, that they should esteem him as their third deity; and, in order to deserve this, he proposed first to conquer them, and then to leave them in the full possession of their antient liberty and independency; which he believed would merit divine honours, as much as the greatest benefaction. Full, therefore, of this scheme, he fitted out a powerful fleet, composed of ships built in Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Babylonia, to favour the operations of the land-forces. But death put an end to this, as well as all the other towering projects of that ambitious prince.

Antigonus, after the reduction of Syria and Phoenicia, advanced into that part of Arabia bordering upon those countries, having entertained a notion, that the Arabs were not favourably disposed towards him. However, he did not formally invade them, but detached Athenæus, one of his captains, with a body of four thousand foot and five hundred horse.

horse, to ravage and lay waste the territories of the Nabathæans. That general marched to Petra without opposition, which finding in no posture of defence, the Nabathæans, then under no apprehension of an enemy, being gone to a neighbouring fair, and having left only their wives, children, sick, and aged in Petra, with an inconsiderable garrison, he seized upon it, put to the sword, or took prisoners, all the soldiers found therein, and carried off a booty of five hundred talents of silver, together with a vast quantity of frankincense and myrrh. However, this advantage was owing rather to expedition and surprize, than the valour of his troops, he having traversed two thousand two hundred fathoms in thirty-two hours, and they not being apprised of his design, so that no dispositions could possibly be made by them for giving him a proper reception. But the Arabs, receiving intelligence of what had happened, left the fair, and, having assembled a considerable body of forces, pursued the Greeks with great celerity. They found them asleep about two hundred fathoms from Petra, without any guards posted to apprise them of any impending danger, not imagining it possible for the Arabs to come up with them so soon. Whereupon they fell upon them, and destroyed the whole detachment, except fifty horse, that made their escape to Antigonus, and brought him the melancholy advice of the blow he had received b.

However, the Nabathæans, dreading the resentment of Antigonus, sent a letter to him written in the Syriac (E) character, to complain of Athenæus, and to excuse what had happened. That prince, finding it impossible to deal with men inhabiting a desert by pure force, dissembled his resentment,

(E) It is evident from this curious passage, that the Nabathæans, or Ishmaelites, used letters above three hundred years before the commencement of the Christian era. These letters probably were the same with those we see on several of the ancient Syriac coins, struck in the times of Alexander's successors, which resemble the Phœnician, if they were not that character. They likewise bear some resemblance to the most ancient Syriac characters called the Estrangello, which the learned believe to be three hundred years more ancient than the birth of Christ. This passage, in conjunction with the above-mentioned coins, seems to confirm that notion. The probability of a great affinity betwixt the most ancient Syriac and Arabic alphabets from hence likewise plainly appears;

b Diod. Sic. 1. xxi.
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ment, and disowned the orders he had given Athenæus, telling their embassadors, that he was well served for his unjust invasion of their country. This gave great satisfaction to the Arabs; though, in order to secure themselves against any unforeseen event, they erected watch-towers to give notice of an approaching enemy, and took care always to have ready a body of troops to repel any sudden incursion. Antigonus, finding them upon their guard, for some time continued in a state of friendship with them; but at last imagining, that a fair opportunity of revenging the late disgrace offered, he sent his son Demetrius, with a choice detachment of four thousand foot and as many horse, to chastise them for it. But the watch-towers above-mentioned giving them timely notice of the enemy's approach, they threw a sufficient garrison into Petra, and made all the other necessary dispositions for their defence. However, Demetrius arrived before Petra, and immediately attacked it with great fury; but was repulsed and obliged to draw off. The next day, when he began to renew the attack, an Arab from the walls spoke to him in the following terms: 'King Demetrius, what would you have? What has induced you to invade a people inhabiting the wilderness, where neither water, corn, wine, nor other things you cannot subsist without, are to be found? We inhabit these desolate plains for the sake of liberty, and submit to such inconveniences as no other people can bear, in order to enjoy it. You can never force us to change our sentiments, nor way of life, neither can you, for want of necessaries, stay long here: therefore we desire you to retire out of our country, as we have never injured you, to accept appears; and that they both, as well as the Phenician, were deduced from the antient Hebrew or Assyrian letters, we have elsewhere observed. The present Arabic letters derive their origin from the same source. The alphabet of the Mædæans or Nabathæans, at present in use amongst the posterity of the old Assyrians and Chaldæans, given us by Dr. Hyde, is only a corruption of the old Syrac letters. In short, this passage, as we apprehend, may lead us, by a proper attention to it, to several curious discoveries, equally entertaining and useful (5).

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"accept of some presents from us, and to prevail upon your father Antigonus to rank the Nabathean Arabs amongst his friends." Demetrius, having received such presents as were agreed upon between him and their chief, and hostages for their future good behaviour, raised the siege, and marched with his army to the lake of Asphaltitis, where he encamped. Plutarch relates, that Demetrius’s surprizing intrepidity in the most imminent dangers so astonished the Arabs, that they not only suffered him to retire quietly out of their territories, but also to carry off with him an immense booty, and, among other things, seven hundred camels. Antigonus was greatly dissatisfied with the ill success of this expedition, imagining, that the Arabs would grow more insolent upon it. But he appeared highly pleased with his son Demetrius, for discovering the lake Asphaltitis, which, it seems, till that time, had been unknown to the Greeks, especially as he imagined his revenue would be much increased by the bitumen brought from off that lake. He appointed, therefore, Hieronymus Cardianus the historian his treasurer for that part of the revenue, ordering him to build ships, and collect all the bitumen that could be got out of the lake. But the Arabs, being apprized of this, drew together a body of six thousand men, with which they attacked the people Cardianus employed, and cut them almost all off; which obliged Antigonus to lay aside the project he had formed. Mr. Sale says, he does not find any of Alexander’s successeors, either in Asia or Egypt, ever to have made any attempts upon the Arabs, which we own ourselves astonished at. As greatly are we surprized to find, that the passage he quotes on this occasion makes directly against him.

As for the Romans, they never conquered any part of Arabia properly so called; though that the Arabs submitted to made an Arab tribe tributary to Pompey Lucullus, is asserted by Plutarch. The most they did was to make some tribes tributary to them, as Pompey did one commanded by Sampsicernus or Shams’ alkerim, who reigned at Hems or Emefa. His people were more civilized, and lived under a better form of government, than the other Arabs, as we learn from Strabo.

That the Arabs frequently made dreadful incursions into Syria, whilst under the Romans, we have already observed from

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Antigonus to collect bitumen on the lake Asphaltitis.

They did not suffer.

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Sale’s prelim. disc. p. 13, 14.

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from Strabo; and are now farther to observe, that these incursions sometimes brought upon them the Roman arms. Pompey, as we learn from Plutarch, obliged one Aretas, an Arab prince, whose dominions bordered upon Syria and Mesopotamia, to submit to him, and to receive a Roman garrison: and the same general likewise subdued the Arabs, who dwelt about mount Amanus, by his lieutenant Afranius. After which the king of the Arabs residing in Petra, who till now had made no account of the Romans, submitted himself by letter to him; but that Pompey ever possessed himself of that strong-hold, does not appear. Plutarch rather seems to insinuate, that he was recalled from thence, by the death of Mithridates, before he could make full proof of the sincerity of that prince’s submissio. And this is the more probable, because Gabinius, who succeeded soon after to the government of Syria, made preparations for an expedition against the Arabians, but was diverted from his design by Ptolemy’s solicitation to be restored to his kingdom.

Agbarus, or, according to others, Ariamnes, not far from the time we are now upon, an Arab emir or phylarch, misled and deluded Craflus to his own destruction. Not long after which event, the Arabs probably defended the Palmyrenians, when Antony sent a detachment of horse to ravage their city. For Appian tells us, that the body of troops defending them consisted of archers, “who excelled in that way;” which is one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the Arabs.

Ælius Galus’s expedition. But none of the Romans ever penetrated so far into Arabia as Ælius Gallus, or Ælius Largus, as he is called by Dio, in the reign of the emperor Augustus. That general, after traversing vast deserts, came within two days journey of the aromaticous parts of Arabia. For the carrying on of this expedition, he built eighty biremes, besides several triremes, and a great number of smaller vessels, imagining, that a fleet of such ships would be of signal service to him. But, finding himself deceived in that expectation, he equipped another fleet consisting of an hundred and thirty transports, with which, after he had put on board all his forces, he sailed for Leucocome, a maritime city of the Nabathæans on the coast of the Red Sea. As this was an extremely dangerous navigation, on account of the many rocks and shelves, which are in that part of the Arabian gulf, and Syllaus, who had undertaken to be his guide, treacherously conducted him the worst way through it, he was fifteen days in his passage, and lost many of his ships.

Plut. in Pomp. & alib. Appian. de bel. civil.
Chap. 9. The History of the Arabs.

Had he marched his army by land, as was at first intended, he might have avoided this disaster; but Syllaeus prevented the execution of that salutary design, informing Gallus, that there was no safe passage by land for his troops through the country of the Nabathæans, though nothing was more common than for merchants to travel through it in caravans almost as numerous as an army. Soon after his arrival at Leucome, a strange distemper, that chiefly affected the mouth and thighs of the patient, made great havoc in his army, which obliged him to remain inactive in that neighbourhood the remaining part of the summer, and the following winter. This distemper, according to Dio, first seized the head, where, if it settled, it proved mortal; but if the humour occasioning it retired into the thighs, the patient recovered. Early in the spring Gallus, moving out of his winter-quarters, advanced to the frontiers of Hira, where he met with a most kind reception from Al Hareth, or, as Strabo names him, Aretas, a near relation of Abd Wadd, or Obodas, king of the Nabathæans, his ally. After a short stay here, he resumed his march, and in thirty days having crossed a vast desert, he arrived upon the borders of Arrarena, a country inhabited by the Scenite Arabs, and governed by one Sabus. This region he likewise traversed in fifty days, and took post with all his forces at the city of Najran, seated in a pleasant and fruitful country, whose king abandoned it upon his approach. Gallus, having taken this city by assault, continued his march southward, and arrived the sixth day at a river, where he was met by a numerous body of Arabs who had assembled with a design to dispute his passage; but as they were only a raw and undisciplined multitude, armed with lances, bows and arrows, swords, slings, hatchets, &c. in an irregular manner, Gallus easily routed them, and cut ten thousand of them in pieces, with the loss of two men only. He then made himself master of several considerable places without opposition, and penetrated as far as Marfyabæ, a city of the Rhamanites, governed by a petty prince named Ilafrus, or Al Asfar, which he besieged ineffectually, being obliged to drop that enterprise for want of water. In the mean time finding his men carried off daily in great numbers, by various distempers proceeding from the heat of the climate, the insalubrity of the air, water, and herbs of the country, he thought it advisable to march back into the country of the Nabathæans, and from thence pursue his rout into Egypt. Accordingly, he set out on his march homeward, and, by the assistance of more faithful
ful guides, reached the city of Nega, one of Obodas’s maritime towns, by the road of Anagrania, Chaalla, Malotha, &c. in sixty days. Here he embarked his troops, and, crossing the Arabian gulf, landed at Myos Hormus, on the Egyptian side; from whence he led back the poor remains of his army to Alexandria. The bad success Gallus met with on this occasion ought to be attributed chiefly to the treachery of Syllaus, whose view, in the total destruction of the Roman army, seems to have been the acquisition of some of the Roman conquests for his master Obodas, who likewise concurred with his chief minister, by not supporting Gallus, as he had promised. Be that as it will, the Roman general discovered the perfidy of Syllaus before his return out of Arabia; but, for some political reasons, he thought proper then to dissemble his resentment. However, after his arrival in Egypt, he sent the traitor to Rome, where, for this, and other enormous crimes, he had his head struck off by the emperor’s order; that thereby others might be deterred from the like villainous conduct for the future. We must not omit observing, that Gallus spent two years in this unfortunate expedition.

From this time to the reign of Trajan, we hear little of Arabia; but the eighth year of that reign was famous for the entire reduction of Arabia Petrea by Aulus Cornelius Palma, governor of Syria, according to Dio. Eusebius relates, that the inhabitants of Petra and Bostra computed their time from this year, in which their country was first annexed to the Roman empire. Nay, Arrian, Eutropius, Lucian, and Dio, intimate, that Trajan conquered Arabia Felix, which seems to be confirmed by some medals coined after the fourteenth year of his reign; and meditated the conquest of India. But all this was gross flattery, meriting not the least regard, as will appear from the reception the Hagareans gave him, when he marched against them about six years after the period above-mentioned. This, which happened in the last year of Trajan, is a convincing proof, that he never was master of Arabia Petrea, much less Arabia Felix, notwithstanding the mean adulation of his coins, orators, and historians.

Trajan,
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Trajan, receiving intelligence, that the Hagarines had declared against him, marched from Ctesiphon into their territories with a powerful army, and laid siege to their capital city. As it was situated on the top of a high and steep mountain, surrounded with strong walls, seated in a barren country, and defended by a numerous garrison, Trajan could not reduce it, though he made a breach in the wall. The emperor narrowly escaped being killed in one of the attacks; for having laid aside the ensigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in person: but the enemy knowing him, notwithstanding that disguise, by his grey hairs, and majestic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horse, and killed an horsemann by his side. Besides, as often as the Romans advanced to the attack, they were driven back by violent storms of wind, rain, and hail, and dreadful flashes of lightning. The apparitions of rainbows likewise dazzled and frightened them in an extraordinary manner. And at the same time they were in a strange manner infected in their camp by swarms of flies; so that Trajan was in the end obliged to raise the siege, and retire. As the metropolis of the Hagarines, from some circumstances hinted at by Dio, must have been the same with the modern Errakim or Arrakeh, we cannot help thinking, that the Romans were never absolute masters of even Arabia Petrae, whatever homage they might have received from the Arabs of that country. Neither are their coins, an evidence of good authority in some points, to be relied on in the present case; as will more fully appear from an observation already made towards the close of the history of the Ethiopians.

About eighty years after, the emperor Severus, being greatly incensed at the Arabs bordering on Syria, for afflicting Niger, laid siege to Atrae their capital with a formidable army, and a vast train of military engines invented by Priscus, the most celebrated mechanic of his age. He pushed on the siege with incredible vigour, not being able to bear that of all nations the Hagarines only should stand out still against

against the Romans. Being repulsed in the first attack with
great slaughter, he ordered a second to be made; when he
might have carried the place, but chose rather to found a
retreat, hoping by this means, to induce the Arabs to sue
for peace; which he was determined not to grant, except
they would discover their hidden treasures supposed to be
consecrated to the Sun. But for a whole day they made
not the least overture. In the mean time the ardor of his
troops cooled to such a degree, that the Europeans refused
to begin another assault and the Syrians were repulsed in
one that they made. This so chagrined the emperor, that,
when one of his officers represented to him, that he would
engage to storm the place with five hundred and fifty Eu-
ropean soldiers, he replied, But where shall I find so many?
Good, says the hiftorian, preferred the town by the back-
wardness of the emperor one day, and by that of his troops
the next. He was, therefore, obliged to raffe the fiege, and
retire, with great precipitation, into his own dominions 1.

From this time to the birth of Mohammed we find not
many particulars of moment related of the Arabs in ge-
neral, or of the Saracens, the most noted people of them,
in particular, by the Greek and Latin hiftorians. The Sa-
racens, however, we are told, ravaged Mesopotamia in the
time of the emperor Conftantius, and joined the Perfians
against Julian. That prince, it seems, and some of his
predecessors, had paid the Saracens, that they might have
a body of troops always on foot for the service of the Ro-
mans: but this he took into his head to discontinue; and
when they sent deputies to complain of this treatment, Ju-
lian told them, that a warlike prince had fteel, but no
gold; which they resenting, went over to the Perfian, and
ever after continued faithful to him. Mavia, queen of the
Saracens, fent a body of her troops to the affiftance of the
Romans against the Goths, who, after the defeat and death
of Valens, by their vigorous fallies, forced those barbarians
to retire from before Conftantinople, which metropolis they
had befieged. About the year of the chriftian æra 411,
they committed great disorders on the frontiers of Egypt,
Paleftine, Phcenicia, and Syria; but soon retired of their own
accord. In the reign of Theodofius, Alamundarus, or Al
Mondar, with a numerous army, affifted the Perfians againft

in Sever. Goltz. p. 84. Univ. hist. vol. xv. p. 101:
that prince; but the greatest part of his men, being seized
with an unaccountable panic, threw themselves headlong in-
to the Euphrates, where, to the number of an hundred
thousand, they are said to have perished. A. D. 457, the
Saracens, Nubians, and Blemmyes, broke into the Roman
empire; but were overthrown by the troops of the empe-
ror Marcian, and forced to sue for peace, which the empe-
ror granted them upon terms highly advantageous to the
empire. In the beginning of the sixth century, a prince of
the Mondar family, who was a renowned warrior, did in-
credible damage to the Romans, as we learn from Procopius.
He so harried them for fifty years together, by ravaging
all their territories, from the borders of Egypt to the con-
fines of Mesopotamia, killing vast numbers of their subjects,
and exacting immense sums for the redemption of others taken
prisoners, that, to use Procopius’s expression, he brought
them quite down upon their knees. He flew from Egypt
to Mesopotamia like lightning, being so quick in his in-
cursions, that the Roman troops scarce ever began their
march to put a stop to his depredations, before he had
brought his plunder home. He generally defeated the Ro-
mans, when he found himself obliged to come to an en-
gagement with them. In one action he made a whole Ro-
man corps prisoners, with their general Demostratus, the
brother of Rufinus, and John the son of Lucas, for whose
ransom he had an immense sum of money paid him. Be-
ing at the head of all the Saracens bordering upon the Per-
ian dominions, and capable of making an irruption into
which of the neighbouring Roman provinces he pleased,
he was one of the most formidable enemies the Romans
had. None of their generals, nor any of the Arab phy-
larchs in their interest, could ever make head against him.
Juftinian, in order to annoy him, vested Aretas, another
Arab prince, with the regal dignity, thinking this would
enable him to push on the war with greater vigour against
Alamandrus, for so Procopius calls him. However, Al
Mondar was victorious in every engagement with Aretas,
either vanquishing him by downright force, or prevailing
upon him to betray the Romans. In fine, this prince, with
Azarethes the Persian general, defeated the renowned Beli-
farius, and scattered terror where-ever he came. The dis-
pute he had with Aretas, who pleaded the cause of the Ro-
mans, about a territory called Strata, our readers will find
related in Procopius. But as the rapid conquests of the Sa-
racens,
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racens, and the principal transactions they were concerned in, happened after the death of Mohammed, we shall reserve what we have to say of that warlike nation, till we come to the modern history of Arabia.

That Arabia, after the introduction of Christianity, was famous for heresies, has been already observed. The Hymarites were infected with the Arián heresy in the reign of the emperor Constantius, as we learn from Theophilus Indus in Philostorgius. Some christians of this nation believed, that the soul died with the body, and was to be raised again with it at the last day. These Origen is said to have convinced. The heresies of Ebion, Berylus, the Nazaræans, and Collyridians were also broached, or at least propagated, among the Arabs. The Collyridians were so denominated from a sort of twisted cake called collyris, which they offered to the virgin Mary, whom they worshipped as God. Other sects likewise there were within the borders of Arabia, who took refuge there from the proscriptions of the imperial edicts; several of whose notions Mohammed incorporated with his religion, as will hereafter be shewn.

The Jews, though an inconsiderable and despised people in other parts of the world, were very powerful in Arabia, whither they fled from the destruction of Jerusalem, as well as the great havoc made amongst them by the emperor Hadrian, and brought over several tribes to their religion. The Jews of Hamyar, we are told, not far from the time of Dhu Nowâs above-mentioned, challenged some neighbouring christians to a public disputation, which was held sib dio three days, before the king and his nobility, and all the people. The disputants were Gregentius, bishop of Tephra or Dhasfir for the christians, and Herbanus for the Jews. On the third day, Herbanus, to end the dispute, demanded, that Jesus of Nazareth, if he were really living, and in heaven, and could hear the prayers of his worshippers, should appear from heaven in their sight, and they would then believe on him; the Jews

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Jews crying out, with one voice, "Shew us your Christ; alas, and we will become Christians." Whereupon, after a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, Jesus Christ appeared in the air, surrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, having a sword in his hand, and an ineffable diadem on his head; and spake these words over the heads of the assembly: "Behold, I appear to you in your sight; I, who was crucified by your fathers." After which the cloud received him from their sight. The christians hereupon cried out, "Lord, have mercy upon us;" but the Jews were stricken blind, and recovered not, till they were all baptised in.

Dhunowas, as has been observed, was a Jew, and persecuted all, the christians particularly, who were not of his religion. He burnt three hundred and forty christians in the city of Najran only. Not content with this, he sent an embassy to Al Mondar, king of Hira, offering him large sums of money, if he would persecute the christians throughout his dominions. The patriarch of Alexandria pressing Elephaas (E) the Najari, or king of Ethiopia, to revenge such inhuman cruelty, that prince crossed the straights of Bab-al-Mandab with a fleet of four hundred and twenty-three sail, and an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men, with which he made a descent in Yaman. With these forces he overthrew Dhunowas, seized upon his kingdom, and made St. Aretas's son governor of Najran. The Abaffines kept possession of this kingdom, till they were driven out by Seif the son of Dhun Yazan of the tribe of Hamyar, who was, however, himself slain by some of them that had been left behind. The war of the elephant we have already given our readers an account of; and therefore shall conclude our history of the


(E) According to some of the Syriac writers, Elephaas or Elebaan, whom they call Aidog, king of Ethiopia, undertook an expedition against one Dimon, king of the Hamyrites, for maiming some christian merchants, that were Romans, in their passage through Yaman into Ethiopia; which he did, to revenge the cruelties exercised on the Jews, of whose communion, it seems, he was a member, in the dominions of the Roman emperor. They add, that Elephaas did not undertake this expedition out of a religious motive, but to revenge the injury his subjects might sustain...
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the antient Arabs, or the time of ignorance, as it is called by
the Mohammedans, with observing, that Abd al Motalleb,
the grandfather of Mohammed, was prince or chief of the
Koreith at the time this war happened; that Mohammed-
himself was born the very year the Abassines were overthrown
in their expedition to Mecca; that on this year, A.D. 578,
commenced the æra of the elephant, from which the Arabs
computed their time for twenty years; and that another,
called the æra of the unjust war (F) succeeded this, which
continued to the Hejra n” (G).

C H A P.

Orient. art. Abrahah. Prid. life of Mahom. p. 61, &c. Al
Kodaius apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 172, 173. Sim. Meta-
Al Jauhar. Al Firauzabad. Al Shareftan. Job Ludolph. in com-
ment. ad hift. Æthiop. p. 61, 62, 255, 256. Gollii not. ad
Alfragan. p. 54. aliq; auctor. supra laudat.

sustain in point of trade upon this occasion. Before the Arab
and Ethiopian armies engaged, Elefsbaas, according to the fame
authors, vowed solemnly to embrace the christian religion, in case
he was victorious. The armies then joining battle, Dimion was
vanquished and slain, and Elefsbaas or Aidog proffessed himself a
christian, and placed a christian prince upon the throne of Ham-
yar. Upon the death of this king, the Jews, who were still
very numerous there, found means to fix Dhu Nowaş upon that
throne, who, at their instigation, proved a bitter enemy to the
christians. The particulars of his cruel behaviour towards them
are set forth at large by Metaphrases, Simeon Beth-Arsmenfis,
and other authors of good repute already mentioned (5).

(F) This was called the unjust and impious war, because the
principal actions of it happened betwixt the Kais Ailan and the
Koreith, two powerful Arabian tribes, in the sacred months above-
mentioned. These sacred months were Moharran, Rajeb, Dulk-
aada, and Duhlaga. In them all acts of hostility amongst the jar-
ing tribes, how violent soever their resentment might be, entirely
ceased. They then laid aside all weapons of war, and conversed
together in the most friendly manner. Nay, if an Arab met with
the person that had killed his father or brother, he could not
then

(5) Simeon Beth-Arsmenf. episco. & Joan. Asia episc. apud
Asseman. in bibl. Oriental. vol. i. p. 339--385. ut & ipsa Al-
seman. ibid.
Chap. 10. The History of Nice.

C H A P. [X.]

The history of the empires of Nice and Trapezond, from their foundation, the former by Theodore Lascaris, and the latter by the Comneni, to their final abolition, the one by Michael Palæologus, the other by Mohammed the Great.

These are the two last empires we have left to mention on the other side the Mediterranean, and before we repass into Europe. We have given them the last place, and have joined them in the same chapter, as they were of the modernest date, smallest extent, and shortest duration, of any of those we have had occasion to speak of, either in Asia or Africa, that are now extinct; and as they were both dismembered from the Greek empire about the same time, that is, soon after the taking of its great metropolis by the Latins, mentioned in a former volume. That of Nice was founded by Theodore Lascaris, and that of Trapezond by David and Alexius Comneni, whilst Baldwin reigned at Constantinople. As for the Vandals, and their kingdom in Africa, it made so small and short a figure, and we know so little of its extent, and other particulars, except what we have so lately taken notice

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of, then offer any violence to him. The Hejra did not take place, till it was agreed upon, in the khilafat of Omar, that the Arabs should suppress their time from thence (6).

(6) Several remarkable events supplied the Arabs with epochs before the Hejra, viz. the invasion and reduction of Yaman by the Abaffines; the expulsions of the Amalekites, by the family of Jorham, from the territory of Mecca; the battle of Ebū Wayel; the wars called Al Bafus and Dahes; the inundation of Al Arem; the fire Derar, which appeared in a stony district of the kingdom of Yaman, &c. The people of Yaman, however, for the most part, supputed their time according to the reigns of their kings (7).

notice of in their history, that we think we need not repeat it here; but refer our readers to a former chapter in volume xvi. p. 221, & seq.

The empire and emperors of Nice.

Theodorus Lascaris, son-in-law to the tyrant Alexius Angelus, having happily escaped out of Constantinople, and fled into Bithynia, was there received with such demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, that he soon made himself master of Phrygia, My sia, Lydia, and Ionia, from the Meander to the Black or Euxine Sea. These he erected into an empire, and fixed his imperial residence in the famous city of Nice, from which this new empire took its name. It was not long, however, before he saw himself invaded by two powerful enemies, his father-in-law, and his friend and ally, whom he called to his assistance against the new emperor. They marched accordingly against him with an army of twenty thousand men, and laid siege to the city of Antioch, on the Meander, the then boundary of this new empire on that side. Lascaris, though he could then muster but two thousand men, was yet forced to march to the relief of that place, left its falling into their hands should open them a way to the heart of his dominions. They were surprised to find him come so suddenly, and with such an handful of men, against them; but such was his valour, and that of his troops, especially of eight hundred of his Italians, that he gave the enemy a signal overthrow; but his Greeks being somewhat intimidated at the sight of the superior enemy, the sultan, thinking that a proper time to renew the onset, fell suddenly upon them, and, having singled Lascaris out, threw him off his horse at the first blow. Lascaris soon recovered himself, unhorsed his competitor, struck off his head, and, fixing it on the point of a lance, threw the enemy into such a panic, that they betook themselves to flight. Alexius, the author of this war, was taken prisoner, and carried in triumph to Nice, where he ended his days in a monastery, where Lascaris had confined him. The Turks were soon after glad to accept of such a peace as he was pleased to grant to them; and another being concluded between him and Henry the brother and successor of Baldwin, he was then at full leisure to

b Nicet. in Bald. c. 1, & seq.
Chap. 10. The History of Nice.

to secure his new-founded empire to himself and successors, which he did with vast success and bravery, both against the Turks and Latins, during the space of eighteen years.  

At his death he left only a son, then an infant, and three daughters, the eldest of whom, named Irene, he had married to the brave John Ducas, surnamed Vatizes, to whom he bequeathed his new monarchy; tho' he had two brothers, viz. Alexius and Angelus, whom it might be expected he would have entrusted with the care of his son and empire: but he seems to have been more intent in strengthening and enlarging the latter, than to secure it to his nearest kindred; and accordingly named his son-in-law his successor, as the most capable of answering his design; and such he really proved.

2. John Ducas was accordingly crowned at Nice by John Ducas Manuel the great patriarch, and proved no less brave and successful than his predecessor. We have formerly had occasion to mention his great success against the Turks, and especially the Latins, whom he defeated in several battles, and from whom he took a considerable number of places, which we shall forbear repeating here. He died after a glorious reign of thirty-three years, in the sixty-second of his age, after having extended his conquests, not only in Asia, but in Europe, and even almost to the gates of Constantinople; and was succeeded by his son.

3. Theodore Lascaris; who, during his short reign, was likewise very successful against the Bulgarians, and the despot of Epirus, as we have formerly seen. One great oversight this prince was guilty of, was, the recalling the traitor Michael Paleologus, who was gone from him over to the Turks, and restoring him to his former dignity; for that gave him an opportunity of depriving his son of the empire, as we shall soon see. Theodore died in the third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son.

4. John Lascaris, then about nine years of age; for which reason his father committed him, and the care of his

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*c. 11. ad fin. See before vol. xvi. p. 505, pass.
*d. p. 510, & seq. Vid. & Geor. Acrop. l. i. c. 2.
*e. c. 12, & seq. See before vol. xvi. p. 510, & seq.
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the empire, to Arsenius the then patriarch of Nice, and to the famed Muzalo, a person indeed of mean extract, but of great merit and fidelity, and deservedly raised to the highest posts in the empire. For this, Muzalo incurred the envy of the nobles, who, notwithstanding the solemn oath which he had obliged them to take to the young prince, rushed with their swords drawn upon that brave minister, on the very day and place where the funeral obsequies of the deceased monarch were performed; and, in the midst of the divine service, dispatched him at the foot of the altar, to which he had fled for sanctuary. It is not improbable, that the treacherous Paleologus had the greatest hand in the contriving and conducting of this assassination, as it was the most likely means to open him the way to the seizing on the imperial dignity, which he never must have so much as aimed at, whilst the young prince was under the care of so brave and worthy a guardian. However that be, Muzalo was no sooner dispatched out of his way, but the traitor caused himself to be chosen to succeed him in the guardianship of the young emperor, and to be declared protector of the empire, without the least notice or regard to the patriarch, who, tho' no consummate statesman, was yet a person of singular learning and merit.

His new dignity was soon after signalized with a complete overthrow, which his brother John gave to the despotic empire of Epirus, who had then invaded the provinces of Thrace and Macedon. The news of this action no sooner reached Magnesia, the place where the new protector then resided, but he was saluted emperor by a number of his creatures, both of the nobility and populace. For this the worthy patriarch threatened to excommunicate him, and all his adherents; and Paleologus found no better expedient to ward off the blow, than by binding himself under a solemn oath to resign the empire to the young prince, as soon as he came to be of age. This having for the present satisfied the too credulous prelate, he was easily persuaded to crown him emperor. As we are no further concerned with any particulars of that usurper's reign, than as they relate to the Nicæan empire, to which he now put an end, we shall refer our readers to what has been said of them in a former volume; and only add here, that having soon after, that is,
Chap. 10. The History of Trapezond.

is, in the second year of his reign, taken Constantinople from the Latins, he removed the seat of the empire from Nice to that antient metropolis, where he caused himself to be crowned afresh emperor of the east. The unfortunate young prince fell a sacrifice to that tyrant’s ambition, who caused, not long after, his eyes to be put out, and himself to be proclaimed the sole lawful and rightful possessor of the empire. Arsenius, now convinced, though too late, of his fatal credulity, thundered out an excommunication against him, and all his adherents; but neither this, nor the great opposition which he met with from abroad, could wrest the empire from him, tho’ it proved a very troublesome and thorny one, as we have elsewhere shewn *. This was the end of the Nicean empire, about fifty-seven years after its foundation. As for Nice, the metropolis of it, though it was in a great measure devested of its grandeur by the removal of the court to Constantinople, yet it continued to be so considerable a city, that it passed once and again from the Greeks, to the Turks, and back again, till it was at length taken by Orchanes in the manner as has been heretofore related b.

The empire of Trapezond.

THIS monarchy, which was founded, as we lately hinted, much about the same time with that of Nice, lasted much longer, and made a much more considerable figure in the world. It took its name from the famed city of Trapezond or Træpæus, which was now made the imperial seat of the Commeni, and metropolis of this their new empire (A). David and Alexius Commeni

* Ibid. p. 517, & seq. et Pachym. i. i. & ii. pass. b Before, ibid. p. 531, & seq.

(A) Træpæus or Trapezond, called also Trebizond, and by the Turks Tarabozan, was a Greek city in Pontus, founded by the antient Sinopians, and tributary to them, as we learn from Xenophon, who marched by it in his famous retreat, spoken of in a former volume (1). It is situate on the foot of a hill, which makes a kind of peninsula, on the Black or Euxine Sea, where it

(1) See before vol. v. p. 174, & seq.
it begins to turn towards the east. Its port is large and convenient, and the city itself well peopled, and surrounded with steep mountains (2).

It was formerly of such consideration, that the emperors of Constantinople always kept a deputy there; and, since its being brought under the Turks, it is become the residence of a beglerbeigh. After the overthrow of Mithridates, who had taken it, the Romans restored it, as they did most of the Greek cities in Asia, to its former privileges and liberty (3).

But what rendered it still more famous, was, its being made and continued the imperial residence of the Comneni from the foundation of their empire we are now upon, to the taking it by Mohammed II. of which we shall speak in due place. The reader may see an account of its present situation, commerce, &c. in the volume last quoted.

Aristotle tells us of a kind of honey that was gathered off the box-trees in the neighbourhood of Trapezond, which was an almost infallible cure for the epilepsy; but adds, that if any person in health did venture to eat of it, it bereaved them of their senses (4): he doth not tell us indeed whether it was this very Trapezond we are speaking of, or some other; for there were more cities of that name, particularly one in Arcadia, said to have been founded by, and named from, Trapefus the son of Lycaon.

(B) The family of the Comneni was very antient and considerable. The reader may see a long account of it in the author quoted in the margin (5); but it became much more so after its having been honoured with the imperial diadem in the person of Isaac Comnenus, who was raised to that dignity against Michael Stratoticus, by the officers of the army, as we have formerly seen (6). Andronicus, the grandfather of these Comneni, was of that family, and uncle to Alexius Comnenus then upon the throne, but no more than twelve years of age: against him he raised a revolt, in which he cauffed himself and young Alexius to be paralleled as co-partners, and took him as his colleague to the empire, but soon after cauffed him to be murdered; for which, and his other tyrannies and cruelties, he was put to a most shameful and dreadful death (7).

as we have formerly seen, were the first founders of it. These, having the good fortune to escape out of Constantinople together, came and seized on the more eastern parts of Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia, and erected them into an empire; and Trapezond being then the strongest and most considerable city in their dominions, they made it the seat of their residence, and called their new empire by its name. It doth not indeed appear, that they immediately took upon them the imperial title; much less, that they were soon acknowledged as such. On the contrary, Vincent de Beauvais styles them only lords of Trapezond; but it is plain, that they soon arrived at a considerable height of power and interest, since the emperor Baldwin, about thirty-four years after their settling at Trapezond, sought their alliance and friendship, and was by them assisted in some considerable enterprises against Vataces emperor of Nice, who had invaded some of his dominions, as we hinted under the last article, and elsewhere. However, it is not improbable, that neither those of Trapezond, nor those of Nice, took upon them the title of emperors till some time after the foundation of their monarchies; perhaps, as some conjecture, not till the usurper Michael Paleologus had seized on that of Nice, and got himself crowned emperor at Constantinople; at which time the Comneni, either in contempt to him, or because they could not brook an inferior title to his, did likewise assume the imperial dignity. However that be, it is certain, that after they had once assumed it, their successors maintained it with great success and bravery; and caused themselves to be acknowledged as such by foreign powers, as long as their empire lasted, that is, till it was subdued and put an end to by Mohammed the Great, who, like an irresistible inundation, drove all before him, as we shall see at the conclusion of this chapter.

The Trapezuntines were of the Greek church, and after the foundation of this new empire they had a patriarch of their own; but, whether chosen by the emperor, or the clergy, can only be darkly guessed at. After their becoming subject to the Turks, the latter still chose their patriarchs, who were afterwards confirmed by the sultan. This was done

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1 Ibid. p. 495.  
2 See before vol. ix. p. 375.  
4 Acrop. in Vatace, c. 12.  
5 & seq.  
6 Cruifius annotat. in lib. i. Turco-Grec. p. 60.  
7 & seq.  
8 Bau-drand. sub voc. Trapez.  
9 Du Fresne, hist. Byzant. p. 166, & seq.
done every-where, it seems, throughout the Turkish conquests, in the same manner as it was practised under the Christian emperors, that is, without paying any fine to the treasury. The clergy of Trapezond were the first who caused this dignity to be saddled with one of a thousand ducats; which by degrees came afterwards to extend to those of their other conquests. The occasion of it being somewhat remarkable, we shall give it our reader in the margin (C). As for other particulars of their religion, laws, customs, &c. there is the less necessity to dwell longer on them, considering that these two empires were only dismembered from the grand one, and differed in nothing from it but in their change

(C) The Trapezontines were at that time under a patriarch named Mark, who was so ill beloved by his clergy, and by the nobles and people, that they agreed upon depriving him of his dignity, and to nominate unto it one Simeon, a countryman of theirs, then a monk or canon at the great church of Constantinople, a person of merit on several accounts, but especially for his extraordinary hospitality. To compass their design, they fell upon the following doughty expedient: they accused Mark of having introduced a new kind of simony, till then unheard of among them, that is, to have agreed to pay one thousand ducats into the sultan's treasury, as soon as he was confirmed in his dignity. The innocent patriarch in vain endeavoured to wipe off the foul accetration by the most solemn oaths; his enemies had bribed so many considerable persons, some of them ecclesiastics, to swear it against him, that he was adjudged guilty, and not only ipso facto deprived of his dignity, but also worthy of excommunication and banishment. This being done, they took one thousand ducats, and went with them to the sultan, and told him, that since Mark, a person odious to the clergy and laity, had professed him that sum upon his elevation to the patriarchate, they would now pay it to his highness, provided they might be permitted to raise their favourite monk to it.

The sultan, who knew nothing of such a promise, could not at first forbear smiling at the proposal, and hesitated some time whether he should accept of it; at length considering, that this would serve for a good precedent to oblige the future candidates to that dignity to the payment of the like sum, owned to them, that Mark had indeed promised it to him: But, continued he, and taking the money at the same time, since he is so obnoxious to you, e'en turn him out, and appoint whom you will in his place; which was done accordingly (8).

Chap. 10. The History of Trapezond.

change of government, or rather governors. As for their trade, considering the excellent situation of their metropolis, and of some other of their cities, of which we have formerly given an account in the Pontic history, we need not doubt but the emperors encouraged it all they could; and the medals produced by Tournefort, as well as the coins mentioned by Du Frene, leave us no room to doubt of the trade and opulence, both of their empire, and its metropolis, tho' since their falling into the hands of the Turks, they have fared like all the rest of their conquests, and greatly failed of their antient commerce and splendor. It only remains, that we give an account of the Trapezontine monarchs from Alexius their founder to David their last emperor, and of their different wars, by which they maintained themselves in their high dignity against so many powerful enemies, such as were, some time, the Latins and the Greeks, especially those of the new Nicean empire, and at other times the Turks, Saracens, Persians, &c. These would doubtless make a considerable figure in this history, had they been transmitted to us in an uninterrupted series; but the misfortune is, that the Byzantine historians, from whom we have all our chief intelligence, have only mentioned them occasionally, and as they were immediately linked with the affairs of the Constantinopolitan empire; so that we must be content with the series of those eleven emperors, and with such few particulars as we find recorded of them. We shall only add, that the duration of the Trapezontine empire was about two hundred and fifty-seven or two hundred and fifty-eight years, being founded in the year of Christ 1204, and subdued An. 1461, or 1462.

Emperors of Trapezond.

1. Alexius Comnenus, surnamed the Great, and his brother David, were the sons of Manuel, and grandsons of the tyrant Andronicus Comnenus. We have already spoken of the usurpation and tyranny, as well as the difinal end, of the latter. As for Manuel, he was the eldest son of Andronicus; but was so unlike his father in his vices, that he was

was disinherited and imprisoned by him (D), and his next brother John appointed his successor; but, when he found the whole populace exasperated at it, he then tried in vain to appease them, by pretending, that he always designed the empire for Manuel, and promising to name him to it. Upon the death of Andronicus, and the restoration of Isaac Angelus, or rather soon after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, Manuel’s two sons, Alexius and his brother David; fled into Pontus, seized on Heraclea, and soon after made themselves masters of that whole province, together with Paphlagonia, Colchis, Galatia, Cappadocia, with some others of less note; and Alexius fixed his imperial seat at Trapezond 9. He soon after made an alliance with Baldwin emperor of Constantinople, and assisted him against Theodore Lascaris, as we have already hinted. It doth not however appear, that he took the imperial title, most authors being of opinion, that it was either his grandson or great-grandson that first assumed it 7; and that he only took that of duke or lord of Trapezond, as he is called by an antient author, who mentions him on account of his being used to furnish the sultan of Iconium with two hundred lances 8. He was succeeded by,

2. ----COMNENUS; and he by

3. ----COMNENUS (E); of whose name and father we know nothing but what was hinted in the last note.

4. JOHN


(D) Among other things, by which Manuel disoblige his father, one was, that he constantly refused to marry Agnes the daughter of Philip king of the Franks, and wife of Alexius the deposed emperor of Constantinople, though his father earnestly pressed him to it, and promised him, upon his complying, to make him partner in the empire. His refusal, which, our author says (9), he excused on account of such a marriage being contrary to the ecclesiastical laws, did so incense the tyrant, that at last he cast him into a prison, and appointed his next son to succeed him (10).

(E) We have nothing recorded concerning these two, not even their names; only we are told, that John, the next in order, was

(9) Cruflus Turco-Grec. p. 124, & seq. (10) Nicet. in An-

ronic, lib. ii. n. 8. & seq. in Alex. Mag. n. 4. & in Isaac. i. i. n. 1.
Chap. 10. The History of Trapezond.

4. John Comnenus; the first, as is generally supposed, that took upon him the title of emperor. We hinted a little higher, the probable reason of his assuming it, viz. out of emulation against Michael Paleologus. To this we may add what a cotemporary author, who was protonotary to the said Paleologus, says; viz. that John rather suffered himself to be complimented with it by the Greeks, out of spite and contempt to that usurer, who, by his submission to the pope, and uniting the Greek and Latin churches, had rendered himself odious to them. Another, who lived near the same time, hints much the same thing, when he says, that the province of Trapezond was antiently under the government of dukes, who were sent thither in that quality by the Constantinopolitan emperors; that one of those governors having made himself absolute master there, took upon him the title of king; and that he that then reigned there, had assumed that of emperor. We do not find, however, that Michael made any opposition to this new-assumed title. The odium and other misfortunes he then laboured under, of which we took notice under the last article, rather obliged him to confirm it to him; at least he thought fit to court his friendship and alliance by offering him his daughter Eudocia Paleologina in marriage; which John readily accepted of, and went to Constantinople to espouse her; and it is probable enough, that his new title was then acknowledged and confirmed to him by his father. All that we know further of him is, that he was earnestly courted by pope Nicolas IV. to engage in the holy war about the year 1291, and that he died about four years after, and left two sons behind, by his wife Eudocia, viz. A. C. 1295. Alexius II. who succeeded him, and John his younger brother.

A. C. 1281.

Aithon. c. 13.

was the grandson, according to some, or the great-grandson (11), according to others, of the great Alexius. Among these the famed Ogerius, protonotary of Michael Paleologus, who wrote about the year 1279, calls the then reigning emperor, that is, the John we are now speaking of, the great-grandson of Alexius the great; so that, according (12) to his account, there must have been two princes between these two last-named (13).

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5. Alexius II. was born in 1282, and left, by his father’s last will, under the guardian ship of Andronicus Paleologus the elder. He married the daughter of an Iberian prince, tho’ he had the offer of a much richer wife, which Andronicus Augustus had designed for him. He defeated the Genoese, and soon after entered into an alliance with them. He was succeeded by his son,

6. Basilus I. who was forced to fight his way through to gain his paternal inheritance. He was highly courted by pope John XXII. to go over to the church of Rome. His wife, or, as some think, his second, was Eudocia the natural daughter of Andronicus Paleologus the younger. He was succeeded by,

7. Basilus II. called also the younger, to distinguish him, as is supposed, from his father. He married Irene Paleologina, daughter of Andronicus the younger; which shews, that he must be different from the former, who had married Eudocia, another of that monarch’s daughters; for it was contrary to the canons of the Greek church to marry two sisters. Irene, however, was afterward set aside to make way for another woman of the same name, with whom the emperor was fallen deeply in love; which so exasperated his queen, that she soon after hatched both their ruins; him she caused to be killed by some private means, and her she sent with her children under a guard to Constantinople. She governed the empire for some time, during which she dispatched some embassadors to her father, to defile him to send some proper person, to whom she might be lawfully married, and have children by, to succeed to the empire. The matter was no sooner known at Trabzon, than an insurrection was made against her; which ended in a civil war, in which Tzanychita, a Trabzonite nobleman, who was head of one of the factions, was killed. What became of her, or how the matter was concluded, we are not told; only that Basil the emperor died in the year of Christ 1339. He left children both by his wife, and his concubine; the latter of which were,

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as we hinted, sent with their mother to Constantinople. He was succeeded by a son of the former,

8. --Commnenus, whose christian name has not been transmitted to us, and this last by his son Alexius.

9. Alexius III (F). and the famed princess Eudocia Alexius III. Commena, seem, by all circumstances of time, place, &c. to have been brother and sister, though their father's name is not recorded by any historian; neither is it easy to guess, at what time the former began to reign. As to his sister, she was a lady of extraordinary beauty, and, after having been married some time to a Turkish nobleman of great distinction, and having several children by him, as soon as she was a widow, she was courted and betrothed to Manuel the son of John, emperor of Constantinople, who brought her accordingly thither to consummate his marriage; but here that old monarch, though decrepit with age, gout, and other infirmities, fell so enamoured with her, that he married her himself about the year 1380, that is, towards the latter end of his life and reign, at which time this Alexius was upon the throne of Trapezond. This last married, if we may believe Laonicus, some great lady of the Cantacuzenian family, who being already in love with a Trapezantine nobleman, said to have been the keeper of the imperial wardrobe, she was reported to carry on a shameful intrigue with him. His eldest son was no sooner apprised of it, than he took an opportunity to dispatch her paramour, and then shut her up with the emperor in a room, with a design to have sent them both out of the world by the same way; he was, however, prevented by the people from committing that double parricide, and forced to flee into Spain. Alexius was so exasperated at his son, that he disinherited him, and named Alexander his younger son to succeed him; but John found means, by the help of some Spaniards and Genoese, to return to Trapezond; where he caused his father to be privately murdered, and afterwards to be murdered by his son.

(F) Some have imagined this last to have been the son of Basilus II. and have struck out the anonymous one, who stands the eighth in the list; but it is scarce credible, that he could be the son of that Basil, who died An. 1339, whereas Alexius was still alive A. C. 1428, when he gave Mary his daughter to John then emperor of Constantinople (14).

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John II. called also Calo-Joannes, having thus dispatched his father, mounted the throne, but found it very difficult to keep himself upon it; for the Turks, by this time grown very powerful, fell upon him on all sides, so that he was forced to pay an annual tribute of three thousand ducats to Amurat, and afterwards to his son Mohammed II. to enjoy the quiet possession of it. At his death he left only one son, named Alexius, then but four years of age, who was afterwards carried captive with the rest of the family, at the taking of Trepezond, by Mohammed above-mentioned, and a daughter, named Catharina Comnenus, who was by her uncle David given to Asen Beig, vulgarly called Ufum Cazanes, in order to prevail upon that monarch to assist him against the continual irruptions which the Turks made against him. This was, however, done with this condition, that she should not be obliged to change her religion. John had these two by the daughter of one of the kings of Spain, whom she married during his abode there. Some will have her to have been David's own daughter, the last emperor of Trepezond, but without any foundation; for Laonicus expressly calls her the daughter of John, and David himself, in his letter to Philip duke of Burgundy, says plainly enough, that she was the daughter of Calo-Joannes.

David the last emperor.

II. DAVID COMNENUS, the third brother of John, and last emperor of Trepezond, seized on the crown, in wrong of his nephew, the young son of Alexius. He was a man of a savage and cowardly disposition. He had married the princess Irene, of the Cantacuzenus family, a lady highly celebrated for her greatnes of soul, and constancy under adversities. Against David, Mohammed II. surnamed the Great, who by that time had made himself master of Græcia, Racia, and Servia, and of the city of Constantinople, declared war, under pretence, that he had assisted Ufum Cazanes, king of Persia, and was become tributary to him. David had neither courage

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courage nor strength sufficient to oppose him; so that he marched directly against his capital, and laid close siege to it by sea and land. The siege had lasted little above a month, when David, having in vain implored the assistance of Christian princes, particularly of Charles VII. king of France, agreed to deliver up this metropolis, and with it the whole empire, on condition, that his and his family’s lives should be spared, and he permitted to carry with him all his children and treasures into Europe; and that, when there, he should have a sufficient revenue assigned to maintain him and them. Mohammed at first refused these offers with great indignation, not doubting to be soon master of that metropolis; but a second parley being desired, he in appearance accepted of them; but having once got the unfortunate emperor in his power, he treacherously caused him to be loaded with chains, and to be kept close prisoner. Being now master of the city, he seized on the emperor’s wife (G), daughters, and upon the rest of his family, with as many of the nobility as he found in that metropolis, and caused them to be sent in triumph to Constantinople. Of the rest of the Trapezon- tines he chose as many as he thought fit for his service, and ordered eight hundred promising youths to be brought up janifaries. The handsome females he distributed among his captains and favourites, and some of the finest amongst his own sons. He left in the city none but the meanest of the people, put a strong garrison of janifaries into the castle, another of common soldiers in the town, and made his admiral governor of both. The other cities of the empire submitted to the conqueror in a little while after; so that the whole was

(G) So some authors affirm, and add, that she saw, with the utmost constancy, her husband, and seven of her sons, cruelly butchered by the tyrant, because they would not turn Mohammedans; and that she herself died soon after (15); but Laonicus affirms, that she found means before the Turkish fleet appeared on their coasts, to make her escape to Mamia (16); but what the author means by that word, whether some place of safety, or some relation, or friend, is not possible to guess. Another author affirms David to have been killed by a blow which Mohammed gave him with his doubled fist (17).

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was reduced to his obedience in few months, and he returned triumphant into Constantinople.

Soon after his arrival thither, he sent the emperor David, and his children, prisoners to Adrianople; and not long after, upon some motions made, or pretended to have been made, in their favour by the wife of Ufum Cuzanes, he caused them to be put to death. He frowe to root out, as much as lay in his power, the whole Comnenian family; and none of them were spared, but George the youngest son of David, who turned Mohammedan, and one of his sisters, who became afterwards Mohammed’s concubine. Thus ended the Trapezuntine empire, in the year of Christ 1462, and in the 257th or 258th of its foundation.


C H A P. X.

The antient state and history of Spain, to the expulsion of the Carthaginians by the Romans, and briefly continued to the descent of the Northern nations.

S E C T. I.

Description of Spain.

As the only land contiguous to Spain was Gaul, from whence it was separated on the N. by the Pyrenees, we may consider it as a peninsula. On the other sides we find it surrounded by the Mediterranean, the Sinus Gaditanus or bay of Cadiz, the Fretum Herculeum or streights of Gibraltar, the western ocean, and sea of Cantabria. It must have extended, from E. to W. near thirteen degrees, since Lisbon is 9°. 30'. W. of London, and cape de Bauger in Catalonia 3°. 15'. E. of that city; and from N. to S. about 9°. 40'. Since cape de Ortegal, the northern extremity of modern Spain, is in 44°. 10'. N. lat. and the southermost point of Tariffa,
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Tariffa in 35° 50'. N. lat. According to this determination, ancient Spain, including Lusitania or Portugal, was about five hundred and ninety-four miles long, and five hundred and eighty broad. As the natural limits of ancient and modern Spain are the same, they may be looked upon entirely as the same region. Some modern geographers have assigned this kingdom too large an extent, as our readers will find by consulting them.

The generality of the Greek writers call Spain Испания, Names of Spain. Iberia, either from a colony of Iberians, a people bordering upon mount Caucasus, planted there, or from the Iberus, the Ebro of the moderns, one of the most noted rivers of this country. However, the ancients who lived before Polybius, by Iberia understood only that part of Spain extending from the Pyrenees to Calpe, or the straits of Gibraltar, and terminated by the Mediterranean; the other part being unknown to, and consequently going under no name amongst, the Greeks and Romans. As the Iberus was by far the most considerable river of this tract, it might have received the denomination of Iberia from thence, as Egypt, according to some, did its name from the Nile, which Homer intimates to have been called Αίγυπτος. But, notwithstanding what is here advanced, we apprehend, that the true and proper Iberia was originally only that part of Spain called Celtiberia, from a body of Celts settling in it, bounded by the Iberus, the Pyrenees, and the Mediterranean; which if we admit, it is no wonder, that the Phœnicians gave it the name of Iberia. For the Hebrew אב Eber, as well as the Chaldee, Syriac, or Phœnician אב Ebra or Ibra, in the singular number, signifies a passage, and in the plural bounds or limits. The Phœnicians, therefore, might either have called the most considerable river of this tract, and one of its boundaries, Eber, Iber, Ebra, &c. and from thence styled the inhabitants of it Iberians; or have designated the tract itself Iberia, from its situation, it having been generally considered by them as one of the remotest regions, or western limit, of the earth. Be that as it will, we can by no means think it probable, that any part of Spain was called Iberia, from a colony of Iberians settled.

settled there, since history does not in the least countenance such a notion. Festus Avienus places the Iberi upon the coast of the Atlantic ocean, to the west of the Iberus, a little river between the Boetis and the Anas, the Rio Tinto, or Rio de Azeche, of the moderns. But his authority, with regard to the situation of the moat antient Iberia, must give way to that of Polybius b.

It appears from Bochart and others, that the Phoenicians called Spain, at least that part of it known to them, ספניה, or Spanija, from שפניה Shaphan, or Span, a rabbit, because it abounded with those animals. In support of this notion, it may be observed, that in many manuscripts of Curtius, Justin, Capella, Apuleius, Julius Capitolinus, Athenæus, &c. for Hispania is found Spania, as we learn from Cacaubon and Salmasius. From the Phoenician Spanija, the Romans deduced their Spain or Hispania; which appellation, as well as Iberia, in common with the Greeks, they applied to the whole continent of Spain. That this country, or at least a considerable part of it, produced rabbets, in vast abundance, may be evinced from the concurrent testimony of Varro, Strabo, Pliny, Ælian, and many other writers of good authority; but, that the Saphan of the Phoenicians answered to the rabbit, can by no means be allowed. However, as the former, in many particulars, bore a near resemblance to the latter, the Phoenicians, at their first arrival in Spain, might take them to be the same animal, and from thence impose upon this country a name, which has ever since prevailed. The antients sometimes, from its situation, denominated Spain likewise Hesperia, and Hesperia Ultima; but these, and other poetical appellations, as being applied to other countries, deserve little or no regard c.

As

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As Spain, before the Carthaginians made any conquests there, was inhabited by many cantons, governed by their own reguli, and independent on one another, it must have been originally divided into various petty kingdoms, the precise number of which it is impossible for us at this day to determine. What number of provinces the Carthaginians divided that part of Spain subject to them into, for want of sufficient light from antient history, we must likewise own ourselves incapable of ascertaining. As for the Romans, the first division they made of Spain, or rather that part of it they had reduced, was into Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior; and this, according to Livy, took place immediately after the conclusion of the second Punic war. However, for some political reasons, they thought proper to unite these two provinces, in the beginning of the Macedonian war; and again disjoined them in the consulate of Q. Aelius Paetus and M. Junius Pennus. This last disposition of Spain remained till the reign of Augustus, who altered it, by dividing Hispania Ulterior into two provinces, viz. Provincia Boetica, and Lusitania, and affixing the name of Provincia Tarraconensis to Hispania Citerior. In some of the succeeding reigns we find Hispania Ulterior and Hispania Citerior again mentioned; notwithstanding which, that the division introduced by Augustus continued as long as the Romans had any footing in Spain, appears extremely probable, both from the antient geographers, and many antique inscriptions exhibited by Gruter and Reinesius. Upon this plan, therefore, we shall here beg leave to give our readers a geographical description of antient Spain:—

The limits of (A) Lusitania not having been always the same, we cannot take upon us to define them. That it extended


(A) Bochart says, that the country called Lusitania derived its name from φύκος, an almond, because it produced vast quantities of
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extended from the Tagus to the Cantabrian ocean, or at least the Promontorium Celticum, is intimated by Strabo. That part of it situated betwixt the Anas and the Tagus went by the name of Celtica, or the country of the Celts, as has been observed by I saac Vossius. After Augustus had made the disposition of Spain above-mentioned, the Anas bounded Lusitania on the south, and the Durius, or Douro of the moderns, on the north; so that the whole tract lying betwixt the Durius and the Cantrabrian ocean was annexed to the Provincia Tarraconensis. The interior limits of Lusitania, upon the frontiers of the Vetttones and Carpetani, are fixed differently by different authors; which, as Cellarius intimates, may have been owing to a mistake adopted by some of those authors; viz., that the province of Lusitania corresponded exactly with the country of the Lusitani; whereas, according to Pliny, not only the Lusitani, but the Celtici, Turduli, Vetttones, &c. were seated in that province. The Lusitani possessed the district bordering upon the Atlantic ocean, and stretching itself from the mouth of the Anas to the Promontorium Sacrum, now known by the name of Cape St. Vincent. As for the Celtici, whose true name was Mirobrigenes, according to Pliny, their situation may be collected from what has been already observed. Some of the antient geographers make the Turduli and Turdetani one nation, particularly Ptolemy and Strabo; though they seem to have been considered in a different light by Polybius. Be that as it will, the Turdetani were undoubtedly a powerful people, since they occupied a considerable part both of Lusitania and Boetica, as appears from Strabo. The fame may be said of the Vetttones, who spread themselves over a large tract, terminated on the north by the Durius, and on the south by the Tagus. However, as the antients differ with regard to the extent of territory every one of those nations or cantons possessed, it is probable, that their frontiers were not always the same. Some authors assert Vettonia, or the country of the Vetttones, to have been a

of that fruit, as he proves from various authors. But we think, unless our readers should take it to be of Celtic original, it ought to be deduced from הנה and ינ or לַנִּים, Luz and Tani or Tana, an almond, and ng; for that Lusitania produced both those kinds of fruit, Bochart clearly evinces in the place referred to. It is plain, therefore, from hence, that the word Lusitania is not of Roman extraction (1).

(1) Bochart. Chan. lib. i. c. 35. Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot. in vocib.
a province distinct from Lusitania, and limited on the south by the Anas; and this notion seems to be countenanced by an inscription in Gruter. The principal cities of this province are the following:

Oliśipo, or Olisippo, called at present, by the English, Lisbon, and, by the Portuguese, Lisboa. It stands at the mouth of the Tagus, and was corruptly named, by some of the ancients, Ulyxippo; from whence some have imagined, that it was built by Ulysses, in his return home from the Trojan war. But this notion ought to be looked upon as a mere fiction, destitute of the least shadow of historical proof to support it. We cannot, therefore, but believe, that Oliśipo, or Olisippo, which, from Pliny, the Itinerary, and Gruter, appears to have been the genuine proper name of this city, was originally formed from the two Phoenician words ἀλισ ὄππο, or olis ippo, "the pleasant bay." For, that the antient Oliśipo was seated on a bay, we learn from Mela; and that the bay, on which Lisbon stands, is extremely pleasant, all the moderns allow. Olisipo, or Lisbon, the capital of the present kingdoms of Portugal and Algarve, is in 39°. 10'. N. lat. and 9°. 30'. W. of London.

Talabrica, or Talabriga, a city seated upon the Vacus, Talabrica, mentioned by Pliny, Antoninus, and Appian. The citizens of Talabriga, from their frequent violations of treaties concluded between them and the Romans, seem to have had an uncommon aversion to that people; which is the principal thing we find related of them.

Langobriga (B), a town situated between the Vacus and the Durius, not far from the sea-coast. As both Pliny and


(B) The word Briga or Briga, in the old Spanish language, signified a city, as we learn from Referndius. Therefore Cetobriga, Arabriga, Langobriga, Meidebriga, &c. are equivalent to the city of Ceto, the city of Ara, the city of Lango, the city of Meido, &c. Hence, probably, came the words Brigantes, Brigantii,
and Antoninus take particular notice of it, it must have been a place of some repute h.

Ara Ducta.  

**Ara Ducta**, or, according to Reinesius, **Ara Traducta**, a Roman town, standing to the W. of Langobriga. Our readers will find it in Ptolemy’s list of the towns appertaining to Lusitania i.

Æminium.  

**Æminium**, a city of this province, mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, near the northern bank of the Munda, a little to the S. of Talabriga k.

Conimbrica.  

**Conimbrica**, a city seated on the opposite bank of the Monda. Out of the ruins of this place has arisen the modern Coimbra, one of the finest towns in Portugal, and celebrated all over the learned world, for the famous university which has so long flourished there l.

Arabriga, Sellium, and Concordia.  

**Arabriga**, Sellium, and Concordia, betwixt Conimbrica and the Tagus, seem to have been places of some note, though we have scarce any particulars relating to them handed down to us by the antient geographers m.

Colippo.  

**Colippo**, a Roman municipium, between the Munda and the Tagus, upon the coast of the Atlantic ocean. We find this town named, by an inscription in Gruter, Colli-

pro; but, that the R there was originally a P, appears from the best manuscripts of Pliny, as well as another inscription. Not far from this city, in a south-western direction, stood Eburobritium, or, as in our opinion, it ought to have been written, Eburobriga. As the stones, that preserved the above-mentioned inscriptions, were in the neighbourhood of Liria, some believe, that the ruins of the antient Colippo are to be sought for there n.

Scalabis, or Scalabicus, as some think it called by Ptolemy, has been considered by Cellarius as the fifth Roman colony of Lusitania, surnamed Praefidium Julium. The Spanish writers

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h Plin. & Antonin. ubi sup.  
i Ptol. geograph. l. ii. c. 5.  
Tho. Reines. apud Cellar. ubi sup.  
k Plin. & Ptol. ubi sup.  
l Plin. ubi sup.  
m Ptol. & Antonin. ubi sup.  
n Plin. Ptol. & Refend. ubi sup.  

Brigantii, Brigæcum, Brigobanna, &c. all which are evidently of Celtic extraction (2).
writers almost unanimously agree, that the spot, on which this town stood, is at present occupied by Santerien, a Portuguese town about forty miles N. E. of Lisbon; though the Scalabicus of Ptolemy had a situation assigned it to the N. of the Munda.  

Arinium Praetorium and Hierabriga, in the neighbourhood of Scalabis, are mentioned by the Itinerary. The former place stood thirty-eight Roman miles from Olisipo, and the latter thirty.

Norba Caesaria, a town of repute during the government of the Romans in Spain, on the southern bank of the Tagus, near the famous stone bridge built over that river, and dedicated to Trajan. Pliny calls the inhabitants of this city Colonia Norbenis. Some Spanish authors believe Norba Caesaria to have been contiguous to Trajan's bridge. But other writers of that nation, well versed in the antiquities of their country, maintain the contrary. The latter, in support of their opinion, affirm the city of Alcántara, seated on the spot adjoining to the noble structure above-mentioned, to have been built by the Saracens; but the former think it may have arisen out of the ruins of the ancient Norba. Pliny and Ptolemy seem to favour the sentiment of those, who place Norba at some distance from the bridge; since they make that town, or, which is the same thing, the Colonia Norbenis, to have been situated in a territory to the south of the Tagus. Be that as it will, we are informed by an ancient Roman inscription in Gruter, that the Roman municipia of Lusitania, by sums raised amongst themselves, finished the aforesaid bridge, in the reign of the emperor Trajan. The names of these municipia, or rather their inhabitants, have been preferred by a stone, belonging formerly either to the bridge or the town of Norba, viz. Icadita, Lancia Oppidana, Arabriga, Miobriga, Lancia Transcudana, Colarnum, Meidobriga, Interamnia, &c. Some, if not all, of these municipia undoubtedly made a considerable figure, though we are supplied with very few particulars relating to them by the ancient geographers and historians.

Bletisa was situated near some of the above-mentioned municipia, on the southern bank of the Durius, as

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* Antonin. itinerar. ubi sup.  
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as may be inferred from an inscription in Gruter. The modern name of Bletifa is Ledesma, according to Mariana, who supposes the antient and modern cities, going by those names, to have been the same. As to any farther particulars of this place, we are entirely in the dark.  

Salmantica. Salmantica, called at this day Salamanca, was in the neighbourhood of Bletifa, as appears from the above-mentioned inscription. It is at present famous all over the world, on account of the flourishing university founded there, which for several ages, has been deemed the principal seat of literature in Spain.  

Augusta Emerita. Augusta Emerita, the capital of this province in the Roman times, upon the Anas, was built by a body of superannuated soldiers, to whom Augustus assigned a district in Lusitania; from whence this city deduced its name. This colony we find frequently mentioned by antient Roman coins and inscriptions. Emerita at first appertained to the Turduli, according to Strabo; though afterwards it was ranked among the towns of the Vettones, as we learn from Prudentius. This may be easily accounted for, if we consider, that the Vettones, in process of time becoming more powerful than the Turduli, at length made themselves masters of their country. Our readers will find a more minute account of this city and colony in the authors here referred to  

Eabora. Eabora, called, by the Romans, Liberalitas Julia, was seated between the Tagus and the Anas, though it approached nearer the latter than the former river. The same spot is at present occupied by Evora, where there has long flourished a famous university. This town was a Latin municipium, as appears from several antient coins and inscriptions  

Salacia. Salacia, the Alacer do Sal of the moderns, stood some miles to the W. of Eabora. From some antient inscriptions in Gruter it may be inferred, that this place was a Roman municipium  

Pax
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Pax Julia, the Beja of the moderns, a city in the southern part of the province, stood near the frontiers of the Turdetani, if it did not actually belong to that nation. It is taken notice of by Pliny, Ptolemy, and Antoninus. Near this place a vast number of Roman coins and inscriptions have been found within these few years. All the remaining tract to the south of this city, limited on the east, west, and south, by the Anas, the Atlantic ocean, and bay of Gades, from its figure, was called Cuneus by Pomponius Mela and Strabo. Myrtilis, Balsa, Offonaba, and other places of this tract, deserve not any great regard. However, it may not be improper to observe, that, according to Re- fendius, Mortola, or Mertolo, a modern town upon the Anas, and Tanilla, or Tavira, a considerable city of Algarve, answer to the ancient Myrtilis and Balsa. As for Offonaba, if we will believe the same author, it has for a long time lain in ruins, though some footsteps of it are still remaining, particularly in the walls of Faro, another town of Algarve upon the sea-coast. The Lacobriga of Mela stood under the Promontorium Sacrum, known in these times by the name of Cape St. Vincent, upon a spot occupied at present by a village called Lagoa by the Portuguese, near the city of Lagos, where some remains of it are still to be seen.

As the other towns of Lusitania, whose names only have been handed down to us by the ancient geographers, were either insignificant and obscure, or almost all traces of them have been lost, our readers will not expect any account or description of them. Neither is it reasonable, in a work of this nature, to take any notice of what merits not the least attention.

The chief promontories of Lusitania were the Promontorium Sacrum, Promontorium Barbarium, and the Promontorium Magnum, or Olisiponense; to which some add a fourth, called, by Pliny, Cuneus. The Promontorium Sacrum, or Cape St. Vincent, formed an angle projecting into the bay of Gades and the Atlantic ocean, which was termed the western extremity of the world by Strabo. The Promontorium Barbarium, at present Cape Spichel, lay to the south of Olisipo, though not very distant from the mouth of the Tagus. The Promontorium Magnum, or Olisiponense,

\[\text{Pax Julia.}\]

\[\text{Promontorium Sacrum, Promontorium Barbarium, and the Promontorium Magnum, or Olisiponense; to which some add a fourth, called, by Pliny, Cuneus. The Promontorium Sacrum, or Cape St. Vincent, formed an angle projecting into the bay of Gades and the Atlantic ocean, which was termed the western extremity of the world by Strabo. The Promontorium Barbarium, at present Cape Spichel, lay to the south of Olisipo, though not very distant from the mouth of the Tagus. The Promontorium Magnum, or Olisiponense,}\]


\[\text{Plin. Ptol. &c.}\]
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The principal ports of this province were those of Olisipo, at present Lisbon, and Hannibal. The situation of the former is so well known, as not to admit of a dispute; but that of the latter cannot be so easily ascertained. Mela, upon whole authority it entirely depends, places it near the Promontorium Sacrum; which is all that we can say of it. The only island taken notice of by the antients, on the coast of Lusitania, is the Londobris of Ptolemy, the Barlenqa or Barlinges of the moderns.

The Mons Herminius of Hirtius, the modern Arminno, seems to have been the only mountain of note in this country, of which we have nothing farther to say, than that, according to Cellarius, Medobriga, or Meidobriga, stood at the foot of it.

The most celebrated rivers of Lusitania were the Anas, the Tagus, and the Durius. The Anas is called at present the Guadiana, the Tagus the Tajo, and the Durius the Douro. To these may be added the Munda, which now goes under the name of the Mondego; and the Vacus, now called the Voga. They all flow from E. to W. and empty themselves into the Atlantic ocean.

We shall here only mention two of the natural curiosities of Lusitania: 1. The lead-mine near Meidobriga, from whence Pliny denominates the inhabitants of that place Plumbariorum; which still exists. 2. The golden sand, or small particles of gold mixed with the sand of the Tagus. This we find attested by Pomponius Mela, Ovid, Pliny, Silius Italicus, &c. and the truth of it seems confirmed by Refendius. For that famous antiquary affirms us, that some of these golden particles were found intermixed with the sand of the Tagus in his time; that the laws of Portugal would not permit people to throw up the interior sand on the banks of the Tagus, with which these particles are supposed to be incorporated, left the neighbouring fruitful fields should be thereby damaged.

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1 Strab. i. iii. Plin. i. iv. c. 22. & alibi. & Harduin. in loc. Ptol. l. ii. c. 5. Cellar ubi sup. 2 Mel. i. iii. c. 1. 3 Hirt. c. 48. Cellar. ubi sup. p. 60, 61. 4 Ptol. ubi sup. Cellar. ubi sup. p. 54, 55.
Chap. 10. The History of the Spaniards. damaged; and that the kings of Portugal have a scepter of the Tagan gold, than which no purer is to be found in the world b.

The second province of Hispania Ulterior, or further Boetica de Spain, was Boetica, so called from the famed river Boetis, since Tartessus, and now Guadalquivir, or the great river. We have already mentioned its limits on the west or Lusitanic side; it was bounded on the south by the Mediterranean, and the Sinus Gaditanus, or gulf of Cadiz; and on the north by the Cantabric sea, now the sea of Biscay. As to its limits towards the north-east, or province of Tarraco, they cannot be so well fixed, because they are rightly supposed to have been in a constant fluctuation, as each petty monarch had an opportunity to encroach upon his neighbour. Hence antient authors place those on the sea-coast differently, viz. Ptolemy at Barea c; Pliny somewhat higher, at Murgis d; though both situated on the Sinus Virgitanus, a little below new Carthage. The fame may be said of the inland ones, which are likewise differently placed, either higher or lower from the province of Tarraco, as may be seen by the authors above-quoted. The Boetis above-mentioned divided this province into two parts; on the one side of which, towards the Anas, were situate the Turdetani (A), from its inhabi-

whence the country was called Turdetania, but better known tante,

by


(A) Some add, after Polybius, the Turduli, as different from them. We have already spoken of both. They were (1) situate on the same side of the Boetis, but higher up: but as that author rather distinguishes them only with regard to their situation; and Ptolemy seems to intimate, that they were but one people (2); we see no reason for making two of them, any farther than the distinction of higher and lower will go; especially as Strabo makes the two names to be indifferently given to them (3); and these are by some authors (4) affirmed to have been the antientest people in all Spain.

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by the name of Bœturia. On the other side were situated the Baftuli, Baftitani, and Conestiani, along the Mediterranean coasts. The reader will find, under the next note, all that can be found concerning those people (B). We forbear mentioning a great number of others, of which we know little more than the names. The reader may see them in Cellarius above-mentioned, and, if he cares to depend upon the Spanish authors for their situation, cities, and other particulars, he may consult those we have lately quoted both in the text and margin.

We come now to speak of the Roman colonies in this province; and of these we shall, for brevity's sake, single out only some of the most celebrated ones; viz. that of the Accitani, situate between the Baftuli and Baftitani, along the same shore. We find it mentioned by Pliny c, and by some antient inscriptions, under the name of Colonia Julia Gemella Accitana d, whose citizens were called Gemellenses, because that colony was made up of two legions, viz. the third and sixth, as appears by those inscriptions e.

(B) Of the first of these we have already spoken. The Baftuli, supposed to be of Phænician or Libyan extrait, extended from the straits of Gibraltar, along the Mediterranean coast, till, driven from thence by the Moors, they fled into the mountainous part of Galicia, which they then called by their name Baftulia. The Baftetani or Baftitani were seated higher up on the same coasts. The territories of both these made what since became the kingdom of Granada, in which there is a ridge of very high mountains, called, from the latter, the Baftetanian mountains. Mention is made also of their capital called Baftitana, a place of such strength, that king Ferdinand was six months besieging it, before he could take it from the Moors (5).

The Conestiani are by some placed in this province of Bœtica, and by others in that of Tarracon. They were most likely seated between both. They are said by Ptolemy (6) to have been settled there by Tefta one of their kings, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, and called from him Conestiani, as well as a city called Constantinum (7); but that king, though mentioned also by Manetho, is generally ranked among the dubious, if not fabulous.

(6) Ubi sup. Vide. & Taraph sub an. 1424. (7) Id. ibid.
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It is supposed to be the present city of Guadiz in Granada, an antient episcopal see, formerly called the Accitanus, from Acci, the name of that city (C). Those of Gades, Corduba, Affigi, and Hipsal, were famed for their courts of judicature. The other four, whose situation is less known, together with their other municipal and free cities, in a much greater number than any of the other two provinces, the reader may see in the author above-mentioned; all which confirm what Pliny says of this, that it excelled them by far; for so it did in richness, extent, number of cities and harbours, fertility of its soil, commodious situation for traffic, and many other particulars: and this may be one great reason, why the Romans cultivated and encouraged it more than they did the rest.

How few of those antient cities this province had before the coming in of the Romans, is not difficult to guess, if we only consult the best antient authors with any tolerable attention; though, if we were to trust to the Spanifh writers, it must have not only abounded with them, but they must likewise have been vastly large, populous, and opulent, even before the coming of the Tyrians, Phoenicians, and other nations, of whom we shall give an account in the sequel. And yet these are affirmed by the same authors, especially the Tyrians, to have built some fresh considerable ones, every one in the place where they settled themselves; for all which we have no better grounds, than for that of Ulisipo and its pretended founder, of which we spoke under the first article of this chapter: but when we come to examine things more clofely, we find no such traces of this boasted number of cities. On the contrary it is plain, when the Turdetani had, at the instigation of Hannibal, affifted the brave Saguntines their neighbours against the Romans, we read but of one city they had, the name of which is not so much as recorded (D); and which these caufed to be razed, and

(C) The Spaniards pretend, that Torquatus, a disciple of James the apostle, was by him appointed the first bishop of it (8).

(D) This the Spaniards think to have been called Turvel, situ-

(8) Valf. chron. c. 20.
and the inhabitants to be sold for slaves, as a deterrent to others from lending their assistance to any, whom they thought proper to war against. Ptolemy mentions but one sea-port town on the coast of the Bastitani, viz. that of Ὠξία, Urce, since Vorgi, in the bay of that name, tho' we find some considerable ones on those coasts; such as Mæobia, Abdera, Portus Magnus, Beria, and Murgis, and some others. On the islands it has likewise a considerable number, which Pliny, in his natural history, tells us, in his time amounted to an hundred and seventy-two. The greatest part of these being, in all appearance, and from the Roman names given them, either founded or enlarged by that nation, such as those of Apta Nebria, Ugia, and Orippa, on the banks of the Baetis, below Hispal, we have not time to dwell upon them, but shall content ourselves with a short mention of those of the greatest note. Among these is the famed city of Hispal, now Seville (E), situated on the river Baetis above-mentioned, and the metropolis of this province. It was formerly a great emporium, by means of that navigable river, which brought vast number of merchandizes up to this city, and thence quite up to Corduba. This city is styled by Pliny Colonia Romulensis, and by some ancient inscriptions Colonia Romulea. We took notice above, that it was one of the four courts of judicature. The next city in rank to Hispal is Corduba, now Cordoua, no less famed for its rich mines, and fertile soil, or, as the poet calls it, aurifera terra, than the other was for its trade. It is situate on the banks of the same river, was called a patrician colony, and is

a Livy, l. xxii. c. 6. xxiv. c. 42.  
De his vid. Cellar. ubi sup.  
Sil. Ital. l. iii. ver. 401.

ate near the spring-head of the river Thurias or Durias, and to which they have given the antient name of Turdeta.

(E) Some pretend, that it was founded and named by Hispal one of their fabulous kings, and the son of Hercules (g); others, that it was so called from the palus, or marsh, on which it was founded; or rather from the pali, or stakes, upon which the foundation of it was laid (10). That of Seville, or, as it was antiently written, Civilia, is thought to be only a corruption of Civitas Julia, as it is called in some antient inscriptions (11). But, when or by whom it was founded, is not to be guessed at.

(9) Vafil. Garib. & al. sup. citat.  
(10) Paralip. c. 1.  
(11) Id. ibid. c. 9.
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is said by Strabo to have been the work of Marcellus (F). Tartessus was once a famed antient city, pleasantly situate between the two mouths of the Bœtis (G), which made a kind of island called, after the name of that city \( ^1 \), Tar-
tessida. This antient city is celebrated by some of the Latin poets, as situate on the farthest verge of the western shore \( ^m \); but, for the other particulars of it we must refer our reader to the last note, as we must do, for the remainder of the cities of this province, to the authors so often cited already, and especially to the late and accurate Cellarius in the chapter above-quoted; and for Gades or Gadir, now Cadiz, to what we copiously said of it in a former volume \( ^n \).

We


(F) Our author leaves us in the dark which of the Roman generals of that name he meant, so that the Spanish writers are much divided about it. Vatæns, often quoted, thinks, that it was he who was contemporary with Cæsar and Pompey; because he finds no mention made of this city before him (12). But Nonius thinks it to be of much older date (13), since the same Strabo calls it "coloniâ primam," or first colony which the Romans sent into this part of Spain. And it is mentioned by Silius Italicus in the second Punic war (14). As for the title of Colonia Patricia given to it, it is not only mentioned by Pliny, but by some antient inscriptions in Gruter, to which we refer (15); and this is further explained by what Strabo adds, that it was from the beginning inhabited by noble men of the Romans, and other nations (16).

(G) Strabo says, that the Bœtis formerly emptied itself into the sea at two different places (17). One of them has been since flopped up. Mela mentions the city of Carteia in the same bay (18), which, he says, some fancy to have been the antient Tartessus. Hence authors are divided in their opinions, whether these were two distinct cities, or the same, with different names. We find nothing that can satisfy our readers on that head, antient authors often confounding these two names and that of Gades together, as the learned Bochart and others have judiciously observed.

As for the fabulous account of its having altered its name from Tartessus to that of Gades, on account of Hercules's setting up

\( ^{12} \) Ibid. c. 20. \( ^{13} \) Ibid. c. 19. \( ^{14} \) Lib. iii. ver. 401. \( ^{15} \) P. 460. \( ^{16} \) Lib. iii. \( ^{17} \) Ibid. \( ^{18} \) De

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We come now to say something of the famous bays and ports of this province; the first of which, next to Gades above-mentioned, is that called Portus Meneñæus, mentioned by Ptolemy and Strabo, who doth likewise place here the oracle of that name. The next is that of Belippo, the country of the famed Pomponius Mela, and some others, without the freight's mouth. Calpe, Carteia, Barbeful, Cilniana, Saluduba, Suel, and Malaca, within the freight, and on the coasts of the Bautili. Menoba, Selumbina, Abdera, and Portus Magnus, and likewise the famed promontory of Charidemus, all which are mentioned by Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, Mela, and placed by them on the Bautilitan coasts. Beyond the promontory last-mentioned are the cities of Baria or Barea, and Murgis, in the Virgitanian bay; the former of which is reckoned by Ptolemy; and the latter by Pliny, the last sea-port of the Bautili, as we hinted a little higher. Those ancients authors are, however, neither well agreed, nor easily reconciled, about the situation, names, and some other particulars relating to those cities. Thus, for instance, Calpe, which is by Strabo styled a famed antient Spanish sea-port, Pliny, Ptolemy, Mela, and others, only call a mountain: whence the learned Bochart and Casaubon have thought, that Calpe, in the former, was inserted, by the mistake of the transcriber, for Carteia, especially as no mention is made in the others of any city besides it in that bay. But this has been in a great measure answered, by some learned men, from the inscription on a medal, with these letters, C. I. CALPE; that is, as they read it, Colonia Julia Calpe: and this they back with a passage out of N. Damascen ¹; who says, that Octavius overtook Caesar near the city of Calpia, which is the same with Calpe; so that Strabo's text wants no amendment. Barbeful, Aста,


his two columns there (19), it is rightly rejected. We have given a truer account of the foundation of Gades in a former volume, to which we refer, to avoid repetition (20). As for Carteia, a late author endeavoured to prove it to be the present town of Rocadillo distant, about four miles, from Gibraltar (21); but the point is far from being cleared by him, and too dark and prolix for us to dwell longer upon, in a work of this nature.

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After, and some others of the sea-ports above-named, appear likewise to have been considerable colonies, as well as a number of inland towns, in particular that of Munda, where Cæsar overcame the sons of Pompey; but, as we are obliged to study brevity, we shall refer the rest to the author last quoted.

Rivers of any note there are not in this province, except the Boeotis, often mentioned already, or, as it is sometimes written, Boetes and Betis. It hath, according to Pliny, its spring-head in the Tugienian forest, so named from Tugia, a town mentioned in the Itinerarium of Antoninus (H), in the province of Tarracon, at the foot of the Orespodan mountains. Others of lesser note are the Barbosola near the city or mount Calpe above-mentioned, the Saduca which seems to have divided the Bautili from the Accitani, and some few others not worth dwelling upon. Mountains, of a considerable length and height, this province certainly abounds with. We find, however, but few mentioned by antient authors. Ptolemy takes only notice of two, viz. the Marian and Hippyle, the latter of which were scarcely known to any other antient writers. These, as they run along the territories of Hispal or Seville, were, we are told, called Illipæ; and, as they came nearer to Corduba, Themarini and Orthosdæ: the former, which are by Pliny called Ariani (I), run along the famed defert of the same name, now known by that of Sierra Modena, in the neighbourhood of the city of Castulo. The region of the Baffitani was likewise full of them, as we hinted in a former note; and all that needs be added, with relation to them all, is, that they abounded with metals and minerals of several kinds, particularly gold, quicksilver, copper, and lead, the greatest quantities of which appear, however, to have been dug out of those called Marian, which the Romans improved to no small advantage, having everywhere their procuratores rei metallicæ, or overseers of the mines.

9 Lib. iii. c. 1. 7 L. ii. c. 4. 8 Vid. Marin. Sicul. reb. Hisp. lib. i. sect. de montib.

(H) That author places it in the road between Castulo and Malaca, at about thirty-five miles distance from the latter.

(I) As these mountains are called, by the generality of authors, and by one antient inscription, by the first name; and, by the second, only by Pliny and the Itinerarium; it is supposed, that the M, in thefle, was, by some mistake of the copyists, dropped; but, whether they were the same, or different, is not of any great consequence to enquire, with so little help, and under so great an uncertainty (22).

(22) De his vid. Cellar. lib. ii. c. 1. in fin. sect. 2.
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mines. That of Calpe, mentioned a little higher, is neither famed for its height, mines, fertility, or on any account but that of its situation; and so no more need be said of it.

The goodness of the soil and air of Spain in general is too well known to need any mention here. This province was particularly remarkable for it, and we shall have occasion in the sequel to give further proofs of it from the healthiness and longevity of its inhabitants; and so little did they know of physic, that, if we may believe Pofidonus, they used to lay their sick relations along the public streets and roads, to have the advice of such passengers as could give it to them. He adds, that their very women were so robust and healthy, that they knew not what it was to keep their bed after they were delivered; but used to go to their ordinary work, which was commonly agriculture, after they had taken proper care of themselves and the child. Their mountains, as well as valleys, afforded them plenty of corn for men, and barley for their horses and cattle, the former of which they bred from the beginning in great quanties, and managed with great dexterity both at home and abroad, and especially in their warlike expeditions. The milk of their kine was, it seems, so very rich and fine, from the fragrant herbs they fed upon on those healthy mountains, that it could not be used either for food or drink, or even, as we are told by the above-mentioned author, to make cheese with, without some mixture of water. As for fruits of all kinds, they grow there in the greatest perfection; but these are topics so well known to every reader, that we need not dwell longer upon them. As for mineral waters, they flow in the greatest quantity, both hot and cold; and the kingdom of Granada is famed for them, and for their medicinal virtues; which need not to be wondered at, considering the vast ridges of mountains that are in it, and the variety of metals and minerals they abound with. Some of them rise so hot, as to exceed, we are told, even boiling water. The most famous of the warm kind are those of Hilpal, Cordoua, and Granada; to which they attribute the virtue of curing the most inveterate, and even the venereal, diseases; which is not altogether improvable, considering the quantity of sulphur, and other minerals, they are impregnated with, and the great perspiration which the heat of the climate gives to its inhabitants. There are two others of great fame here, viz. that called Bætio, from a small town near it; it springs, in a small rivulet, from the top of a very high rock, and falls, by two streams, into two lakes; and its waters are noted for curing all haemorrhages, by washing. The other is near the town
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town of Antiquaria, which is no less famed for dissolving the stone, and bringing it off by urine ¹. We should be drawn into too great a length, were we to enter into so copious a subject as that of their artificial rarities; their stately buildings, such as bridges, churches, especially their palaces, whether those of the Gothic, or of the Roman fashion: but one thing we cannot forbear observing, that there are some yet standing almost in their pristine grandeur, especially in the kingdom of Granada, built by the Moors, in a style peculiar to them, and which has scarce any thing common with the other two, and yet seems to exceed them in taste and magnificence. But as this country, as well as the several authors, who have written upon it, are so well known to us, we shall enlarge no further upon them.

Tarragon was the third province in Spain. It was, as we observed before, styled by the Romans Hispúnia Citerior, or hither Spain, and distinguished, by the name of Tarracenas, from the antient city of that name, which was then the capital of it, and the residence of the Roman præses, or governor. We have seen, under the two former articles, how hard it is to settle the limits of this province, with respect to those of Boetica and Lusitania, on account of their frequent fluctuation. On the three other sides they are easily fixed, it having the Mediterranean on the east, the ocean on the west, and the Cantabrian sea, and the Pyrænees, on the north, by which last it is divided from Gaul. Tarragon, being by far the largest of the three, had a much greater number of cities, and variety of nations, as well as, in all likewise, of petty kingdoms and governments. It was divided into two parts by the famed river Ierus, now Ebro, which ran almost across the whole province, having its source on the north-west side of it, between the Cantabrian mountains; and, very near the sea of that name, and by a south-east course, emptying itself into the Mediterranean, about thirty miles below the city of Tarraco. Along the south-west side of that river were seated the Celtiberians, the antientest, and by far the most considerable, of all the nations of this province, if the others were not, indeed, so many distinct tribes descended from them, as we are apt to think they mostly were, from the greatest part of their names being of Celtic, rather than of any other extract. This canton was called from them Celtiberia, and reached from the mouth of the Ierus quite to the country of

¹ Marin. Sicul. de reb. Hisp. lib. i. cap. de fontibus.
the Cantabri, on the opposite coasts. Along the course of it, on that side, were, among other people of less note, the Illericaeones, seated just within the mouth of it. Higher up are placed the Hedetani, or Sedetani, Pelendones, Berones, and, last of all, the Cantabri. Nearer to Boetica, and on the borders of it, were, towards the Mediterranean, first, the Conetetani, mentioned also under the last article; and, as you went forwards, across the country, towards the opposite shore, you found another tribe of the Turdetani, the Lobetani, Lusones, Carpetani, Arevace, and Vaccae; and these two last were severed from each other by the river Duero, which was the confines of Lusitania on that side; and, west of the Cantabri and Vaccae, were, on the Cantabrian coast, the Transmontani and Artabri; and in this last was the Artabrum Celticum, called also Promontorium Nericum, now Cape Finister. In the inland are placed the Astures, Augustani, Lucences, and Gravii. On the western coast, between the cape above-mentioned and the Durius, were the Calaici, alias Callaci, whose country was called Callaecia, one tribe or canton of which were called Bracarii, and the country Bracara, and these were seated on the banks of the Durius; the others were distinguished by the name of Lucenses; and both were subdivided by Ptolemy into several tribes, such as we shall speak of, upon another occasion, under the following note (A). All these are mentioned by antient geographers, such as Ptolemy, Strabo, Mela, as seated, the former on the other side of the Iberus, and the latter on the hither side of the Tagus. On the other side of the Iberus, along the Mediterranean coasts, were seated the Latetani and Autetani, who were parted by the river Rubicatus, or, as Mela calls it, Rubicatus, now Llobregat, near the city of Barcelona. Along the Iberus were the Ilergetes, Jacetani, Suestetani, Vascones, Varduli, Autrigones, and Concani; and these were fitted between the head of the Iberus and the Cantabrian sea. Nearer to

(A) This canton, which was since called Galicia, and antiently Celtica, was, in all likelihood, either inhabited originally by the Celtes, or was a colony of them sent from Gaul; for many such they were forced to send out of that kingdom into this and other countries, for want of room in their own, as we shall see, when we come to their history: the latter seems, however, the most probable, from the names by which they were distinguished, such as Coelerni, Grovii, Limici, Querquerni, and some others, which to us appear to be of Gaulish extract, and bear a visible analogy with some of those which we find in antient Gaul.
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to the Pyrenean mountains, along that vast ridge, were the Ceretani, Indigetes, Ceni, Lacetani, and some others of less note. Every one of them had its distinct metropolis, from which they either took their name, or, which is perhaps more likely, to which they gave that of their own tribe, as may be seen by those we shall mention (B). We have already observed in general on this head, that those districts which end in tania, and the cities which end in briga, are of Celtic extract; and we shall add here, that this province abounds with such, more than the other two, as may be seen by the lift of the people we have given below; for where their name terminated in tani the country of course ended in tania, as Ausetani and Ausetania.

It is not our design to speak particularly of every one of Celtiberians, them, and much less of their cities, many of which we know little else of, than their names (C). We may say of them in

(B) Thus the Bracarii had Bracara, the Artabri Artabrum, the Astures Asturia, the Suestiti Suefi, the Lacetani Laca, the Ilergetes Ilerda, and so of the rest, unless where the Romans, settling afterwards their colonies, did call those towns by new names, though the people still retained their old ones; especially we find some of those places styled Julia and Augusta, as Julia Libyca in the canton of the Ceretani; Caesar Augusta among the Lacetani; Augusta Bracara, Porta Augusta, Augusti Lacus, in Gallia, and the like.

Here, by the way, we must observe, that this last province was not called so from the Galli, as some have imagined, but from its antient metropolis, which was called Calle, situate in a pleasant valley upon the Durius, and near the mouth of it; and the port of it, being become a considerable one in time, was since named barely Porto and Puerto by the Spaniards, by the Dutch Port a Port, and by us Oporto. From these two, Porto and Calle, came the name of Portugal, or Portucale. As for Calle, it must be owned, that it is not mentioned by Strabo, Ptolomy, &c. but we find it in the itinerarium, which places it on the road between Ulisipo or Lisbon and Augusta Bracara (1).

(C) Thoſe, who are defirous to know more of these antient people, may consult, if they please, the Spaniſh writers we have often quoted in this chapter; though, for the most authentic account of them, we would rather refer them to the laſt quoted and accurate Cellarius, who has wholly grounded his own on the testimony of antient authors, and rejected all the fabulous and uncertain tracts, which thoſe modern authors have intermingled in theirs upon more precarious, and sometimes upon no authority at all.

(1) Vid. Cellar. ubi sup. lib. ii. c. 1. sect. 3.
in general, that they retained more of the antient Celtic valour, customs, language, and, we may add, fierceness, than those of Boetica, or even of Lusitania, though the Celtiberians of this last province are said to have been the bravest people in all Spain, as we shall have occasion to shew in the sequel. And the reason, probably, of it is, that they were neither so much under the dominion of the Romans, nor so conversant with them, as those in Boetica; for the descendents of the Celtes were every-where as famed for their tenacity, as their antient religion, laws, customs, language, &c. as the Romans were to propagate their own, where-ever they conquered: and this was one constant cause, why the former chose rather to yield their territories to the latter, when they could defend them no longer against them, and to retire into more mountainous lands, where they could freely live by themselves, than to submit to their laws, and conform to their manners, as we shall have further occasion to shew in the sequel.

We find, however, the following colonies of note (for we shall omit the others for brevity’s sake) to have been in time planted amongst these Celtic settlements; viz. in Asturia, the famed Colonia Augusta. It is mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy; and in some antient medals, though differently placed, and was a court of judicature, according to Pliny in the place last-quoted. It divided the Astures into Augustanos and Tranfmontanos, which confirms what we lately hinted, the former being, in all likelihood, of Roman extract, settled here, whilst the latter, of Celtic, removed over the ridge of mountains that parted them; for we find here also the seventh Roman legion, which was surnamed Gemina, settled between the Asturian sea and the capital of this district, called Asturia Augusta, now Astorga, a city still of some note (D). This country was also celebrated by the poets


(D) Ptolemy indeed makes the Astures to have been of Libyan extract, and to have come over with the Carthaginians, and settled in this part of Gallaecia. The city was called Altorga, from its being situate on the banks of a river of that name, which flows into the Durius; and the Romans, having seized on it, and the
poets for the gold it produced. The next was that infamous one of Calaguris, distinguished by Pliny by the name of Nacalaguris. Secica, justly execrated, by the Roman authors, for the insurrection and dread catastrophe of Sertorius, mentioned in a former volume, and too black to be repeated as fresh. The city was at first a municipal one, and in some inscriptions surnamed Julia (E), and then made a colony, with some others mentioned by Pliny, particularly those of Ofca, Ilerda, and Turiafa. Calaguris, since Calahorta, was the head town of the Autrigones, leated indifferently by geographers on either side, but, by the most exact, on the other side the Ibe-Graccourus, as we hinted in the last note. Grachuris, or Graccuris, mentioned by Ptolemy among the chief cities of the Vascones, was, as we are told by Livy, built by Tit. Sempron. Gracchus, who took it from the Celtiberians, and called it by his name. Its situation is uncertain, only the Itinerarium places it on the road to Caesar Augusta, at sixty-four miles distance from it in the road to Tarraco. It is in some ancient inscriptions styled Municipium Graccuris. Some Christian champions, who suffered here for the faith in those early times, are in some martyrologies called the Grachurian, and in others the Ilerdan martyrs, from the vicinity, probably, of those two places. The last we shall name is the famed town of the Vaucæi, called Intercata, celebrated, by ancient authors, for a single combat, which was fought, at the siege of that city.

w Vid. Valer. Max. l. vii. c. 6. L. Flor. l. iii. c. 22. Juven. fat. xv. ver. 93. x See before vol. xii. p. 616. y Lib. iii. c. 3. z Epit. xlii.

the adjacent territories, called it Augusta Aaurica (2). Some derive the names, both of the river and of the city, from Asaur Memnon’s coachman, who came thither with other Trojans, and planted a colony here (3); but this we look upon as fabulous.

As for the seventh legion above-mentioned, we find it called in Ptolemy legio septima Germanica; but as there is no mention of any such, either in other authors, or in any ancient inscriptions, but often of legio septima gemina (4), it is rightly supposed, that it is in that author a mere error of the抄写, who mistook it for Germanica.

(E) It is inscribed in some Augustan coins, MVN. CALAG. IVL. that is, Municipium Calaguris, Julia; and, in one of Tit.-

city, between Scipio Æmilianus and a bold Spanifh tribune, in which the latter was killed; and the former had no sooner escaped one danger, than he exposed himself to a greater, and was the first that scaled the walls of that place. We come now to speak of some of the most celebrated cities of this province, at the head of which we may justly place the metropolis of it.

Tarraco. now Tarragon, situate on the Mediterranean coast, between the rivers Iberus, or Ebro, and the Rubricatus, now Lobregat. It was a colony planted there by the two Scipio's, Publ. and Cornel. with a juridical court; and was the capital of Hispafia Romana (F), not so much on account of the excellency of its harbour, as Strabo observes, as for its being commodiously situated for all those, who travelled into this kingdom, whether by sea or land. But Spanifh authors, though they grant those two Roman generals to have planted


\[b\] Lib. iii. Plin. nat. hist. lib. iii.

iberius, M. C. I. C. Celere, C. Recto IVIR. that is, Municipium Calaguris Julia, Caio Celere, Caio Recto, Duumviris. As there were two cities of that name, viz. this of Nafica, and another surnamed Fibularenfis, some authors have placed them indifferently on either side of the Iberus; but Peter de Marca and Cellarius, whom we choose to follow, place the former on the other side of that river. As for the latter, which was at some distance from it, and inferior to it in point of privilege and opulence (5), it was only remarkable for a manufacture of what the Romans called fibulae, a kind of buckles or buttons to fasten their garments with; and was distinguished by that name, on that account.

(F) It is placed by antient geographers in the region or kingdom of the Coftetani, or Coftitani, situate between the two rivers above-mentioned. It appears from antient medals to have been a very flourishing city, especially in Augustus's time; and is called by one Colonia viætrix, by another Colonia viætrix togata Tarraco; and in a third are found these words, Genio Col. I. V. TARRAC. that is, Genio Coloneæ Viætricis Togata Tarraconensis. There are still, it seems, quantities of such antient coins frequently dug up about the neighbourhood of it; which inclines one to think, it was formerly much larger than it is now, tho' it is at present very spacious, opulent, and considerable (6).

Those,

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planted a colony there, will by no means allow, that they founded the city, but fetch its origin and etymology much higher: we have given two of them in the last note. However that be, this city has been all along very famous, having been, since, the metropolis of the kingdom of Arragon, an archiepiscopal see, and famed for a council or two held there; the first by John the then metropolitan, and his twelve bishops, in the year of Christ 516, in which it was, amongst other things, enacted, that the celebration of the Sunday should begin on Saturday evening. Hence that custom hath, it seems, spread itself almost all over Spain, to leave off all kind of work from that time. In another held under Berengarius, primate of the same place, 1180, it was ordained, that the dates of all public writings should be computed from the year of Christ, which before were wont to be reckoned from the reigns of the Frankish monarchs. Below Tarraco was the famed city of Saguntus, or Saguntum, on the same coast, of which having spoken amply in the last volume, and of its dreadful catastrophe, we shall refer our reader to it. Va-Valentia, another ancient city a little below Saguntum, was the capital of the Edetani. It is situate on the mouth of the river Thuras, about three miles from the sea, and was antiently styled Colonia Julia, and founded by Junius Brutus, whilst he was consul in Spain, and given to his army (G). It was afterwards

\[\text{c} \quad \text{Vaf. chronic. sub an. 516.} \quad \text{d} \quad \text{Taraph. ubi sup. sub an. 1176.} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{See Vol. xvii. p. 327, 328, &c.} \quad \text{f} \quad \text{Liv. epit. lv. Plin. lib. iii. c. 3.} \]

Those, who make Tubal to have been the peopler of Spain, pretend, that he founded this city, to be a kind of safeguard for his flocks and shepherds, of which he had vast numbers; and that both he and this place had the name of Tarraco given them, that is, “the gatherer up of shepherds.” Others will have it to have been built by Hercules, and to have been called Acon, whence the compound word Terra-acon was insensibly contracted into Tarraco (8).

(G) The followers of Berothus affirm this city to have been built by Romus the son of Tehta, one of their antient, if not fabulous kings; and to have been called by his own name Roma; and that the Romans, having since taken and enlarged it, gave it the name of Valens instead of it (9).

afterwards destroyed, with Herennius and his accomplices, by Pompey, and rebuilt by Julius Cæsar. It hath retained its antient dignity and grandeur, was once the metropolis of the kingdom, as it is still of the province of that name, an archiepiscopal see, and one of the most considerable cities of Spain. The people of this city were formerly as much celebrated for their valour and honesty, by Tully, as they are now, by their own authors, for their superstition and bigotry. Before we leave this part of Spain, we must not omit the famous city of Complutum, now Alcala de Henarez, so called from the river Henarez, on whose banks it is situate, in a pleasant plain; and, as that river falls into the great Tagus, the cities here along are easily furnished with all kinds of provisions and merchandizes. Complutum has now no bishoprick, but only a collegiate church, and is a considerable university, having been greatly endowed by the celebrated cardinal Ximenes, then archbishop of Toledo; under whose auspices, care, and immense charges, the first polyglot bible was compiled and printed in this city, and is from thence called the Complutenian polyglot (H). Westward of, and between, Complutum, and the antient city of Toletum, now Toledo, and on the same river Tagus, was situate the Mantua of

De his vid. Marin. Sicul. de reb. Hisp. in fin. l. iii.

(H) This glorious work, the first of that kind, was performed by men of the greatest learning, invited thither by that cardinal at a vast charge. It was a considerable time in compiling, and about four years in printing, that is, from 1514, to 1517, but the whole was not published till 1520, when it came recommended with a bull of pope Leo X. in six volumes, including the lexicon. It was printed in four languages, viz. the Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and Latin. The Hebrew was as correct as it could possibly be done, according to the original; but the Septuagint, Chaldee, and Vulgate Latin, were corrected in such a vast number of places, and from such a prodigious number of manuscripts, as were procured from all parts at no small expense, in order to render those three versions more conformable to the original, that it, by degrees, dwindled into dislike; but hath, however, this merit with the learned, that it served for a model to those which were since published in other kingdoms; among which that of London is justly esteemed, in all respects, the most useful and exact, though not enriched with such a variety of costly ornaments as that of Mr. Le Jay, printed at Paris (10).

of Ptolemy, near which spot is supposed the town of Madrid, the now metropolis of all Spain, to have been since built (I); but of this, and many others, both on the sea-coasts, and in the continent, we shall forbear saying any thing further, they being so well known to almost every reader. We have already had occasion to mention some of the most considerable rivers, mountains, and promontories, in the course of this article; the rest, that are of any note, together with such natural rarities that may be worth observing, the reader will find in the following note (K), and in the map annexed.

The

(I) Hence we find it called by some Mantua Carpetana, by others Madritum and Madritt; but commonly now Madrid (11). (K) Besides the cities above-mentioned, we should take notice of a very famed one, namely, new Carthage; but as we have had occasion to speak of it in a former volume, we shall refer our readers to it (12) Scgobriga, alias Segobrica, was, as we are told, the capital of the Celtiberi (13), concerning whose situation authors, even Spanifh, differ so much, that we can hardly say anything about it. Some think there were two of that name, one in this province of Tarracon, and the other at the foot of the Caflellan mountains; but the former, which is the most considerable, the authors above-quoted place in the neighbourhood of antient Numantia mentioned, not only by them, but by the Itinerary, which places it between Uxama and Turiafo, near the river Durias. This last was, it seems, so excellently fortified by nature, that it neither had nor needed either walls, towers, or other fortifications, being seated on the top of a steep mountain, and sheltered by much higher hills on three of its sides, being only accessible on the fourth, which opened to a plain, but by such narrow defiles, as could be easily guarded by an handful of men. Great wonders are told of this place by the authors under-quoted (14); for it would swell this note too much, were we to descend to particulars. It was, however, quite destroyed by the two Scipio's; but, since we find it mentioned by those antient authors, and by the Itinerary, we need not doubt but it was rebuilt by some of their successors. We have already given a full account of the Numantine war, and the sad catastrophe of that famed city; and shall refer our readers to it (15), to avoid repetitions; and for the same reason we shall forbear mentioning any

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The chief islands belonging to the Tarraconian province, are, first, that of Gades, situate on the gulf of that name, between the freights of Gibraltar and the river Baeticus, and famed, not so much for its bigness, as for the concourse of foreign nations thither from the earliest times, and for its celebrated city and temple, of which, as well as of its foundation, name, and other particulars, we have already spoken in this chapter, and in a former volume. Strabo gives it the length of one hundred furlongs, and a much smaller breadth; yet it had, according to him, no less than five hundred horsemen in his time: we shall have occasion to speak of the famed temple of it in the sequel. As for the city, we have, in a former volume, mentioned its being plundered by the Carthaginians, and taken by the Romans. It was since erected into a bishopric, under the title of Epifcopatus Gaditanus. The next is the so much celebrated, and so hard to find, island of Erythia, where Geryon is said to have kept his fine oxen, which Hercules came and stole from him. Some have placed it near that of Gades: others think

\[ h \text{ Vol. xvii. p. 24.} \quad i \text{ Lib. iii.} \quad k \text{ See vol. xvii. p. 472, & seq.} \quad l \text{ Vaf. chronic. c. 21.} \quad m \text{ Heftod. theogon. ver. 289, & seq.} \]

any more of those antient cities, whose names, and further particulars have been sufficiently taken notice of in the course of the Roman and Carthaginian history; for those of later date belong not to this, but to the modern part of the work.

Mountains of note, besides those already mentioned, are the Pyrenees, which divide Spain from Gaul by a continued ridge of vast height and depth, and reaches from sea to sea. They are supposed to have been so called, from a fire which spread itself over the surface of them, and burnt with such swiftness during several days, that it even melted the metals within their bowels, as we shall see in the sequel. The Idubedan hills were another ridge, which crossed one part of this province, and at the foot of which were the heads of several famed rivers, such as the Tagus and Anas, which flowed westward toward the ocean, on one side; and of the Sucro and Thurias, which ran eastward into the Mediterranean on the other. The Orospedan ridge seems to have separated this province in part from Baetica. They were also called Mariani Montes, and now Sierra Modena. We spoke of them under the last article. A great many more this province abounded with, for a further account of which, we must refer our readers to the antient and modern authors, lately quoted, as likewise for those mines, minerals, mineral waters, and other curiosities, they and the neighbouring valleys produced, the bare mention of which would carry us far beyond our design.
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think it was the same with it: and others have thought, that it was either sunk into the sea, or was to be sought among the rocks. We have, however, ventured, in a former chapter of this volume, to offer a conjecture concerning its situation; and shall refer our readers to it. No less difficult has been the search after those ten famed islands, called by the Greeks Cassiterides, from whence the Phoenicians, the first discoverers of them, did fetch such vast quantities of tin. We should not have mentioned them here, the learned Camden having fully shewn, that they are our islands of Scilly, had not some of the antients, as Strabo and Ptolemy, placed them on the Spanish coasts, somewhat beyond the Promontorium Celticum or Artabrum, or Cape Finister; and others somewhere on the western ocean, about the upper coasts of Lusitania. But as there could never be found any such islands on those coasts, they have been supposed to have undergone the same fate with that of Erythia lately mentioned. However, as we shall have occasion to resume them, when we come to speak of the Britifh islands, we shall say no more of them here, but pass to those which are more considerable, and better known to us; and these are the Baleares, or Gymnesiae, as they are called by the antients.

These were distinguished into Major and Minor, or, as Mela expresseth it, Majores and Minores. Their bigness, situation, and other particulars, are so well known to every reader, that it was superfluous to dwell upon them. All that we need to say of them here, is, in what state they were in those antient times. In the former, now Majorca, Ptolemy and Strabo place the two cities of Palma and Pollentia, the one on the east, the other on the west; and these are by Strabo, Pliny, and Mela, styled Coloniae. In the latter, now Minorca, they place likewise two cities, viz. Janno and Mago; which were, however, no more than castles or forts, if Mela’s judgment, who was of that country, is to be preferred to the others. But as they seem to have been both built near the mouths of two convenient harbours, which are in this island, it is hardly to be doubted but these soon grew into considerable sea-ports, especially that of Mago, which became since a celebrated one, under the name of Maon. These two islands were, on account of their situation and harbours, styled Fortunatae, and stand at about thirty miles distance.

9 See the 3d. page of chap. xiii. sect. 1.
tance from each other. They were at first posseffed by the Phœnicians, who held them till Q. Metellus brought them under the Roman yoke, for which he got the surname of Balearicus. As to the etymon of Baleares, most authors derive it from the Greek βάλλειαν, which signifies to throw with a fling, because the inhabitants of them were particularly famed for their skill in it: yet, as the Carthaginians had these islands before any other, Bochart thinks they did give them that name, which is compounded of two Punic words, Bāl and Jarah, which amount to the same sense, and signify a slinging-matter, or a man expert at throwing, &c. Their other name of Gymnææ, or Gymnalia, is, according to the ancient authors above-quoted, of Greek extract, and was given them on account of their inhabitants going naked in summer.

Further, towards the streights, over-against the cape Dionium, now Denia, are the two islands called Pityufæ by the antients, from the vast quantities of pine-trees which they produced; the one of which, by far the larger of the two, tho' smaller than that of Minorca, was named Ebusus, now Ivica; the other, Ophiufa, now Formentera. They are both mentioned by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny; and Mela adds, that the former was not only very fertile, but that it bred no kind of poisonous, nor even wild creatures, and that, if any were brought thither, they could not live in it, though the island abounded with paffure-ground, and with great variety of fruits, particularly a kind of figs, for which it was famed: some have even added sugar-canes, which, it is said, they boiled into sugar, and made a traffic of; but this Cellarius has fhewn to be a mistake, and that it means no other, than the dried figs above-mentioned. The other, by far the smallest, is thought by some to have been the fame with that which the Latins called Colubraria; but the author last-quoted hath plainly proved, from the testimonies of Pliny and Mela, that they were two different islands; and the latter was at a much greater distance from that of Ebusus, than the former; and both of them are so small and inconsiderable, that we need say no more of them. As for Ebusus, it was the name both of the island, and of the city in it, though the latter was more commonly

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commonly called Ebussium; for we find, in antient inscriptions of Gruter, Ordo Ebussii, and Rp. or Republica Ebussii; and are further told, that it was a colony of the Phœnicians. The last island worth mentioning was called Capraria, and now Cabrera, probably from the number of goats it bred, as the Colubaria seems to have been from its great quantity of adders. It stands on the south of Majorca, and is chiefly noted for being fatal to mariners. All these islands, and a great number of others mentioned by antient writers, now not to be found, and supposed to have been since sunk into the sea, did belong to this province of Tarracum, and underwent the same fate of passing from the Carthaginian to the Roman yoke. We shall conclude this section with observing from Pliny, that this province was divided into seven conventus, or provincial assemblies, whose names the reader will find in the margin (L). It had seventy-nine towns, twelve colonies, twelve Roman, and eighteen Latin cities, and an hundred and thirty-five stipendiaria or garrisons in the Roman pay, and one confederate.

z Sil. Ital. l. iii. ver. 362. a Plin. l. iii. c. 3. & al. sup. citat.

(L) these were the Carthaginensis, Tarracensis, Caesar-Augustanus, Clunensis, Asturus, Lucens and Braccarus.

S E C T. II.

The religion, laws, government, customs, learning, &c. of the antient Spaniards.

There is no doubt to be made, that, where-ever Spain was inhabited by the descendent of the Celtes, thither they brought their old religion, government, &c. What these were, we have given an account of in a former volume; and shall speak still more largely upon, in the next chapter of the antient Gauls, the undoubted and immediate descendents of the antient Celtic stock; for we must necessarily suppose, and so, indeed, we find, a great affinity between them in all these particulars, as they all sprang from the same origin. But, as the Gauls are better known to us than the

a Vol. v. p. 404, & seq.
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the Spaniards, we shall refer the greatest part of what we have to say on these different heads, till we come to their history: for, could we even admit what the generality of Spanish writers affirm after Berosus, that Tubal, the fifth son of Japhet, came and peopled Spain so soon as an hundred and forty-three years after the flood, Gomer, his eldest brother, and the father of the Celtæ must have been as soon in possession of Gaul; and both must, of course, be supposed to have brought the same religion, laws, government, &c., namely, that which they received from their grandfather Noah: and how tenacious both these, and other nations of the same Celtic descent, were of their own religion and laws, will be easily seen by the sequel, especially in the histories of the antient Gauls and Germans. All that we shall say further of their religion here, is, that it was, in all these countries, the same as that of the old patriarchs: they worshipped one supreme Being, not in temples, as the Greeks and Romans, but in groves consecrated to him. They believed a future state of rewards and punishments, suitable to their behaviour in this. They offered victims to him, and celebrated some festivals in honour of him; and, in most things, observed a great simplicity in all their religious rites, during a long series of ages, till, by intermingling with other nations, they degenerated into several of their superstitions, especially into their various ways of divination, of which we shall give a fuller account in the next chapter. One bloody and inhuman custom they gave, indeed, into very early, in common with most antient nations, viz. that of human sacrifices; the origin of which having endeavoured to account for in a former volume, we shall refer our readers to it, to avoid prolixity.

But, as this country came to be invaded by such variety of other nations, such as the Egyptians, who are said to have introduced all the heathenish superstition of their country, the Tyrians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and a multitude of others, who settled amongst them, as we shall see in a subsequent section, it is natural to think, that every one brought their own religion and customs with them; and what these were must be seen in the history we have given of each of those nations in the course of this work; for it were endless to repeat it here. It is plain, such a mixture of different nations must bring, not only a vast variety of religious

ous laws and customs, but produce some alterations in each of them, as they mutually borrowed such doctrines and notions, rites and fashions, from one another, as suited their taste or circumstances. Superstition has no bounds, and persons, either out of wantonness, or impatience, will be easily induced to hunt after a variety of deities, and superstitious ceremonies. This, we find, was the case of the Israelites, though restrained from it under such severe penalties: how much more will it be so, where every one is left at his own liberty? However, after the coming of the lordly Romans, whose constant policy it was, to introduce every-where their gods, religion, laws, &c. either by fair or foul means, we need not doubt, but those, that fell under their dominion, were obliged to submit to this change. The inundation likewise of the northern nations, such as the Suevi, Goths, and Vandals, must likewise have introduced such changes, as may be better imagined than expressed. We shall have occasion to speak of them in their several histories here ensuing; only thus much may be said here, that, though they had embraced christianity, yet they were all of them infected with the Arian heresy. This did not, however, slacken their zeal against the heathenish idolatry and superstition, which had been introduced there by the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Romans, and other nations, whose temples, altars, statues, &c. they destroyed where-ever they came, obliging all, that came under their power, to embrace their religion; but both Sueves and Goths did at length exchange their Arianism for the orthodox faith, the former, under the reign of their king Ariamirius alias Theodimirus, and the latter under Reccaredus, who made open profession of it upon his accession to the crown. Their example was followed by the nobles, bishops, and clergy; and their confession of faith was presented to the famed council of Toledo, where some further regulations were made, for the preservation of orthodoxy, and for introducing a general conformity of worship. This great change was so much the more remarkable, considering the tenaciousness of those nations for their old religion, as it was brought about without persecution, or any other violent means. Upon the whole, it must be owned, that the Goths did make many excellent laws and regulations, for the better government in church and state. We shall speak of them, in their history, in a subsequent chapter; and shall only mention here a famed liturgy peculiar to them,
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known by several names, such as, officium Gothicum, Toletanum, and Mozarabicum (A), and supposed by most authors to have been compiled by Isidore, then bishop of Herculane or Sevil. This liturgy was confirmed by the Toletan council above-mentioned, tho' the pope did not suffer them to enjoy it many years, before he obliged them to exchange it for the Roman, not without a long and irrenuous opposition from the Goths, especially those of Catalonia, who sent a number of deputies to the council of Mantua, to expostulate against such a forced innovation. Some extraordinary particulars we are told with relation to this successless deputation, which, as they display the unfair intrigues, and arbitrary sway, of the Romish court, as well as the superstitious practices of those times, we shall give to our readers in the margin (B).

(A) So called from the name of Mozarabes, which they then gave to those christians, who were under the subjection of the Saracens.

(B) The merit of these two liturgies, we are told, was to be decided by single combat; in which one champion was to fight for the Gothic and the other for the Roman. They did so, and the latter loft the battle; but, the Roman party raising some fresh chicane about it, it was again agreed to be tried by fire. Accordingly both books were flung into the flames, from which the Gothic was preserved, and the other burnt. But such was the prevalence of the pope's party, as it was managed by his then legate, that the synod of Leon decided afresh in favour of the latter. The Gothic, however, was far from being wholly set aside. It was retained by several congregations, and by seven churches of Toledo, during a considerable number of years. Neither did it lose its credit by being disused, since even the famed cardinal Ximenes ered a chapel in the city, in which the divine worship was to be performed according to the Gothic or Mozarab liturgy; but in the end means were found to get it condemned, and wholly set aside, and with it the old character, in which it was writ (1).

This character was not, however, the old famed Runic, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the German history, as has been affirmed by several authors; but the old Gothic, in which most, if not all books, especially church ones, were written

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It is probable, that, though the first inhabitants of Spain were under one monarchical government, upon their settling in it, as well as those of Gaul, Germany, and other European nations; yet, as they came to encrease in number, and enlarge their territories, they split themselves into a multiplicity of petty kingdoms and commonwealths. This was the case of the Gauls and Germans, when Caesar first came amongst them, as we shall shew in due time; and much more so may we suppose it to have been so here, considering the great variety of nations that came and settled amongst them, of which we shall give a fuller account in a subsequent section of this chapter; for it is more reasonable to suppose, that most, if not all of them brought and settled their own laws and form of government, than that they should submit to that of the antient inhabitants, especially as many of the former came thither rather as conquerors, than colonies; from all which must necessarily result, not only a vast variety, but likewise a constant fluctuation of them, as they passed from one dominion to another, especially when they came under that of the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Vandals (C). After the expulsion of the Carthaginians by the Scipio's,

written at that time in Spain, and elsewhere; and was near the same with the old Roman, but of a coarser mould; and was particularly used in all the Visigoith dominions.

(C) How they were governed under the two former, may be seen by their history in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth volumes, and how by the latter, in some of the subsequent chapters, as well as in the sequel of this. One thing we must, however, observe here, with respect to the Romans, that it was their constant policy, in their conquered dominions, to distinguish between those, that, through fear, or necessity, had either sought their friendship and protection, or willingly submitted to them; and those, who were subdued by force of arms. The former of these they permitted to preserve their laws, and form of government; and only obliged them to pay a certain tribute, and to send a number of auxiliary forces; and perhaps to quarter a number of their troops; but the others they forced to submit wholly to the Roman laws and government, as we shall have further occasion to shew in the next chapter; though, by the way, it must be observed, with respect to the former, that if they gave the least umbrage to their pretended protectors, they seldom failed of being stripped of their privileges, and of being reduced to the flavih
of which we have given an account in a former chapter in the foregoing volume, Spain was governed by consuls, proconsuls, praetors, praetors, and praetides, from that very time down to the reign of Tiberius, if not lower; for we find L. Piso, pretor of the hither Spain in his time; and a re-
script of Adrian directed to the consul of Boetica. The praetides are mentioned likewise in subsequent reigns; but that title was of a more general significatio, and applied to the governors of every inferior province. However, it continued under the government of forty-six emperors, from Augustus, who is said to have finished the conquest of it, to Honorius, in whose reign the Romans were expelled by the Vandals, Alans, and Suevi. Under these emperors, who governed the empire after their own arbitrary will, Spain was divided into two provinces; but soon after reduced into one, though under several governors, or legati and tribuni. About the reign of Dioclesian and Maximian, it began to be governed by comites, or counts; and, if any of these were forced to be absent from their jurisdiction, they left the care of it to substitutes, who were called vicarii. And lastly, in the time of the Goths, those provinces, that were subject to the Romans, were set under government of duces and praetexti. Under the Goths they were governed by nineteen kings, during the space of two hundred years, that is, from Athanaric, who began his reign in

\[\text{Vol. xvii. p. 472, & seq.}\]

\[\text{Tacit. an. Vid. & Vaf. chronol. c. 13.}\]

\[\text{This proved the case of the Spaniards, who were forced, by degrees, to submit, not only to the Roman yoke, but to their religion, customs, &c. and even to their language (2).}\]

\[\text{We find, however, in some antient authors, the names of several petty kings of Spain, both in the times of the Carthagini-}\]
\[\text{\textit{ans and Romans, who governed in their several little kingdoms, and lived in peace with, and acknowledged them both, or paid some tribute, perhaps, to them; such as Mandonius, whom Livy calls king of the Ilergetes, Amusius king of the Lacetani, Andubal mentioned by Polybius, and some others; but to these the Romans only give the title of reguli.}}\]

\[\text{(2) Vid. Aldrete. compend. hist. de Hispания.}\]
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in the year of Christ 369, to Leovigild, an. 569. The Suevi reigned in Galicia, according to Isidorus, an hundred and seventy-seven years, that is, from Hermic, A. C. 408, to Andeca, who was defeated and dethroned by Leovigild above-mentioned, and brought that kingdom under his sujection A. C. 581. In this lift of Suevian kings there is a chasm of their names for an hundred years, from Remifmund, who infected that kingdom with Arianism, A. C. 464, to Theodimirus, who embraced the orthodox faith, the historians not having thought them worthy to be recorded. The others are ten in number, including Reccaredus above-mentioned. Lastly, the united kingdoms of Goths and Suevi, which began at Reccaredus the successor of Leovigild, and first orthodox king of the Goths, A. C. 568, lasted an hundred and twenty-seven years, that is, to A. C. 713, when the Moors put an end to the kingdom, in the third year of Roderic their seventeenth and last king. Of all these, and their different nations, we shall speak in the sequel, every one in their order. As for those of Leo, Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal, they will be spoken of in the modern history.

What laws the antient Spaniards originally had, or laws, what new ones were imposed upon them by their conquerors, we are left to guess at. We are, indeed, told, that Hercules, upon his coming thither, did give them a body of them, such as he had brought from his own country, whether Egypt, Tyre or Greece; but what they were, we are wholly in the dark about. If we may, however, offer a conjecture from what we read about their neighbours the Gauls, who had a multiplicity of governments, some monarchical, some aristocratic, and some even democratic, and, of the former, some limited, some despotic, we may reasonably conclude, that every one of them had their own laws, and such as best suited to their genius, interest, and the safety of the whole; but these do not appear to have extended farther, than to the preservation of each of their particular forms of governments: for, in other cases, each of them had their grand council, to deliberate, enact, explain, and decide, according to the present emergency, as they thought for the good of the community. By these all controversies between man and man, town and town, district and district, were adjudged; and their power was such, that even their kings, where they had
had not made themselves wholly absolute, of which we scarce meet with any instance, were obliged to submit to their decision, save only, that in all cases, where the plaintiff was not satisfied with it, he had liberty to challenge his adversary, and to determine the affair by single combat. The same was likewise done between city and city, district and district, who appointed one or more champions to appear for them, and the cause was always adjudged to the conquering side; for it was a constant maxim amongst all the descendents of the Celts, that providence always interposed in such cases, and that, where-ever the victory fell, there was the surest right.

In the art of war, and military discipline, we shall hereafter have occasion to shew, that the Gauls, Germans, and other nations of Celtic extract, were very deficient, trusting too much to their strength and bravery, and despising all other arts, and even defensive weapons, as beneath a man of true courage; but, in this respect, the Spaniards, though no less brave and stout, had much the advantage of them, which must be chiefly owing to their being so early and so frequently visited, intermixed, and subdued, by other warlike nations, from whom they received fresh and constant improvements: whereas the Gauls, and other northern nations, being scarcely known till after the coming in of the Romans, and having no other wars to wage, except what they did amongst themselves, one petty kingdom or commonwealth against another, they were quite ignorant of martial discipline; and even their weapons were so clumsily made, and so misfeasibly tempered, that they often became useless, before half the action was over. In a word, their way of fighting was so artless and rude, that, in many instances, it gave a double advantage to the enemy, as we shall shew in the sequel. The Spaniards, on the contrary, had, by their continual wars with such a variety of polite nations, made themselves masters of, and placed their chief confidence in, their expertness in every branch of the martial trade. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the Celtiberians had such an excellent way of tempering the steel, with which they made their weapons, that no shield or helmet could resist them (D); and that they used them with equal

* Lib. ii. c. i.*

*(D) This, our author tells us, was done by burying the steel some considerable time under-ground, that is, till the rust had eaten up*
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equal dexterity, both on horseback and foot, and alternately, if occasion required. He likewise commends them much for their extraordinary nimbleness in giving or avoiding of blows; and adds, that they used likewise the same defensive weapons that other nations did, such as the shield, &c. And this is the reason why the Romans were so long subduing them, and spent more years in the conquest of this country, than Cæsar did weeks, if we may believe him, in the reduction of Gaul. In the former they were forced to proceed, as it were, inch by inch, against a stout and warlike nation, that knew how to take every advantage of ground, situation, disposition, &c. In the other, every battle gained by Cæsar, and these by his own confession, were easily obtained through this want of skill, opened to him a way through whole provinces, who were glad to submit to him on any tolerable terms. What encreases the wonder, is, that, at the coming in of the Romans, the Spaniards had sustained such long and dreadful wars, especially just before, against the Carthaginians, that one might have expected them to have been quite exhausted of their strength; and much more likely would they have been so by those, as they were now engaged in a new one, against a more potent and numerous enemy; and yet it is plain, they held out against them near, if not quite, two hundred years, before they were entirely subdued; nor were they then wholly so, since we find there was a constant necessity to keep a numerous army, and a watchful eye over them, and even quite to disarm whole provinces, to keep them under a tyranny, which many thousands of them thinking shameful and insupportable, preferred a voluntary death to such a despicable state; so dreadfully abject did it appear to that fierce and warlike nation, says Livy, to live without arms: and indeed what Valerius Maximus says of the Celtiberians, or Spaniards, was common to all the Celtic nation, and their descendent; That they esteemed nothing so glorious, as to die with their sword in hand, and in defence of their liberty. We shall see many pregnant instances of this noble spirit in some subsequent chapters. Even by the confession of some of their own authors, the victories, which they gained over them, did often cost them so dear, that they deferred nothing less than such a pompous name; and many a triumph they have celebrated over them, which, had it had its due would have been turned into

\[\text{f De bell. Mac. lib. iv.} \quad \text{g L. Flor. l. ii.}\]

up the softest and coarsest part of the metal: the rest, that had resisted it, was what they made their weapons of.
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362 into a doleful mourning for a bloody and signal defeat. Thus much we think is incumbent on an impartial author to say, in justice to any brave conquered people, though it be much more common now-a-days to see them treated with the same contempt and disregard by modern writers, as they were wont to be by their lordly conquerors. We shall conclude this article with a judicious remark, which has been long since made, with respect to this conquest of Spain, that though the Roman conquerors were always eager of taking the surname of those nations they subdued, such as Asiaticus, Africanus, Germanicus, &c. yet none of them, not even Augustus Cæsar, who is complimented by Livy with having put the finishing stroke to it, nor any of his successors, though most of them ambitious enough of such high titles, ever took that of Hispanicus, Ibericus, or any other that this country was called by. Q. Cæcil. Metellus was the only one, who aimed at it, and would fain have obtained that of Celtibericus, but could not. This seems to argue the Romans to have been so conscious of the vast deal of blood and treasure, which it had cost them, more than any other, that they could see no reason for bestowing any such honours upon them; and for which there might not have been the least pretence, had the Spaniards been united into one common interest, instead of being divided into so many governments, and under so many heads; for this, after all, will be found the main cause of their falling under the Roman yoke.

How soon arts and sciences began to flourish in Spain, can only be guessed at. That they have an excellent genius for them, is evident from the great number of excellent men it has produced, of which we shall mention only three of the most illustrious; viz. the famed Stoic philosopher Seneca, who was a native of Corduba; the learned orator Quintilian, and the great cosmographer Pomponius Mela, often quoted thro’ this work: and though we find other European nations very slow and late in cultivating them, such as the Gauls, Germans, and others, who affected a singular contempt for them, as unsuitable to, and unworthy of, their martial genius; yet, considering the vast concourse of foreign nations into this kingdom, their excellent situation for trade and commerce, the great quantities and variety of metals which it afforded, it is very reasonable to suppose they must have began to encourage them much earlier than any of their neighbours; and that whatever natural reluctance, such as was common to all people of Celtic extract, they may have had against them, necessity must have forced them to overcome it, in their own de-
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fence and preservation. We shall say nothing here of those trades and manufactures, for which they have since rendered themselves famous for some ages, till they again relapsed into their antient pride and indolence, out of which they were but lately roused up again. But, with respect to their antient ones, though we have not much of them upon record, it seems almost impossible they could have subsisted without them, considering the continued invasions they were exposed to, and the many enemies they were forced to make head against. Even learning, and the liberal arts, if we may believe Strabo, began early to flourish here; for he tells us, that the Turdetani, a people of Boetica, were become very famous for them, and were possessed of a vast number of volumes of great antiquity, and bodies of laws writ in verse, and other pieces of poetry of above six thousand years standing; which last, however exaggerated, doth at least show, that there was some foundation for their pretence of having been early encouragers of several kinds of it: and this is further confirmed by several other antient authors, particularly one of their own nation, but more manifestly by what Pliny tells us of one Lartius Licinius, a private person, who made no difficulty to give an immense sum (E) for a book of Pliny II's commentaries.

We make no difficulty to affirm, that the original language of Spain was the old Celtic, of which we have given some account in a former volume, and shall have occasion to speak further of in the next chapter; for, whether we suppose, with the generality of Spanish authors, that Tubal came thither by sea, and peopled that country, or, as we have elsewhere hinted, that the Celtes, or descendents of Gomer his eldest brother, spread themselves thither by gradual migrations, the case will be much the same in this particular, because, on the supposition of the former hypothesis, Tubal and Gomer parting so soon after the flood, their language must have been the same; that is, the Tubalians, or, as they are called by others, Cetubales, and the Gomerians, must have carried the same language into those countries where they settled, whether we call it by the name of the one, or of the other; with this


(E) This sum is by our author said to have been forty thousand nammis; which, according to the computation of his learned commentator, was equivalent to ten thousand golden crowns.
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this difference only, that it must have been much purer, and nearer that of the antediluvian patriarchs, whether that was the Hebrew, or any other; concerning which we shall not here repeat what we said on the subject at the entrance of this work m. But as that Berofian account is now, by most learned men, (except the Spaniards, who are fond of their own antiquity, beyond other nations) rejected as fabulous, we have ventured here, and elsewhere, to ascribe the first peopling of Spain to the Celtes, or descendents of Gomer. And what confirms this hypothesis, is, that their ancient language, as it is still preserved in some parts of Spain, appears to be the same with that which is spoken by our Welsh, who are descendents from Gomer, and retain still their paternal name of Gomera, and call their own language Gomraeg, as we have shewed in their history, quoted a little higher. We likewise there took notice of the vast affinity there is between it and the antient Hebrew, insomuch that to toth, who are masters of both, they plainly appear to be only dialects of the same tongue; or, to speak, perhaps, more properly, the Celtic, or language of the descendents of Gomer, is a dialect of the Hebrew, or language of Noah. And hence the modern Spanish, as it is now spoken throughout that country, will afford us a new proof of what we have advanced on this head. Many learned men have observed, that it retains a great number of names, words, and, we might add, idioms too, which to them plainly appeared to be of Hebrew extraction, but have been at a loss how to account for it. It is absurd to suppose, that they were brought thither by the Jews, who fled from their country, whilst Nabuchadnezzar was laying it waste; and came and settled there, as some have imagined; for that nation is rather famed for losing their tongue, than preserving it, much less for propagating it in any country they come to. This made Aldrete to think those words to be of Arabic, and not of Hebrew extraction, and to be of no longer date, than the coming in of the Moors n. Had that learned author had recourse to the old language, which is still kept in some parts of Bisca, Navarre, and Catalonia, he would have found such a vast number of them, as would have convinced him, that they must be a great many centuries older than the coming in of the Moors: and, had he known any thing of the affinity there is between the Hebrew and the Celtic, he would have easily concluded, that all those words and idioms in the modern

m Vol. i. p. 431, &c. & vol. iii. p. 440, &c. 

n Antegved. de Hispan. i. ii. c. 8.
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modem Spanish, must have come from the latter, and not from the former; which would have removed all the difficulty, without having recourse to the Arabic. What seems to have misled him into this notion, is, that there is likewise a great conformity between this last language and the Celtic: hence that surprising number of words and idioms common to the High Dutch and Arabic, which has puzzled so many critics, and cannot be otherwise accounted for, than by supposing them to be of Celtic original, which, like the old Arabic, was, as we hinted a little higher, a dialect, or, as some chuse rather to suppose it, both the Hebrew, and they, were dialects of the original tongue. If we allow then the Celts to have been either the first, or even some of the first inhabitants of Spain, there will be the less wonder there should be still found, in the modern language of that country, such primitive words, notwithstanding the length of time, and various changes, it may have undergone, since it is no more than what may be observed, not only in the High and Low Dutch, and other northern languages, but even in the French, the farthest removed, and strangest altered, from the old Gaulish, or Celtic. We may add, that the modern Spanish prefers more of the masculine grandeur, beauty, and energy, of the old Celtic, than any other in Europe. The same may be said of the Spanish nation, with respect to the antient Celtic grandeur and majesty; and we may safely add of their pride, and singular contempt for, not only trade, commerce, manufactures, and the like, but even for agriculture, which they looked upon as below their dignity, and martial genius; and therefore turned them over, as much as they could, to their slaves, as we shall shew, when we come to speak of the Genius in the next chapter.

But whatever the original language of Spain may have been at first, it must have suffered great changes under those different nations, by whom this country was subdued, and of whom we shall give a further account in the sequel: but the greatest of all was under the Romans; for these made it their constant business to introduce theirs into every country that fell under their hands; at first, by founding schools, and even universities, where youth might, with the Latin tongue and character, be taught the arts and sciences, which was no small inducement to inspire them with a fondness for it; and, where that failed, then more forcible means were used, so that in time almost the whole kingdom came to speak it as their mother-tongue, only those few tribes of the antient inhabitants who, perhaps, like our Welsh here, fled into such mountainous
tainous countries, where they could not be conquered, and retained their original one. The Latin continued no longer there, than to the coming in of the Goths and Vandals, under whom it began by degrees to dwindle from its purity, as it did in Gaul, Italy, and other parts, where those barbarous nations, as they were called, got any dominion, and to adopt their barbarisms, and to decline into the state, in which we see it now. And here it must be observed, with respect to the Spanish, that it has suffered the least corruption, and retains more of the antient Latin, of any in Europe. This makes us think, that it did not receive any considerable alteration under the Moors; otherwise it must have deviated much more from it, than it actually doth: besides, it is not likely, whatever Aldrete might infer from his fancied words and idioms of Arabic extract, and of which we have given a more probable origin, that Spaniards, fond as they ever were of their old ways, would have adopted any thing from a nation, which could not but be hateful to them, as invaders and conquerors; and much more so, on account of their religion.

From what we lately quoted out of Strabo, it is plain, the antient Spaniards must have admitted writing amongst them many ages before either the Gauls, Germans, or any others of Celtic extract; since these, as shall be shewn in due place, made it a religious maxim to commit nothing to writing, either of their history, learning, or religion, but contented themselves with preferring them in proper poems, which their druids and bards learned by heart, and transmitted in the same way to their disciples. But it is more than probable, that the former were, in some measure, forced to it by some of those many nations, under whose dominion they passed from time to time; such especially as the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, the Greeks, and the Romans: but, which of those different characters was first adopted, or became most in vogue, we cannot pretend to say; only that, from the coming of the Romans, their letters, as well as language, drove out all the rest, and was in use till their expulsion, when the old Gothic, of which we gave an account at the beginning of this section, took place. This last, though far inferior to the Roman in beauty, and more tiring to the eyes, continued in such vogue throughout Europe, from the coming of the Goths, downwards, that all church divinity, and law-books, were written, and (even long after the invention of printing, and reviving of the old Roman) were printed in it.
it. We have seen there why, and how, it was at length condemned and set aside.

It will not be amiss here to take notice of an odd way, which the Spaniards of old had of computing of time, and which was peculiar to that nation. It took its rise in the reign of Caesar Augustus, prevailed all over Spain, and was not abolished till after the middle of the thirteenth century; that is, first, in Aragon, by Peter IV. A.D. 1358, in Castile, by king John, an. 1383, and, in Portugal, by John I. an. 1415. This way was, to reckon the years by æras, or rather from the æra, as they called it, without any other explanation, instead of computing from the creation, flood, birth of Christ, or any other remarkable epoch; and this was used, not only in their profane, but, what is still more surprising, in their ecclesiastic records. So that it has puzzled the learned not a little, at first, to fix the point of time of this æra, and to find out a tolerable etymology for that word thus used. It is not worth troubling our readers with their various conjectures upon it; for nothing but conjecture has as yet been offered, and some of them, too, forced and far fetched. It shall suffice to say here, that they are all agreed on one point, viz. that the æra did commence in Augustus's time, some add, that it was instituted in honour of him; but they differ about the number of years which it preceded the birth of Christ. Some reckon it but barely twenty-six years, and think those highly mistaken, who give it any more. Others think it began on the year, in which that prince ordered the world to be taxed, as the evangelist words it; and that it was called æra from the æs, or copper coin which was exacted by that decree. Some carry it higher, to fifty-two years before Christ, which was, according to them, the year in which Julius Cæsar was killed, and Augustus succeeded him: the rightest of them, in our opinion, are those, who deduct the first four years out of that emperors reign, because, as he was then but one of the triumvirs, it is not likely the Spaniards should have begun so soon to compliment him with this new computation; and consequently think, that it did not take place till the fifth year of this triumvirship, when that country, together with Gaul, and some other provinces, fell to his lot; and that was forty-eight years before the birth of Christ. As for the original of the word, those that do not like

a Gerund, paralipom. Hispan. l. x. in fin. b Id. ibid. ex Ídor. c Vid. Væsi chronic. c. 22.
like that we mentioned above, which is that of Isidore bishop of Seville, will be less pleased with some others, which Spanish critics have fetched still farther. That of Vaseus, who thinks that æra was a mark stamped on the coin, to shew the value of it; and that of Refendius, who affirms that æra was nothing else but a term to signify a computation, or computed number; would appear most probable to us, if they were backed with any good authority.

Education. The education of their children in antient days chiefly consisted in training them up to martial deeds, using them to such food and exercises, as tended to make them strong and robust, active and nimble; in inspiring them with a love of liberty, and a contempt of death. These principles were so strongly inculcated into them from their infancy, and so carefully riveted in them both by precept and example, as they grew up, as well as by the hopes of a glorious future life to the bold and brave, and of misery and ignominy to the base and cowardly, that the whole nation seemed unanimously to prefer death before slavery, and looked upon it as the most glorious of all blessings to die fighting in defence of their country. Even their women, by being obliged to train up their children in this martial way, contracted such a habit of bravery, that they seldom or never failed of shewing some signal examples of it to them, as often as an opportunity offered itself. But we shall defer speaking more particularly on this head, till the next chapter, where we shall single out several instances of this native valour, in these and other Celtic nations, even in those of the softer sex, and tender years.

Commerce. We have already observed, that this country was not only excellently situate for trade and commerce, but abounded with such commodities, especially silver, as invited all the trading nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, to come thither for them, to settle among them, and even to subdue them; insomuch that scarce any kingdom under heaven ever passed through so many different dominions as this. Egyptians, Phœnicians, Tyrians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Germans, Goths, Vandals, Moors, and many others, have had their particular settlements in it; and the greatest part of them, if not all, have held it, or at least some considerable share of it, under their subjection, promoted the trade and navigation of it, and founded great and opulent cities, and contributed towards the enriching of it. What condition the country was in,

\[\text{Epist. ad Vaf. ap, eund. ibid.}\]

\[\text{Iid. ibid.}\]
in, before those strange nations came into it, we dare not say, though, if we were to believe one half of what the Spanish historians have written on this head, it must have been in a more flourishing condition than any other; since we are told by them, that, even before the coming of Hercules, it had a great number of rich and fately towns and cities, and these of great antiquity too; and this seems, in some measure, confirmed by antient writers, such as Strabo, Justin, Diodorus Siculus, Pomponius Mela, and others; and indeed, if they really had such a succession, as we are going to give in the next section, of long-lived and opulent monarchs, from Tubal the grandson of Noah to Geryon, whom that hero overcame, there would be no room to doubt of the truth of such antient cities having been built before his time. But the misfortune is, that there is no other authority for those reigns, than that of Berosus, who, as we shall shew in the sequel, is justly looked upon now as a fabulous author, and that what the Greek and Roman authors mentioned above have said of the pretended antiquity of those cities, and their founders, was in all likelihood taken upon trust from the Spaniards themselves, who appear plainly enough to have been as fond of indulging this passion for antiquity, as ever the Greeks, or any other of their neighbours; but of this we must leave every reader to judge for himself.

To close up the character of the antient Spaniards, they possessed all the virtues of the old Celtic nation, and inherited fewer of their vices, than any others of their descenents; they were brave, noble, and magnanimous, and hospitable to a high degree, and so famed for their faithfulness, that, even after their being conquered by the Romans, several of their emperors made no difficulty of preferring them to other people, to be their life-guard. They were sober, frugal, patient under hardships, jealous of their honour, and, till a few centuries past, rather desirous, as much as they could, to preserve their own territories, than to go in search of new ones abroad. As for the vices they had in common with all others of Celtic extract, and of which we shall speak more fully in the subsequent chapters, those of pride, cruelty, superstition, and laziness, are justly laid to their charge, as well as to that of the Gauls, Germans.


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Germans, and others; but it doth not appear, that they imitated them in their sumptuous banquets, much less in their excessive fondness for strong liquors; on the contrary they are famed for their aversion to them, by which they preferred themselves from such bloody quarrels, as were the natural consequence of those drunken revels, which we find to have been so indulged among their neighbours, and were commonly attended with the worst effects.

See hereafter in this vol. the latter part of sect. 4. in the history of the Gauls.

S E C T. III.

The origin, antiquity, and chronology, of the antient Spaniards.

WE have, in several parts of this work, proceeded on the most probable hypothesis, founded on the testimony of the best and most antient authors, that the Celtes, the descendents of Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet, were the first that peopled Europe, at least as far as the Danube and Rhine, and even beyond. Whether this was done by gradual migrations from the place of their dispersion after the flood, or by colonies brought thither by sea, will, we think, be more properly enquired into in the next chapter, where we shall speak of the Gauls the immediate descendents of those Celtes, and where we shall shew, from the best antient testimonies, that these were, from the earliest times, found settled in every part of it, and even in this of Spain, notwithstanding its being surrounded on three sides by the sea, and on the other by the Pyrenees, before any nation that intermingled afterwards among them, of whom we have given an account in the first section of this chapter, and shall have further occasion to speak it the entrance of the next. According to this hypothesis, it will be impossible to guess, about what time either this or any other country of Europe were peopled by them, or which of them claims the preference in point of antientness before the rest, or even to assert any thing of this country before the coming of Hercules into it.

But the Spaniards, ever fond of their own antiquity, beyond any other nation, having once adopted fabulous Berosus, have

Genef. x. 2. See hereafter, sect. 3 and 4 of chap. xi.
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have fetched their origin from another spring, namely, from Tubal, the fifth son of Japhet, whom that author affirms to have come into, and reigned in Spain from the year of the flood 143, to 258, and from whom they pretend to derive a regular series of long-winded monarchs, down to the three Geryons, who were killed by the Egyptian Hercules, to say nothing of a much longer one, which they likewise draw from this last hero, and some other new-comers from Libya, down to the time in which they allow the Celtz to have made their first entrance into Spain, viz. in the year of the flood 1350; so that, according to these authors, Spain had been a monarchy, and had lasted, one thousand two hundred and twenty-six years before the coming of the Celtz into it. This account, how fabulous soever, not only with regard to Tubal’s reign, and of his pretended successor, but likewise, in some measure, with regard to those of Hercules, as it is not only adopted by all the Spanzish authors in general, but likewise by all the followers of Ercophus, we shall be obliged before we go further, to give our readers a compendious sketch of it, especially as we have all along in this work given an account of the fabulous, as well as the more certain, part of the history of each nation; and shall do the same in those that follow, especially in that of our own.

1. Tunal having received his grandfather’s blessing, came, Tunal, or according to these historians, and settled in some part of Spain Thunal. (A), in the 134th year of the flood, and reigned there to the year

A 2 258;

(A) This Berofian fable they think sufficiently backed by what we read in Josephus (1), who makes Tubal, or Thunal, as he is called, to have peopled Spain; and by St. Jeron’s comment on the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, where he understands by Tubal either Italy or Spain; but this, at most, will only prove, that some of that patriarch’s pooretry came and peopled this country, or perhaps came and settled in some part of it; but not, that he came thither himself, and founded a monarchy in it; which has been sufficiently exploded in some former part of this work (2), and by the generality of authors, who have confuted the fabulous founder of that notion (3).

However

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258; during which interval Noah, called, by prophane authors, Janus, came thither, and built two cities, the one of which he called, from his one name, Noela in Galicia, and the other Noega in Asturia, and which, to this day, retains full that of Navia.

Iberus.

2. IBERUS, the son of Tubal, who began his reign in the year of the flood 258, reigned thirty-seven years, that is, to the year 295. From him our authors pretend, that the river Iberus, from which Spain was called Iberia, had its name. We have elsewhere given a much more probable etymology of these two names. He was succeeded by his son,

Idubeda.

3. IDUBEDA, by some called Juballa, and Jubalda, who reigned sixty-four years, gave name to the famed Idubedean mountains, peopled the province of Briga, now Riola, and called it by that name from,

Brigo.

4. BRIGO, his son and successor (B), who reigned fifty-two years, and left the kingdom to his son,

TAGUS,


However, these partial ones, who have adopted it, have built many other conjectural schemes upon it; such as the place where he landed, settled, &c. the system of religion, laws, &c. he left with them, and the like; insomuch that they affirm, that his descendants did strictly adhere to the precepts given to Noah by God, and preferred themselves free from idolatry, polytheism, and all heathenish superstitious, till Hercules brought those plagues from Egypt, and infected Spain with them. But of this we shall have a fairer occasion to speak in the next chapter, where we shall enter into a more exact detail of the religion of the Celtes and Gauls.

(B) From him the Briones, or Brigones, situate along the long ridge of Idubedean mountains, are affirmed, by the Navarrean historians, to have been named, as well as the city of Cantabria, antiently, according to them, Cantabrigia; whilst the Castellani derive both from the Galli Bracati, who came and settled there.

The word Briga, which had the same signification in Spain, and in the cities Cantabriga and Meidobriga, which the antient Gallic Dun or Dunum, in the names Lugdunum, Noviodunum, and the German Burgh, in Friburg, Auffburg, &c. is likewise affirmed to have had its origin from him. But the word Brig or Bric, from which Briga and Brica differ only in termination, is certainly of Celtic extraction, as we shall see in the next chapter. Several other things are said likewise of this king, without any foundation, which the reader may see in the Spanish authors lately quoted.
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5. **Tagus**, who reigned thirty years, gave name to the river Tagus, and was succeeded by his son,

6. **Boetus**, from whom the river Boetis, and the province of Boetia, Boetica, formerly Turdetania, and since Andalusia, had their names. He is said to have been surnamed Turdetanus, on account of his introducing, as well as encouraging, learning.

7. **Geryon**, an African, or Libyan, of a gigantic stature, and a bloody tyrant, who began his reign in the year of the flood 514, and reigned, according to some, twenty-five, and thirty-four years, according to others. Against him came Osiris, or, as he is called by others, Dionysius king of Egypt, with a powerful army, defeated and killed the tyrant (C), and divided his kingdom between his three sons, commonly called the three Geryons, after having first exacted a strict promise.

(C) This Geryon was also called Deabus, and is surnamed, by the Greeks, Chryso, on account of the vast wealth which he had gotten by his plunders and robberies. He is said to have brought over a number of wild or Scenite Arabs, and to have been the founder of the city of Girona (4). Diodorus Siculus makes him the son of Chrysaor, or the golden sword, the son of Medusa. From his defeat is supposed to have sprung the fable of Hercules's overcoming him, and carrying his oxen away, spoken of in a former volume (5). Justin, indeed, makes mention of him, and of his vast herds of cattle (6); but Strabo and Pliny look upon the whole as a mere fable (7); and Arrian further affirms (8), that there never was such a king as Geryon in Spain. Aristotle says, that Hercules (whom even some Spanish authors affirm to have been, not the Egyptian, but the Greek one, and son of Jupiter by (9) Alcmene) had been enticed over into Spain by the riches of its inhabitants: whence a law is pretended to have been enacted amongst them, forbidding the use or possession of silver, which was still in force some time after the coming thither of the Carthaginians (10). Something like this law was likewise among some of the ancient Gauls, of which we shall speak in the next chapter.

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(4) Lib. iv. c. 4. Vid. & Aldrete, var. antiqued. lib. iv. c. 18.
(6) Hist. l. xlv.
(7) Strab. l. iii. Plin. l. iv. c. 22.
(8) De gept. Alex. Mag. l. ii.
(10) Valsi chron. sub an. diluv. 539.
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promise from them, that they would reign amicably, and
abtain from those plunders, ravages, and cruelties, for which
he had so justly punished their father.

8. Three Geryons, said to have been all of one birth,
and the last of the Geryonic race, reigned with such surpri-
sing concord, that they are thought to have given birth to
the fable that represents them with a threefold body. These
being supposed to have had a hand in the death of Osiris, in
revenge of that of their father, Hercules, his son, brought a
great army from Egypt, first gave them a total overthrow,
and then overcame and slew them, one after another, in
single combat. It is said, that the columns between the Car-
pean and Abylean mountains were set up in memory of this
exploit. They had reigned, according to our authors, near
forty years, when they received this overthrow, and were
buried in the isle of Caliz. Hercules, who did not come
do much to conquer that kingdom, as to deliver the world
from tyrants and robbers, had no sooner overcome the three
Geryons, than he made ready to pass into Italy, and left the
government of Spain to his son.

9. Hispal. (D), who built the city of that name, now
called Seville, which was afterwards rebuilt and beautified by
Caesar: and from Hispal began a new succession of Spanish
kings. He is said to have reigned seventeen years, and to
have left his kingdom to his son.

10. Hispan, or Hispanus, from whom the country took
its name, which it hath preferred ever since. He began his
reign

h Garibay, ubi sup. lib. iv. c. 12. ad fin.

(D) In this expedition it is pretended that our Egyptian hero
introduced the idolatry and superstition of his country; to which
another author adds the bloody rite of offering up human vic-
tims (11).

He had likewise two favourite companions with him, the one
named Zacynthus, and the other Baleon; the former of whom
gave his name to the famed city of Zacynthum, since Sagun-
tum (12); and the other to the Balearic islands, now Majorca
and Minorca (13).

Another antient author, who was a Spaniard by birth, adds,
that the Tyrians built a stately temple to this Hercules, which be-
came famous, both for its antiquity and vast treasures (14).

(11) Laelant. 1. i. c. 21. (12) Vid. Hieron. proem. in
epist. ad Galat. (13) Luc. Flor. I. ix. (14) P. Mela, de
sit. orb. I. iii. c. 6.
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reign in the year of the flood 607, and reigned thirty-one years, and is affirmed to have been a noble and magnificent prince (E), and to have made the city of Caliz his chief residence 1.

Hercules, hearing of his son Hispan's death, returned Hercules into Spain, and reigned there from the year of the flood 639, to 658. Being grown very old, he bequeathed the Spanish kingdom to Helperus, one of his captains and companions; and died, and was buried at Gades, Caliz, where that flately monument was erected to him, which we mentioned in a late note, and which became in high veneration, not only among the Spaniards, but was resorted to by most nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa (F).

11. Helperus, from whom both Spain and Italy were Helperus, called Helperia, but the former, by way of distinction, Helperia Magna, and his brother Atlas, surnamed Italus, had accompanied Hercules in all his excursions and conquests. Upon the death of that hero, Helperus caufed himself to be proclaimed his successor, as by his will and appointment. Atlas, who is supposed to have been left in Italy, upon the return of the other two in Spain, came thither also himself, and drove him out of his kingdom, in the year of the flood 669, after he had reigned there eleven years.

12. Atlas, after he had reigned ten years in Spain, is Atlas said to have returned into Italy, in order to drive his brother thence also; for it seems that fugitive prince was fled thither, A a 4 and

1 Id. ibid. in fin. c. 14.

(E) To him some antient authors have falsely ascribed, among other sumptuous works, the aqueduct of Segovia, which was done by the emperor Trajan, and the Pharus or famed tower of Corumna, a maritime city in Galicia, which was erected in Augustus's time (15).

(F) It is hardly worth the while to trouble our readers with the various sentiments of the learned concerning this famed hero; whether he was the Egyptian, Phoenician, or Grecian Hercules: especially as we have had occasion to speak of him in some former parts of this work, to which we must here refer our readers (16), as well as to what we shall have further occasion to speak of him in the next chapter.

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and was so well received there, as to give him new cause of jealousy. Upon his departure he left the kingdom to his son,

Orus.
13. Orus, or Sicus (G), who reigned forty-five years. He gave his name to the river Sicoris, now Segre, which falls into the Iberus, or Ebro; and was succeeded by his son,

Sicanus.
14. Sicanus, who had followed him from Italy into Spain; a prince said to have been liberal and magnanimous. He gave name to the river Anas, now Ana; reigned thirty-two years, during which he is said to have carried his successful arms into Italy, and Sicily, which was from him called Sicania, as it had been before, Trinacria, and since, Sicily, from his successor,

Sickleus.
15. Sickleus succeeded his father, and reigned forty-four years, during which he is said to have pafled over into Italy, and performed very great feats, and to have assisted Ilius, the grandson of Atlas, by Electra his daughter, who was then at high wars with Dardanus, about the succession to certain flates in that country. In this prince’s reign the Deucalian flood is said to have happened, and that Moses was then likewise performing his wonders before the hardened king of Egypt.

Lucus.
16. Sickleus was succeeded by his son Lucus, who had accompanied him in his wars in Italy. He is said to have been a brave prince, but vastly addicted to the heathenish superstitions that then prevailed. Some attribute the populating of Lusitania, now Portugal, to him, from whom it was called by that name; others, to another Lucus, a chieftain and companion of Bacchus. We can affirm nothing certain about either. Lucus reigned thirty years, and was succeeded by,

Ulus.
17. Ulus, or Sic-Ulus, whom some make the son of Lucus, others of Atlas. He was so warlike a prince, kept such vast armies and fleets, that he was called the son of Neptune. He pafled over into Italy, to assist those Spanishe colonies

(G) From this, and the two following princes names, Sicanus and Sickleus, it is supposed, that their proper names were Orus, Anus, and Eleus; and that the Sic was a titular prænomen: and this is further proved by Anus giving his name to the river Ana, and Eleus to that of Elceo (17).

colonies, that had been settled there by Atlas, repressed their enemies there, peopled some countries in the neighbourhood of Rome, built some cities, and particularly the famed castle of Albinus; thence he passed into Sicily, to afflict those Spanish colonies, which his predecessors had fixed there, and, who, it seems, were badly harassed by the other inhabitants of that island, which, from his great feats there, he called by his own name. He reigned about sixty years, and was succeeded, by what means can scarcely be guessed; by,

18. Testa, an African, or Libyan, to whom, however, the Spanish historians give the character of a good and wise prince. Some of them affirm, that it was in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, that a colony of Greeks, from the island of Zeythnus, now Jaffanto, came into Spain by sea; and, with his permission, settled in that part of it, which they called by the name of their native place, though they became afterwards better known by those of Saguntini and Saguntines. Here then is a new and different account of the foundation of that famed city and people, of whose valour and sad catastrophe we have spoken at large in the foregoing volume; and this, if right, destroys what we mentioned a little higher concerning the origin, which is given them by other authors. Nothing can be advanced on either side but conjecture. As for Testa, after a long reign of seventy-four years, he was succeeded by his son,

19. Romus, who reigned thirty-three years, and is supposed to have founded the city of Rome, in the province of Tarragona, since called Valentia, from the Romans calling that city afterwards by this name, and enlarging and beautifying it, and making it the metropolis of it (H). In this prince's reign the Phœnicians are said to have made their first entrance into Spain; and about the same time also the famed

k Id. c. 23. Val. sub an. diluv. 893, & al. 1 See vol. xvii. p. 323—334.

(H) Others will have it, the people of that province built this famed city, and called it by that name, in honour of Romus; and that the Greeks called it Rome, and the Latins Valentia, as names of the same import in each language (18).

(18) Garib. ub. sup. c. 24. Id. ibid. c. 26.
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famed Greek chieftain Iacchus, or Bacchus, surnamed Liber Pater, with a considerable army, not so much with a design to conquer that country, as to spread his fame and colonies on this, as he had done on the other side of the world, where he is said to have carried his conquests as far as the Indies. As he travelled through Andalufia, he built the famed city Nebrija, in the province of Boetica, since called Veneria, and now Lebrixa, the native place of the learned Antony Nebrijenus, often quoted in this chapter; who says, on this head, that Lulus the son of Bacchus gave name to Lusitania, and that this expedition happened two hundred years before the destruction of Troy. Romus was succeeded by,

Palatuus.

20. Palatuus, the supposed founder of the city of Palentia, or Palantia. This prince had reigned about eighteen or nineteen years in great tranquility, when a famous warrior, named Licinius Cacus, raised a war against him, and deprived him, according to some, of part, and, according to others, of this whole kingdom, and forced him to wander about from country to country, whilst he reigned uncontrolled, and encouraged all kinds of arts and handicraft trades, which, till then, had been much neglected in that country (1). At length Palatuus found means to recover his kingdom from him, after he had possessed it thirty-six years; and gave him a total overthrow near mount Cacus, now Montcajo, so called from him, after this overthrow. Some pretend, that he was slain upon it; others, that he retired into Italy; however that be, Palatuus reigned seventy years, and was succeeded by,

Erythraeus.

21. Erythraeus, in whose reign is placed the founding of the famed city of Carthage, of which we shall say no more here, having given an ample account of it in a former volume m. He is said to have given name to the

m Vid. vol. xvi. p. 556—562.

(1) Some authors are so fond of raising the fame of this usurper, that they make him the first, who set about discovering the iron mines in Spain, and set up the fabrication of that metal. He might, perhaps, have given greater encouragement to this manufacture than any of his predecessors; but that they should have been such strangers in Spain to the working of so necessary a metal, is altogether improbable.
Chap. 10. The History of the Spaniards.

the famed island of Erythraea, or erythia, as it is called by mela and pliny, an island which has been sought far and near. We have endeavoured, at the beginning of this volume, to give the best account of its situation, to which we shall refer our readers. Erythraea was the last of the line of Teuta, in which the monarchy had lasted two hundred and forty-five years, according to some; or an hundred and twenty-three, according to others, including the forty-six years of Licinius’s usurpation. He was succeeded by,

22. GARGORAS, surnamed Mellicola, because, as Justinus, hath it, he found out the use of honey, and cultivating of bees. He was a Spaniard by birth, a wise prince, and a great promoter of industry. In his reign the famed city of Troy having been destroyed by the Greeks, of which, as well as its long siege, an account has been given in a former volume; many of those warriors, who either did not care, or were hindered, by contrary winds, from returning into their own country, came and settled in Spain, and built cities in several parts of it, and amongst them, those which the reader will find in the margin (K). To Gargoras succeeded, if we may believe Justinus,

23. HABIS


(K) Teucer, the son of Telamon, one of the first that came into Spain, settled in that part where the new Carthage was built, since called Carthagena, if he was not the founder of it. From thence he passed into Galicia, and gave name to that canton (19). He is likewise said to have built the city of Salamantica, now Salamanca, in memory of his own native country; though Stephen of Byzantium, who calls it Elmantica, says nothing of his founding it. Amphilocho, a companion of Teucer, is said to have built that of Amphiloque, since called Aguas Caldas, or hot waters, and now Orense in Galicia. Djomades built Tydo on the banks of the Minius, now Minho, in memory of his father Tydeus. It retains still the name of Tuy, Tuya.

(19) Justin. ex Trog. l. xlv.
23. Habis, his grandson, by a daughter, and a bastard, but in all other respects an extraordinary prince, whether we consider the many and surprising dangers he was obliged to go through, and from which he was delivered, as it were, by as many miracles, or the beauty and talhés of his person, or the many and signal benefits which the Spanish nation received from him during his reign, to which he was, such was his apparent merit, nominated by his grandfather in his life. The Spaniards at that time were still so very rude and uncivilized, that they knew nothing of the use of bread, or of cultivating the earth. It was he, it seems, that first taught them to plough their land with oxen, to sow and reap corn, to grind, knead, and bake it into bread. He likewise gave them many excellent laws, obliged them to live in towns, and appointed them seven courts of judicature in seven cities of his kingdom. Our author adds, that, after his death, his kingdom continued in his povertv during several centuries; but we must not thence suppose, that either he or they, or indeed any of his predecessors, were masters of the whole country, but only of some considerable part, as we hinted a little higher, in speaking of their government. How long this last king reigned, who succeeded him, &c. what other kings reigned in other parts of Spain, and many other things relating to the ancient history of it, we are wholly left in the dark about, down to the coming of the Carthaginians, no ancient historian having left us any thing about it. Only this chasm is filled up, by some fabulous authors of theirs, with such stuff, as smells as rank of the fable, as what we have here in England from our own monkish books; we shall mention one or two of them, by way of sample:

In Tuya, and Tude. Some other places and colonies these, and a few more, gave name to; as Atur to Afturias, Ulysses to Ulyssipone, now Liphon, where he built also a temple to Pallas. Strabo (20) calls this city Ulixopolis, or city of Ulysses. Menelheus built and peopled the port, that bore his name, on the coasts of Andalucia, near the city of Gades, or Caliz; in which land, the Andalusians say, was a stately temple, built by the same warrior, which became in time famous, and much resorted to, for its oracle, from all the three parts of the world.

(20) Strab. 1. iii.
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In the year after the flood 1250, that is, thirty-four years after the beginning of Habis’s reign, began, according to these authors, such an extraordinary drought, that it did not rain in all Spain during the space of twenty-six years, insomuch that all the rivers of it, except the Bœtis and the Iberus, were dried up, and the country become almost a desert, for want of inhabitants. If such a long and universal drought had really happened, it would rather be a wonder, that there were either man or beast alive in most parts of that vast country. They tell us, indeed, that about the same time a certain people, whom they call Almonides, came and settled in it; but, if so, is it not very strange, that no antient author should have taken the least notice of it, for which reason the learned author, often quoted in this chapter, justly rejects both as fabulous. Fifty-seven years after, Homer, or, as his right name was, Melesigenes, travelled through Spain and Italy. This was before he lost his sight; and he, according to Herodotus, flourished an hundred and sixty-eight years after the Trojan war.

About forty-two years after, the Celtes, or Gauls, are said to have come first into Spain, and, about twenty-years after the Rhodians. Of the first it is affirmed, that they fought for some time with the Spaniards, or Iberians, as they were then called, about their settlements; but agreed at length upon a peace, and mutual friendship; so that they, from that time, became so blended with each other, by intermarrying, and living together, that they became as one people, under the name of Celtiberians. From which account we would observe by-the-by, that this could only be one of those colonies, which the Celts in Gaul sent into the country, for more than one or two they sent from thence hither, as well as into other parts of Europe, as often as they were frighted for want of room, as we shall see in the next chapter. It is therefore, very probable, that these colonies, coming into Spain, after a few battles or skirmishes, being found, by the inhabitants, to be originally of the same stock, having the same, or near the same language, religion, and customs, were readily admitted and blended with them. The Rhodians, who came thither by sea,

\[w\] Val. sub an. \[x\] A. Nebricens. ubi sup. \[\gamma\] Vid. Strab. i. iii. \[\delta\] Dion. Sicul. bibl. lib. vi. Lucan. Hieron & al.
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sea, landed at the foot of the Pyrencean mountains, and built there a city, to which they gave their name. It was a bishop's fee till the time of the Goths, but is now reduced to an heap of ruins. About ten years after happened that great fire, which spread itself all over that vast ridge of mountains called the Pyrenees, and from thence, Incendium Pyrenæum, or, as others will have it, more properly, that those mountains were thence called Pyrenean. This fire, we are told, was at first kindled by some sheperds, and burnt with such fierceness for many days, that it spread itself almost over that whole ridge. As for what they add, that the intensity of the heat melted the silver in the mines, and made it boil up, and run down in rivulets along those hills, it is justly looked upon as fabulous by Pseudo- nius, and by Strabo after him.

It must be owned, however, that Spain must have yielded extraordinary quantities of that metal, if what we read in Aristotle be not greatly exaggerated, that the Phenicians, who are supposed to have come thither about the 1500th year of the flood, exchanged their naval commodities for such an immense weight of it, that their ships could neither contain, nor sustain its load, though they used it for ballast, and made their anchors, and other iron implements, of silver. (L). These are supposed to have likewise settled in Spain, and to have built several other cities, especially in Bœtica, and to have had the mastery of the sea the space of forty-one years, after which they went and settled in the Balearic islands.

Besides the Tyrians, Egyptians, and Phenicians, already mentioned, who obtained footing and dominion in this country,

a Diod. Sicul. i. vi. Vid & Aristot. de mirab. aufcult.
b Lib. iii. c Aristot. & Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

(L) In this expedition some of their authors affirm the Phenicians, who landed at Tartessus, to have built the city of Gades, or Caliz, tho' Strabo affirms it to have been done on their third landing (21). Other authors ascribe the building of it to the Tyrians (22); but we shall refer our readers to what has been said of the foundation of that famed place, in a former volume (23). As for the cities of Melaca and Abdera, Strabo plainly says, that they were built by the Phenicians (24).

(22) Plutarch. in Scipion. & al. (23) Vid. sup. vol. xvii.
(24) Lib. iii.
country, Eusebius mentions several other nations, who did the same before the coming in of the Carthaginians, such as the Egyptians a second time, who held the dominion of the sea thirty-five years, and built some cities, especially Tarraco, which they so called from Tarraco their leader. The Milesians are likewise affirmed, by the same author, to have held some government there the space of twenty-nine years. Next, the Carians, forty-eight years, from whom Ptolemy affirms the Carifti in Spain to be descended. The Lefbians succeeded them, who built several cities, and governed, according to the same Eusebius, sixty-eight years. Than the Phocians, in the sixteenth year of Tarquinius Priscus, and held the government forty-eight years; and from thence went and settled on the south part of Gaul, and built the city of Marsilfes of which we shall have occasion to speak in the next chapter. Lastly, Nebuchadnezzar, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and conquest of Judaea, is affirmed by Jophus and Strabo to have reigned nine years in Spain, at the end of which it is said that he abandoned it to the Carthaginians; though it is likely, that, as the Spanish writers affirm, a great part of that vast hoft, which he had brought with him, settled there, and built cities and castles, which they called by their own, or some Chaldee names, by which they may be still traced up to their original; but upon the whole it seems probable, that most, if not all, of these nations, contented themselves with maritime parts, for the sake of commerce, and the command of the sea, and penetrated but a little way into the inlands, whilst these might enjoy their own laws and government, and be glad to trade and barter with them, and so be less solicitous who were masters of the sea-coasts, and parts adjacent, so they could but enjoy the benefit of their commerce, and the produce of their own lands, in peace and quietness. If any of these strangers were enticed, by the pleasances and fruitfulness of the country, to settle amongst the antient inhabitants, whether this was done by permission and consent, or by force of arms, yet it could not be long before they became so blended with each other, that nothing remained of their origin, but the names they gave to those places, which they either built, or

[Vaf. sub an. U. C. 13. & 204.]
or lived in. As for the Celtiberi, mentioned a little higher, they encreased so fast in that pleasent and healthy country, that they were forced to have recourse to their old method of sending colonies abroad. Some of them settled in Lusitania, where they founded several cities, and called them by Celtic names (M); and from these colonies the Lusitanians had that of Celtiberi given to them: hence Diodorus Siculus says, that of all the Celtiberians the Lusitanian were the stoutest (N). Another colony of them went into Boetica, where they likewise left several cities, and other monuments of their settlement. The goodness of the climate, however, joined to their laborious exercises, and plain way of living, which made them so stout and long-lived, may be justly esteemed one of the main causes of their multiplying so fast, and being oblished to send abroad such frequent colonies, a further proof of which we have in the long reigns of some of their monarchs formerly mentioned; and we shall close this section with one more, in the person of the famed Arganthonius king of the Tartessi, who is said to have reigned at Gades, now Cadiz, full four-score years (N), and to have died in the hundred and thirtieth, according to one (N), or hundred and fortieth, according to another antient author (N), and is mentioned with admiration by others, for his long reign and life (N).

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(M) Amongst these was the antient city of Segovia, or Segobia, famous for its celebrated aqueduct, and afterwards for its woollen manufacture; and another of the same name, and built by another colony of Celtiberians, near Corduba in Boetica, and mentioned by Caesar in his commentaries; though the other was the more famed of the two.

(N) Herodotus says, that he reigned in Carteia, al. Tarteia; Anacreon, that he lived an hundred and fifty years; Pliny gives him but an hundred and twenty; but Silius Italicus three hundred; and, as for the time in which he lived, it is impossible to ascertain it, some making him cotemporary with king Siculus, the seventeenth king in our list, in the year of the flood 1514 (25). Others bring him down as low as the 130th year of Rome, or of the flood 1692 (26).

Of the conquest of Spain by the Carthaginians and Romans, to the coming in of the Goths, and other northern nations.

This remainder of the Spanish history we give here in a separate section, not as designing to treat of it in that ample manner that it would deserve, were it detached from the body of this work, for that were a deviation from our original plan, and on the one hand draw us into superfluous repetitions, their conquest by the Carthaginians and Romans having been fully treated of in the history of those two nations; and, on the other, oblige us to anticipate those of the Gauls, Goths, Vandals, &c. who conquered, or settled in, any part of this country, and which will, therefore, more properly belong to their several histories in the subsequent chapters. Our motives, therefore, for separating this part from that which we gave in the last section, are, first, to distinguish the true from the fabulous, or the certain from the uncertain: of this latter kind, at least, we look upon to be all that has been said in the last section, though, for the reasons mentioned at the beginning of it, we are forced to insert it in such a work as this; and, secondly, because in the remaining part of this work, still to be spoken of, we shall proceed in a more succinct method, to avoid all such needless repetitions, or anticipations, and content ourselves with giving our readers a kind of chronological summary of those conquests, and refer our readers for those, which have already been spoken of in this work, to the volumes and pages, where they are to be seen at full length; and, for the rest, to the remaining chapters of this and the next volume, where they will be more amply related.

Their conquest by the Carthaginians was, if we may believe Justin and Orofius, occasioned by the Tyrians. These, having founded the city of Gades, and built a temple to Hercules, were so infested by the jealous Spaniards, that they were forced to send to Carthage for help; which being readily granted, Mefeus was sent with a fleet to their assistance, who suppressed their enemies, and enlarged their territories, by the reduction of several considerable places along that coast.
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cast in. The richness of the country soon invited them to pursue their conquests, and the vast treasures, both in gold and silver, with which that country then abounded, could not but be a strong temptation to them, as they were engaged in such a bloody and expensive war with the Romans. This was accordingly performed with great success, at first, by their great general Hamilcar Barca, and afterwards by his sons Aedanus and Hannibal, the latter of whom he took with him thither, when but nine years old, that he might inspire him with greater hatred against the Romans, and with a more eager desire to complete the reduction of this opulent country, to the subjection of Carthage. The success which these generals met with, both against the Spaniards, and against the Romans, whom they had courted to their assistance, has been so fully spoken of both in the Roman history, and in that of the Carthaginians, that we shall need only to refer our readers to those places here cited in the margin. Aedanus likewise, another of their generals, who was left there to command during Hamilcar's return to Carthage; was no less successful there, and obliged the Romans to come to a treaty with him, of which the reader will find an account in a former volume, and which he inviolately kept with them whilst he lived; but his death, which happened soon after, and his being succeeded by young Hannibal, put an end to it: and that enterprising hero, tho' then but twenty-six years of age, began the war aforehand, and laid siege to the famed city of Saguntum. We have given already a full account of that siege, and the sad catastrophe of its brave inhabitants, and shall refer our readers to it. But Hannibal having undertaken his fatal expedition into Italy, the Carthaginian affairs began to decline apace, and their forces to receive many consecutive overthrowes here, both by sea and land, especially under Aedanus the son of Gisco, who, being defeated by Scipio, was forced to retire to Gades; where, being again defeated at sea, and, to complete his misfortunes, betrayed by Mafinissa, he was reduced to such
a desperate state, that, in revenge, he committed such horrid cruelties, as rendered him and his nation odious to the Spaniards and Romans. All this while the two Scipios not only gained ground against them by these frequent defeats, but by some signal instances of their politeness rendered themselves amiable to the Spaniards, as his enemies were become hateful to them. At length two decisive battles, which he won over them, were attended with the retaking of Saguntum, which had been rebuilt by Hannibal. Here he caused the Turdetani, who were found there, to be all sold for slaves, for having joined Hannibal against that faithful city. We shall not repeat here the circumstances of the death of those two generals; which was like to have quite altered the posture of affairs, had not the brave Marcus recovered that great loss by a bold and desperate act, and with the few troops, which he could gather up, after the loss of those two battles, surprized and burnt the Carthaginian camp, which occasioned, in the confusion that then reigned, the deaths of thirty-seven thousand of them, besides near two thousand more, who were taken prisoners by him. He was succeeded by young Scipio, who, though at that time but twenty-four years of age, had been unanimously chosen proconsul of Spain, and came thither with a reinforcement of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. His wonderful success there, the immense spoil he got at the taking of New Carthage, his singular behaviour and continence towards a beautiful female captive, and his generous refusal of the vast ransom, which her parents offered to him, gained him the affections of the Spaniards to such a degree, that they looked upon him as a demigod, and began every-where to revolt from the Carthaginians. Their generals made several vain efforts to stop the progress of this young hero, and were as often defeated by him; as were also Mandonius and Indibilis, who had revolted from him: at length, having thus far reduced the Carthaginians, he resolved on a descent into Afric, to oblige them to abandon Spain. The success of this expedition being foreign to this Spanish history, except that he actually forced them out of this country, and brought it under the Roman yoke, we shall refer

\footnote{Vol. xvii. passim. \footnote{Ibid.} \footnote{See vol. xii. 214, 246.}}
refer our readers to those places, where a full account is given of both.

The Romans being thus become masters of this rich and noble country, or at least of a considerable part of it, by the expulsion of the Carthaginians, one of their first cares was, to seize on all its valuable mines, especially those of silver and gold, and to strip it of its immense wealth; and how considerable this was, may be guessed by the sketch we shall give in the next note (A), of the prodigious quantities which their praetors, even by the confession of their own authors, carried out of it, and brought into the public, as well as into their own treasury; but as it would be impossible to enter into a detail of all those transactions that happened during their Roman bondage, without repeating all that has been said in their history, in the foregoing volumes, we must in this, as well as in the subsequent chapters, refer our readers to what has been already said there; and only add here one or two remarkable events, which have not yet been taken notice of, or but lightly touched upon. One of them is the grand embassy, which the Celtes and Spaniards sent out of this country to Alexander the great, to congratulate him upon his

(A) Thus we are told (1), that Scipio above-named, upon his return to Rome, carried with him fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-two pounds of silver, besides an immense quantity of coin, cloaths, corn, arms, and other valuable things. L. Lentulus is said to have brought away a still much larger treasure, viz. forty-four thousand pounds of silver, and two thousand five hundred and fifty of gold, besides the money which he divided among his soldiery. L. Manlius brought with him twelve hundred pounds of silver, and about thirty of gold. Corn. Lentulus, after having governed the hither Spain two years, brought away one thousand five hundred and fifteen pounds of gold; and of silver two thousand, besides thirty-four thousand five hundred and fifty denarii in ready coin; whilst his colleague brought from further Spain fifty thousand pounds of silver.

What is still more surprising, is, that these immense sums, amounting in all to one hundred and eleven thousand five hundred and forty-two pounds weight of silver, four thousand and ninety-five

(1) Livy, dec. 4. lib. i, ii, & iii.
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his vast successes, to beg his amity, and that he would send proper persons to adjust some differences that were amongst them, that is, in all likelihood, between some of their petty kings. This embassy, it seems, was highly pleasing to that conqueror, who heard of those nations for the first time, and having granted their request, sent them very honourably home. Orosius tells us, that the head of this embassy was called Maurinus.

The next is that noble push which was made by the Celtiberians in Lusitania, to suppress the Roman tyranny, and, if possible, to drive them further, if not not quite out of Spain. What their success might have been, had not their leader Viriatus, whom Florus calls a shepherd, and Orosius a bandit, been dispatched by the treachery of Servilius Caepio, who hired that general’s guards to assassinate him, may be easily guessed by the dispatch he had made in crossing the Durius, Iberus, and Tagus, seizing on Gallicia, and some other provinces, and putting

h Arrian, geot. Alex. M. lib. vii.  i Lib. iii. c. 20.

five of gold, besides coin, and other things of value, were brought away within the short space of nine years; for just so much time elapsed between the first and the last of these Roman praetors (2); and just after they had been as severely fleeced, in all likelihood, by their other friends the Carthaginians. These few instances shall suffice to shew, how rich this country must then have been, and what an immense treasure it yielded to their conquerors; for though these last never slackened their hands, but kept still on bringing fresh supplies from thence, yet we do not find, that it was at all exhausted. On the contrary, it was this prodigious richness of the country that invited the northern nations many centuries after to come and seize upon, and drive the Romans out of it, as we shall see in some subsequent chapters.

We are, indeed, told by Strabo, that when the Carthaginians first came thither, they found silver in such amazing plenty, that their utensils, and even mangers, were made of it (3); insomuch that Posidonius said of this country, that Pluto, the god of riches, had his residence in the bowels of it (4). And Pliny mentions several rich mines of silver dug there by the Carthaginians, one of which, called Bebel, from the finder of it, yielded Hannibal three hundred pounds of silver per day (5). In a word, most ancient authors have celebrated this country for its richness to such a degree, that it hath only exposed it the more to the invasion of foreigners far and near.

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ing all the Roman colonies to fire and sword; but his untimely death put an end to all farther opposition, it being found then so dangerous to head an army against so powerful and treacherous a nation as the Romans flayed themselves on this occasion. How those two brave brothers, Mandonius and Indibilis, fared, for daring to oppose them some time after, need not be here repeated, any more than the dreadful catastrophe of Numantia, Saguntum, and some other cities and people, for daring to defend their country against them. By these cruel and treacherous means these Roman invaders so far suppressed that noble love of liberty, for which this nation was justly famed, that very few attempts were afterwards made for regaining it; and those did prove so unsuccessful, or, to speak more properly, were so severely punished, that it quite deterred them from even betraying the least hope or desire after their ancient freedom, till at length they were quite forced to submit to all their laws, customs, and religion; and, in a word, to be wholly romanized after their own arbitrary will. However, it is plain, that further Spain was not quite subdued till the fourth consulate of Marius, A. U. 652, nor the Celtiberians till five years after, two years after Dolabella had triumphed over the Lusitani. The rest is said to be conquered by Augustus, as we have formerly hinted.

We shall conclude this chapter with a list of the Spanish prætors, as far as Livy has gone with them, and afterwards of the emperors, under whose government Spain continued from Augustus to Honorius, in the beginning of whose reign the Romans were driven out of it by the northern nations, whose history will follow in due time; by which means the reader will easily come at the remainder of the Spanish bondage under both, without our being forced to repeat what has been already said in the Roman history, or anticipating upon what more properly belongs to those of the Goths, Vandals, &c. hereafter; but as we shall but barely mention those Spanish prætors and emperors, without entering into any further particulars of their reigns, we shall give the list of them in the following note (B), and pass over to the Gauls. But, before we

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(B) After Scipio above-mentioned had expelled the Carthaginians, Spain was governed by the following prætors, viz.

Hither...
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we leave Spain, we beg leave to add, that tho’ the Romans carried off such immense quantities of gold and silver out of it, as was hinted in the last note, they still left enough behind in it to maintain their numerous armies and colonies, to build great cities, castles, forts, and particularly schools, and academies, for

Hither Spain by
L. Lentulus
Q. Fabius Butæns
Cato the censor
P. Cor. Scipio
C. Flaminius
M. Bæbius Pamphilus
L. Æmil. Paulus
M. Fulv. Nobilior
L. Manlius
Quint. Crispinus
A. Terent. Varro
Q. Fulv. Flaccus
T. Sempronius
M. Titinius
P. Licin. Cælius
A. Claud. Cento
P. Fur. Philo
Cn. Fab. Bureo
M. Jun. Panus

Further Spain by
L. M. Acidinus
Q. M. Thermus
Ap. Cl. Nero
Sext. Digitius
M. Fulv. Nobilior
A. Attil. Serranus
C. Flaminius
Cn. Man. Vulfo
C. Catinius
C. Calpurn. Pifo
P. Sempronius
P. Manlius
L. Posthumius
T. Fonteius Capito
M. Cornel. Scipio
Not mentioned by Livy
Cn. Servil. Cæpio
M Mantienus
Sp. Lucretius.

After them the senate reduced the country under one praetor, in the consulships of P. Licin. Cælius, C. Cæs. Longinus, an. urb. 583. which continued so only under the two following ones: viz.

C. Marcellus
Publ. Fonteius.

After whom it was again divided, and governed by
Cn. Fulvius
C. Licinius Nerva
Thus far Livy; and from this time, viz. A. U. 701, Spain became a confederate province, under the consulship of Q. Fulvius and T. Annius; and was governed by them, and their proconsuls and propraetors, as we learn from Florus and Orosius.

The emperors are as follow:

1. Julius Cæsar
2. Augustus
3. Tiberius
4. Caligula
5. Claudius
6. Nero
7. Galba
8. Otho
9. Vitellius
10. Vespaean
11. Titus
12. Domitian
13. Nerva
14. Trajan
15. Adrian
16. Antoninus Pius

17. M.
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all kind of learning and exercises; to which we may add many other stately edifices, which were there reared by praetors, consuls, and especially by their emperors; all which served either to allure the Spaniards to the Roman yoke, or to deter them from shaking it off.

17. M. Aurelius 37. Aurelianus
18. Commodus 38. Tacitus
19. Pertinax 39. Florianus
20. Julian 40. Probus
21. Severus 41. Carus
22. Caracalla 42. Numerianus
23. Macrinus 43. Carinus
24. Heliogabalus 44. Diocleian
25. Alexander 45. Galerius
26. Maximinus 46. Constantine
27. Balbinus 47. His three sons
29. Philip 49. Jovian
30. Decius 50. Valentinian
32. Æmilianus 52. Gratian
33. Valerianus 53. Theodosius
34. Gallienus 54. Arcadius
35. Claudius II. 55. Honorius
36. Quintilius

C H A P. XI.

The antient state of the Gauls, to their conquest by Julius Cæsar, and from thence to the irruption of the Franks.

S E C T. I.

The origin of the Gauls, and extent of their country.

The Gauls were certainly descended from the Celtes or Gomerians, as has been fully shewn in some former volumes, or, to speak more properly, were the same people.

* See vol. i. p. 467, & vol. v. p. 470.
people, under a different and more modern name, given them, in all probability, by some of their neighbours, whilst they still retained their primitive one of Gomerai, or defendants of Gomer, as those still do, who retain their antient language in its purity, especially the northern Welsh. Other names they were known by, such as they either seem to have assumed upon some particular occasions, or such as other nations thought fit to give them; of all which the reader may see a specimen in the following note (A). The name therefore of Gaul, Galli, and Gallia, is not only a foreign one, but of a recenter date, as are likewise those other appellatives, by which Julius Cæsar, and other antient authors, distinguih one part of their country from another. Such are those, for instance, of Cifalpina or Citerior, Tranfalpina or Ulterior, and Subalpina, which was situate

b Comment. l. i. c. 1, &c.

(A) Of the first kind we may reasonably reckon all those, which are of Celtic extraction; such as those of Celte and Gaul, which signify brave and warlike, Armoric, maritim, and the like. Even that of Belga, which signifies fierce and quarrelsome, might have been given to that canton by their brethren and neighbours, on account of their retaining their original fierceness, from which the rest had polished themselves by their commerce and intercourse with other nations; those of Cis, Trans, and Subalpine, from their situation on either side of the Alps; that of Celto-Scythians from their being neighbours to, and intermixed with, that nation; that of Celtiberians to those that were seated on the other side the Pyrenees.

As they spread themselves, by degrees, farther and wider from each other, and their original tongue split itself into a great number of dialects, their appellatives became so numerous, and so vastly different from it, that it is with great difficulty they can be traced to their fountain-head. We shall therefore venture no farther, than upon such ones as carry a kind of certainty of their extract, and refer such of our readers, who are curious of such etymons, to the authors quoted in the margin (1). He may likewise read that vast variety of names in Strabo, Ptolemy, Mela, Cæsar’s commentaries, Diodorus Siculus, and other antient authors.

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situates at the foot of the Alps. The inhabitants however were formerly better known by the name of Celtes, and the country, in the whole, by that of Celtic-Galla, of which name we have given, in a former volume, the best etymon we could find. Cæsar afterwards distinguished the whole country under the three following names, viz. Belgia, Aquitania, and Gallia Propria, or that which, according to him, was chiefly inhabited by the Celtes or Gauls (B). This last was further distinguished into Comata, whose inhabitants

c Plut. in Cæs. & Marcel. Plin. hist. l. xvi. c. 11.
Strab. Mela, Cluver. & al. a See Pausan. in Attic. c. 3.
P. 476.

(B) His words are these (2): “The whole country of Gaul is divided into three parts, the first of which is inhabited by the Belgæ, the second by the Aquitani, and the third by those whom we call Gauls, but, in their own tongue, are called Celtes. All these have their language, manners, and customs different.” The meaning of which words is generally taken to be, that he speaks here of those parts, which remained as yet unconquered by the Romans, and which retained till their ancient language and customs; whereas those which were already subdued, had altered both by that time, to such a degree, as to appear to him different from the rest; such was, for instance, that part, which was called Togata, from their having taken up the Roman dress; and, in all likelihood, several other of their customs, and, by their intercourse with them, might have very much altered their dialect from the rest.

One thing is very remarkable, that Cæsar makes this province, which he likewise calls Cisalpina, to begin at the foot of the Alps, and to have extended itself along the Po, as far as the Adriatic sea, and the Rubicon (3); whereas Strabo, who quotes his commentaries (4), and Diodorus Siculus (5), plainly intimate, that the Gauls or Celtes inhabited all those parts from the Alps to the Pyrenees; and we shall shew by-and-by, that they extended even beyond the latter, and possessed the greatest part of Spain and Portugal.

However, the most that can be inferred from the passage quoted out of Cæsar, is, that he found Gaul so divided at his coming

(2) Cæs. bell. Gall. 1. i. c. 1. (3) Bell. Gall. 1. iv.
Mel. l. iii. c. 2. (4) Strab. l. v. (5) Diod. Sic.
l. v.
habitants wore long hair; Brachata, from their wearing breeches; and Togata, from the Roman toga being worn there. We shall endeavour to settle the limits of each of these in the following paragraph, and refer our readers, for the other names by which it was occasionally distinguished; such as that of Armorica, from its lying along the sea-coasts; of Aquitania, from its abundance of water; Cis and Transpadana, and some others; to the account given of them at the entrance of the Roman history above quoted. All that needs be added here is, that the words Celte and Gaul, signifying, in the antient language, brave and warlike, that of Belga, fierce or quarrelsome, that of Armoric, maritim; these names were, in all probability, given them by other nations. As for those of Cimmerians, Cimbrians, Cumbrians, and the like, they are plainly a corruption of their original one of Gomerians or Gomerai, as those of Galatians and Celto-Galatians were of Celto-Gaul.

As for the Galatia or Celto-Græcia of Asia Minor, in which these European Gauls were settled by Nicomedes, who had called them thither to his assistance, we shall, as much as we can, refer our readers to what has been said of them in some preceding volumes, to avoid unnecessary repetitions. All that need be added here is, that this province had Cappadocia on the east; Bithynia on the west; Pamphylia on the south; and the Euxine on the north. Here St. Paul founded a church, to which he directed that epistle, which is still known by the name of the epistle to the Galatians, and was written to reduce them from those Jewish observances, to which some false teachers of the circumcision had debauched them, and to confirm them in the true gospel liberty, which had been preached to them. We know little else of these Galatians, besides what has been said in the two volumes last quoted, except that we read in the second book of the Maccabees of a signal overthrow, which the Jews gave them in the province of Babylon.

\[\text{Vol. xi. p. 252.}\]  \[\text{See vol. ix. ad initium.}\]
bylon, where these, with a small army of eight thousand men, defeated and killed an hundred and twenty thousand of the former. The text says nothing further concerning this signal victory, nor about the time in which it happened; so that we are left in the dark, whether it speaks there of the Galatians settled in the province we are speaking of, or, which is more probable, of the Gauls themselves, who had by this time, if not long before, spread themselves all over Asia; for it must be observed here, that the name of Galatai was indifferently given, especially by Greek authors, to the one and to the other. But to return to the antient Gaul:

We have already shewn in the history of the antient Celtes, that they were possessed of the greatest part of Europe. There is scarce a province, or even a corner of it, in which they have not left some evident monument of themselves, either in the names of cities and towns, cantons and provinces, or of their rivers, lakes, mountains, promontories, and such-like. In every part of it, where either the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, or Romans, sent their invading bands, there they are affirmed by antient writers to have found the Celtes or Gauls already settled: not that they do expressly mention them by those two names, for we have just observed on what account they had several other appellatives given them, but yet such as plainly appear, from the conformity of their language, religion, customs, &c. to have meant one and the same nation. However, we will not venture to say, that they were all of the same Celtic extract, that inhabited those parts of Europe, either towards the sea-side, such as Spain, Portugal, and the French coasts, along the Mediterranean, or towards the north-east, where they seem to have been so blended with the Scythians and Sarmatians, that it is next to impossible to ascertain their boundaries on that side. All that we pretend to conclude from those antient writers, who have written most clearly and knowingly on this head, is, that the Celtes or Gauls plainly appear to have been the first, that people and possessed themselves of, or claimed a dominion over, them. After the general dispersion, that followed the flood, other nations might probably come afterwards, some by sea, others by land, and have been permitted to settle amongst

1 Vol. v. p. 476.  
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amongst them, there being more want of inhabitants than of room in those early days, and in regions so remote from the place of their first migrations, as we have formerly hinted at the beginning of this universal history, and elsewhere ¹.

The greatest difficulty, as we hinted in the last chapter, is to prove the Gauls, or Celtes rather, to have been settled in Spain and Portugal before any other nation; first, because they were here called by the name of Iberians, or, at most, Celtiberians, from which some are apt to conclude the former to have been the name of the first inhabitants of that part, and the latter to have been given to the Celtes, who came over the Pyrenees, and settled amongst them. And, secondly, because Varro ² mentions no less than five different nations, that were found there, when the Romans first invaded that country. These were, according to him, the Iberians, Persians (C), Phœnicians, Celtes, and Carthaginians (D). As to the first, we have formerly shewn,


(C) As it doth not appear from any ancient author, that the Persians sent any colonies into this country, it is somewhat difficult to guess, who these were, whom our author mentions with the other four. If we may be permitted to offer our conjecture, the name being of Celtic extract, and signifying severed or divided, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that it was given to some tribe or canton of this nation, on account of their rupture or difference from the rest, either in their customs, laws, and such-like, or for retaining their old ones, whilst these had altered theirs, in complaisance to the other nations they were intermixed with.

(D) We are not without some collateral proofs of this. The Phœnicians, as distinct from the Carthaginians, were the antient Tyrians (6); and these are known to have sent a colony, and to have built a famous temple to Hercules, in the isle of Gades, and to have founded several considerable cities in Spain (7). And as to the Carthaginians, who were nearest neighbours to it, we have

(6) Strab. l. i. sub. init. Mel. l. iii. c. 6. See also vol. ii. p. 386, 393. paff. & (t), (K). (7) See vol. xvi. p. 558, 628. P. 739,
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shewn, that the word Iberian signified, in the antient Celtic, any people, country, or place, that was situate over, or on the other side of, a sea, river, ridge of mountains, and the like; so that these might be naturally called Iberians, on account of their situation over the Pyrenees, by those that lived on this side; and Celtiberians, to distinguish them from those nations they were blended and intermixed with there. As to what is objected out of Varro, we have had occasion to hint, in the history of antient Spain, that neither the Tyrian or Phoenician colonies, nor those of the Carthaginians, came thither till a long time after the Celtes or Gauls had been settled there, and peopled a great part of that country. All this seems self-evident, first, from the contentious testimony of antient authors, the greatest part of whom expressly affirm it; and make these inhabitants to be of the same extract with those, that filled the hither parts of Europe, to all whom they give the same common name of Celtes and Gauls, and sometimes the more antient one of Cymmerians and Cymbrians. And, secondly, from those traces and monuments they have left in almost every canton and province of that country; such as the names of seas, rivers, mountains, cities, and the like, all which are manifestly of Celtic extraction.

In Italy.

ITALY cannot be supposed to have been long unpossessed by them, if they were not the first peoplers of it, concerning which we shall refer our readers to what has been said on that head in some former volumes. It was indeed too fair a spot not to invite such a warlike and populous nation thither, had it been ever so well peopled beforehand; but, we think, we have made it at least very probable, that they came thither sooner than any other; for if the Humbri or Umbri really were, as they are affirmed by many authors to have been, the aborigines or antientest people of Italy, and they were descended


have been likewise, in a former volume, how early they invaded and settled in it (8).

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descended from the Celtes (E), as their name, and other concurring circumstances, seem plainly to intimate, then it will scarcely be doubted, that they must have entered and peopled that country very early, when we recollect what dreadful devastations the Hetrurians made among them, and how many hundreds of their towns and cities they destroyed in that invasion, which they made upon them, and for the further particulars of which, we refer our readers to a former volume.

We shall shortly come to speak of the Germans, and other northern nations, as well as of the isles of Great Britain, Ireland, Iceland, and others less considerable, all which do plainly appear to have been first discovered and peopled by the Gauls or Celtes. As for the Germans, they were so like the Celtes in their language, religion, and customs, except, as Strabo observes, their retaining some of their original fierceness, which was doubtless owing to their vicinity and intermixture with the Scythians and Sarmatians, that they seem to have been one and the same nation; and this our author thinks to be the occasion of their being called Germans (F). We shall find a much properer etymon for that name in the sequel. What made us mention it here, was as a proof, that Germany was part of the Celtic or Gaulish territories, at least as


(E) Pliny derives their name from the Greek Ἀρηήηδος, which signifies a shower; because they had been dislodged from their country by a flood, occasioned by violent showers (9). But this etymon is far-fetched and forced, unless we will admit, that it carried the memory of their escaping the universal deluge with it; in which case it must be supposed, that they came early into those parts, and set up some monuments of their deliverance there. But as to the name of Umbrians or Humbrians, it seems rather a softening of the original one of Gomerians or Cymbrians.

(F) The word Germanus was that by which the Romans distinguished brothers by the same father and mother from those which were only by the one or the other, whom they termed uterini or consanguinei. And though the etymon itself be uncertainly falle with respect to the Germans, yet it shews the great affinity, which that author observed between them and the Gauls.

(9) Nat. hist. I. iii. c. 4.
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as far as the Rhine, if not as far as the Danube, though, as we have already observed, all that inhabited the countries between these two great rivers, were very much intermixed with the Scythians, Sarmatians, and other northern (G) nations. All that needs be added here is, that the Helveti, Rhætii, Norici, and Pannonians, of whom we have given an account in some former volumes, are sometimes called Celts, and sometimes Gauls, indifferently; and that their troops were still distinguished by the name of Celtic and Gaulish legions in Aurelian's time, as were also those that lived along the foot of, or upon, the Alps themselves.

Upon the whole then it appears evidently, that the antient Gauls or Celts were possess'd of the far greatest part of Europe; that the Mediterranean on the south, the Atlantic ocean on the west, the British and northern on the north-west, were the boundaries of their country; and that they extended towards the north as far as Scandinavia, Polonia, and Muscovy; though these three nations, as well as those that lived betwixt the Rhine and Danube, were intermixed with a multitude of other people, of the greatest part of whom we know but little, except their names. And thus much may suffice for the extent and limits of antient Gaul. How they came afterwards to be reduced within that narrow compass, in which we find them when the Romans first invaded them, may be easily gathered from what has been already said in the Roman history, and will further appear in the sequel of this.

In the mean time it will not be improper, before we come to fix them according to that epocha, to enquire, how this antient nation came at first to spread itself, as we have shewn they did, all over Europe; that is, whether they advanced by gradual steps from the place of their first dispersion, which we formerly fixed in Phrygia; or whether they came thither.


(G) Such were the Saxons, Franks, Sicambri, Burgundi, Quadi, Goths, Hunns, Batarnæ, the Ricetti, Norici, Pannonians, Moesians, Thracians, and many more, whose names and situation the reader will find in the several maps at the head of this history; and for the description and particulars of which we refer him to the general index at the end of this work.
thither by sea, and, landing at first on some of theItalic or Mediterranean shores, dilated themselves from thence as far and wide as we find they did. Either hypothesis has its diffi-
culties. If that of Berosus and his followers could be credited, that Gomer’s sons settled themselves in several parts of Spain and Italy so early as an hundred and forty-years after the flood, the gradual migrations will hardly be thought quick enough to have extended themselves to such vast tracts of ground in so short a time; and it will be more natural to suppose, that they failed thither from Lesser Asia. But then it will be equally difficult to imagine, how they could, in the short space of an hundred and forty-two years, become such expert mariners, as this supposes them to have been; and, if we allow them a longer space for making themselves so far ma-
fiers of navigation, they may be as reasonably thought to have expanded themselves thus far by such gradual migra-
tions, as either want of room, curiosity, or desire of change, may be supposed to have led them to. That they began be-
times to navigate, or to coast at least, not only the Medi-
terranean, Atlantic, and other seas, but even on the main ocean, we shall presently have occasion to shew, when we come to speak of their arts, commerce, &c. But it is scarcely to be believed, all things considered, that their rude skill in this art could bring them thither so soon as the others could get thither by land. However, since some antient au-
ths have affirmed, that the first inhabitants of Spain came thither by sea, some say from Asia, and others from Africa, the most reasonable opinion seems to be that, which allows these to have indeed come thither from those parts, and to have settled in those countries, though not till some con-
siderable time after they had been discovered and peopled by those, who came thither by land, and by gradual migrations. And this will further account, both for that great variety of names, dialects and customs, which such an intermixture must, of necessity, be supposed to produce, and for the loss of that whole country in process of time, when the Gauls were partly driven out of it, and the rest subdued by their conquerors, as we have seen in the last chapter.

The same fate having attended them, not only in Italy, but likewise on this side of the Alps, where the provinces of Noricum, Helvetia, Raetia, and the whole tract, which lies between those mountains and the lake of Geneva, were taken
taken from them, as we have seen in the Roman history, the whole Gaulish extent came then to reach no farther than from that lake to the Pyrenees, having still the Mediterranean on the south, the Rhine on the north, and the British channel on the west; for, by this time, the British and other islands were detached from the inlands, and lived under princes of their own, though, in matters of religion, they still kept a kind of conformity with, if not rather a kind of jurisdiction over them, as we shall see under the next article. This was the state of Gaul, and these its limits, when Julius Caesar first came into it, as we have seen in a former volume, where we likewise took notice of several other changes, which were made in their boundaries, and new divisions of their provinces and districts by the conquering Romans, particularly by Augustus, and to which we beg leave to refer our readers, to avoid repetitions and prolixity.

For the same reason we think it superfluous to say any thing here of its natural or artificial rarities, or to spend any longer time in describing a country so near, and so well known to us. We have described its ancient state in a former volume, and there given an account of its most considerable rivers, lakes, mountains, &c. We have there likewise taken notice of the fertility of the country, and how early it had begun to be cultivated and improved, even as far back as the times of Mercury, who is affirmed by a learned modern, and not without some substantial proofs, to have reigned in Gaul, when it was in its full extent, and, by his wholesome laws, and indefatigable pains to promote its trade and commerce into foreign countries, to have raised the Gaulish nation to a surprising height of power and glory. This reign hath indeed been very much suspected by some other authors, who have written since, asfabulous and imaginary; but we do not think it as yet confuted by any thing that has been offered either against it, or in favour of the Ctesilian history, which, we hope, we have, notwithstanding all its many and learned advocates, sufficiently confuted in our Affyrian history. But, waving that intricate and controverted point, it is

d vol. v. p. 397, & seq.  
e vol. v. p. 403, & seq.  
Bedford. chronol. & al.  
g vol. iv. p. 214, & seq.
Chap. 11. The History of the Gauls.

is generally allowed, that this country was in a flourishing condition, when the Romans first invaded it, as any in Europe, and their lands, commerce arts, &c. cultivated and improved by its industrious inhabitants, in a manner altogether answerable to its excellent situation and climate (H), as we shall have further occasion to shew in the sequel.

C 2

(H) The antient Celts indeed, and those Gauls, who were intermixed with the Scythians, did still observe their old custom of living in tents and waggons, or at most in huts, built just to last them one year, after which they removed into fresh quarters; and as they lived chiefly on the fruits of the earth, and the milk of their cattle, they either wholly neglected agriculture, and all property in lands, or, at most, built themselves a little house or cottage big enough for their family, in the midst of as much ground as they thought fit to cultivate for that year. The Germans and Suevi are observed by Julius Caesar to have followed the same custom in his days; who adds, that it was one of the chief talks of their yearly magistrates to assign them such lands, according to the exigence of their families; and, as soon as the year was over, they removed into some other country (10).

Hence came the name and use of cantons: every tribe had a canton assigned to it, which was governed by its own magistrates, who were chosen from among them. This custom, being derived from the antient Celts, had, it plainly appears, spread itself all over Europe, and beyond (11). The Romans called those cantons pagi, which took up more or less ground, according to the largeness of the tribe; and as soon as it was parcelled out among their families, each of them built a cot in the centre of his own ground; so that there were not any two to be seen contiguous to one another (12).

Even when they came to live in cities, as the Gauls did as soon as any others in Europe, if we except perhaps Italy and Spain, they neither walled nor fortified them, alleging, that such strong places served only to abate the courage and fierceness of its inhabitants, and often proved the occasion of their being brought into slavery (13). Whenever therefore they found themselves invaded, they all marched out under their leaders, and engaged the enemy in open field, or, if they found themselves unequal to the fight, they retired into either woods, marshes, or other places of difficult access, as we shall see in the sequel.

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However, it must be observed here, that these improvements were of much later date than their first settlements; and that, if we except Spain, Italy, and the southern parts of France, the rest of their territories were too cold and discouraging to a nation that chiefly delighted in war, hunting, and such-like exercises, and at a time when agriculture was, as it were, in its infancy; and it is most probable, that the fruitfulness of the warmer climates first put the northern inhabitants upon endeavouring to supply by art the defects of their soil and climate; for even in the times of the Roman emperors, we do not find, that they had either vines, olives, or any other fruit or grain, except corn; and most authors, who have written on this subject, seem to attribute it wholly to the extreme cold to which they were exposed. It is indeed very likely that those authors, being used to warmer climates, have somewhat exaggerated the coldness of these, which experience shews are nothing so severe as they have represented them; but it is, at the same time, far from improbable, that they are become much warmer than they were in those antient times, partly by destroying a vast number of forests, which stagnated the air, and intercepted the warmth of the sun; by the draining many standing waters, and marshy grounds; by cherishing it with warm manure, and other such improvements, which are obvious to every naturalist. The Romans themselves seem to have been sensible of this change, though they attributed it to some favourable alteration in the position of the earth, pretended to have been even foretold by that famous Greek astronomer Hipparchus. But however that be, it is plain, that these countries are so far from being so constantly covered with ice and snow, and their great rivers from being always so hard frozen, as to serve them, instead of bridges, for crossing whole armies over them in their winter excursions, that we look upon it now as a kind of wonder, whenever any of them chance to be frozen at any such rate.

S E C T


k Vide int. al. Columell. de re rustic. I. i. c. i.
Chap. 11. The History of the Gauls.

S E C T. II.

The religion of the Gauls.

We have already given an account of the religion of the antient Celtes in a former volume; and as the Gauls were descended from them, as we have shewn under the last article, it is not to be doubted but it was continued and propagated amongst them, in the same manner and form as they received it from them, till their intercourse with other nations, or perhaps rather their subjection to them, gave birth to those changes and intermixtures, which it afterwards underwent. To come therefore at a tolerable notion of true Gaulish religion, we should seek it among those Gauls, who were least conversant with other people, and had least occasion or necessity of receiving or adopting any thing from them; instead of having recourse to that of the Greeks and Romans, from whom whatever they might, in process of time, borrow, that might cause a kind of resemblance between them, yet originally they differed as much, not only in this, but in almost all other respects, as black from white. Much worse have they succeeded in this point, who have transformed the Gaulish deities into Greek and Roman ones, and spent a deal of time and pains to no purpose, to prove them to have been such; whereas we hope, in the sequel, to give our readers indubitable arguments of their being of Celtic extraction. For the same reason we must be very wary how we depend too much on those few antient authors, whether Greeks or Romans, who have occasionally spoken of them (A). These few scorns they have left us of Gaulish religion,

a Vol. v. p. 405, & seq.  


(A) The most considerable of these are, Julius Caeser, Dio- 
dorus Siculus, Pomponius Mela, Strabo, and Pliny, and they have written of it in such a loose, and yet concise a manner, that all their fragments put together would hardly amount to three or four pages; and, if these pages were to be reduced to their just value, would lose one half of their bulk (1); whether it be,

religion, sufficiently shew, that they knew little of it; and that, even in those points in which they do not clafh against one another (B), they have betrayed such a fondness and partiality for their own, as if they had looked upon it as the mother, and the other as the offspring of it. Upon which account Josephus makes no scruple to affirm, that all that the best of these had written of the Gauls, was without any foundation, and owing to an itch of saying such things of them, as no man had ever said before, or indeed could say.

And, 

Cont. Apion. 1. i.

that these authors, have but just copied one another, or only designed to say the same things.

(B) According to those quoted in the last note, both the religion and customs of the Gauls are drawn in such colours, as would incline one to suspect them of innate partiality, or rather hatred, to that brave nation. Diodorus, among the rest, makes no scruple to tell us, that their ferocity was in nothing more remarkable than in their religious rites, in which, says he (2), nothing could be more impious, than the victims, which they offered, nor more inhuman, than the manner in which they offered them. And, if we may believeProcopius (3), it seems as if this barbarous custom had been still in vogue some centuries after their embracing christianity.

A modern writer however has been at the pains to quote other authors, to difculpate them from a great deal of this pretended inhumanity (4), and to prove, that they were famed for their virtue and morality. It is well, if both sides have not exaggerated in their turns. But, at the worst, the Gauls do not appear to have much outdone those other nations, who cry out so bitterly against them, in these execrable customs of offering human victims to their gods, of murdering some captives in their auguries, and such-like. On the contrary, we have shewed in some former parts of this work (5), that not only the antient Egyptians, Canaanites, &c. but even the Romans, Carthaginians, and others, made a common practice of them; and thus far their religions bore a resemblance, whichever of them were the inventors of these bloody ceremonies, concerning which we have nothing to add to what we have said in the volumes above-quoted.

Chap. II. The History of the Gauls.

And, in fact, it could hardly be otherwise, considering that the Gauls made it a constant rule never to commit any thing to writing, according to a settled maxim amongst them, that it was more glorious to perform noble deeds, than to speak and write well. Besides, had they laid more open to their neighbours than they really did (C), yet could these have received no great intelligence concerning their religion, since their druids or bards made it a main part of their policy to conceal it, at least the most considerable points of it, even from their own laity, as we shall shew in the sequel.

It will appear still more unreasonable to suppose, that the Gauls received any part of their religion from either the Greeks or Romans, if we consider, besides what has been hinted at the end of the last note, that their gods and goddesses, and their very names, plainly appear to be of Celtic extract, and exactly answering some eminent part of their

(C) See Cæs. comment. l. vi. Sallust. bell. Catilin.

(C) Josephus (6) tells us accordingly, that their country was in some measure, inaccessible, because nature had fortified them on all sides with a kind of impenetrable ramparts, such as were the Alps, the Pyrenees, the ocean, and Mediterranean, the Rhine, &c. and with strength and courage to defend their frontiers.

It is no less improbable, that their religion was brought in amongst them, either over any of these then inaccessible mountains, seas, or rivers; because, on the one hand, the nations that antiently inhabited over the Pyrenees, Alps, and on the other side the Rhine, Danube, &c. were, as we have shewn, of the same Celtic extract with the Gauls, and had received the same religion, laws and customs, with them from their ancestors; so that we must, of course, suppose, that it was settled and practised amongst them some ages before they either thought of making excursions out of their own territories, or others, among whom they had, by their conquests, colonies, and warlike exploits, injeeted an universal dread, took it into their heads to invade them. On the contrary, it appears from some authors, that even the Romans did not make any attempt on them till about four hundred years after they were known to be sufficiently fixed in their religion, government, and discipline (7).

(6) Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16.
Vide relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 3.

(7) Paulan. in Phœsic.
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their character (D), not as gods and goddesses, but as heroes and heroines, famed for some peculiar excellency, and as such deified, if we may be allowed the expression, by the courtesy of their descendents; whereas the Greeks and Romans did not adopt, much less challenge them for their own, till many ages after, that is, as a learned author seems rightly to suppose, not till the former had been ordered by the oracle of Dodona to adopt the deities of the barbarians; and the latter made it a standing law not to invade any nations, till they had previously implored the favour of their gods, and promised to build them temples, and establish their worship amongst them.

Whether the Gauls, or antient Celts rather, were the first introducers of these hypotheses, or whether they adopted them in imitation of other antient nations, is a knot too hard for us to untie. However, it is plain they antiently adored a supreme Being under the name of Efus, which seems only a corruption of the old Celtic word Dhew, from which the Greeks, probably borrowed their Θεός and Zeus, and the Romans their Deus. This notion was religiously preserved by their druids; and if they, for worldly ends, or perhaps to please the people, whose impetuous desire after this novelty they could not resist, suffered the worship and images of these gods to be introduced amongst them, yet they never looked upon them as any other than inferior deities; whatever the laity might be indulged to do in process of time; but the worship of the true God was still carefully kept up, and the oak esteemed the symbol of the Deity, as fire was among the Perses, of whom we have given an account in a former volume. To frame therefore a right notion of the religion of this, or any other nation, we must not judge of it by the corruptions introduced into it by a mad populace, and winked at by the priests and philosophers, but as it was believed and professed by those who had the care of it. And in this case we shall perhaps find the most material difference between that of the Gauls, and that of the Greeks and Romans, even in those points in

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e Relig. des Gaul. 1. i. c. 3.

f Plin. l. xxviii. c. 3.

* See vol. v. p. 31.

(D) This our reader will be best able to judge of, by turning to the fourth section, under the note (L), to which we refer, to avoid needless repetitions.
in which they seem most to agree, we mean, the worship of the same gods, with respect to the different characters which they gave, and ideas they entertained of them, the latter seeming calculated to soothe the most inordinate passions, and authorize the worst of crimes, and the former rather quite opposite to it; and this is what the modern author last quoted has taken no small pains to shew in two main instances, viz. from the contrary notions which these entertained of their gods, and from the moral doctrines of their druids. It is indeed no hard matter to imagine how the religion and precepts of Noah (and these were free enough from all idolatry, and the superstitious traffic, which crept in afterwards among his descendent) should be preferred for a considerable time in the family of Japheth, upon which that patriarch had pronounced and intailed a peculiar blessing; but we cannot be so sanguine in favour of those druids, as to believe with that author, that they preferred them so pure among themselves during such a series of ages, as he seems to suppose. If they did, they were guilty of a very shameful remissens and condescension to the laity, in suffering them to run themselves into such vile idolatries, horrid superstitions detestable rites, and corruption of principles and morals, as they must be owned to have done, in spite of all false glosses, that have been used to palliate their degeneracy, or the supposition of their having been too much misrepresented by Greek and Latin authors. We have, on the contrary, shewn in a former volume, that the antient Celtes, even in the times of their primitive simplicity of life, and when they were as yet freeet from luxury and other corruptions, had yet adopted many inhuman ceremonies into their worship, auguries, &c. Even the Scythians, a younger branch of Japheth's family, who lived still in a much greater simplicity, and were more unmixed, and had less intercourse with other nations, did yet even exceed the Celtes in the barbarity of their religion and customs; and it will evidently appear from what follows, that the Gauls, Germans, and other northern people, did not only copy after, but even outdo them in it; so that tho' they must be allowed, for reasons hinted more than once, to have been little known to, and, in great measure, desh

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A signally misrepresented by, those authors who have written of them, yet they cannot, without manifest partiality, be disapproved from the charge of having had many bloody and inhuman rites, many absurd and unfavourable principles, as well as corruption of morals, in common with other nations, tho' not in the same degree with them. Let therefore the private doctrines of their druids have been what they would, and they be supposed ever so adverse and opposite to the general practice of the people, nothing can be said for their countenancing, if not encouraging, those abominable ceremonies, such as their offering up of human victims to their gods by way of expiation, their auguries from the reeking blood and entrails of their captives, and others of the same nature, of which we shall speak in due time.

We think ourselves obliged to the more particular in our enquiry into the religion of the Gauls, as it is the source and foundation, not only of that of the antient Germans, and other more northern nations, but likewise of that of the antient Britains, who, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, were descended from, and had received their religion, laws, customs, &c. originally from them; so that what is said on that subject in this chapter, will serve as a clue to that of those other nations we shall have occasion to speak of in the following ones; by which means we shall avoid many needless repetitions, and be able to confine our account of them chiefly to those points, in which they either differed from this their common mother, or in such cases, where there appears a necessity to shew the affinity they bear to each other. As for those of the antient inhabitants of Italy, Spain, &c. who became intermingled with the Gauls, the reader will find the former already done in a former volume, and the rest will come in their turn in some of the subsequent chapters. And here we shall, for order-fake, begin with an account of the different deities worshipped by the antient Gauls, and the particular ceremonies and sacrifices used to each of them, not as they were transmitted to them from their Celtic ancestors, concerning which we refer our readers to what has been said in their history, but as they were found in the times of the Romans invading of, and becoming first acquainted with them.

Exsthe Supreme Deity.

We have already hinted, that they antiently worshipped the supreme Deity, under the name of Esus or Helius (E).

1 Vol. xi. p. 315, & seq. & alib. pass.
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(E), and the symbol of the oak; and it will not be thought strange, that this notion of a supreme Being should have been preserved

(E) There have been various conjectures concerning the etymon of this word, besides that which we offered a little higher, and which to us seems the most natural, because the Celtic Dh being pronounced with a kind of preceding aspiration, and not unlike our softer th in such pronouns as thee, thou, &c. foreigners, who were unused to it, could not well express the sound of the word Dheu. As for the final s, it might be superadded by the Greeks and Romans, according to their way of terminating the masculine gender in us, and os, as they did likewise in the plural Esh, Aisoi, as they may be seen in Helechius.

The antient Etruscans, according to Suetonius (8), called the Deity Aesfar; for he observes there, that, among the other prodigies which preceded Augustus's death, a flash of lightning having erased the C from the word Caesar, as it stood engraved on a pedestal that supported his statue, the diviners told him, that the C being a numerical letter signifying an hundred, the omen portended, that he had but so many days to live, after which he would be deified, because Aesfar, or the remainder of the word Caesar, signified God in the Etruscan language. If we might therefore be allowed a far-off conjecture concerning these two names, Eshus among the Gauls, and Aesfar among the Etruscans, it would be, that they might be both of Hebrew extract; and we have elsewhere shewn, that the old Celtic, with which the Etruscan has a vast affinity, appears visibly to have been a dialect of the Hebrew (9). The word יָהּ Yehovah signifies strong and mighty, and is given to God in many places, particularly by the psalmist (10); and יִזְרְעֵל Yizre'el signifies help or helper (11), and is likewise given to Him, as he is emphatically fo, when all other helps fail. The patriarch Abraham, and his descendants, knew him by the name of יָהּ יִזְרְעֵל El-saddai, the mighty or self-sufficient God, till he made his peculiar name Yehovah known unto them (12); and it is remarkable, that the Thracians, a branch of the Celtes, did, according to Macrobius, call the god, to whom they had erected a temple on mount Zilmisus, Sabazius, which is a plain corruption of the Hebrew word Tzabaoth, especially considering, that, in their religious rites to Bacchus, they were wont to cry out, Evohe Sabbai, which

(8) In Vit. Augst.
(10) Vide int. al. Psal. xxiv. 8.
(11) Gen. ii. 18.
(12) Conf. Gen. xvii. 1. & Exod. vi. 3.
served among the descendents of Japheth, when we find such lively traces of it even among the idolatrous Syrians, Midianites, and even the Canaanites, as in the family of Laban "m, of Jethro "n, and of the two Abimelechs kings of Gerar in the times of Abraham and Isaac "o, and some others we could name, particularly the Gibeonites in Joshua's time "p, Adonibezek in the time of the judges "q, and Hiram king of Tyre in the reigns of David and Solomon "r; who all not only retained the notion of the Deity, notwithstanding their idolatry, but had likewise a peculiar name for it.

m Genef. xxxi. 48, & seq. n Compare Exod. ii. 21, & seq. and xviii. 9, & seq.
o Genef. xx. 3, & seq. xxvi. s, & seq. p Joth. ix. 9, & seq.
q Judg. i. 7.
r 1 Kings v. 7, & seq.

is the Elohe, or, if you please, the Jehovah Tzabbaoth of the Hebrews, as God is emphatically called by the psalmist in the psalm above-quoted, and signifies "Lord of hosts," a title that well suited the martial Thracians. As these therefore were rather attributes, than the names of the Godhead, each nation may be supposed to have chosen that which suited their genius best; and the Gauls that of Hefus, as suiting most with their warlike spirit.

That not only the names of the Deity, but this way of worshipping Him under oaks, and in rocky groves, was common to all the descendents of Noah, we have undoubted proof out of the old testament, as we shall presently shew; and we only mention it here to confuse the notion of those, who suppose the Esus of the Gauls to have been the god Mars; for neither he, nor any other inferior deities, were worshipped under these oaks, or with the same rites with Esus; and therefore Pliny, in his description of the ceremony which they used in gathering the mistelo of those sacred oaks, has these words, which plainly shew, that these trees were dedicated to the Deity itself: "The druids, says he, (13) believe, that the mistelo is a sign, that God hath chosen that tree to himself;" and a little lower, after having particularly described their manner of gathering it, he adds, "that they offered up victims and prayers to God, that he would bless and prosper his own gift to them that receive it." It is plain from it, that he neither speaks here of Mars, Jupiter, or any other of their gods, but of the Deity itself.

(13) Hist. nat. i. xvi. c. 44.
it, distinct from those of their other gods. To this let us add, with respect to the Gauls we are now speaking of, that the natural fondness, which they had for the religion and customs of their forefathers, the contempt they entertained of other nations, the reclusive and solitary life of their druids, who were the keepers and teachers of their theology, and their strict and constant practice, founded upon it, of sacrificing, and performing their other religious rites under the oak only, as consecrated to that supreme Being, were most effectual means to preserve that fundamental notion still uppermost among them; whatever other superstitions might be, in process of time, introduced among them; for we must here observe, that they kept constant to this custom, or, rather, as seems, law, of performing their religious worship under that tree, or, more properly, in groves of it, even after they had adopted that long regiment of deities, of which we are about to give an account. To this we must add, that, in the midst of those heathenish superstitions, which crept by degrees into their religion, they never erected any either temples or idols unto this Ehus or supreme Deity; so that he seems to have been acknowledged by them much in the same manner, that the Athenians did the unknown God mentioned by St. Paul; which notion was far enough from being peculiar to them: others had their unknown God as well as they, and owned themselves his offspring, though their notion and worship of Him were very imperfect, and, in many cases, too unworthy of Him, as even the Gauls did, when they came to intermingle the Roman theology with their own. However, antiently they seem to have entertained some sublime notions of Him, to confirm which we need but add what Tacitus says of the Senones, who were a branch of the Celtes, and had the same religion: They, says that author, have no other temples but a wood or grove, where they perform all their religious rites. None is admitted to enter it, unless he carries a chain, in token of his dependence on, and owning the supreme dominion, which God has over him; and, if he chance to fall down, none must dare to help him up; but he must either roll himself, or crawl upon his belly, out of the place. He adds, that their whole religion consists in an acknowledgment, that the deity, which makes its abode there, governs all things; that all things depend on him, and

* Acts xvii. 23.  
† De mor. German.
and ought to obey him. Strabo says much the same of the Celtiberians, another branch of the Celtes; and adds, that they worshipped the God without name, and danced every full moon, before their houses, all the night in hon-our of him. And might it not be upon this account, as an ingenious author observes, that Lucan rallies the Ma-ssilian druids, when he tells them, that they were the only ones of all men, to whom it was given to know, or not to know, the gods they adored? And then, speaking of their groves, says, that their ignorance of the deities they worshipped under them, was the cause of that veneration they paid to those flurdy and shapeless trees. He speaks there indeed of deities in the plural, Roman and poet like; but that he did not intend thereby, that any more than one was worshipped in those groves, is plain from what he says at the end of his description of the Maussian grove (F); viz. that the priest or druid, who officiated there, was a-

* Geogr. l. iii.  
* Relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 2.  
* Luc. Phar. l. iii.

(F) This description, though disfigured with satire and ridicu-
cule, being curious, and pertinent to our present subject, we shall give the substance of it to our English readers. It is as follows: There is without the walls of Marseille a sacred grove or wood, which had never been touched by ax from the creation. The trees of it grew so thick and interwoven, that they suffered not the rays of the sun to come through their branches, but a perfect damp and darkness reigned through the place. Neither nymphs nor sylvan gods could make their abode in it, it being defined for the most inhuman mysteries. There was nothing to be seen there but a multitude of altars, upon which they sacrificed human victims, whose blood turned the very trees of a horrid crimson colour. If antient tradition may be credited, no bird ever perched upon their branches, no beast ever walked under them, no wind ever blew through them, nor thunder-bolt did ever touch them. These stately oaks, as well as the black water that winds about through the place in different channels, fill one with horror and dread. The figures of the god of the grove are a kind of standing, rude, and shapeless trunks, covered over with a dismal yellow moss. It is the genius of the Gauls (continues he) to feel no veneration for the gods, unless they be thus represented, in a manner quite opposite to the taste of other nations; for which reason their fear and regard for them increases, in proportion to their
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fraid of meeting dominum luci, by which he could mean nothing else but the deity worshipped there, a notion probably common to them and the Jews, as we have shewn in the last note.

Another remarkable thing in their religion was their great veneration for the oak. This seems likewise to have been common to them and the old patriarchs and Jews, among whom that tree was in high esteem, though not in the same superstitious degree. Abraham is recorded to have pitched his tents under some famed oaks, such as those of Mamre, of More †; which, though our version, and some others, have transformed into plains, yet, in the original, do plainly signify an oak or oaky grove, as we have observed in a former volume. He is said moreover to have planted groves of them; and where-ever he pitched his tent, he is recorded to have built an altar unto the Lord, and to have given some significant name to the place, such as that of Beer-

† Genes. xii. 6. xiii. ult. & alib. pass. * Vol. ii. p. 399, (G).

their ignorance of those gods which they worship. There is a report, that this grove is often shaken, and strangely moved, and that dreadful sounds are heard from its caverns; that the yews, if thrown or cut down, grow up again of themselves; that the grove is sometimes in a blaze, without being consumed; and that the oaks are twined about with monstrous dragons. The Gauls dare not live in it, out of respect to the deity that inhabits it, and to which they entirely abandon it. Only at noon and midnight a priest goes trembling into it, to celebrate its dreadful mysteries; and is in continual fear, lest the deity, to which it is consecrated, should appear unto him. Thus far our poet.

We have already observed, that tho’ he expresses himself in the plural in speaking of the Gaulish gods, rather as a poet and a Roman, yet his last words plainly shew, that he intended to speak of one deity here. All that we would further observe of the priest’s dread of seeing that deity, seems plainly a relic of that notion, which even the patriarchs and ancient Jews had, that no man could see God, and live (14). As for the dreadful description of the grove, and its horrid apparatus, if it is not, in a great measure, the fiction of the poet, to ridicule the Gaulish worship, might it not be that of the druids themselves, to prevent their laity, as well as strangers, from entering, and pry too curiously into it?

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Beerseba, Bethel, and the like (G). The Gauls in particular seem to have improved upon this patriarchal custom, the origin of which seems rather owing to what we hinted in the last note, than to any sanctity, or extraordinary virtue, which either Abraham, or any of his ancestors or successors, could imagine to be in those trees; whereas, among both Cæsars and Gauls, the oak was looked upon and reverenced as an emblem, or as the peculiar residence, of the Deity. The fruit of it, especially the mistletoe, was thought to have a kind of divine virtue, was used as a kind of panacea for man and beast, and applied to both, as well inwardly as outwardly, in wounds, contusions, and cuticular ailments, as well

a Vide int. al. Gen. xxi. 33.

(G) It must be observed, that the original word alon signifies both an oak, and a grove or thicket of oaks. These were, at first, chosen in those hot countries for the sake of coolness and shade; and where the plains were well watered, and fit for pasturage, but wanted such woods or groves, they planted them, as Abraham is recorded to have done at Beerseba. These, in time, came to be in great esteem by his descendents, not only on account of their extreme usefulness, and long duration, but out of regard to those patriarchs, who had dwelt and sacrificed under them. Jacob, we read, buried his beloved Rachel's nurse under an oak, which he called the "The oak of mourning." He buried all the idolatrous trash, which he found in his household, under another (15). This last became famous among the Shechemites (16), probably because Joshua reared a stone or pillar under it, in memory of the covenant which he renewed just before his death between God and the Israelites (17).

This regard, by degrees, dwindled into downright superstition, not only among the Jews, but even among christians, Mohammedans, and other nations As to the former, they became infamous for their sacrificing and burning incense in their high places and groves, and at length, as they are justly upbraided by the prophets, under every oak and green tree (18), notwithstanding God's prohibitions, and severe threatenings. As for the latter, we have shewn in a former volume, in speaking of the oaks under which Abraham dwelt, that they were full shewn in Constantine's time, and referred to with great devotion by christians, Turks, and even heathens (19).

well as for inward diseases, or even barrenness and abortion in men, women, and cattle (H). The leaves, or some small boughs of it, were worn by the druids and laity in all their religious ceremonies, which were constantly performed, as we hinted above, under those trees, or in oaky groves. These, if we may guess from the few fragments we have left of

(H) Pliny, who has given us this account more accurately than any other author, tells us (20), that they called the mistletoe, as well as the particular day or festival on which they gathered it, by a name which signified cures all. We shall quote the whole passage, as it is both succinct and curious:

"The druids, says he, who are among the Gauls what the magi are elsewhere, hold nothing so sacred as the mistoldine, and the tree that bears it. This is constantly the oak, for which they have such a high esteem, that they do not perform the least religious ceremony without being adorned with garlands of its leaves. It is, in all likelihood, from the Greek name of the oak, that the Gaulish priests are called druids. These philosophers believe, that every thing that grows upon that tree doth come from heaven; and that it is an evident proof, that God hath chosen it above all others.

"The mistoldine of the oak being scarce, and rarely found, when any of it has been discovered, they go, with great ceremony and respect, to gather it. This is always done on the sixth day of the moon, a day so esteemed among them, that they have made their months and years, and even ages, which confine but of thirty years, to take their beginning from it. The reason of their choosing that day is, because the moon is, by that time, grown strong enough, though not come to the half of its fulness; and this day they call by a name, which, in their tongue, signifies cure of all ills.

"When the druids have got ready under the oak all the apparatus for the sacrifice, and the banquet which they usually make, they tie, for the first time, two white bulls to it by the horns. Then one of the priests, cloathed in white, gets up the tree, and, with a gold scythe, cuts off the mistoldine, which is received in a white flagum; which done, they begin to offer their sacrifices, and pray to God to give a blessing to his own gift unto them that are honoured with it. He adds, that the water of the mistoldsine gives fertility to man and beast, is a specific against all kind of poifon; an eminent instance, says he, that human religion has often no other object than frivolous things."

(20) Nat. hist. l. xvi. c. 44.
of them in history, and from some carneads or heaps of stones still standing in some of our isles, especially that of Anglesey b, and which may be supposed to have been cinctures or fences round the grove, to prevent their entrance between the trees, except where it was left open to the comers, and, not unlikely, guarded by some inferior druids, to stop all strangers from intruding into their mysteries: we say, if we may guess at them by these few antient helps, these groves were of different forms, some quite circular, some oblong, and more or less capacious, according to the number of votaries, or the largeness of the district or canton, to which they belonged. The area, which was in the centre of the grove, was open at the top, and encompassed with several rows of these oaks, set very thick and close. Within the large circle were several smaller ones, surrounded, as is supposed, with large stones, which served for the sacrifices, and other most solemn parts of their worship. In the centre, or near it, of these small circles, were placed solid stones of a large size, and convenient height, on which the victims were killed, disfigured, and offered up. Each of these being, as we imagine, a kind of altar, was surrounded with another row of stones, the use of which cannot be easily guessed at, unless it was to keep the people at a due distance from the priests that officiated. Some of these interior circles are likewise thought to have served, one or more for their courts of judicature, another for their grand council or assembly, or for such other purposes as can only be guessed at c; though we very much doubt, concerning the vast reverence that was paid to these groves, as they were consecrated to religious rites, whether their druids would suffer any secular matters to be transacted in them. We are rather inclined to think, that these cinctures might all serve for the same religious ends, one for human victims, another for those of beasts, a third for auguries, and such-like; but not they may be reasonably enough supposed to have had other groves, designed for such secular purposes as we just now mentioned; and these might probably enough be of oaks, as the others were, that the sacredness of these trees might strike these courts and councils with due awe, and prevent such quarrels and indecencies as might otherwise happen. And this conjecture (and the contrary one is no more than guess-work) seems more agreeable to what we have

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Have lately quoted of their worship out of Tacitus, Pliny, and Lucan.

How the Eus, or supreme deity of the Gauls came afterwards to be transformed into, or give place to, Jupiter, which, if we may believe Laetantius, did not happen till about the fourth century at soone, we shall endeavour to account in the sequel. But, by what we have said of him and his worship, and of the oaks and groves consecrated to him, &c. the reader cannot but have observed a great deal of conformity between the Gaulish and the patriarchal and Jewish religion, though, if this had been all, we should hardly have inferred this remark; neither could Celsus have had so much reason to oppose the antiquity and wisdom of the druidish religion, and its conformity to that of the antient Jews, against the novelty of the gospel. We shall therefore beg leave, in speaking of the other branches of the Gaulish religion and ceremonies, to observe to him the same conformity running through very many other particulars, as they have been collected in one view by a very diligent author often quoted under this head; and from which we may be able to satisfy ourselves, that they could never be owing to mere chance, but that both plainly appear to have flowed from the same source.

1. The Gauls had a sovereign pontiff or head of the druidish order, to whom both theep, and the whole nation, paid the highest regard. The same we find among the Jews, to say nothing of Melchisedech, to whom Abraham paid tythes of the spoil he had lately gained. 2. The druids, under this their head, had such an uncontrollable power and sway, that whoever refused to submit to their decisions, not only in religious but civil matters, (even to the putting an immediate stop to an engagement, when both armies were ready for the onset, if the druids did not like the prognostiics) was interdicted from assisting at their solemnities, which was looked upon by the Gauls as the most grievous punishment. The Jewish high-priest, at the head of the sanhedrin, was looked upon as the dernier appeal in all causes; and excommunication, the greatest punishment among the Jews, was to be the lot of those who refused to abide by their decision. 3. The druids were obliged to assemble themselves in the territories of Chartrain once a year. The Jews had their three grand festivals, on which

\[d\] Vide Origen. cont. Celsum. \[e\] Relig. des Gaul. l. i. p. 53, & seq. \[f\] Diod. Sic. l. v. Cæs. comment. l. vi \[g\] See vol. iii. p. 252, &c.
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which their males were obliged to repair to Jerusalem. 4. The druids wore white garments. The same did the Jewish priests. 5. The druids lived in woods and groves. The same did generally the patriarchs, the sons of the prophets, and the Essentians, a kind of monks among the Jews. The Gauls had their female druids, prophetesses, and aruspices. The Jews had Miriam Aaron's sister, Deborah, Huldah, and other prophetesses, to say nothing of other women, who kept familiar spirits. Some of those females were in high repute among the Gauls, and bore a great sway in the government. And Deborah was a famed judge in Israel. 6. The Gauls vowed to Mars some parts of the spoil they took in war, and it was death for any one to infringe upon it. The same was among the Israelites with respect to those cities and kingdoms, which were subject to anathema, as in the case of Jericho. The rest they divided among themselves, according to certain laws and customs settled amongst them. Moses, Joshua, and David, made also laws on the same head, what portion should be offered to God, what given to the priests, and how the rest should be divided between the combatants and those who guarded the camp and baggage. 7. The Gauls worshipped a brazen bull. And the Israelites golden calves. 8. In public calamities they offered a human victim, on whom they threw all the curses that threatened them. The Jews did the same by their scape-goat. 9. The Gauls had power of life and death over their servants. The same had the patriarchs and Jews, and the former even over their families, as one may conclude from the instance of Judah and his daughter-in-law Tamar. They began their days from the evening, as the patriarchs and Jews, and, like them, distinguished the year only into three seasons, viz. spring, summer or harvest, and winter. The autumn was so unknown to both, that they had no name for it. The same is affirmed likewise of the Egyptians by Diodorus Siculus. 10. They gave significant names to their children, to places, &c. as these did. 11. The Gauls believed the immortality of the soul; so that no people under heaven could shew a greater contempt of death. The patriarchs and Jews, if we except the upstart sect of the Sadducees, were famed for looking on this life only as a mere passage into a better. 12. When their life or liberty was in danger, they endeavoured to redeem it by one or more of their own...
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Servants. We have an instance of this in Jephtha, one of the Israelish judges, and his rash vow, though it was more common among the Phoenicians, and other antient nations. 13. The Jews had the waters of jealousy to assure them of the fidelity or infidelity of their wives. The Gauls had some kinds of ordeals or trials to the same sense; and Julian the emperor tells us, that the waters of the Rhine had some secret virtue to punish those wives, who had gone astray (I). The druids made it a constant maxim not to commit anything of their laws, philosophy, or history, to writing, but to couch them in set poems and canticles, to be learned by heart, and sung at proper places and seasons. These songs were, it seems, so multiplied in Caesar's time, that it took up some druids (for they were all obliged to it) near twenty years in learning them. We do not find but that this was the antient custom of the patriarchs and other nations in Canaan before Moses, who quotes some of those canticles, and composed some of them himself, as did other prophets after him, in memory of some signal victories, deliverances, and the like. Some Gaulish nations carried their gods along with them to the war, as did the Israelites their ark, and their apostates the tabernacles of Moloch, Chiun, and Rempham. The Gauls did personify and deify their rivers, lakes, woods, &c. and might not this be a corruption of that laudable elegance of the sacred poets, who called upon those, and all other creatures, to praise god? as, in all probability, their offering human victims, common likewise to other nations, and even to the apostate Israelites, in imitation of

k Comment. ubi supra. 1 Judg. xi. 30, & seq.  m Comment. ubi sup.

(I) This is not a proper place to speak of those ordeals and other trials, as passed, in all probability, from Gaul into Great Britain, and which might, in all likelihood, have their rise from the Jewish waters of jealousy. But that, which the apostate Julian mentions concerning the Rhine, can scarcely be owing to any thing else.

He tells us (21), that, when a Gaul suspected his wife of infidelity, he obliged her to throw, with her own hands, the children that were born of her body into that rapid river. If they sunk, the woman was deemed guilty, and put to death. If they swam, and moved towards the place where she stood trembling at a convenient distance, and ready to receive them, she was cleared, and restored to her husband's favour.

(21) Orat. xvi.
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of them, seems to have had its rise from the example of Abrahamic's readiness to sacrifice his son Isaac, concerning which we shall refer our readers to what we have said in a former volume.

We shall now give our readers a short account of this inhuman rite, as it was practised among the Gauls, and leave our readers the pleasure of discovering, in the sequel of this history, many more instances of that conformity we have been speaking of, which we are forced to omit, to avoid being tedious.

As to this bloody custom of sacrificing human victims, which began so early with the Gauls, and which, if we may believe Procopius, did not end till some centuries after their embracing Christianity, we can only speak of it as it was transacted out of their groves or places of worship; for as to what was done within them, no stranger being made acquainted with, much less admitted to see it, we must be wholly in the dark about it, as their druids committed nothing of it to writing.

Concerning those unhappy ones, that were offered abroad, Caesar and Plutarch give us the following account: When a man's life is in danger, either through sickness or other accident, they immediately sacrifice, or at least make a vow to do, some human victims; for, besides that they think them the most perfect and pleasing to the gods, they believe, that one man's life cannot be redeemed but by that of another, without which no satisfaction could be made to them for their goodness to men. And these are the ceremonies established amongst them upon all such occasions: They erect a huge, hollow pile of offer, which they fill with these unhappy wretches, who are quickly suffocated by the smoke, and reduced to ashes soon after. They imagine however, that criminals of any kind are much more acceptable victims; but, where they are not to be had, the innocent must go in their stead. In their funerals, which are very magnificent, they throw into the burning pile every thing that the deceased delighted in, even to living creatures; and it is not long since they threw likewise into it all his favourite servants and slaves. Some of his near relations, continues Caesar, did likewise fling themselves into the flames, in hopes of living happy with him in the next world. This custom was exactly like that of burying the Jewish kings, except the burning of living and human creatures, as the reader may see in a former volume, where we have given an account of that ceremony.

Goth. i. ii. c. 25. Comment. l. vi. Plut. de superst.
Vol. iii. p. 393, & not.

We
We lately hinted at their imitating, in some measure, the Jewish scape-goat, by devoting some vicarious victims to death, and praying, that all the curfes due to them might fall upon it. The Massilians, among the rest, are reported to have, in times of pestilence, made choice of some indigent person, that offered himself, voluntarily, whom they took care to fasten with the daintieft fare during a whole year; after which they dressed him with garlands, and other rich ornaments, and led him through the streets, loaded with the bitterest imprecations, to his death. We have formerly had occasion to account for this custom, which was likewise common to other nations, as well as the Gauls, and had its rise from the same source. However, if the Gauls, in such calamitous times, could procure any of the handfomer and nobler fort to offer themselves to such a voluntary death, they not only preferred them, but encouraged them by large rewards and encomiums. These were led, like the poorer, out of the city, and ftoned, and the former thrown down from some high precipice. The common notion among them was, that such a spontaneous death for the good of the commonwealth entitled them to a rank among the gods. In other cases they either tied or nailed them to some tree or post, and shot them to death with arrows. Others they burnt, with a number of beasts, on a pile of hay. It was also customary among them to refer their criminals to the fifth year, and to burn them in sacrifice with the first-fruit of their ground. The same author adds, that they threw into the fire an incredible quantity of gold, and other rich things, which it was death for any one to meddle with afterwards. As for their brute victims, they were left, in some measure, to the choice of the offerer, or perhaps rather of the druids, who were the butchers of them, and always officiated in white garments (K), both in this, and all other parts of their worship. Only the horses, which they took in battle, or at least part of them, they burnt with the bodies of the slain. All these sacrifices were occasional, and unlimited, except

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1 Petron. satir. ad fin. Vide & Serv. comm. in Æn. iii. ver. 58. 2 See the note (Y), in vol. iii. p. 226. 3 Strab. i. iv. 4 Diodor. Sic. i. vi. c. 9. 5 Ibid. i. v. 6 Tacit. German.

(K) Some add, that they were striped with purple, which dwindled, either at one or both ends, into a point like a spindle,
those which Lucan calls national, and which were constantly performed at noon, and at midnight, as we have hinted above. As the Gauls were addicted to all kind of superstitition (L), they used to be exceeding watchful of the singing and flight of birds, and other such kind of ominous truth. They never undertook any thing of consequence, without the advice of their aruspices, who were, for that reason, in high request among them. Those carefully examined the entrails, blood, &c. of their victims; and when they offered any human one, to distinguish them from the laity. But there seems to be no need of supposing such a distinction, seeing the white robe was peculiar to the druids, and no one dared to wear it but they and the druidesses, of whom we shall speak in due time (22).

(L) According to the Greek and Roman writers, the Gauls exceeded all other nations in cruelty and superstitition; and yet, if we compare them together, even according to their own writings, we shall scarce perceive any difference between them, but what is on the opposite side. It must be owned however, that some of the Gallic nations were very famed for their superstition, since Alexander Severus is upbraided with having even outdone some of them, viz. the Vascones or Gacons, in it (23).

Our design is not to extenuate those inhuman and abominable practices of the Gauls, but to observe how little reason other authors, especially the Romans, had to blacken them above all other nations, when they themselves outdid almost all that ever went before or since. We have given a sufficient number of instances of it in their history under several of their emperors, especially Severus above-mentioned, Nero, and Julian; and we shall close this note with another, which happened just upon the breaking out of the war between the Gauls under Viridomarus and them, when, as Plutarch tells us (24), they found themselves obliged to obey certain oracles, which they found in the Sibylline books, and to bury alive in the beef-market two Gauls, and two Greeks, a man and a woman of each nation, to whom, says he, they still offer some private sacrifices in the month of November, which the people are not allowed to be present at; which very sacrifices, we are told by two of their own authors (25), were since repeated at the same place on several occasions, especially at the first opening of the Punic war, which immediately succeeded that of the Gauls above-mentioned.

one, as they did constantly before they held a council, whether of the nation or district, they stabbed him behind with a cutlass, a little above the diaphragm, watched the manner of his falling, whether on his right or left side, or on his face, how the blood flowed at the wound, and from thence gave their judgment, which was exactly followed, let the cafe be what it would, or the appearances be ever so much against it; in formuch that they have come to the head of an army, and stopped the fight, which was just going to begin, their kings and generals not daring to contravene them upon any account.

We have already hinted, that their religious groves had their altars, some large stones, which were supposed to be the altars on which they offered up their victims. Some of them are still extant in several parts of France, Germany, England, Wales, Ireland, and the isle of Anglesey, and are of such a monstrous size, that the bringing and rearing of them was thought, by the superstitious inhabitants, to have been the work of those demons, that were supposed to attend on that kind of worship, especially considering that, as it is pretended, there were no quarries of such stones within any reasonable distance from the place where these altars stood. Of these one, that is to be seen in the confines of Alise, measures about thirty-six foot in circumference, twelve foot and a half in breadth, and four foot and a quarter in thickness. It is reared on a parcel of other stones about three foot and a half from the ground. Some of these altar stones were round, others oval, some square, others oblong, and some triangular. Some appear to have been adorned with a kind of ornament either of bas-relief or inscriptions, others to have been quite plain; but whether originally so, or by time and weather, is not certain. Others there were, which had a kind of hollow or basin on the surface, supposed to have been designed to receive the blood or entrails of the victims. One of these is recorded to have had a hollow kind of nasty passage under it, through which they made those strangers, whom they designated for sacrifice, to pass, pelting them all the way with filth and dung; from which that passage is, it seems, called to this day cunnus daemonis, duvels-skut, or devil's hole.

The antiquaries of each nation have been very curious and diligent

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diligent in their accounts of those altars, and other piles of huge stones, which are to be met with in almost every kingdom and province of Europe, together with such other monuments as describe those sacrifices that were offered upon them, and the apparatus and instruments that were used in them; but they generally deal so much in conjectures, and agree so little with each other, that it is no wonder that kind of learning has been so disrelished by the far greater part of the learned; so that it would be lost time for us to enter further on this subject, and all that we think worth adding to it is, that the Gauls are affirmed by the generality of authors to have constantly assisted at these sacrifices armed cap-à-pé, and to have carried some small thing belonging to the victim away with them in their mouths or hands, after it had been offered up, or had been led to the altar.

Temples, we have already hinted, they had not before the coming in of the Romans, nor, in all likelihood, for a long time after Cæsar's conquest of them. An author, who lived long after him, tells us expressly, that they had not any other statue of Jupiter but a tall oak, which could hardly be supposed to be growing in a temple, any more than those colossal piles of hay and other combustibles, in which, we are told by other authors, they used to burn their numerous human victims, can be imagined to have been reared in any such close places, much less still the trees on which they fastened those whom they pierced with arrows. Their groves, such as we have described them, were much fitter for those ceremonies; and this appears to have been one main difference between the Gauls and the Greeks and Romans. When Mars came to be adopted among their inferior deities, they only worshipped him under the figure of a naked sword, that was reposited upon an altar in one of those groves; but as they had then a custom to vow to him what spoil they took from their enemies, Cæsar tells us they generally deposited them in any place where they chanced to be. There they sacrificed all the cattle they found, and laid up the rest of the plunder in vast heaps in the open country, which were nevertheless held so sacred by the people, that none dared to touch any part of it, though there were amongst them great quantities of gold and silver, and other rich stuff; for he tells us, that those

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those consecrated heaps were to be found in most cities in Gaul. This seems likewise another material point, in which they differed from other nations, who chose to shut up those treasures in their temples, as in places of greatest safety; whereas the Gauls left them exposed under the canopy of heaven, and in the open fields, or, at most, in some lakes and groves, which were on that very account esteemed sacred (M). The Germans appear to have been still more averse to the

(M) It must be owned, however, that some of these authors give to these places the name of temples or oratories, and Cæsar is affirmed to have rifled them to support his army (25); but then they spoke like Greeks and Romans, among whom it was customary to record such sacred treasures in their most famous temples, and even to call such consecrated places by the names of Ægion and templum. Thus Tacitus, though he affirms that the Germans had no temples, tells us, that their goddess Hertza ufed sometimes to come out of her grove or Cañum nemus, to air herself, and, when she was weary of rambling, was carried back, and placed in her own temple, which, the same author tells us afterwards, was no more than a lake within the wood where that goddess resided (26).

The fame may be said of that famed one of Tholoulse, upon whose account the aurum Tholofanum became famous, even to a proverb, on account of the vast quantity that was reposed in it. This place Strabo, speaking of it, calls a temple: There was, says he, a very famous temple at Tholoulse, the veneration and credit of which made it grow immensely rich, because none dared to touch any part of what was consecrated in it (27); and yet the same author, when he accounts for the vast quantities of gold that were found there, from some rich mines which he supposes to have been in the neighbourhood, and which, joined to the plain frugal way in which the inhabitants lived, made it encrease upon them to such a stupendous height, he adds, that they had other treasures in many such-like places, which, says he, were deposited and consecrated in whole ingots, in lakes, as in so many sacred asyla. So that this Tholoufan temple, and those other lakes he speaks of, were in all probability the same thing, or meant, at most, but some more sacred and private part of the lake, to which he gives the name of temple, only on account of the deity to whom that metal was consecrated.

What confirms it still more is, that Strabo, speaking of the

(25) Sueton. in Cæsar. (26) De morib. German. (27)
the introduction of temples amongst them, as we learn from Tacitus and other authors, and shall see in the next chapter; and even the Britons, who certainly must have had them, if any other Gauls had, because they were the standard of the Gaulish religion, from whom all the others received it; for we are told, that these used to cross over in great numbers into Britain, or, as some think, into the isle of Anglesey, and to spend there some years in the study of their religion and mysteries, as it was indeed the seat and nursery of it, and the residence of the grand druid, or chief pontif, and consequently of all the learned doctors of the Gaulish religion; and yet, when Tacitus speaks of the descent of the Romans into this island, he tells us, that their first care was to destroy those groves and woods which the druids had polluted with the blood of so many human victims; and would they not, upon the same account, have done so by their temples, if any such had been in this country? And since all the other Gauls appear to have regulated their whole religion, and its rites, from these, it cannot be supposed, that they could, at least in Tacitus’s time, have had any temples any-where else, what ever they did afterwards more by force than out of choice, as we shall see by-and-by. Some statutes they might have, and in all probability had, before Cæsar’s time; but it would be difficult to prove, that they bore any resemblance with those of the Greeks and Romans, either as to their figure or design, or that they were set up by the priests, and not rather

\(^h\) Comment. ubi sup. \(^i\) See Mona antiqua, sect. viii. & seq. p. 53, & seq. 78, & seq. \(^k\) Annal. lib. xiv. c. 5.

facrilege committed by Cepio (28), mentions only the lake out of which this famous Tholouisan gold was taken; and Justin, speaking of the Teclofagi, whom he supposes to have brought it from the temple of Delphos, says, that, being returned to Tholoufe, and afflicted with a grievous plague, they were ordered by their augurs to fling their ill-gotten pelf into that lake (29). We shall have occasion to speak more particularly of this Tholouisan treasure, and its being exposed to sale, in the sequel; and we only mention it here to shew upon what account Strabo called it a temple, though no more than a sacred lake, with a temple or niche, with some emblem of a deity in the richest, and, consequently, most sacred part of it.

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by the people, who are often hurried away by imitation, though contrary to the consent of their guides, who appear to have been most strict observers of the old patriarchal way of worshipping the Deity; for as, on the one hand, they seem to have kept all along some kind of tradition from their progenitor, who was but a third in descent from Noah, not to say any thing of those before the flood, of which they could not so soon lose all memory, and whose custom it was to worship God without temples or images; so, on the other, their great veneration and tenaciousness for their antient rites and customs, joined to the contempt they had for those of other nations, must have proved an effectual and long-winded preservative against their introducing them. At least it is very probable, that these statues or images we are speaking of, if there were really any such among them, might be no other than monuments of some eminent persons and transactions, such as that which Laban and Jacob reared in memory of their mutual reconciliation, or that which the latter set up in the place where he buried his favourite Rachel; or perhaps to point out those sacred treasures, which were consecrated in the manner and places already mentioned, and to deter people from profaning or feizing upon them; all which might be easily mistaken for statues and idols by those Greek and Roman authors who beheld or heard of them.

Before we dismiss this point, it will not be thought un-feasible to make some further enquiry into those vast piles of stones which remain to this day both in England, and in other parts of Europe; concerning which so many different conjectures have been offered by learned antiquaries, and others, whilst some have maintained them to have been erected by the Romans, others by the antient Gauls and Britons; one sort taking them for monuments erected in memory of some famous battle or victory, others for burying-places, and a third sort, though with less reason, as we think, for temples, or places of worship. We shall, however, willingly fiave ourselves the trouble of entering into a detail of them, considering how difficult it is to describe such kind of antiques, so as to give our readers any tolerable idea of them, without having constant recourse to some iconography of them, which are not in many cafes easy to be had, and in most not without greater expence than they would perhaps think they deserve. But since that famous one of Stonehenge, which has been seen by all the curious, and of which we

1 See Genes. xxxi. 45, & seq. xxxv. 19, 20.
we have so many descriptions in many of our English authors, may be justly affirmed to exceed all the rest, as well in the largeness of the stones as the perfection of its figure, we shall, notwithstanding its more properly belonging to a subsequent chapter, venture to speak of it here, and give the best light we can concerning that truly curious piece of antiquity; especially as we proposed at the beginning of this chapter, to treat of every thing that related to the Gauls, and those other nations that are descended from them, in so full a manner, as might save us the trouble of needless repetitions in those that follow. But what more effectually calls upon us to treat of it here, is, that a reverend and learned author lately, in that curious and elaborate account he has given of that stately edifice m, hath endeavoured to prove it an antient druidish temple, which, if it had been such, would overthrow all that we have hitherto said, on the testimony of so many antient authors as we have produced, in favour of the opposite opinion. Had that learned author contented himself with calling it a druidish edifice of any kind but that of a temple, we should have readily agreed to it; because we think he has given us full proofs of its being not only much antienter than the Romans, and, consequently, much more so than the Saxons, but has further demonstrated, as far as the subject is capable of demonstration, that it never could be a fabric of the former; so that upon the whole it must be owned to have been a British or druidish work: and thus far we readily agree with him, tho' we shall take the liberty, as we think we ought, to differ from him in his origin of the Druids, as well as in this of their having erected temples in imitation of the patriarchs, who are no where recorded to have reared any thing but bare altars of unhewn stones, or, at most, some groves over them, rather for shade and coolness, than out of any superstititious regard for either the oaks, or any other trees. And as our author offers nothing but far-off conjectures on a subject of such remote and dark antiquity, there seems to be one insuperable obstacle against his hypothesis of their coming from Phœnicia; namely, that if these Druids had n been of so different a nation from the Celts the ancestors of the Gauls, let them have come into Britain when they would, either before or after the Celts, it is not to be supposed,

m Stukeley's Stonehenge. p. 1, 17, 60, & seq.

n Idem, p. 31, & seq. 50. & seq. 61, & seq.
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that these, much less all their Gaulish descendents, who were so superstitiously tenacious of their antient rites, laws and customs, could have ever paid such a blind and universal subjection to them, not only in religious, but in all civil and military concerns, as we have seen from the universal consent of Greek and Roman authors they actually did: and if those druids had had such sublime notions of the Deity, and been such strict followers of the patriarchal religion and rites, it is scarcely to be imagined they could have fallen into such horrid excesses, superstitions, and cruelties, as we have shewn they did, even from the earliest times.

We come now to speak of this famous fabric of Stonehenge, and to give our readers such an account of it as may afford them an idea of the excellent taste of those druids, who were the projectors and constructors of it; and may serve to shew the nature and design of all other works of this kind, that are extant in any parts of Europe (N), where they bore any sway; and herein we shall make no difficulty to follow

(N) Though there are many of these to be found in Germany, France, Spain, Brabant, Holland, &c. yet they are no-where so frequent as in these British isles, even, as our author observes, from the very Land's-end in Cornwall to the utmost promontory in Scotland, where the Roman power never reached. They are to be seen in all the islands between Scotland and Ireland, in the isle of Man, in all the Orkneys, and numerous in Ireland; and all pretty near after the same design, being generally arches of rude stones, of different diameters, upon elevated ground, open heaths and downs, and chiefly made of stones taken from the surface of the earth, though some of them appear to be of different forms, and so decayed and disfigured by time, that it is hardly possible to guess at their original use or intention, but from some analogy which they seem to bear with those that are more perfect, as this we are upon (30).

Those on the continent have suffered still more; not only from the Romans, who took singular pride in destroying them, and introducing some of their own in their stead, and bringing the Gauls over to their religion and customs; but likewise from the blind zeal of weak Christians, who looked upon it as a piece of merit to destroy or deface them, as monuments of idolatry, and superstitious cruelties. The reader may consult concerning them the authors quoted in the margin (31).

low our learned author’s description of it in every case but
that we have excepted above, it being, in all other respects,
the most exact and accurate we have; tho’ we shall refer
thofe who defire a fuller account of it, to his late elaborate
description here referred to.

The name of Stonehenge, being of Saxon extra&ct, and
signifying barely a heap of hanging or gallowes stones, is fo
contemtible a one for fo noble a work, that it plainly fhews
it to have been reared long before their coming into England.
Had they been the builders of it, or capable of judging of the
magnificence of that work, or had there, in their time, re-
ained any traces of its builders, and their design in it, they
would doubtlefs have called it by a much more honourable
name. The antient Britons, in the time of the Romans in-
vading them, fpake of it only by long and immemorial tra-
dition, and as of a work far above human power; and called
it, in the language, Choir Ghaur, which fome interpret the
choir or dance of giants, on account of a general notion that
ran through all thofe countries, where fuch heaps of vast stones
were set up, that it was done by giants, though others, more
absurdly, by the affiftance of demons, probably from the re-
putation which the druids were in for their skill in magic,
and by the help of which they were fupposed to have reared
thofe ftrupendous piles in the form they ftood; though our
author very judiciously observes, that Choir Ghaur might be
more properly rendered the grand choir, as it exceeded all
other works of this kind in bignefs, and, not unlikley, in
dignity, on account of the arch-druid, or of his holding his
grand assembly of all the inferior ones in this place. This
tetym is altogetheruitable to the grandeur of the fabric,
and the design of it, whether we fuppose it, with our au-
thor, to have been a temple, or, as seems more probable to
us, for fome other public ufe, in either of which it appears
equally grand and noble. And this will go a great way
to convince us, that it never was reared by the Romans;
for the antient Britons would hardly have given fuch a grand
name, to a fabric of theirs, in their own language: but our
author has taken a much more effectual way to convince us,
that it could be none of their work, much lefs fuch a one
as our famed architect Inigo Jones (if he really was the
author of that plan and performance which Mr Webb pub-
lifhed under his name, and has been fo amply confused by
Dr. Charlton and Keyzler) has endeavoured to prove it,
and in which he affirms it to be a round Roman temple, like the Pantheon (O).

DR. CHARLTON, though he fully exploded that notion, yet failed in proving his own, which attributed it to the Danes; upon which he was soon after confuted by Olaus Vormius; there being really no such monuments to be found among the Gothic nations. Besides, this of Stonehenge is mentioned in some manuscripts of Ninnius, who wrote two hundred years before they set foot in Britain; all which is a sufficient confusion of its being a Danish work. Keyzler, for want of being thoroughly acquainted with our British antiquities, after having confuted the notion of Inigo Jones, of its being a Roman temple, or having any relation to public worship, and the vulgar error of its being built by giants, or by magic art, or of its being some old broken remains of the flood (P), endeavours

p Faft. & Monument. Danic.

(O) That great architect, or, as is commonly thought, his publisher, to make the dimensions answer to his scheme, has been forced to alter and misrepresent them, to displace some of those huge stones, and remove them at such a distance as best answered to his imaginary plan. All which was afterwards discovered by a new survey of it before persons of taste and judgment. Jones not publishing his account, though he lived thirty years after he had taken a view of it, makes one conclude, that he never designed it; and that, upon a serious examination of it, he found it impracticable. But upon his death, Mr. Webb his son-in-law, it is thought, found an expedient of surmounting that difficulty by the alterations we have mentioned; and by way of salvo tells the world, that if his father-in-law had lived to finish it, it would have appeared in a much better guise.

(P) There are two other vulgar errors more worth confuting than any of these, because they have proved exceedingly detrimental to these ancient monuments. The one is, the notion of the stones being factitious, or cast by art, which hath and doth still induce stupid pretenders to antiquity to come and disfigure those curious stones with chisels and hammers, to find out whether they are really so or not. The other is, their digging near and round about them, in hopes of finding out some hidden treasures, or other curious antiquities; by which means many of them are fallen down, and others so very near doing so, that, if this humour continues much longer, those noble fabrics will be reduced, in time, into a heap of ruinous fragments, and no traces be left, either of their structure, design, or magnificence, but what we find in such descriptions as those given by this and other authors.
vours to prove it a sepulchral monument erected by the Anglo-
Saxons 9. We hope we have already said enough to prove,
that, if it was such a sepulchral fabric, it is of too old a date
to have been reared by that nation, or indeed by any but the
antient Britons; though he is pleased, in order to prove them
every way unqualified for such a work, to represent them as
such ignorant savages, and so like the wild Americans 1, that
he thinks it argument sufficient, and indeed it is the only one
he gives, against any one believing them to have been the
contrivers of it. But how truly forever this character may
suit to his antient Germans, of whom we shall speak in the
next chapter, we hope to shew in the sequel of this, besides
what has been occasionally said of the Britons, and their
druids, that they were the very reverse of what he has painted
them: he has succeed much better in his proofs, that it
was a monumental work, from many more of the like nature
and form, which are known and allowed to be such. Our
very author himself tells us of one in Ireland, which, by his
description, is Stonehenge in miniature, and which he owns
to have been the monument of a famed druides 8; though
he insinuates it to be her temple likewise. What he mentions
in order to prove the great pile being rather a temple than
a sepulchral monument, viz. the horns, bones, charcoal,
and other things that were dug up from under it, is quite
insufficient, it being common, at the funerals of antient
Britons and Gauls, not only to offer hecatombs of victims,
which alone would answer for these horns, bones, &c. but
likewise to bury their favourite horses and slaves, as we shall
see in its due place: and if the reader will be pleased to
look back at what we have said of the funerals of their
brethren the Scythians, especially of those of the highest
rank 8, and compare it with the form and disposition of the
stones in this place, he will be apt to think it a more decent
refinement upon that antient and inhuman Scythian custom;
and only rearing a number of huge stones in this form, instead
of the skins of men and horses, which they used to stuff,
and set up round their monuments; for as it favoured less of
barbarity, so it was of a much more lasting nature. But this
we offer only as our own conjecture, and conjecture is all
that can be offered, in favour of any other hypothesis about
it at this vast distance of time, and with those little helps we
have

9 Antiquit. septentr. p. 50, & seq. 97, & seq. 109, & seq. 235,
& seq. 1 Ib. cap. 4, 5, 13, & seq. 2 Stonehenge redi-
red, p. 3. & 4. 3 See before vol. vi. p. 450.
Chap. 11. The History of the Gauls.

have left. For this reason we shall omit mentioning some other notions which people have entertained; such as, that it was the place where the grand council of Britain met, a Roman trophy, the monument of the famous queen Boadicia, of king Vortigern, and such-like, all which, carrying still less probability than any of the preceding ones, are not worth dwelling longer upon.

We shall now give a short description of the fabric itself, out of that accurate survey which the reverend author last quoted made of it. It is situate on a pleasant part of Salisbury plain, about two miles from Amberbury, and six from Salisbury, and is situate not upon the summit of a hill, but very near it; and, for more than three quarters of the circuit, you have a gentle ascent to it from the lower ground; at half a mile distance the appearance of it is quite flately, awful, and august, especially on the north-east side, which is the most perfect. According to his plan or iconography of it, the circumference of it exceeds that of the outside of St. Paul's cupola. The height of the outward cornice is eighteen feet complete, and that of the inner twenty-four at a medium; for these, for reasons to be mentioned hereafter, are not all of equal height. Thus the height of the inner circle, or rather ellipsis, as our author has proved it, bears a just proportion to the curve of the circumference, which is above one hundred feet, and was one fourth part of it, though at present some of these stones either stooping, or by long time being funk lower, come somewhat short of the proportion above-mentioned. The nobleness likewise of their lights and shades, as well as the variety arising from their circular form, adds to the elegance of the prospect; so that it is not without reason that our great Jones blamed Mr. Camden for calling it so fenestly as he doth in his Britannia, insana structio, a huge, or, as he englises it, “a will kind of structure;” whereas it plainly appears to have been the very reverse. But it is manifest, that he never saw it, or took but a slight view of it; and his description is so faulty and incorrect, that he seems not to have thought it worth a more exact survey, though he had seen those of Mr. Aubrey and Inigo Jones; but these likewise he seems to have had but little opinion of; and rather mentions their account of it to confute them, than to rectify his own by them; and we own, that he has very judiciously exploded both their notions, as well as all those other vulgar ones, which ascribe the rearing of this odd edifice, as he thinks it, to any but to the antient Britons. But
to return to the fabric itself: the whole is enclosed within a circular ditch, which being crossed, one ascends thirty-five yards before he comes to the work; so that the area, as it is enclosed by the ditch, is three times the diameter of the building; and therefore the distance from the ditch within side, quite round, to the fabric, is equal to the diameter of the fabric. When you enter the building, whether on foot or horseback, you are struck with astonishment at the height of the vast stones, whether you view those that are still standing in their ancient site, or those which lean forward, and are ready to fall, or those which lie down, and, by their immense weight, have crushed a number of others under them, especially that which our author supposes to have been the altar-stone (Q), and is broken into three large pieces by the fall of one of the large architraves. What encreases the wonder, especially to a man versed in these antique works, is, that, among those dreadful dilapidations, in which every stone lieth, like the carcass of a giant, with a number of horrid ruins under it, there remains still as much of it undemolished, as enables one to recover an idea of what it was when in its perfect state, and enough of every part to give one a notion of the whole. To all this we may add the beautiful contrast, which the view of the inside gives you, when joined to the vast and beautiful prospect of the country about it. The one, if you look up to those huge stones, and the vast ponderous imposts over them, the chasm of sky between the jambs of the cell or inner circuit, you imagine you see whole quarries mounted in the air; and if upon the rude havoc below, it looks like the bowels of a mountain turned inside out. The other gives you a most spacious and variegated prospect of the country round about, bounded only by the horizon. One of them is what they call Vespasian’s camp; a beautiful prospect

(Q) And so it may really have been, let the fabric be supposed a temple, a sepulchral monument, a grand court or council, or any thing of the like nature, seeing that, as we have observed before, sacrifices were used in great numbers in all those solemnities, and an altar cannot but be supposed to have been fixed in some convenient part of the building; but why so close to one part of the cell or nich as Mr. Jones has made it, and not in the centre, where Keyzler would rather have it, this reason may be well enough assigned, that it is most likely to have stood where we find the huge fragments still lying, and crushed by one of the large imposts falling upon it; for, had it stood in the centre, it would have been out of the reach of it, and have remained whole to this time.
Chap. ii. The History of the Gauls. spect it is! another the antient hippodrome, or place for horse and chariot-races; a third the grand avenue to the fabric, which, as our author supposes, begins some miles from it. The plain is here-and-there interpersed with a vast number of mounts, or, as they are called, barrows, some larger than others. The largest of them is enclosed about with a ditch an hundred cubits in diameter. These are set thicker and closer in one place, and thinner at another; and, upon digging some of them up, there have been found human bones, urns, and some kinds of beads, and other pieces of glass, crystal, jet, amber, and such-like female trinkets, of different colours and metals; as also some swords, hats, and other weapons, have been dug out of them; which plainly shew them to have been burying-places; but whether of the antient Britons, Romans, Saxons, or Danes, is not easy to determine, though the first seems most probable upon one account, which the reader will find in the margin (R). These barrows however are so thick about the

k Stonehenge restored, p. 10, 43, & seq.

(R) The author observes, that the via Icenia, or Ikening-street, a road made by the Romans, which reached from Norfolk into Dorsetshire infringes upon one of those barrows, and crosses some part of it; from which it is reasonable to conclude, that these barrows were older than that road (29).

In these barrows, besides those human and other bones, and materials, which have been digged out of them, there was a broad sword taken out of one, and sent to Oxford; in another was found a weapon of the same metal like a pole-ax, which weighed twenty pounds, and given to colonel Wyndham; out of a third was dug a brass instrument, called celt, and is supposed to have belonged to some druid, and to have been used for cutting the mithlo off the oaks. We have taken notice above, that the Gaulish druids used one made of gold for that purpose. In one of the female barrows was found, besides some other ornaments and trinkets, the head of a javelin of brass, at the socket of which were two holes for the pins, that fastened it to the staff, and a sharp bodkin, round at one end, and square at the other, where it went into a handle. Some of the trinkets seem to have been originally covered with metal; and one of them had still a thin film

the neighbourhood of Stonehenge, that, from some heights, one may tell one hundred and twenty-eight in sight. Among them one may observe, in some places, two or more, sometimes to the number of six or seven, inclosed in the same circle or ditch, of which one is larger than the rest, and seems to be the tomb of some head of a family, and the rest that of the family itself. The most remarkable of all the rest are, that which is called the tomb of king Carvifius, who was the famed king of the Iceni, who fought against Julius Caesar. It stands on the other side Wilton, antiently Carvitium, so named, as is supposed, from, if not built by, him. It is situate on an eminence, and of a handsome height, and has four tall flatey trees planted on the top. From this mount you have the prospect of Old and New Sarum, of Wilton house and park, the Ikening road, and some distant hills. The other, called Bushbarrow, is beautifully planted by the shepherds, and commands the prospect of Stonehenge, of the curfus or antient races, and of all the barrows around that plain, besides a most elegant and spacious landscape. Thus much may serve to give an idea of the grand prospect, which this noble structure affords you from without.

But, before we come to speak of its symmetry, and the form and bigness of its stones, it may not be amifs to obviate a difficulty, which will, in all probability, occur to our readers from what we have just now said of those barrows; for since they evidently appear to have been burying-places, and to bear a kind of relation to the fabric itself, which is, as it were, the centre and kebla of them, will not this destroy

film of gold: all which sufficiently shew this barrow to have been the sepulchre of some heroine.

All that is further worth observing on this head is, that those materials, as well as the bones, appear to have suffered the fire in some, though not in others. In some likewise the ashes were deposited in a small urn of reddish earth unburnt; and, in others, the bodies were buried at full length, generally north and south. From all which it is concluded, that the custom of burying dead bodies was in use among the Britons, as well as that of burying without it, before the times of the coming in of the Romans.

1 Ibid. p. 45. & plate xxxi. m See p. 46. & plate xxxiii, & seq.
Chap. 11. The History of the Gauls.

destroy our supposition of the latter being likewise a sepulchral monument? Will it not appear absurd to suppose such a noble fabric to have been subservient to the same ends with those hillocks, which are seen around it? And will it not be more reasonable to suppose it, with our author, to have been a temple, than a monument? To which we beg leave to answer, that we should have made no difficulty of admitting it such a temple, had we not so many convincing arguments, that neither Celts, nor Gauls and Britons, had any such buildings till long after the coming of the Romans. We have already given our reasons, and hope they will appear satisfactory to them, as they do to us, when duly weighed. However, to shew that our conjecture is not so inconsistent at the bottom, as it may appear at the first sight, we shall observe, first, that there is a manifest difference between a monument and a burying-place; and that the latter is designed only to inclose the remains, and the other to preserve the memory, of the deceased. These might be appropriated for the sepulture of the great ones, and their family; and this to burn their bodies, to be afterwards deposited in urns, and conveyed to their proper burying-place. Again, the stone fabric might be the sepulchre of kings, and consequently deserve greater magnificence; or it might be that of the druids, then in very high esteem; or more particularly of the head of that order, or grand druid, and require not only to make a more stately appearance, but likewise to bear some kind of affinity, as, in fact, it seems to do, in its structure, to those sacred groves, in which they performed their religious ceremonies. But lastly, and to name no more, that which appears to us the most probable conjecture, from the relation which those barrows bear to the building, is, that this last was, as it were, the centre or keystone, that is, in other words, the point of view, or rather of distance, to all the rest, and might be erected at the charge of the whole nation, and be designed, not only as a magnificent monument, or rather an open and majestic edifice for the performance of funeral rites to the whole people, and more especially to those of a superior rank and merit, but likewise to ascertain the property of each barrow to its respective family, by the number of cubits or furlongs they stood east or west, &c. from it; for that they had a clear notion of the points of the compass, and of geometry, is evident from the very planting, structure, situation and symmetry of the fabric.
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fabric, as has been demonstrated by our author himself, as well as by some others, who have written before him of it.

This conjecture being allowed, as indeed every thing about this noble pile seems to confirm it, (viz. the long and spacious avenue to and from it, its dividing itself at a convenient distance, the one road towards the curfus, and the other to Radfin and the adjacent plains, the situation and structure of the edifice, its prospect and command over all the country, especially the barrows and curfus, above-mentioned) we may carry it on a little farther, and suppose the corpse of the deceased, especially if a prince, a grand druid, a celebrated warrior or heroine, to have proceeded with a suitable funeral pomp, such as we have formerly shewn was observed by the Scythians to their monarchs, from the place of his residence to this sepulchral monument. Here the druids and bards received it, and performed the funeral ceremonies over it, which consisted chiefly, at least as far as related to their office, in offering sacrifices, rehearsing the genealogy and heroic exploits of the dead, singing their encomia on him and his ancestors, and, if the body was to be burnt, in afflicting to, if not performing, that ceremony, committing the ashes to the funeral urn, and conveying it, with all its apparatus of ornaments, weapons, &c. to the proper place of its interment. The area on the outside might serve for exhibiting such games, shews, and fights, as were usual on such occasions, to the numerous spectators round about, and of which we shall speak in due place. After which, the company might proceed to the curfus, and there close the ceremony with races, and other such-like exercises. Every one of these places seems indeed so excellently situate, as if they had been designed for this grand ceremony. They all stand at a convenient distance from one another, and each commands the prospect of the others, and may be viewed at a great distance by the largest number of spectators which we can suppose to have assisted at it. We shall only add, that this notion, which we have been offering here, doth include all the various conjectures, which our best antiquaries have been able to make of it, either from the various antient traditions of it, or from their own discoveries. It answers to that of a temple, by reason of its sacredness, its resemblance to the antient religious groves, and

See vol. v. p. 450.
and the sacrifices and other rites performed there. It an-
swers to that of a sepulchral monument, on account of its
being appropriated to the grandest funeral ceremonies, and
its being the centre or kebla to all the adjacent monuments
round about: to that of an amphitheatere, on account of the
funeral games and shews exhibited at it; and may also have
served for a convening-place of the national council for the
election and proclamation of a new king, general, or grand
druid, whilst they assifted at the obsequies of a deceased
one. Lastly, it appears not to have been reared by either
Romans, Saxons, or Danes, because it is evidently prior to
them all, for the reasons we have alleged a little higher, to
which we shall subjoin one more, as we are come now to
speak of the huge stones, that compose this stupendous
fabric.

We have already hinted, that their monstrous largeness, the stones
joined to their apparent great distance from any quarry,
and the many ups and downs through which they must
have been conveyed hither, led the unthinking vulgar into
the notion, that they were brought hither by magic, or
the help of demons, according to some, and by giants, ac-
cording to others, either of which were readily enough sup-
posed able to bring them upon their backs from Africa (S);
whilst the wiser fort rather imagined them to be factitious,
and cast from some such composition as sand and mortar,
and the like, and hardened by the weather. This notion,
as we hinted in a late note, has been sufficiently, and, we
may say, experimentally, disproved, though to the great
detriment and disfiguring of the stones themselves, and the en-
dangering of the structure. These stones, rough and bat-
tered as they have been by these pretended curiosities, as well
as by a long series of ages, appear to have been originally
smoothed by the chisel, at least as far as they stand above
ground; for, as to that part which lies buried in the earth,
it shews itself, upon digging round it, to be in its primi-
tive roughness, and as it was dug up out of the quarry,
or, as our author rather supposes, and with greater seem-
ing

(S) From a notion, which our author has likewise adopt-
ed, which supposes Afer to have been the same with Hepher,
one of the sons of Abraham by Keturah, to have come hi-
ther from Africa with Hercules, and to have brought with
him the druids, who erected the fabric we are now speaking
of,
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ing probability, as they were found lying on the surface of the ground in great numbers, and various dimensions, perhaps ever since the creation of the world (T), and as they are to be seen still in vast quantities upon Marlborough downs near Abury, at a place called from thence the Grey Wethers, and are of the same kind, viz. a bastard white marble. Hence another argument is drawn of its being of antienter date than the coming of the Romans; for, by this time, the Belgæ, a colony of the Gauls, had seized upon, and seated themselves in, that part of the country; so that the Britons must have fetched these stones from, and drawn them some miles through, an enemy's country, unless we could suppose, that those Belgæ were the builders of Stonehenge; which is less probable than that the Britons did, because these have left such kinds of monumental piles where-ever they can be traced, as we hinted a little higher.

The difficulty is, to convince how stones of that immense weight, one of which, though neither the largest nor heaviest, has been computed, by proper judges, to weigh between thirty and forty tons, and consequently would have required

(T) This is at least our author's conjecture (30), which we must be content to submit to our readers, till a more probable one be found out. We never had an opportunity of viewing those Grey Wethers but at a distance, whence they appeared as huge stones dug from some neighbouring quarry, which, though not now to be found, might have been exhausted, or covered up; in which case, these might have been designed by our antient British druids for some other edifices of the same nature, which they were obliged to set aside, upon their being forced from this isle into those of Ireland, &c. and of which we shall speak in due place; but doubts our author, who has been a curious examiner into all these particulars, had his reasons, though he doth not mention them, for not thinking them to have been dug out of any quarry, but to have lain there scattered from the beginning.

One thing is remarkable, that all these British structures in Wiltshire, and no others, are built of the same kind of stone as that of the Wethers; whereas the cathedral of Salisbury, all their great churches, and other large edifices, are of quite another kind, and were hewn out of the quarry called Chilmark, in the same county and neighbourhood.

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required about an hundred and fifty oxen to have drawn it, could be conveyed from their original seat to Stonehenge, which is sixteen computed miles, and along such uneven ground, and in such quantities as compose the fabric. Sure it is, that no carriage can be conceived, which would not have been sunk into the ground by such a monstrous weight, unless it be that of rollers; but even this must appear a more than Herculean labour; the arduousness of which cannot be extenuated, but by the supposition, that the whole, or at least the greatest part, of the nation contributed their help towards it, in their turns.

The rearing of them afterwards in such form and situation, was a work of no less difficulty; for though we may reasonably suppose, that they were all pecked and chiselled, had their mortises and tenons wrought, and every thing done, that could lighten and fit them for the design, at the place where they were brought from, yet every man will easily perceive what an immense labour it must be to rear stones of that vast bulk and weight, to place them in their proper places, and at such due distances, that the architraves or impost, that locked them to each other at the top, should fall so exactly every mortise upon his own tenon, as we find they actually do to this day; for it is plain to every eye that views them carefully, that each of these tenons are so exactly fitted to its mortise, that if either of the standing stones had been let ever so little out of its place, and perpendicular, they could never have locked one in the other, till they were reduced to their due distance and position; especially considering that there were at least fifteen in number of this large sort, set up two and two, the whole in a beautiful oval, nearest to a circle, and exactly locked each to the other by architraves of proportionable bigness. Each tenon is a druidic cubit, somewhat above twenty inches in diameter (V) on the broadest side; for they are of an oval figure, and the mortises exactly answerable.

(V) Dr. Stukeley hath clearly demonstrated, that this fabric was never built according to the Roman measure, from the great number of fractions and uncouth numbers, that occur in the measuring of each part, but according to the antient cubit, &c. which was common to the Hebrews, Phenicians, Egyptians, &c. as well as, as it appears here, to the druids and antient Celts. His proofs the reader will see in the work itself (31); for it is not for us to dwell on those.

(31) P. 6, & seq. & plat. vi.
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fwerable to it. By this contrivance the impost or architraves lie firm locked upon the uprights, and these are kept firm to each other. Where the impost are heaviest, the tenons are shortest; and where these are lightest, and consequently more in danger to be shaken, as in those of the outward circle, these are made longest, and the mortises deeper accordingly. If the bottom face of the impost be divided into three squares, the two mortises will be found in the middle of the two outward ones: draw diagonal lines from corner to corner, and where they intersect is the center of the mortise; which central distance from one to the other is seven druidish cubits, or about eight of ours. We might mention several other curious particulars, which make the whole appear to have been done geometrically, and from such plain and simple principles, as would best answer every purpose of the grand design; but for these we must, in a work of this nature, refer our readers to the author's account, to avoid prolixity. But from what has been said, the reader may frame an idea of the curiosities, as well as arduousness, of the work, which, considering its regular complexity and symmetry, must be owned to outvie all that we read of single obelisks, pillars, and statues, how gigantic soever, if we except the pyramids of Egypt, and the Rhodian colossus, of which we have given an account in former volumes.

The whole fabric consisted of four circles, or rather ovals, of stones, the most considerable of which had ten uprights, and five architraves or impost, making up five trilithons, each trilithon consisting of two uprights and one impost, which locked together at the top by the tenons and mortises above-mentioned. These trilithons were not all of the same height, as our author observed, and is indeed the only one we know, that has taken notice of this elegance; but each of them raised its head or impost somewhat higher, as it drew nearest to that before which the altar is judged to have stood, and which appears to have been not only the highest, but finest, both for the smoothness and beauty of the stones. The height of these trilithons, with their architrave or cornice, is computed in a medium, to be about twenty-four feet; for there is no coming at an exact dimension in a work so decayed by time and weather; the uprights being between twenty and twenty-one feet high, and lessening a little upwards to the top, and the cornice computed about three feet and a half, making up

* Ubi sup. p. 26, & seq.
vol. vii. p. 400, & seq.

f See vol. i. p. 570, & seq.
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up the complement of twenty-four feet. These imposts, on
the outward face, bore the same sweep with the oval which
they composed; but, on the inside, went in a straight line. They
seem likewise to have been somewhat broader on the top than
at the bottom; so that their sides bear a little slant downwards,
whether to preserve them the better from the weather, or to
make up the shortening, which is caused by their elevation
from the sight. The gradual ascent of these three orders, as
they may be termed, of trilithons, is, according to our au-
thor 3, thirteen, fourteen and fifteen druidish cubits. The
breadth of each trilithon is computed, in a medium, about
ten cubits of the same measure, and is consequently the length
at least of the impost. Each upright is about three feet nine
inches thick, and twice that, i. e. seven feet and an half in
breadth, or four cubits and an half druidish. Each trilithon,
which composes this oval cell, stands at such convenient dis-
tance from the other, as to yield a beautiful prospect into it,
which is not a little heightened by the space which stands be-
tween the two uprights, and which widens upwards, as these
lessen in their breadth, and form an oval from its two centres,
whose longest radius is fifteen, and shortest twelve, druidish
cubits; so that the ellipse is formed by a line of sixty cubits;
which, being joined at the two ends, and turned round the two
centres, give a diameter of thirty cubits at the longest, and
twenty-five at the shortest, five cubits being the supposed dis-
tance between the two centres (W).

This was the figure and greatness of that which Mr. Jones
called the cell, and our author the adytum or the concha, of,
what they supposed the fabric to be, the temple, and which we
have taken the more pains in describing, as is indeed the grand-
est part of the whole. As for the remainder of the structure,
though it bears an exact and beautiful proportion with it, we
shall

(W) Hence, among several other arguments, one may infer
that this niche or cell could not be originally such an hexagon, as
Mr. Jones supposed it; much less could it be formed, as he pre-
tended at the six points of three equilateral triangles; for, if this
had been the case, there must have been six instead of five trili-
thons; but here is not the least footprint of a sixth, no stump or
fragment of it, nor cavity in the earth, where it may be supposed
to have stood; so that three stones of that immense weight and
magnitude, as we have described them, must be imagined to have
been spirited away by the same magic art, by which the vulgar
supposed the whole to have been reared, before we can think,
that it ever had this trigonometrical form,
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shall content ourselves with mentioning the most remarkable parts of each, without entering into a detail of all the particulars. Within this grand oval, is another of much lesser, though harder and finer stones. This circle, together with the long stone now broken, which is supposed to have been the altar, and is of a darkish-blue marble, such as is often set upon common altar tombs, and about sixteen feet in length, consists of twenty stones, the greatest part of which are sadly broken and mangled; but not so much as to hinder a curious observer from recovering the form and order in which they stood, though their use and design is hard to be guessed at. Another circle or oval of forty stones surrounded the cell or adytum at a proper distance. These were likewise of a much lesser size; after which one comes out to the greatest or outer circle, composed of thirty stones, likewise harder, and somewhat of a pyramidal form. It seems as if the founders had wisely provided, that their lesser bulk should be compensated by their solidity. The difference between this outward circle, and that of the cell or adytum, consisted in this, that the architraves of the trilithons of the latter did not touch one another, but preserved the same distance with the two uprights, on which they were locked; whereas, in the former or outward circle, the standers were joined by a continued cornice. Each stander or upright here had two tenons, at equal distances on the top, by which the two impostes were locked by their mortises, and so continued quite round, in the form of a crown or cornice. The whole was surrounded by a vallum or deep ditch at a proportionate distance, as we have hinted above; and this, with the grand avenue, and the gradual ascent up to the fabric, afforded a noble prospect, both as you advanced towards it, and much more when you viewed it all the champaign country round about it. And thus much shall suffice for us to say on this stupendous British fabric, which has astonished and puzzled all the architects, antiquaries, and curiosities, that have either seen or read of it. We hope we have made a sufficient apology for our anticipating this short account of it here, which might otherwise have more properly belonged to the British history; and that the accurate author, from whom we have taken the most considerable and curious part of it, will not take it amiss, that we have not followed his hypothesis of its having been a druidical temple, when he considers the reasons we have given for asserting, that neither Gauls, Germans, nor antient Britons, had ever any such buildings, till long after their being conquered by the Romans, and being forced to introduce a foreign religion amongst them, that is, the worship of
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of Jupiter Mars, Mercury, and a great number of other inferior deities. How and when this was most probably brought about, we shall endeavour to account for in the next section.

S E C T. III.

How and when the antient Gauls introduced the worship of inferior deities among them.

It is plain, by what we have quoted out of Cæsar, Strabo, Lucan, and others, that though the Romans had had a considerable footing in Gaul before the coming of that conqueror, yet they had not been able to persuade them to imitate them in their rearing of temples to any deity. If they had, Cæsar would not have failed hinting something of it, it being one of the chief maxims of his republic, to spread their religion, laws, and customs where-ever they came; so that, if the Gauls had ever been forced, or prevailed upon, to build any such temples in their country, it can hardly be supposed, that he would have omitted mentioning it; he who took such pleasure to tell us how many petty kingdoms and commonwealths he had brought over to the Roman interest, and to a fondness for some of their customs. Since then there is not the least hint of it either in that or any author, but the contrary plainly appears to have been the practice of this nation; we may safely conclude they had not begun, even in his days, and under his government, to introduce this foreign custom; tho' it could not be made appear, that any such structures had been reared then, yet would it not from thence follow, that it was done by the Gauls, but would appear more probably to have been done by the Romans, who, as we observed at the beginning of the last section, made it a part of their religion to adopt the gods, to vow temples and statues, and afterwards to rear them in every country they conquered; whereas the Gauls made it a constant maxim of theirs to wage open war against, to plunder and demolish all such structures, from a principle bred amongst them, in common with the Peræans, that it was offering an indignity to the Supreme Being to confine him within any place; which made Cicero, who was not deeply verfed in the Gaulish religion, say, that it chiefly conflicted in a hostile contrariety to all others (A).

We

(A) Whether it was his ignorance or contempt of their principles, or done out of a design to make his client's cause appear
We cannot affirm with the same certainty, that they did not imitate the Romans in another part of their religion, the worship of a plurality of gods and goddesses, before their conquest. We are told, that they worshipped Mars under the emblem of a naked sword, and that Mercury was in the highest veneration among them all over Gaul, doubtless on account of the vast benefits and improvements, which their trade, commerce, arts, and sciences, had received from him, and of which we have spoken in a former volume. Here is indeed no mention of temples, altars, but only of statues reared to them; and probably that worship might, at first, be no more than a civil one, though it grew up, in time, into downright idolatry and polytheism. These two deities, as well as Uranus, Saturn, Jupiter, Apollo, Juno, Venus, Diana,

\[a\] Comment. ubi sup. l. vi. \[b\] See vol. v. p. 434, (D), & seq.

...pear more justifiable (1), he exprest himself in these virulent terms against the Gauls, that they professed no other religion than that of waging war against those of all other nations, and against the very gods themselves. He accuses them of having left their native soil, and crossed immense tracts of land, merely to go and attack the Delphic Apollo, and plunder the oracle of the whole world. This, continues he, is that holy nation, which had the boldness to besiege our capitol, and even the great Jupiter himself in it.

We shall have occasion, in the sequel of this history, to explode the greatest part of this charge, for which that orator so foully inveighs against them. All that we shall observe here is, that they had, at that time, neither regard for the pretended gods of other nations, nor for the pretended sanctity of their temples, but rather a singular contempt for the one, and abhorrence of the other; and this shews, that they had not as yet adopted any of the Greek or Roman rites into their religion, whatever they did afterwards.

One thing may be observed, that the general character, which the authors of both these nations give of the Gauls, is a continued contradiction, one while representing them as people of no religion or principles, and at other time as the most addicted to all kind of superstitition of any nation under heaven: all which can be only reconciled by allowing, that they actually had a religion of their own, of which they were so tenacious, that they despised all others for the sake of it.

(1) Orat. pro M. Fonteius.
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Diana, &c. being all of Celtic extraction, as has been formerly shewn, it was much more natural for the Gauls to deify them, as having formerly reigned over their nation, than for the Romans and Greeks to adopt or challenge them from others as their own, and, in process of time, to strive to outvie them in those divine honours, which the rest of the world paid to them. This will, in some measure, lead us to the motives of that great change, which they suffered to be made in their antient religion, for those temples which they erected, and for those sacrifices which they offered, to all those deified monarchs, till at length they sunk down into the same absurd notions concerning them with the rest of the idolatrous world; and the notion of Efus, or supreme Deity, was swallowed up into that of a Jupiter, as it had been every-where else; and this might reach no farther neither than the vulgar, whilst the druids and wife men among the Gauls, as well as the philosophers among the Greeks and Romans, still preferred the notion of one Supreme Being, and either pitied, or perhaps laughed and winked at, the rest of the pretended deities, heathen theology, and foolish superstition.

But neither is this account altogether satisfactory, considering the aversion and contempt which the Gauls had of all other religions; and this extraordinary change will perhaps be better accounted for, if we can shew, with any probability, that they were rather forced to it by those, under whose tyranny they came afterwards to groan, than out of any vain imitation of their neighbours, or affectation of respect for their deceased princes and heroes. It is not to be doubted, but to such a brave and warlike nation as the Gauls, among whom one constant maxim was univerally followed, as we shall see in the sequel, to prefer the worst of deaths to the loss of liberty, the Roman yoke must appear intolerable; and that they could not be expected to submit to it longer than they were forced to it by the superior power of their tyrants; and as these made it their constant practice to introduce, either by fair or foul means, their religion, laws, and customs, where-ever they conquered, the druids, tenacious as they were of their own, could not but be extremely averse to all such changes, and use all their power and authority, which was still very great, and almost uncontrollable (B), either to oppose

(B) It plainly appears, that this high power of theirs, except what related to religion, was not of very antient date; and that they raised themselves to it in process of time, by the help of the people's
oppose them, or to prevail on the people to shake off the yoke. This their history will shew they did upon all favourable opportunities that offered; so that there was a kind of necessity for the Romans to find out some plausible pretence to strip them of their great sway, and force them to a blind and thorough submission. Accordingly we find, that several emperors took an effectual method to suppress the druidish power (C), by issuing out some severe edicts against their bloody

people's superstition. Antiently the women seem to have had a greater sway in all civil matters, and even about making peace and war. This privilege they had even before their first expedition into Italy; and it appears that they held it still, when Hannibal passed through Gaul to cross the Alps; for, in the treaty they made with him, it was agreed, that, if a Gaul offered any injury to a Carthaginian, he should be tried before the court of the Gaulish women (2). The reason of this great sway is variously accounted for: some think, that they were looked upon as inspired; others think, it was owing to their having shewn a superior degree of wisdom in quenching a civil war, which the men had kindled among themselves. The Germans, according to Tacitus (3), allowed them the very same privileges; and we find something like this practised by the Elians, who, having in vain sued for satisfaction from Demophoon tyrant of Pisa, agreed with the Pisans, after his death, to submit their difference to a court of sixteen women, to be chosen out of sixteen cities of the Elians. Our author adds (4), that their decision so pleased both parties, that they appointed a perpetual college of sixteen matrons to preside over the Junonian games, and to assign the prize to whom they thought worthiest of it.

However, with respect to the Gaulish women, though we cannot ascertain the time when they lost their authority, yet it is plain, by what Cæsar says of that extensive one (5), which the druids had in his time, that they had found means to strip those female heroes of theirs.

(C) We are told by three Roman authors, that Claudius did quite abolish this sect, and their inhuman superstition (6). The last quoted calls him indeed Tiberius, from which some have ascribed this edict to the emperor of that name, though wrongfully; for he only calls Claudius by his prenomen, Claudius being called Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus; and it doth not appear,

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bloody custom of offering human sacrifices. Augustus was the first who issued out a decree against them, and at the same time introduced a cenus among the Gauls; upon which the whole nation was just ready for a revolt. But by the address and authority of Drusus, who was left there by him, they were not only prevented from rising, but prevailed upon to assist at the dedication of Julius Caesar's temple, and to build an altar to Augustus. However, it is plain, that the edict of the latter was not executed there, and the druids, by this time in less authority with the people, might buy it off, by rearing the above-mentioned altar to him; and this is the reason why Claudius renewed it against them. But, whatever the pretence of those edicts might be, it is scarce credible, that religion had any hand in them; and they might as well have fallen foul upon all other nations under their empire, nay, and upon their own, since none was exempt from this barbarous custom, much less the Romans, as the reader may infer from what we have said in their history, and elsewhere. However that be, it doth not appear, that even these took any more effect against them than that of Augustus, since we find them still not only in high vogue some centuries after, but even authorized by the emperors Severus, Aurelian, and Diocletian. They subsisted still, even down to the times of Solinus Polyhistor, and of Eusebius of Cæsarea, and much longer.


appear, that the other Tiberius made any such edict against that custom, but only against astrologers, whom he banished from Rome (7). And here we beg leave to rectify a mistake, which inadvertently slipped into our Carthaginian history (8), where we said, that the emperor Tiberius punished the African priests for their practice of these human sacrifices; whereas it should have been said, Tiberius the proconsul of Afric under the emperor Adrian; for it appears by Tertullian’s account of it, that his own father was a centurion under him (9); which can by no means agree with the rank, nor with the times of the emperor of that name. We hope our readers will be candid enough to overlook such overights in a work of this extensive nature, especially when they find how ready we are to acknowledge and rectify them, as soon as we have discovered them.

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Longer still in their chief abode in the province of Chartrain, where whole towns continued in their antient paganisim, even down to the fifth century. Neither did those edicts suppress the practice of human victims amongst the Romans themselves, among whom they continued to the time of Constantine the Great, and even down to that of Gratian, who gave the finishing blow to it.

From all this it appears very probable, that these edicts against the druids, and their bloody rites, were not so much issued out to abolish their sect and religion, as to intimidate them, and suppress their exorbitant power, which, somewhat before this time, was grown to such a height, that they over-ruled in all courts and councils, raised whom they liked to the highest dignities, and even to the crown, and often aspired at and obtained it for some of their own order. They directed in the making of peace and war, and, even after they were conquered by the Romans, could stir up the people to a general revolt; and so jealous were they grown of their usurped authority, that they punished, as we have hinted a little higher, all that disobeyed or disputed their commands with excommunication, and even with death. Nothing could therefore be more suitable to the Roman policy, than to use all possible means to supprest and crush so dangerous a set of men; and since religion was the common pretext to all their exorbitant sway, so that there was no possibility of pulling down the one, without abolishing the other, it was natural for their conquerors to use all their power and address to bring about such a thorough change, and introduce their religion amongst them; and there might not perhaps be a more favourable opportunity than that which this period offered them, when the Gaulish nation, groaning under a double, and, we may add, a divided tyranny, that of their conquerors, and that of their druids, would, in all likelihood, think it no small ease to be rid at least of one of their yokes, and that perhaps which, at that time, seemed the most intolerable of the two; for it must be remembered, that the Romans seldom made use of force, when they could gain their ends by cajoling and flattery, by fair promises, or even bribes and rewards; whereas the druids, if we may believe the Roman authors, bore all down with an arbitrary and uncontroouled sway, till being overpowered by their enemies, and forsaken by their own people, they were at length forced.

Vide relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 32.  See vol. xiv. p. 645.
forced to submit to, and exchange their religion and rites for, those of their conquerors.

This at least appears, by several concurring circumstances, Gaul at

to have happened about the time of these edicts; for, in

Caesar’s time, who left the Gauls to the free enjoyment of

their rites, and even of many of their laws and customs,

there was not as yet any temple built, or any place of

worship, but their oaks and groves. In the very next

reign, we find the Lugdunenses building a stately temple to

that conqueror, and an altar to Augustus, then on the throne,

and a professed enemy to the druids and their religion. Under

his successor Tiberius, their chief deity Efus is transformed into

Jupiter the god of heaven and earth, or rather, as it should

seem, divides his worship with him for a while (D). Both

are worshipped at first in groves, and under oaks; and at length

the former is quite swallowed up in the latter, and temples,

altars, and statues, are erected to him after the Roman manner

over all the conquered parts of Gaul. After a few

reigns more, during which they were still greatly oppressed,

F f 3

(D) This is inferred from some ancient bas-reliefs found in the

great church of Paris, in which both these deities are carved one

close to the other, the inscription of which is indeed to Jupiter;

but the ceremony of the oaky misletoe, with the words Senani

velite, shews, that Efus was looked upon still as the chief godhead

there represented.

We would not rely too much upon these dark and enigmatic

monuments, which every antiquary wreaths according to his own

favourite hypothesis. Sure it is, that, in the time of Maximus

Tyriensis, who lived about an hundred years after Tiberius, Efus

was already transformed into Jupiter, and worshipped under the

type of a large oak (9). The author of the life of St. Boniface,

bishop of Mentz, tells us, that that prelate found no better expen-
dient to bring his people from their old superstition to christianity,
than by cutting down an oak of a very large size, called the oak
of Jove, and the strength of Jove (10). The same is said to have

been done, with like success, by still later preachers (11). So

long did this veneration for those trees continue, as one may

say, in the heart of christianity. We may add, that the name of

Jupiter doth not appear to have been adopted by the Gauls, but

only that of Jove, which we have already shewn is of Celtic

original (12).

(9) Max. Tyr. ferm. xxxviii. (10) Hensch. apud relig. des

Gaul. l. ii. c 5. (11) Bzovii annal. sub ann. 1233. ap. cand.

(12) See before vol. v. p. 428, & seq.
and made several vain attempts to regain their liberty, especially under Caligula and Claudius \(^{h}\), who succeeded Tiberius, the whole country is filled with Roman temples, all their deities adopted and worshipped, and scarce any traces left of their antient religion, but their bloody rites of offering human victims to these new deities, and perhaps also in their auguries; which occasioned the above-mentioned decrees against them. To these we may add the great veneration which they still retained for their oaks, notwithstanding their multiplicity of temples, and which continued, according to some authors, till the twelfth and thirteenth century. One of these was dedicated to an hundred deities, as appears by the inscription engraven on a neighbouring column, which the reader will find in the margin (E). However, the sluice thus broken, an inundation of superstition and idolatry ensued, which nothing could re sist; and the Gauls, having once shaken off the yoke of their druids, became so enamoured with the pagantry of polytheism, that they deified at length lakes, rivers, marshes, and even fountains, to all which they ascribed some peculiar deity, and extraordinary virtues; upon which account it was looked upon as the highest sacrilege to fish in them, to draw or drain them, and especially to lay hands on any treasures that were committed to their care and protection (F). To all these changes

\(^{h}\) See vol. xiv. p. 76, & seq.

(E) This oak being afterwards cut down by St. Severus, the inscription engraven was to preserve the memory of it; \textit{Arbor divus Severus evertit centum deorum}. Our author adds, that, in rooting it up, they found a head full of gold and silver, which was laid out by that faint in the building of a church since dedicated to him, as appears by the epitaph upon his tomb (13).

(F) Of these lakes, fountains, &c. some were dedicated to one deity, some to another. Tacitus pretends to give us the reason why the Gauls deified them, because, says he, they were nearer heaven, and consequently nearer the ear of those deities, to whom they pray from thence (14). This is a very foolish one; and it is more reasonable to suppose, that they fannied those deities to be

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changes the druids found themselves obliged to submit, to avoid the penalties of those edicts; and so compliable did they shew themselves, that, from that time, whether to shew their complaisance to the Romans, or to take off the odium which their name laid them under, they exchanged it for that of Senani, which, in their language, signified the same as elder or venerable with us. From hence we may date their downfall, though not their total abolition till some ages after; for, being once reduced to such a low ebb of authority, or rather being once stripped of it, and become such servile creatures to their new and potent masters, it is not to be supposed, that these would ever suffer them to recover it again, but, if they still permitted them to make a gain of religion, it should be only in the worship and rites of those new deities, which they had now adopted. This was an effectual means to induce them to give into all kinds of Roman and Greek superstitions, or even to outdo them in it, since it would open a new door to their interest, instead of the old one that had been stopped up.

be more immediately present there. However, such regard they had for them, that the same author tells us, that the Kermon-
duri and Catti waged a bloody war against each other for the property of one of these fountains, which was a fact one; and that the former at length gained their point against the latter, by a vow which they made to sacrifice their enemies, and all their spoil, to Mars and Mercury; which was accordingly done; the Catti were all massacred without mercy, together with their horses, cattle, and all their spoil, and flung into the lake (15).

However, unless it be upon such bloody devotions, we do not find, that they offered any victims to them; but abundance of gold, silver, rich cloths, and other costly things, they flung into them, which was sacrilege to touch. We have spoken of the famous like of Tholouse dedicated to Apollo, whose treasures, especially in gold and silver ingots, and maffy utensils, amounted to immense sums, and was continually encreased by fresh offerings (16). In time these places became so liable to be plundered by foreign nations, as well as perhaps by their neighbours, that they began to repose those sacred treasures in their temples, of which they had soon after a vast number, as we shall see in due time.

(15) Ibid. sub fn. (16) Orof. l. v. c. 15. Cic. de
sat. deor. l. iii. Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 9.
up. We have taken notice, in the last note, of the immense treasures, which were flung into their consecrated lakes, rivers, and afterwards into their temples; and who can imagine those druids and priests to have been as scrupulous as the stupid laity, of converting any part of it to their own uses? But this we must submit to our readers, who will be better able to judge of it, if we subjoin here some few more instances of this kind of superstition; for it were endless to mention them all, they were grown to such number and variety.

One lake they had in some part of Gaul nearest the ocean, which received its name from two white ravens, with whistful wings, which constantly kept about it. Incredible wonders were told of it. Amongst others, it was much referred to in matters of controversy between parties. Each of the contenders brought a kind of cake, and laid it at the end of the same plank, which was set afloat on the lake, to be exposed to these ravens, whose custom, it seems, was to devour one of the cakes, and to crumble and scatter the other; and this last gave the cause to its owner. Another we read of at the foot of a mountain in the neighbourhood of Savoy, dedicated to the moon, under the name of Helanus, which signifies splendor. It was referred to by all the neighbouring people once a year, who threw into it, some cloaths, linen, fleeces of wool; others bread, cheese, wax, and the like, according as they could afford it. Here they kept a sumptuous feast, which lasted three whole days, a sufficient quantity of provisions being brought in waggons to the place. On the fourth day, we are told, when they were ready to return home, there constantly arose such storms of wind, thunder, rain, and hail, as made them afraid for their lives.

We have taken notice how they used the waters of the Rhine to discover the fidelity of their wives, and the legitimacy of their issue. They seem to have had a much greater veneration for this river, than for any other. The offerings and sacrifices offered to it were of a peculiar kind: whole armies called upon it for help and victory, and the sight of it, or any of its waters, inspired the soldiers with courage and bravery. Each river, fountain, lake, or pool, was looked upon as inhabited by some deity, and had some peculiar and extraordinary virtues ascribed to it, for the sake of which the credulous

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1 Strab. 1. iv. ad fin. Tacit. hist. 1. v. c. 18.
credulous people resorted to them in shoals, and with proper offerings, every one according to their ability. Some others of their superstitions we shall have occasion to hint in the sequel; and these shall suffice to shew into what lengths they ran in their imitation of the Greeks and Romans, and what profit their druids, bards, &c. are like to have made of them (G).

This multiplicity of deities, or rather of lakes, marshes, &c. consecrated to them, did not hinder them from building temples, altars and statues to them after the Roman manner, and not only in great number, but some of them very stately, and in the grand taste, as one may infer from some remains of them, and other monuments of that nation; but yet in these they commonly sacrificed to the gods only brute victims, and offered their vows and rich donatives in them; but, as to human sacrifices, they still offered them, it seems "m, under their oaks, and in their groves; but whether they did it for privacy, or for fear of the Romans, and to avoid the penalty of their edicts, or still retained their ancient notion of that supreme being, to whom they thought them more peculiarly to belong, is not easy to determine (H). To give our readers a specimen of these new buildings, we are told, that the statues of these gods, such as Pennin, Mercury, Diana, &c. of whom we shall speak in the sequel, were placed sometimes on a pedestal, which served

m See relig. des Gaul. 1. i. c.15.

(G) It may not be amiss to observe here to our readers, that this deifying of lakes, rivers, and springs, might probably be owing to some extraordinary qualities and virtues they observed in their waters, especially such as were of a hot and medicinal nature. Even lakes and rivers, though let's extraordinary on any such account, might yet rise to this height of veneration, on that of their perpetual flowing, and discharging such constant streams of water, without being exhausted; of all which the druids, though well enough acquainted with the natural reason, (for they were great philosophers) might yet make a mystery with the vulgar, for their own politic ends.

(H) The former seems the most probable, because they did likewise choose to offer these victims in caves, rocks, precipices, and other desolate and unfrequented places, which they chose sometimes by mere chance, and as they fell in their way; at other times
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cerved likewise for an altar, sometimes on a column of a prodigious height n. In some they were exposed to the open air, and in others sheltered by an edifice of polished stones in form of a cupola or cone. Their temples were no less rich and magnificent, witnesses that famed one called Vasio at Clermont in Auvergne, the walls of which are affirmed to have been thirty feet thick, covered, on the outside, with carved stones, and on the inside with small ones nicely wrought and polished, and on the top incrusted with marble, and compartments of Mosaic work. The pavement was likewise of marble, and the top covered with lead o. A learned French antiquary mentions eight of these stately fabrics of an octagonal form, and whose eight faces were adorned with a number of Gaulish deities, generally eight in number in those which he himself observed; which made him suspect, that this combination of numbers contained some Druidish mysteries, which are now quite out of our reach p (I). We shall refer our readers to the two authors times by their auguries and lots: all which seems to intimate, that they avoided being seen at these bloody ceremonies by any other people (17), especially the Romans, who had so strictly forbid them.

(I) The author of the religion of the Gauls has however disproved the conjecture of that learned antiquary, by shewing (18), that this octagonal form was common among the Romans, as well as the Gauls; and that the latter had temples of different forms, some round, some oblong, some decagonal, without any apparent mystical design. The thing is not worth disputing at this distance; and it doth not appear, that the Gauls had any such regard for the number eight. They had indeed a greater one, if we may believe Pliny (19), for the number six, which was held so sacred amongst them, that they overturned the order of months, years, &c. in honour of it; but on what account they did so, doth not appear.


(18) Vide Burchard. decret. l. x. c. 10. Keyzler. antiq. septentr. apud relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 15. ad fin. (17) Ibid. c. 16. (19) Idem, l. xvi. c. 44.
PLAN OF Y FAMED TEMPLE OF MONTMORILLON, BOTH ABOVE AND UNDER GROUND.

Plan of the Upper. Plan of the Lower.

The Side on which the eight figures stand over the Temple gate.

The Eight Figures over the Gate of the Temple.
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authors left quoted for a further account of those famous edifices, that we may not draw this section into an excessive length, and content ourselves with giving them a short description of one of the most curious of them in the next note (K), and figure, by which they may frame an idea of

(K) This octagonal structure stands at Montmorillon, in the province of Poitou, and consists of two temples, one above ground, and the other under it, somewhat like our St. Faith and St. Paul, the lowest of which is much narrower than the upper, and its wall as thick again. The upper received its light from eight windows, in form of portals, under the arch of each of the eight faces; but now walled up, except that over the gate or entrance into the fabric; and another which leads to a kind of wing or portico, which projects from the fabric on the opposite side. The great overture in the centre of the roof, which resembles that in the Rotonda of Rome, gives likewise some light to the building, tho' not much, because it descends through a hole in the roof, like a cylinder, of twenty-four feet in length, and about ten in breadth. The rain, that falls thro' it, gathers itself to the centre of the pavement, which is made with a proper declension, and empties itself through another, and much leffer hole, into the lower temple, and is sucked up by the earth, this last having neither sink nor pavement.

The wing, at one of the sides of the octagon, is equal to it, that is, eighteen feet in breadth without and within. That, which leads into the lower, is much narrower than that which leads into the upper building; and at the end of the former is a stair-case, that leads up to the latter. This place appears to be of the same age and structure as the octagon, and has, on the top, a kind of square tower of about the same height with the roof of the inner temple; but whether it had a bell in it, as some think, who imagine it to have been since turned into a church, is not easy to determine. This advanced building seems to have served for a kind of vestry to the priests and druids. Just over-against this, across the temple, is the gate that leads into it; and on the one side of it, in the subterranean temple, begins a covert way above six feet broad, and about six hundred in length, which leads to the neighbouring river, to which, it is supposéd, the druids went to wash themselves, and their victims, whenever they performed the priestly function.

Over the gate of the temple were eight human figures, coarsely carved, supposed to have been so many Gaulish deities. Of these, six are of the male kind, three in a group or niche, and the two others, one at each end, are females. The former are differently
of the Gaulish taste in architecture. All that we shall add here is, that, by the multitude of niches that appear in some

erently dressed. Those that face you, and stand farthest out, have a kind of antique mantle; the others have on a kind of tunic. One has a long gown quite down to his feet, and open from top to bottom, and all of them are girdled up. In one group, the figure that faces you is shod, and the other two on each side are barefooted. In the other group, that which faces you is unshod, and the other two shod. In the one they appear old men, with long beards; in the other, all young and beardless; so that in the first there are two old men unshod, and one shod; and in the other two young men shod, and one unshod. This odd contrast was not, doubtless, without some mysterious meaning.

Of the two women, which stand one at each end, the one had a long head of hair plaited hanging on each side before her, and is dressed somewhat in the modern form, that is, in a kind of stiff-bodied gown. She holds her hands on her sides, and hath a kind of mittens which cover about one-half-way her arms. That, which stands on the opposite side, is quite naked, and hath two serpents twisted one round each leg, and both, twining between her thighs, rear their heads up to her breasts, as if they were fucking at them, whilst she holds them by her hands, as it were, close to the sides of her belly. From this combination of eight figures over the gate of an octagonal temple, our learned author infers, that that number was looked upon by the Gauls as sacred to the gods, as we hinted a little higher.

The intabulation over it was not without its ornaments, which chiefly consisted of a great variety of heads oddly variegated, the meaning of which, if it was done with any, is not easy to guess. As to the figures themselves, this is the conjecture of our author, for the proofs of which we shall refer our readers to the place quoted in the margin (19): The naked woman, with two serpents, he supposes to have represented the moon, to whom therefore he concludes the temple to have been dedicated. The three old men he takes to have been three druids, and the three young men to have been their disciples, and the number six to have been designed to signify the sacredness in which it was held by the Gauls, it being on the sixth day of the moon that they performed their grand ceremony of gathering the mistletoe, as we have already hinted. The serpents, fucking at her breasts, may signify properly enough the virtue, which that planet imparted,
some of them, they seem to have had a vast number of statues in them, which are since most fully demolished, upon their conversion to Christianity; and some of them, since dug up out of their ruins, are so sadly broken and mangled, that it is hard to guess, whether they were Gaulish deities, or statues of any other kind. Our two authors differ in their judgment about them; but, since the Gauls were grown so fond of multiplying their deities, as to dedicate one oak to an hundred of them, as we lately hinted, why may we not believe with Montfaucon, that they might shew the same fondness for multiplying their idols in those temples, in imitation of the Romans? A great many of these edifices have been preferred here, as they were in other countries, upon the planting of Christianity, by being converted into churches, though a much greater number were then demolished, of which there are still some fragments remaining, and may be seen more particularly described in the authors above quoted.

We are now come to speak of the gods that were afterwards adopted and worshipped by the Gauls. We have already seen, how their antient Ephes came to be changed into Jupiter, at first indeed under the symbol of an oak, and even of a shapeless stump of a tree. But at length, as they gave wholly into the Roman superstition, they came to erect altars and statues to him, and to represent him after the Roman manner: thus in some antient statues and bas-reliefs he is parted, not only to that plant, but to all other vegetables, as the snakes are said to renew their age with their skins. As for the other woman, he supposes her to have been designed for Venus, because such a kind of figure had been dug up at Chalons, with her tresses plaited somewhat like this. If so, we would rather suppose the three young men, which stand next to her, to have been designed for her priests. But if the naked one, suckling two serpents, signifies the new moon, may not the other, which is dressed in a close-bodied gown reaching up to her neck, have been designed to express the old one, and to signify, that, after she is past the full, she ceases to communicate her influence? for the druids, being well versed, for those times, in astronomy, as we shall see in the sequel, and much addicted to astrology, it was natural for them to think, that as the increase of that planet did daily approximate her virtue to the earth, so her decrease did divert and elongate it from it. But whither are we running with our conjectures?
The History of the GaLs. Book IV.

Jupiter.

is carved with a lance in one hand, and a thunderbolt in the other, and with his arms and breast bare; his head is sometimes surrounded with a radial crown; his name of Jupiter is never met in any of his inscriptions; but only that of Ju, or Jovis, which, being of Celtic extract, was designingly retained by them, instead of the Roman. He is likewise surnamed Taran, which, in the same tongue, signifies thunderer: we would not, however, pretend to affirm, that this last name is the Taramis, or Taranis, of Lucan, or that the GaLs did not give it to any other god but the great Jupiter: but we may be well assured, that that of Jovis was peculiar to him, and has been preferred not only by the antient GaLs and Welsh, but is still retained by the French in many of their compound words (L). In that part of Gaul nearer the Alps he was called Peninus, and those high mountains Penisse, from the old Celtic word Pen, which signifies an head, an height, a summit (M). He was represented as a young man naked, on a column reared to him on the top of mount St. Bernard the Lefs, by L. Lucilius, and is styled Optimus Maximus; whence it is concluded, that he was the same with the Gaulish Jovis. What seems to confirm this beyond all question, is, that the column on which it stood is

(L) Particularly in those that follow Joudy or Jeudy, Thursday, or day of Jove; Joumont, Joubarb, the mount of Jove, a mountain so called by the Romans, and the beard of Jove, an herb so called, from its resemblance to it; and many more of the like nature. As for that of Taran, which is still kept in many words which express any loud and fearful noise, and from which we take the Greek ταραχή and ταραττω to be derived, it is not unlikely, that it may have been also given to Mars, on account of the thundering noise which the GaLs made upon their shields, when they invoked him, either before an onset, or after a victory.

(M) This deity is called Apenina by Cato the elder, who derives it from Apis, the first king of Italy, with whom, according to him, ended the golden age (20). Servius (21) calls her Penina. But the figure and inscription which Guichenon has given us of it, shew it to have been erected to a male deity. The inscription is, Lvcivs Lvcilius Deo Penino Optimo Maximo Donum Dedit. The column was of marble, and about fourteen feet high.

is indifferently called the column of Jove and of Peninus, and the carbuncle that was placed on it, the eye of Jove, and the eye of Peninus; but, since by the eye of Jupiter was meant the sun from all antiquity, and the carbuncle was a very proper emblem of this last deity, why may we not as well suppose this statue, naked and youthful as it was, to have been dedicated to it rather than to Jupiter? However that be, as this last succeeded their great Eus, they paid much the same worship to him, and, in particular offered human victims to him, as the Romans did to their Jupiter Latialis; some instances of which we have given in the last section of this chapter, and in a former volume.

Their next deity was Mars, whom they esteemed as the chief protector of the Gaulish nation. Their invincible warlike temper inspired them with such a veneration for, and confidence in him (N), that whenever they went to war, they made him heir of all their possessions, and about the time of the onset they vowed to him all the plunder. If they came off with victory, they frequently sacrificed their prisoners, as well as their cattle, to him, and hung the heads of their slain enemies about the necks of their horses, in token of their valour. They even enclosed some of the most considerable


(N) Julian the apostate, among his many other chimerical notions, attributed all the bravery and success of the Gauls to the influence which the providence of the Creator of all things had endowed that deity with, when he put them under his protection. But it is far more reasonable to think, that their natural bravery, joined to their hatred of the all-conquering and enslaving Romans, directed them to the choice of that deity for their protector, and which they antiently worshipped, not as a god, but as one of the attributes of the Supreme Deity, which squared most with their warlike temper, as we have had occasion to hint in a former note (23).

The History of the Gauls. Book IV.

ble ones in frames of cedar, and, upon proper occasions, shewed them to strangers, and at no rate could be prevailed upon to part with them. Another barbarous custom they are unjustly branded with, of poisoning their arrows with a juice, which they extracted from a tree not unlike our fig-tree, but of a quite deadly quality. In times of sickness, or imminent danger, they immediately sacrificed some human victims to Mars, or vowed to do it, as soon as they had it in their power; and performed it accordingly. It was even common with them, in pressing dangers, to vow all their enemies to that deity, and to massacre them, as we have formerly hinted, without mercy or distinction. We have already taken notice, that he was formerly worshipped under the emblem of a naked sword, and under the name of Mars or Mavors, or Mawr-ruisc, which signifies warlike or powerful. Since then, we find him represented in the habit of a Roman warrior, with a spear in one hand, and a shield in the other, and with the surname of Camulus (O). We are told, that the Acctani of Spain, or the inhabitants of Cadiz, a Gaulish colony, represented him surrounded with rays of light, because, says our author, the boiling of the blood, and flow of animal spirits, which are the cause

xxiii. c. 12. 9 Macrob. Saturn 1. i. c.

(O) This appears from two inscriptions which Gruzer has given us, the one on a bas-relief, with figures of five gods, viz. Arduinne, Camulus, Jove, Mercury, and Hercules, all which have their names engraved over their heads. The inscription underneath shews it to have been dedicated to them by one Quarinus, who is there styled Civis Sabinus Remus; from which that great critic, not observing, that the last word shews him to have been a citizen of Rheims, mistook those deities to be of Sabinian extract, and Camulus to be the same as Camillus (24), one of the names which the Sabines gave to Mercury.

But there is another inscription, of older date by an hundred years, which shews, that the Rhemenes in Gaul worshipped Mars under that title. It runs thus; MARTI CAMVLO OB SALVTEN TIBERI CLAVDI CÆS. CIVES REMI TEMPLVM CONSTITVNT (25). Hence it is plain, that if Camulus was known in that part of Italy, it was by means of this Quarinus, a Rhemilish citizen, who dedicated this inscription there to him, under the reign of

cause of a martial temper, were produced by the heat of the
sun. The variety of inscriptions, that have been dug up by the
curious, shews him to have been in the highest esteem. We
took notice formerly, that all the treasures and plunder, that
were vowed to him, were laid up in heaps in the next conve-
nient place in the open fields, and were looked upon as so fa-
cred, that no Gaul dared to meddle with them. Some stones
have been found, with eight or nine human heads buried under
them, which, by the inscription, appear to have been dedicated
to him, and these heads to have belonged to those human vic-
tims, which they were accustomed to vow to him in times of
peril and sickness. In some of these inscriptions he is called plain-
ly Mars; in others he has the title of Segomen; in others Vin-
cius or Britovius, the meaning of which names is not very
clear. The reader may see the most probable conjectures about
them in the next note (P).

APOLLO

of Antoninus; whereas that city appears, by the second inscrip-
tion, to have dedicated their temple in that of Claudius: so that,
upon the whole, all these five deities here appear to have been
Gaulish, not only by their names, which are of Celtic extrac?
but from the resemblance of their dress, attitudes, &c. with those
that have been found among the antient monuments of Gaul, es-
pecially in the the great cathedral of Paris (26).

As for the etymology of Camulus, it is not easily deciphered.
It may be derived from the Celtic camp, a field of battle; from
campa, to fight, and ulvu, a fire, blaze; whence perhaps the Greek
cammonia, by which they called the victory gained in single com-
batt. It may perhaps also come from the cam or chant, or songs,
which the Gauls used when they went to fight. But we have had
frequent occasion to observe throughout this work, that there is
nothing more uncertain, and apt to mislead men, than strained
etymologies. Besides, the Gauls having received, as we have seen,
their polytheism from the Romans, it were unreasonable to expect,
that names and surnames of those deities should all be of Gaulish
extract. As for Arvidia, her dress, as well as name, shews her
to have been Diana, who was worshipped in Gaul, as well as in
Greece and Rome.

(P) That of Segomen appears to be Celtic, and signifies rich,
or making rich. Hence the Segos, who inhabited the most fruitful
part of Gaul, and were reckoned the most opulent, are
thought to have had their name. That of Vincius seems to have
been

(26) Vide relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 36.
The History of the Gaufs. Book IV.

Apollo was another of their deities, and in as great veneration, on account of his being the god of physic, as Mars was for being the god of war. The druids, who were as famed quacks as priests, failed not to celebrate him, as the implanter of all the virtues that they attributed to their materia medica, which chiefly consisted in vegetables, accompanied with a great deal of superfluous trash, which they used in the gathering, preparing, and administering (Q.). The Aquileians and Tectosagi chose him for their patron and protector. The latter, who occupied a vast territory about Tholosa, had a very rich and magnificent temple dedicated to him in that city, which was their metropolis. This is supposed to be the

been given him on account of his stately temple at Vincia, now Vences, in Provence; and, in all likelihood, that of Britovius from some other city, where he was more particularly worshipped; perhaps that of Britonium, in Galicia, which was a colony of the Gaufs, and became afterwards an episcopal see, but is now destroyed (26).

(Q) We have already given some hints of this, in speaking of their misfeto, and their time and method of gathering it. It were needless, as well as tedious, to follow them through all their other superfluous quackeries; but one instance we cannot omit, because it shews not only the stupidity of them, but likewise their fondness for them; since this last continued in vogue, it seems, till the eleventh century.

They had an herb dedicated to Apollo, or Belenus, which they called, from him, Belinuncia, and the Romans Apollinaris; and is supposed to have been a kind of henbane. The Spaniards and Hungarians retain still the former of these names, the one calling it Veleno, and the others Belend. With the juice of this herb they poisoned their darts, when they went a stag-hunting; and could poison the creature with a slight wound, and esteemed the flesh the more tender and luscious for it. Amongst other ridiculous uses they made of this plant, the following is remarkable, as well for its oddity, as long continuance.

Whenever the country laboured under a great drought, the women assembled themselves, and chose from amongst them a young virgin, to be the leader of the dance. She stripped herself naked, and went at the head of the rest, in search of this herb, which they then called Baélisâ: when she had found it, she plucked it up by the roots, with the little finger of her right hand, and tied it to a string, the other end of which was fastened to the little toe of her right foot. Her company did then cut off each some bough,

(26) Idem ibid. & auct. ab eo citat.
the same that is mentioned by an antient author, on account of Constantine's repairing thither, to give thanks for his late success (R), and the extraordinary presents he made to it; upon which occasion that author styles it the finest temple of Apollo that was then in the world. The building was a decagon, in which there was a vast number of niches and statues, and, among the rest, that of Apollo, represented as a lively youth; upon which account, the panegyrift compliments that monarch with joining to the youthfulness of the god, the grandeur of an emperor. Some words he adds, which seem to imply, as if the oracle of the god had justly promised him the empire of the world; from which one might be induced to believe, that there had been, likewise, an oracle of that god there, in imitation of that of Delphos; and that Constantine had been consulting it. But we would not lay too great stress on the swollen expreffions of a panegyrift. However that be, as Apollo was the same deity with the sun, the Gauls worshipped him under several names, and different forms. He is sometimes called Apollo, Belenus, and Abellion, which signifies fair; sometimes by the Persian name of Mithras; sometimes that of Penninus, of which we have spoken under that of Jupiter; and at other times Dolichenus. We shall not trouble ourselves with diverging for fresh etymons of all those names, which

\[ G g 2 \]

\[^r\] Eumenius, panegyr. Constantus sub fin.

bough, and carried them in their hands after her, whilst she dragged the plant after her, towards the next river, where she plunged it in the water; the rest dipped, likewise, their boughs, and sprinkled her with it. When this ceremony was over, they all returned to the place whence they set out, but took care to make the young virgin walk backwards all the way (27).

(R) Constantine had, it seems, just taken the city of Marseille, and in it Hercules his father-in-law, who had sworn his ruin; so that he was now enabled to resume the purple which he had been forced to quit. And this being before his conversion, he went to pay his acknowledgment to Apollo, at this stately temple, which, upon many accounts, is supposed to have been that of Tholoufe.

The same panegyrift tells us, that there was another temple of that god at Autun, where there was likewise a spring of hot waters, which were used for the punishment of perjury, and which, though they sent up a continual smoke, had neither ill taste or smell, but were both pleasant and wholesome.

(27) Idem ibid. Burchar. decrect. 1. xix. c. 5.
which may, perhaps, have rifen from the places where he was
more particularly worshipped, or from other circumstances
not now to be come at. He was generally represented youth-
ful, naked, with a radiant crown, or golden tresses. In some
antient buffoes found of him, as well as in some antient coins,
he is represented with a pole, or ring (S), and a link of a
chain fastened to his skull, by which he was, it is suppos-
ed, suspend to the roof, in imitation of the sun, whom they
fanst to be suspend by a golden chain. But, after all,
might not such hanging figures of that deity have been the
effects of some vows which the Gauls, and others, used to make
to the deity in time of sickness; and who, upon their recov-
ery, hung up the promised figure in his temple, without any
regard to the ridiculous notion above-mentioned? One head of
his was dug up at the castle of Polignac, which place is suppos-
ed to have been so called from Apollo, and is still there to be
seen against the wall that surrounds it. It is but ill carved on a
bluish stone, between four and five feet in height and breadth,
and is surrounded, all over, with rays, which, when the sun
shines upon it, cast a kind of golden or fiery lustre, and shew
that those rays had been formerly gilt. What is remarkable
in this antique, is, that he is carved with his mouth wide open;
from which it is concluded, to be here represented as deliver-
ing his answers. And, truly, the druids were, by this time,
become such zealous mimics of the Greeks and Romans, that

Vide Euripid. Phœniss. Ælian. varior. l. i. c. 20.
Idem ibid. Vide & Anaxag. & al. Simoni Limag d'Au-
I. xi. c. 27.

(S) To understand what the antients meant by these kinds of
poles, we must have recourse to Diodorus Siculus, who is the only
one that has given us any light in it, and who, speaking of Alex-
ander's funeral procession from Babylon to Alexandria, tells us,
that in the canopy which was over the car, or hearse, there was a
pole so nicely wrought, that neither the roughness of the roads,
or the jolting of the wheels could move it (28). Hence his in-
terpreters have concluded this pole to have been a kind of hinge,
or ring, to which a certain number of springs were fastened, which
kept the whole machine tight, and immovable (29). And hence
it is supposed to have been called a pole, from the number of
chains and springs which centred in it to keep the hanging sta-
tue steady. But whether they have hit the point, we will not af-
firm.

we need not doubt but they had some one or more of these oracles among them, though we could not find any other footsteps of it. There is an inscription, in this temple, of Polignac, out of which the head above-mentioned had been taken, which the antiquary above quoted judges to have been put up by the emperor Claudius, who was of Lions, and consequently had lived in the neighbourhood of this castle, and had been there, perhaps, either to consult the oracle, or, more probably, to pray to that god for the recovery of his health, as he was a very sickly prince when he caused his name and titles to be set up there. For Cæsar tells us, that even in his time the Gauls looked upon Apollo as the god of physic; and another author adds, that the sick persons that addressed themselves to him for health, used to send thither that part of their body where the ailment was, carved out in wood, or cast in brass. At Marselles was found a statue like that of a Roman warrior armed cap-a-pè, about eleven or twelve feet high, and standing on the crupper of a bull, between the belly of which, and the pedestal on which it stands, is carved an eagle, as it were, sitting squat; and on the pedestal an inscription, importing, that Octavius Paternus had dedicated it to the god Dolichenius. The bull and the eagle has made some antiquaries suppose that deity to have been Jupiter; but another author, often quoted in this section, has given some convincing proofs that it was Apollo: we shall refer the curious, for those proofs, to the book itself, to prevent running into too great a length. All that needs to be added, with respect to this antique, is, that the name, which is a Greek one, and signifies, according to some, a hippodrome, according to others, the posts that directed the races, seems to intimate, that Apollo was looked upon by the Gauls to preside over those exercises.

But the deity in greatest veneration among the Gauls, was Mercury. We have already given some reasons for it in the Celtic history. Other deities had particular cities and provinces where they were more particularly worshipped; but this, after he was adopted as the god not only of trade and commerce, of which he was antiently esteemed the author, and chief promoter, in Gaul, but likewise of arts and sciences, of the highways and travellers, of pregnant women, and even of thieves and robbers, statues, altars, and temples, were erected to him every-where throughout this country. He is called

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\[ \text{Gg 3} \]

\[ \text{Com. ubi supra.} \]

\[ \text{Greg. Turon. vit. patr. c. 6.} \]

\[ \text{Relig. des Gauies, ubi supra.} \]

\[ \text{Vol. v. p. 413, (D) & 433, & n. (Y)(Z).} \]
called, by several antient authors, Theutat, and Theutates b, the signification of which name we have given, as well as that of Mercury, in the volume above quoted; and we need not doubt but they both meant the same deity, or that he was worshipped under both by the Gauls, since both are of Celtic extract, and expressive of the excellent notion they had of him, upon both accounts (T). That of Theutat signifying the father of his people, they acknowledged him under that name, at first, as their founder; and afterwards boasted

b Lucan. Pharsal. i. i. Liv. decad. iii. i. vi. c. 44. Laetant. & al.

(T) To these two names, and those we mentioned in a former volume, we must add that of Ognius, mentioned by Lucan, and which, though that author gives to Hercules, by mistake, yet, in all appearance, belonged to Mercury. The description he gives of him, as he saw it in Gaul, being somewhat curious, though the humour of it be somewhat exaggerated, we shall give our English readers the substance of it.

"The Gauls, says he, call Hercules Ognius, and represent him as a decrepit old man, bald, wrinkled, and weather-beaten, like some old sailor. One would sooner take him for old Charon, or any one else, than for Hercules. But if one considers him with his lion's skin, the bow and quiver in his left, and the club in his right hand, he looks quite like a Hercules. What is most curious, is, that the good old man holds a multitude of people tied to him by the ear; the chains are of gold and amber, and, though very fine and slight, not one of them seems to strive to break them, or even unwilling to follow him. On the contrary, they seem so pleased, and the chains so loose, that there appears a visible eagerness in them to keep close to him. His hands being both full, the painter has represented those chains as fastened to a hole bored through Ognius's tongue, whilst he looks back smiling on his followers."

Lucan, having expressed his surprize at the oddness of the picture, introduces a Gaul accounting to him for it, in words to this effect: "You will cease to be surprized at it, when I tell you, that we Gauls make Hercules the god of eloquence, contrary to the Greeks, which give that honour to Mercury, who is so far inferior to him in strength. We represent him as an old man, because eloquence never shews itself so lively and strong as in the old people. The relation which the ear hath to the tongue, justifies the picture of the old man, who holds so many people fast by his tongue; neither do we think it any affront to Hercules, to paint him with his tongue bored; since, to tell you all in one word, it was that which made him
boasted themselves to be sprung from him (V), in imitation of the Thracian kings, who were another branch of the ancient G  g 4

"him succeed in every thing; and that it was by his wisdom that he subdued all hearts unto him." Thus far Lucan: and it is not easy to guess whether he was imposed upon by his Gaul, or whether he himself introduces this story as a burlesque upon the Gaulish nation, who depended so far on their strength and bravery, whilst they as much valued themselves upon their eloquence, as if they had excelled the world in it; and so expose them for their veneration for Hercules, rather than Mercury. It is plain, however, that these light and brittle chains, which held so many pleased captives fast by the ear to the tongue of the god, could not belong to Hercules, in any case, but to Mercury, the god of eloquence; and are, accordingly, attributed to him by the generality of ancient mythologists. On the other hand, the club, the quiver, &c. were indifferently given to Mercury, to whom, we are told, Hercules consecrated them, after some successful fight against the giants (30). Accordingly, we read, that the emperor Commodus, who affected to appear at public shows in the habit of Mercury, used to wear the caduceus in his hand, whilst his officers carried the club, lion’s skin, &c. before him. And in giving these to that god, the meaning was plainly this, that where-ever wisdom and eloquence were, there could be neither strength nor courage wanting; because the former was ever able either to procure, or, at the worst, to supply the want of the latter.

Many other reasons might be assigned to prove, that this picture of Ognius represented a Mercury, and not an Hercules; however Lucan came to give it to the latter (31), wherein he has been followed by the multitude of antiquaries. As for us, we think it unnecessary to dwell longer upon it, in a work of this nature: and those who rather choose to follow that author, have a Hercules here as worshipped by the Gauls, under the name of Ognius, or, rather, as joined into one with Mercury by them, as he was antiently by the Egyptians, and other nations. But it is plain Lucan had no mind to admit the latter amongst the Gaulish gods, when he makes him tell Jupiter, that he doth not know which way to summon these to the assembly; because, as he was a stranger to their language, he could neither understand them, nor be understood by them (32).

(V) We are told, that the famed Pythagoras, having passed over

(31) Xiphilin. excerpt. ex Dion. in Commod.
(32) Vide antiq. expliq. tom. i. relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 31, & seq.
tient Celtes. Mercury was with them the god of riches; no man could attain to them without his help: and hence he came to be confounded with Pluto, and to share in his honours and attributes; or, if we may be allowed to guess nearer to the truth, Mercury, being dead, became Pluto, the god of riches, and of the lower regions; and hence both Gauls and Thracians claimed their descent from these two deities, after they had, by length of time, split them into two, in imitation of their neighbours. Some inscriptions shew, that not only Mercury, but even Venus and Mars, were reckoned among the infernal gods (W). As he was worshipped as their progenitor, he is often joined, in those statues and inscriptions erected to him, with the goddess Poftverta, to assist women in labour. This goddess has much puzzled all mythologists, and may be only an epithet of Proserpine, whom Strabo says, they worshipped as their mother (X); or, perhaps, of Diana, who had the same office. According to all these distinctions, one may reckon three Gaulish Mercuries, or rather the same god worshipped under three different titles, and represented in three different forms.

As

Cæsar, com. i. vi.        L. iv.

over into Gaul, to learn the mysteries of the druids, was so taken with this notion of theirs, that he boasted the same descent, and that that god had promised to grant him whatever favour he should ask, except that of being made immortal (33).

(W) Dīs infernis Veneri, Marti, & Mercurio sacer (34). With relation to his being the god of riches, we find an antient witty inscription at Lyons, in Latin, to this effect. "Mercury promises you gain here, Apollo health, and Septu-" manus a lodging; but he that brings his dinner with him, "will fare the better. After this, stranger, you must look out "where to lodge (35)." As this city was one of the most trading ones in Europe, the scarcity of inns in it, at that time, might make the opulent and generous Septuamanus give strangers this odd invitation.

(X) As she was supposed to assist women in labour, the names of Poftverta, and Anteverta, might be given her on account of her turning the child to the right position for the birth. Those who make two goddesses of them think, that the one had power to remedy what was pait, and the other to prevent what was to come.

(33) Dial. Jupit. traged.        (34) Clem. Alex. tirom. i. i.
Diog. Laert. i. viii.        (35) Hist. de l'académ. des inscriptions,
tom. iii.
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As the god of eloquence, he was represented in the manner we have described him from Lucan, in a late note, as an old man, with his bow, quiver, club, and lion's skin, holding a willing multitude chained to his tongue by their ears. As the god of merchants and travellers, he was represented naked, and without sex and beard, and with his winged cap, his caduceus, &c. He is under this head, likewise, represented with a purse in one hand, and sometimes with a cornucopia in the other, and with wings on his heels, as the messenger of the gods. In some statues he has a crescent, over the wings of his cap, and was often joined with the moon in the Gaulish worship; and that, probably, upon these two accounts: First, as the one was the dispenser of wealth, and the other the giver of fertility to the earth; and, secondly, as both presided over the highways, upon which account, the latter was called Trivia; and both protected the roads, the travellers, thieves, shepherds, and shepherdesses, as he is affirmed to have followed their life; upon which account, these likewise offered sacrifices to him. As an infernal deity, we conjecture him to have been represented with a beard; his winged cap rather resembled a disk, and instead of a caduceus, he held in one hand an odd kind of sceptre, and in the other a purse. His body was surrounded with a kind of imperial mantle, or paludamentum, tyed, or fastened, by some ornament, on one of his shoulders. This we infer from an antient monument, an account of which may be seen in the margin (Y), in the inscription of which he is styled Augustus. There have been many

e Porph. de abit. 1. ii. Macrobi. somn. Scip. 1. i. Auct. hymn. in Merc. verf. 15, 290. 

come. In one of those inscriptions, under a double busto, one of Mercury, and the other of that goddes, she is called Rosmeret; in some others it is Mercury, and Fort. Verte, or Fortuna Verte, or happy return; as he is often stiled in others, Mercurio Negotiatori, Nundinatori, &c. (36).

(Y) This appears, from a large bas-relievo, between five and six feet long, and about three in breadth, and near two in thickness, dug up out of a gentleman's vineyard, near one of the gates of the city of Beaumais. The inscription is, Sacrum Mercurio Augusto C. Julius Healissus V S L M. It is plain, from some other inscriptions in Gruter, that a bearded Mercury was common in Gaul, though not among the Greeks and Romans; and the title

(36) Menet, prép. à l'histoire de Lion, p. 56.
many other conjectures offered, both concerning this antient monument, and the title there given him, as well as some others, which are met with in those old inscriptions & such as that of Artaius, Ciflonius, Arvernus, and some others, which we shall not tire our readers with: we shall likewise pass by some other dreffes and attitudes with which the luxuriant fancies of the Gauls have represented him, and only add, that from what we have observed of those mounds in which the Gauls and Britains buried their dead, such as thofe we described on Salisbury plain, and what Livy says of such a kind of tumulus, or sepulchral mount, which Scipio took notice of in the neighbourhood of New Carthage in Spain, and which the natives called Mercury Teutat, one may draw a probable conjecture, that he was buried there. We have formerly shewn, that he reigned in Gaul, which comprehended then the greatest part of Europe, and particularly Spain; and may be reasonably therefore supposed to have been there interred, after the Celtic or Gaulifh manner. Other heaps or mounds, there were, which likewise bore his name; but thofe were of a different nature, as the reader may fee in the next note (Z).

How he was worshipped by the Gauls under any of these three

5 See relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 17, & seq.


title Augustus, which we find in several antient medals given to other gods and goddeffes, or rather to emperors and empresses deified under their names, inclines us to think, that this monument was dedicated to Mercury after he had been deified by the Gauls, and reckoned among the infernal deities. Some distinction, doubtlefs, thre must have been of his drefs, &c. under this last denomination, and this seems the moft likely to have been it; but it is here offered only as a probable conjecture.

(Z) Thofe laft are known to have been heaps of ftones, and other obftacles, of which the highways were either cleared by his command; or in honour of him, as he was thought the god that presided over them. Whenever, therefore, any traveller met with any fuch, he took them up, and carried them till he found one of these heaps, which were in great numbers, and flung it in among the reft; by which means they grew larger, and higher, and were called by his name (37).

The author of the vulgate version has alluded to this custom, where

17 Vide Gruter. ubi supra, & relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 18.
three denominations, is hard to guess; only as he was, in imitation of the Romans, deified as the god of traffic and riches, we may suppose they borrowed some of their rites from the worship which the Roman merchants paid to him there, and which is beautifully described by the poet k, who cloths his account of it with this reflection, that Mercury could not but be inclined to forgive all the cheats and perjuries of these his votaries, when he remember'd how himself had been guilty of the like 1. The chief victim with which they concluded his feast, was a sow with pig.

These were the chief male deities which we find worshipped by the Gauls; some others they had likewise adopted, such as Mithras, from the Persians (A), Neptune, Erebus, and Orcus, supposed both to be the same with Pluto; Bacchus, and some others, whom they adopted from the Greeks and Romans, concerning which we know very little, either of their worship, or of the notion which the Gauls had of them. As to their goddesses, the chief of them were, Diana, goddess, or


where he makes Solomon say (28), that "He who doth honour "to a foolish man, is like him that throws a stone in one of "Mercury's heaps." But the text in the original has no such allusion, but only compares the latter to one that binds a flint in a sling. These heaps were generally gathered up at some cross-ways, and places where roads divided, and where there generally stood a terminus, or figure at half body; at the foot of which they threw those stones (39).

These served, likewise, to remind people of the heavy curfews which this deity was thought to inflict on those who abused travellers, or refused to put them in the right way (40). Their representing him of no sex, as he was the god of commerce and riches, was, in all likelihood, to intimate, that neither of them were confined to either sex, but that both had an equal title to his protection and blessing; and we may add, that it might be likewise done in a modest opposition to the Greeks and Romans, who represented him as ambifex, and with a spear in one hand, and a dia staff in the other (41).

(A) It appears from several ancient monuments and inscriptions, that

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or Luna, Juno, Minerva, Venus, Proserpine, Arduina, whom we take to be the moon, as we hinted a little higher, and Cybele, a statue of which was dug up at Paris with a head crowned with a kind of hexagonal temple, and was particularly in great veneration in the city of Autun, and whose priests were, it seems, all castrated in honour of her (B), and from thence called Galli (C). Before we close this section, that Mithras, the Sun, and Mercury, were worshipped, among the Gauls, as one and the same deity; at least, Mithras being the Sun, among the Persians, is often represented as conjoined with him, that is, with a Sun over his head, and sometimes on his breast, and with this inscription, Mercurio soli sacrum. Hence the author of the Gaulish religion has been at the pains to collect a number of other arguments, to prove that those two deities were looked upon here as one and the same, or, at most, as associated both in their virtues, and in their worship. And might not this be on account of the great and constant nearness of the two planes, which bear these names, have to each other (42)?

(B) This appears, from what we read in the acts of Syphorianus, a zealous Christian since fainted, who, being brought before the governor of that city, for refusing to worship her idol, on a day in which her statue was carried about in procession, alleged, among other reasons for his refusal, that he could not acknowledge a deity, whose mysteries and worship consisted in a shameful and unnatural castration. But whether these Galli, or priests, were Gauls, or sent for from Phrygia, or elsewhere; or whether the Gauls, who appear to have had an abhorrence for all kinds of mutilations allowed of these Galli; or whether they did not rather belong only to the Romans, as some authors believe (43), we shall examine in the next note.

(C) That Cybele, or the mother of the gods, as she is called, was a deity of Syrian, and not of Gallic extract, is universally acknowledged. So that if her worship was introduced into Gaul, it was either by force, or in imitation of the Greeks and Romans. If we consider their abhorrence to all mutilations, we shall hardly think that they could willingly give into such a kind of worship as this, which required every priest, and encouraged every votary of the goddess to become an eunuch, as Heliogabalus is said to have done, in one of his mad fits (44). We are, moreover, told, that these Galli were had in such abhorrence, that no other people would converse with them; and that they were put upon

(42) L. ii. c. 36, & seq. Pelloutier. Keyzler, & al. (43) Idem ibid. l. i. c. 33. ad fin. (44) Lamprid. in Heliogab. Vict. epitom.
section, it will be necessary to give our readers some account of the Gaulish druids, bards, &c. and of such of their doctrines and tenets as have not been yet touched upon, at least as far as we can gather them from ancient authors; for it cannot be expected, that we should know much concerning that set of men, considering that they made a mystery of their religion and philosophy, and a constant rule never to commit any thing relating to either to writing.

We have already observed, that the order of the druids had the sole care of all religious matters, which they so artfully and dexterously introduced into every other concern, both public and private, that nothing could be done without their approbation; and that this absolute sway of theirs lasted till at least some time after their conquest by the Romans.

They

\[m\] Vide Cass. com. l. vi. & alib. pass. \[n\] See before, p. 449. (B).

the level with forcerers, gladiators, and hangmen (45) so that they had no other way of living, but by carrying their goddess about, and begging charity for her sake; all which was most opposite to the genius of the Gallic nation.

Accordingly, St. Jerome has a passage which plainly intimates, that the Romans forced this emasculated priesthood upon the Gauls, and called those eunuchs Galli, in order to fix a perpetual ignomy upon that nation, for having taken their metropolis, and besieged their capital (46). And we are told, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that no Roman took that office upon him, but that they had a Phrygian male and female to perform it. This might be true, in part; and if what is reported of Heliogabalus, who became one of them, be to be credited, it will only shew, that he minded the laws and customs of Rome no more in this case, than he did in all others (47).

However, St. Jerome seems to have been mistaken in his derivation of the word gallus and galli; which, if we may believe Pliny, and other Roman authors, were so called from a river of that name in Phrygia (48); and, in particular, Ovid, who, probably, to expove the unnatural castration of these priests, tells us, that the waters of that river had such a dangerous quality, that whosoever drank of them did run stark mad (49). But be that as it will, the contemptible name of Gallus may well enough have

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They were called by several names (D), beside that of druid, of which we have given the etymology in a former volume. Their antiquity is looked upon of the same date with the brachmans.


have been given to the Gauls by way of pun upon their national one, let those priests have been called so on any other account. So that, upon the whole, if any Gauls were ever seen in that office, they must needs be supposed to have been forced into it by their imperious conquerors: but, after all, this worship of Cybele, though established in Gaul, as well as in Rome, may yet, for aught appears, have been countenanced by the latter, and disapproved by the former.

Before we close this note, it will not be amiss to mention a noble testimony which a Roman writer gives of this aversion of the Gauls to mutilation (50); where, having amply expatiated on their known valour and bravery, their contempt of difficulties and dangers, and even of death, he adds, "We never find any of them do, as some of us do in Italy, cut off their thumbs, for fear of going to the wars, and upon which account they call us, in derision, Murci."

To understand the sting of this saying, it must be observed, that Murcia was reckoned, amongst the Romans, the goddess of cowards and idle fellows; whence her infamous votaries were called Murci (51). And from this shameful custom of cutting off their thumbs, to disqualify themselves for service, came the old Gallic word poltron, from pollex and truncus, which is still retained to this day, by many other nations besides the French.

(D) One of them was that of Semnothai (52), given to them, doubtless, on account of their greater veneration for, and knowledge of, the godhead. Diodorus Siculus gives them that of Saronisides, on account of their great regard to such old oaks as were decayed, and stripped of their bark; for that is the meaning of that word, according to Hesychius.

A Gaulish antiquary, not content to derive that of druid from the Celtic drwv, an oak, compounds it with that and hud, incantation; whence he infers the Greek dryades to have come (53): but though they are charged, and that perhaps justly, to have used many such practices, and in a most inhuman manner; yet it is not reasonable to think that they would add so odious a syllable

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brachmans of India, magi of Persia, the Chaldees of Babylon and Assyria, and, in a word, with the oldest sects of philosophers. And, indeed, considering their vast distance from each other, and the conformity of their doctrine, we can suppose no other but that they all received it from the same hand, viz. from Noah and his immediate descendents, and carried it each to the different places of their dispersion; for they can never be imagined to have communicated it to each other, as there could be no communication or commerce between them in those early times; at least the druids of Britain, of whom we shall speak in the next chapter, and from whom the Gauls received all their religion and philosophy, cannot be supposed to have had it from any of these foreign sects, to whom they were utterly unknown. The Gauls, tenacious as they were till their conquest, of their religion, laws and customs, never belyed their origin, but owned themselves to have received all from the British druids: thither they sent their own to be instructed. Here was the grand seminary where they received their instruction, and here was the seat of the arch-druid, or head, and high-priest of their religion; to whom they appealed, as to their dernier resort.


syllable to their name: neither can the Greeks or Romans be supposed to have done it, because the monosyllable, being Celtic, was unknown to them. Dryades was, therefore, no more than a Greek termination of the word druid.

The last name we shall take notice of was, that of Samani, which we hinted above was, probably, taken up by them as more pleasing to the Romans, it properly signifying a wife and venerable man; as their druidesses were called fenoe, and fens (54). This was probably done in imitation of the sect of gymnosophils, who agreed with them in many things, particularly in having their societies composed of males and females, like the Gaulish druids, in studying philosophy, astrology, prying into futurity, living in celibacy, and the like (55). There were by the Greeks called Semnones; the Gauls, among whom the "mn" was, and is still, in many provinces, pronounced like "nn," called them Semnones, and, in the Latin termination, Sennoni and Sennani.

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...refort, in all doubtful and controverted cases. It were, therefore, absurd to suppose, as some have done, either that these travelled into such vast remote parts to learn their doctrines from the sages of India, or any other sects; or much less, as others too eagerly contend, that these travelled into Gaul and Britain to learn theirs from them. And it is much more reasonable to derive that great resemblance which is observed between them all, from those antient times, when they were, in some measure, but one people, or great family; and that each carried, and carefully preferred them in those parts of the world where they settled themselves (E).

Among other instances of the excessive power of the druidish tribe, Cæsar mentions one, by which we may guess at the rest, viz. that they chose the annual magistrates of every city, who had during that year the supreme authority, and sometimes the title of king. And yet these could do nothing without their approbation and advice, not so much as call a council; so that, notwithstanding their great pomp and state, says another author, they were but the creatures and slaves of the druids. They used the same arbitrary power in their courts of judicature, and all other cases, and were everywhere esteemed as the chiefs of every Gaulish commonwealth.


(E) Some antient Roman authors, such as Cæsar, Valerius Maximus, Am. Marcellinus, &c. have indeed affirmed, that the druids learned their doctrines from Pythagoras; and the same some have affirmed of Numa (56), though he was of so much older date. But we have formerly observed, that Pythagoras had made a voyage into Gaul, and had learned a great deal of his from them, as he did also from the brachmans (57). The truth is, Pythagoras was in such high esteem, that no man was hardly esteemed wife, or learned, that was not his disciple (58). And the Gaulish druids, being found to have many doctrines in common with him, were of course supposed to have received them from him. Though that of the transmigration of souls, which was likewise attributed to them, doth not appear to have been at all held by them, and it is likely that philosopher brought it from those of India.

weath, and had the sole management and instruction of youth in every thing but the training up in the art of war. For in this last respect the druids, and their disciples, were not only exempt from going to war unless they pleased, but from all kind of tribute likewise; and this did not a little increase their credit with the people, as well as the number of their disciples. For their order was not fixed to any particular families or nation of Gaul, but every man had power to stand candidate for it, and, if approved by the society, was admitted into it. As for their grand druid, he was chosen from amongst them by the plurality of votes; and, when any dispute arose, it was often terminated here, as in other cases, by the sword, as we shall have occasion to hint in the sequel. We have already observed, that they made it a part of their religion not to commit any thing to writing, but to couch all their mysteries and learning in verse; and these, it seems, were multiplied in time to such a number, that it took some of them twenty whole years to learn them all by heart. And Cæsar assigns these two reasons for this custom, viz. that their doctrines might appear more mysterious, by being unknown to all but themselves; and, secondly, that having no books to recur to, they might be the more careful to preserve them in their memory. And what contributed much to this last was, their living in separate societies, chiefly in woods, and observing a constant celibacy.

The three grand fundamentals of their religion consisted, 1. In their worship of the gods; 2. In abstaining from all evil; and, 3. In behaving with intrepidity upon all occasions. In order to enforce this last, on which they valued themselves most, they taught the immortality of the soul, and a life after this, of bliss or misery, according as they had lived. And this inspired them with incredible courage, and contempt of death, of which we shall give some pregnant instances in its due place. This notion of a future life was so firmly believed by the people, that we are told they used to fling the account-books of the deceased into his grave, or, if he was burnt, into the fire, that he might make such use of them in the next world, as would make his life more easy and comfortable there. Several other ridiculas

1 Lucan. ubi supra.  u Comment. ubi supra. x Diog. Laert. i. i. y Cæs. ubi supra.
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diculous customs are recorded of them, with respect to this notion of a future life, which can hardly be credited, and which, for that reason, we shall just mention in the margin (F). They also pretended to great skill in some branches of geography and astronomy, such as the knowing the bigness and form of the earth, the motions of the planets, their influence, and that of the stars; from which they assumed a knowledge of the divine will, to pry into futurity, and to foretell strange events. And if that passage which Diodorus Siculus has preferred to us out of Hecateus, and which the reader may find in the margin (G), be to be depended upon.

(F) They are said to have lent and borrowed money, &c. in order to repay it in the next world; to have sent letters to the deceased person, by flinging it into the fire, or into his grave (59). There have been also found in those antient sepulchres, on Salisbury plain, spoken of before, some small plates of silver, and other metals, ingraven with a kind of old writing, which are supposed to have been sent from the living to the dead by this conveyance. But these, and such-like ridiculous customs, seem rather invented by those authors in disparagement of the Gaulish notion, and are justly laughed at (60).

(G) This passage is to the following purport: That there is, according to that author, a northern island of considerable bigness, little less than Sicily, situate over against the Celts, and inhabited by those whom the Greeks call Hyperboreans. It is fruitful, pleasant, and dedicated to Apollo; that god, for the space of nineteen years, used to come and converse with them, and, which is more remarkable, they could (as if they had the use of telescopes) see the moon very near them, and discover therein mountains, &c. He concludes, that over their sacred grove and temple there presided a set of men called (by the then Greeks, it is supposed) Boreadeae, who were their priests and rulers.

From the author's description and situation of this island, every body will easily perceive that it could be no other but either Great Britain or Ireland; for the Mona, or Anglesey of Rondaland (61), is vastly too small and inconsiderable to have been meant

(61) Mona antiqu. sect. 8. ad fin.
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pended upon, and that the druids of Britain, for that seems to be the island meant by that author, could, as with telescopes, shew the moon nearer, and discover therein mountains, rocks, &c. it cannot but be supposed that they had made greater progress in these arts and sciences than is generally imagined. The nineteen years converse of Apollo, which is the cycle of the sun, and the notion of the moon’s opacity, of its mountains, rocks, &c. argue them to have been no bad astronemors; and if they had really any instruments to draw the moon nearer, and make such discoveries upon its surface, we may conclude them to have been pretty good artists for those early times. Pliny adds, that they studied natural philosophy, and practised physic. This last consisted chiefly in the knowledge and use of simples, but they soon found out a way to render it more intricate and mysterious, by intermingling astrology, and other superstitious trash, amongst it. The configuration of the planets must be consulted, the herb must be gathered with one hand, and not with the other; the hand must be covered with the opposite lappet of the man’s robe; he must be drested in white, his feet washed and unfish’d, and a great deal more to the same purpose; but all which rather betrays that author’s fondness of exposing the Gaus, than to inform mankind. To give one instance for all, the reader needs but hear what he says of their serpents egg, which, as it is related by him, would scarcely, upon any other account, be worth inquiring in this history, but that, whilst we give him the substance of it in the margin (H), we shall endeavour to strike

\[ b \] Vide nat. hist. I. xxiv. & seq.

meant here. It is mentioned as known to the Greeks, as well it might, by means of the tin which the Phoenicians fetched from it, of which we shall speak in due time. The author adds, that one Abaris, who became afterwards a disciple of Pythagoras (62), went from hence into Greece, and contracted an intimacy with the Delians. And might he not be supposed to have followed that philosopher from Gaul thither? But we submit that to the reader.

(H) According to his fabulous account, this egg, which was unknown to the rest of the world, was formed by the unction of a vast

(62) See bishop of Worcester’s letter to Dr. Bentley, ap. eund

ibid.
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strike out a more probable and advantageous meaning of this pretended piece of superstition, than that author could, or was perhaps, willing to do.

We must first take notice of an antient Gaulish monument in the great cathedral of Paris, on which this ceremony of catching the egg is represented pretty near in the same manner as Pliny has given it. Another has been found in Italy, on which are carved two serpents, the one holding the egg in its mouth, and the other shaping and polishing it with its spittle. If the reader remembers what has

Antiquité expliq. Relig. des Gaules, l. i. c. 26. iii. c. ult.

vaat multitude of serpents twisfted and conjured up together. As soon as they began to hiss, it was raised up into the air, and must be caught before it touched the ground, and he that caught it must immediately get on a fleet horse, and ride for his life, from the fury of the serpents, which pursued him till a river stopped them short. The egg was then to be flung into the water, with a golden ring, which they fastened about it, and must swim on the surface with it. Its virtues were then almost as numberless as those of Fortunatus's cap, a great many of which our author mentions, as well as its colour and shape; and concludes with telling us, that the emperor Claudius caused a Gaulish nobleman to be put to death merely for having been found with one of these eggs in his bosom, and which, it seems, he wore there with a view of gaining a law-suit in which he was engaged (63).

What increases our wonder of this ridiculous credulity, is, that a modern author (64) has endeavoured to confirm, in a great measure, what Pliny has related, by affuring us, that in several parts of Dauphiné, especially one place he names near the confines of Savoy, there is such a prodigious concourse of all kinds of serpents from the 5th of June to the 15th of August, that there is not one to be seen for the space of ten miles round the place. He adds, that the ground where they assemble is left covered with a kind of scum, which fills one with horror. But he says, that no care had been taken to enquire after the story of the egg, whether it was fact, or only an imposture of the druids. If any thing could persuade us that the antient Gauls could give into such ridiculous superstitions, it would be the seeing of them so easilyswallowed by the modern ones.

(63) Plin. l. xxix. c. 3. (64) Chorier. hist. du Dauphiné.
has been said in the cosmogony of the world, at the entrance of this work  

of the Phœnicians and Egyptians looking upon the egg to be the principle of all things; that it was represented as coming forth out of the mouth of a serpent, the emblem of the Godhead, or perhaps rather of wisdom; and if we add what Plutarch observes, that the theology of the antients did ascribe to the egg the priority of time, and the seed of all things; he will easily decipher a much sublimier meaning in the mythology of this egg, than that Roman author could, or was perhaps willing to see in it, either from those emblematic monuments, or fabulous reports, from which he took his ridiculous account. For it must be further observed, that the druids were very fond of wrapping up all their learning, and even their moral precepts, in such kinds of mysterious and enigmatical figures. However, we would not deny but after their power came to dwindle, as it began to do from the coming in of the Romans, they might slacken apace from their antient purity, and make a trade of such superstitious fooleries as they would have despised whilst in the height of their wealth and sway, when nothing could well tempt them to it. It is, doubtless, to these latter times, that we must suppose the antient comedy, called Querulus, or Aulularia, which exposes the druidish knavery with so much wit and sharpness, to have referred; and perhaps, also, that which another author says of them, that in their lectures of morality they gave this for a maxim, that the fertility of their fields depended upon their riches, and the largeness of their revenues. One doctrine, he tells us, they taught, that fire and water would at length absorb all things.

Before we leave this subject, we must not omit saying something of their famed druidesses, and the great esteem in which they were in among the Gauls, as well as among the Germans. We have already shewed, that antiently the Gaulish women bore a great sway in this country, of which the druids, in time, stripped them; but it is likely, that the druidesses held still great part of their own credit, especially on account of their being thought endowed with the spirit of prophecy; for we cannot find, that they were famed for

for any thing else; and some of them, we find, were among the lowest rank of people. Witness Diocletian's hostesses, who, when he was but a private man in the Roman army, then in Gaul, foretold him that he should become emperor after he had killed a boar, or, rather, Aper, as the issue shewed it a little time after. We have seen, likewise, in the Roman history, that their emperors were not above consulting, and being advised by them; particularly Severus and Aurelian, the latter of whom asking some of them how long the empire should last in his family, they made no difficulty to tell him boldly, that that of Claudius would one day become the most illustrious. We shall not take upon us to enquire how they came by this extraordinary gift, or whether it was real, or a mere cheat and pretence; only we would observe, that the latter cannot be supposed, without allowing at the same time, that the druids themselves were likewise imposed upon by them; else it is not likely they would have allowed them to reign so long, and bear such sway in all religious and civil matters, contrary to the practice of the Indian brachmans, and other sects of antient philosophers, who never admitted their women into any of their mysteries. There were three classes of druidesses in Gaul, the chiefest of which was of those who kept a perpetual virginity; for these were thought to have the spirit of prophecy. The next was that of those, who, though married, were yet obliged to abstain from the matrimonial intercourse, except one single time in the whole year, in which they were allowed to go and have children by them; after which, they returned to their office, which was, to assist the druids at their religious functions. The last were a kind of attendants, or servants, on the others; and this we learn rather from some antient monuments and inscriptions, than from antient authors, who have said little more of them than that they were prophetesses. Both druids and druidesses pretended to a great knowledge in astrology, calculated people's nativities, erected figures, and foretold strange things, both by that, and, much more, by their inhuman auguries; of which bloody custom, we shall give a specimen in the margin.

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\(^5\) See vol. xv. p. 291.  
Vopiscus in Aurel. sub fin.  
l. iv. Strabo, l. xv.  
l. i. c. 27.

\(^6\) ibid. p. 169.  
Vo-  
\(^k\) Vide Plin. ubi supr. Tacit.  
Chap. 11. The History of the Gauls.

margin (I) : but those which were styled prophetesses, were thought to have a gift superior to the rest, and which was looked upon as supernatural; these were called by some superior title, such as that of dame was heretofore among us; and were in the highest request, not only among their own people, but likewise among foreign nations. As for the others, they were much less regarded, and their night assemblies about ponds and marshes, to worship and consult the moons, and some other sorceries they pretended to use, made them be looked upon as downright witches, canibals, lamiae, pythonisles, frixes, and every thing that is black and horrid, by christian authors, from the sixth century downwards m.

The next order amongst them, in great esteem, was The bards, that of the bards. Some authors have, indeed, confounded them with the druids, and looked upon the former to be only a more modern name given to them. But there is a passage in Strabo which quite explodes that notion, where he says n, that the druids were in the highest power, and gave laws H h 4

m Idem ibid. & auct. ab eo citat. n L. iv.

(I) It appears, by comparing what antiquaries have been able to collect from some antient Gaulish monuments concerning this bloody ceremony, with what Strabo says of it (65) as it was practised among the Cimbri, who were a branch of the old Celtes, that there was no material difference between them in this respect. We shall, therefore, give the purport of what that antient author has left us of it, which is as follows:

The druidesses were, on these occasions, like the druids, clothed in white tunics, fastened with hooks, and girt with a brass girdle, and without shoes. As soon as the Cymbrians had taken any captives, these women flew upon them with drawn swords in their hands, and threw them down; thence they dragged them to a large capacious labrum, or cistern, by the side of which was a kind of foot-flood, on which the druidesses then officiating stood, who plunged a long knife into the breast of each of these unfortunate wretches, one after another, as fast as they were brought; and from the flowing of their blood she formed her predictions. The other druidesses, who asstisted, took up the breathless bodies, opened and examined their entrails, and from thence likewise foretold some new things, which were immediately communicated to the whole army or council, and as readily believed.

(65) Lib. vii.
laws to the vates, eubates, and bards, who were everywhere to give them place, when they pleased to challenge it, and were not allowed to do any thing without their consent and approbation. Besides, we are told by that, and a number of other authors, that these bards were so called from their office, which was, to sing the praises of their heroes ⁰, and to accompany their songs with musical instruments. And we are told, that their compositions were held in the highest esteem, as the most effectual means of eternizing the memory of those who had the merit or good fortune to be celebrated in them. One of the authors last quoted adds, that they could at any time put a stop to a whole army's engaging, by their interposition: so great a power had wisdom, and the muses, over those barbarians ⁰. It was their business to accompany the Gaulish armies with their songs, which were generally calculated to inspire them with valour and intrepidity, with the love of liberty, and contempt of death ⁰. During the onset, they used likewise to give some loud shouts, sometimes as of victory, other times to intimate their danger, in case they did not fight valiantly, or were ready to give way. So that though they did not really fight themselves, they were so intermingled with the army, that they ran, in some measure, the same risque with those that did (K). By this means they were eye-witnesses of the behaviour of the combatants, and either celebrated their praises in their songs, or condemned those that had not done their duty. And as these might in time degenerate, and be often bribed to extol those who had been faulty,


(K) This may be inferred from what we read of one of them, named Pomponius, a man in great esteem, both as a bard, and a poet; who finding himself in great danger from the enemy, made a vow to Mars, their great protector, to sacrifice to him a boar, if he escaped safe (66). It was likewise, as we formerly hinted, customary among their generals, upon all such occasions, to vow to that god all the plunder, and even the prisoners of war, if they came off victorious.

faulty, or in praising either too much or too little, for fav-
our or interest, it is thought they acquired the name of pa-
raites 5. But this seems very inconsistent with what we
read of the great esteem they were in, unless we allow that
epithet to have antiently carried a more favourable meaning
than it doth now (L). To these two orders we may add vates and
to those of the vates and euvates, or eubates, which seem to
have been still inferior to that of the bards; but whether they
were so to each other, or the same under two names, is not
easy to guess, with that little light we have from antient
authors. All that can be conjectured upon the whole, is,
that the druids presided over all religious matters, and bore
a great sway in those of a civil nature. The bards were
the recorders of all transactions, and treasured up in their
poetic compositions the knowledge of things and persons, and
communicated as much of it to the laity, by their songs, as
the druids thought proper. The vates and euvates might be
fingers of these bardish compositions, and be further retained
in the families of the great, to celebrate their praises and he-
roic acts; but as the druids were more known to strangers
than the rest, their name was given to all indifferently, by an-
tient historians.

Diódorus and Cicero seem to mention a fifth sort, viz.
the saronides; but we have shewn, a little higher, that it was
but another name for that of the druids, as the learned Bo-
chart has fully proved 6. As for the flamens, or flamines,
though they have been supposed to have belonged to the drui-
dish

des Celt. I. ii. c. 9.

(L) This epithet, though by length of time become a term of
reproach, might not carry so harsh a meaning in our author; if
it had, it is hardly credible those bards could have kept up their
credit so long, and in so brave and warlike a nation. But, in
our opinion, that name was given only to an inferior set of bards,
who are judged to have been a kind of clients, or solduri, who
entered themselves into the service of some noblemen or gener-
als, and bound themselves to live and die with him, and whose
business it was to sing the praises of their patrons, in poems com-
posed by the bards, before numerous crowds of people, who never
failed to surround and listen to them (67).

(67) Cañbon. in Athen. I. vi.
The History of the Gauls. Book IV.

dish order, yet bishop Stilligleat has sufficiently disproved them to have been of Celtic or Gaulish extract. They were of the Roman kind, and of much later date than either druids or bards. We have spoken of them in a former volume, and to that, and the learned prelate above quoted, we shall refer our readers, and close this section of the Gaulish religion with observing, that, in spite of all the severe edicts of the Roman and Christian monarchs, there were still very visible traces of it, and of the very worst part of the druidish rites practiced not only long after the settling of Christianity in Gaul, but even to the middle of the sixth century, as appears by a notable instance of it, which we shall give in the margin (M).

(M) This fact is taken from Procopius, who was himself an eye-witness of it, and is as follows: Theodobert I. having penetrated into Italy at the head of a considerable army, and taken possession of the bridge of Pavia, his men offered in sacrifice the wives and children of the Goths, whom they had surprised, and cast their bodies into the river, as the first-fruits of that war. For, says he, the Franks, though christians, do still observe great many of their antient superstitions. They offer up human victims, and use many execrable rites in their auguries. And another author, who lived till the latter end of the seventh century, has a long catalogue of such superstitions, against which, as he was a bishop, and since tainted for his piety, he forewarns his christian flock. The reader may see the passage at length in the authors quoted below (68).

(68) Vide father Cint. tom. i. & iii. Fleury's eccles. histor. tom. viii. Relig. des Gaul. i. i. c. 7.

S E C T. IV.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, learning, arts, sciences, commerce, and customs, of the antient Gauls.

WE have already spoken at large of the origin and antiquity of the Gauls, in the history of the Celtes, their ancestors; of their migrations and settlement in Europe, and

and of their antient monarchical government there. How and when it came afterwards to dwindle, and split itself into that variety of forms in which the Romans found them afterwards, were in vain to enquire after, considering their inbred contempt of learning, and that they kept neither history nor records but what was couch'd in the songs or ballads of their bards and druids, who kept them, as much as possible, from public knowledge, and only sung or repeated them on certain times, or upon particular occasions, rather to stimulate the people to an imitation of their heroes, than to preserve any regular series of their tranactions. All that can be offered concerning this great change, would be only such conjectures as are obvious to every reader; which may, therefore, be easily spared here, since all our intelligence, concerning this their new government, must be fetched from hints and scraps of such foreign authors who have written of them, since they became more known to their neighbours, and of which this is the best account that can be given.

The Gals were by this time (though still under the same name, using the same language and customs, and governed by the same general laws) under different governments, some of which were monarchical, others aristocratic, others partly so, and partly democratical, and these were, by way of distinction, called free. Tacitus reckons no less than sixty-four of these cities, or, as Caesar better explains, regions, or districts, who were under this kind of government. These little commonwealths were chiefly governed by the advice of the nobles, but antiently every year they chose a magistrate for civil, and a general for military affairs; yet these, as well as those that were under a kingly government, observed one constant law, to call every year, at a certain time, a general council of the whole nation; in which, whatever related to the common interest of the whole nation, was debated and settled. And, indeed, these warlike people were in no small need of such a general council, since they made war one of their chief employments, and were no sooner free from a foreign one, but they immediately fell a quarrelling among themselves: so that, to prevent these intestine broils, the chief business of that grand assembly was, to find out some plausible pretence for carrying it against some of their neighbours, either to pull down those that were overgrown, and raised their jealousy, or to protect the oppressed, or fur-

\[\text{Vol. v. p. 403, & seq.} \quad \text{Cæsar, comment. i. i. c. i. vi. p. 4. Tacit. ann. i. iii.} \quad \text{Iidem ibid.} \quad \text{Strab. l. iv.}\]
The History of the Gauls. Book IV.

ninth some allies with a number of auxiliaries, and such-like. The free commonwealths had, moreover, a law common to them all, that whoever heard any report, or common rumour, among their borderers, which concerned the common interest, they were obliged to acquaint their magistrates with it, and to conceal it from the people. The magistrates were to conceal what they thought proper, and acquaint the people with the rest; for it was not lawful for any person to talk of matters that related to the whole community, but in the council. All that can be gathered, relating to this grand assembly, out of the same historian, the reader may see in the subsequent note (A). Upon the whole, then, this grand council was the dernier resort of the Gauls, wherein every thing relating not only to peace and war, but to property, boundaries, territories, distribution of plunder, and such-like, between district and district, was finally determined. For if, for instance, after some successful victory, or excursion, any debate

(A) The Gauls, says that conqueror (1), demanded that a general council of their whole nation should be summoned, and that it might be done by his consent. A council was, accordingly, assembled at Bibraic, where was a vast concourse from all parts of the nation (2). And elsewhere he tells us, that he summoned that Gaulish council to meet in the spring; and the Tewiri, Nemnes, and Carnuti, not coming with the rest, he adjourned it to meet at Paris (3).

Among them who opposed his measures, were, Dumnorix, one of the chiefs of the Aeduan commonwealth, against whom he had sent an order to have him slain, who, thereupon, applied himself to the council, alledging, that he was a member of a free commonwealth, and begged to be protected by them (4). Another was Vercingetorix, who, Caesar says, flattered himself that he should be able to unite such commonwealths to him as dissented from the rest of the Gaulish cities, and to form such a general council of all Gaul, as the whole world should of be able to withstand (5).

This is all that we can meet with concerning those grand councils; but as to other particulars relating either to the extent of their power, the time, manner, and place of their being summoned and held, and the like, history leaves us wholly in the dark.

(1) L. i. c. 12. (2) L. i. c. 12. (3) L. vi. c. 1. (4) L. vi. c. 3. (5) L. vii. c. 6.
Chap. ii. The History of the Gauls. 493

debate happened about the plunder, as it seldom failed to be followed with a great deal of bloodshed, if not timely prevented, and, if Polybius may be credited, such bloody frays did often happen for such trifles as the plunder of a good store of victuals, and especially of wine; the dispute was deferred to the assembly of the district, or commonwealth. But whenever it happened, as it often did, between district and district, the grand council must either determine between them, or else they were sure to butcher one another, till one side was forced to give over. So that Tacitus had great reason to say of them, as he did of their neighbours the Germans: "If they will not be in friendship with us, let them at least fall out among themselves: fortune can do no greater service, than to set them at variance among themselves." All that needs be further added, with relation to these small commonwealths, is, that they seem to have had such an aversion to kingly government, that one of them, that of the Ædui (B), ordered the great Certillus, the father of Vercingetorix, mentioned a little higher, a man in great power and credit, and esteemed the first man in Gaul, to be put to death, for having aspired to the kingdom. At the same time they were so extremely jealous of each other's power, that they were

h L. ii. i German. c. 33. k Vide & comment. l. vi. c. 11.

(B) The Ædui were one of the three chief commonwealths in Gaul (6), and situate near Autun; the country is now called Lower Burgundy.

The other two were the Arverni and the Rhemi. The former of these were sited on the river Loire; their capital was called Arvernun, now Clermont, the capital of Guienne; and they became, in time, so powerful, that, according to Strabo, they made war against Caesar with 40,000 men (7), and, a little before the arrival of their conqueror, had quite weakened their rivals the Ædui, by withdrawing most of their clients and dependents (8): and it was, probably, upon this juncture, that they condemned that great commander of theirs to lose his head, and chose his son in his stead.

The Rhemi were the antient inhabitants of the country of Rheims, whose antient and famous metropolis still bears the same name, and is one of the greatest, and most populous cities of France.

(6) Tacit. i. iii Caesar. com. i. v. (7) Strab. l. iv. (8) Comment. l. vi. c. 4. vii. c. 10.
were obliged to enter into combinations against each other, and the little ones to put themselves under the protection of the greater ones; an instance of which we gave in the last note. Caesar doth sometimes call the former tributary and subject to the latter, but most commonly confederate with them. Upon his first entrance into Gaul he found it divided into two factions: the Aedui were at the head of one, and the Arverni at the head of the other; and both, he tells us, had for many years contended for the superiority. What increased the dissension still more, was, that the Bituriges, a people in the province of Berri, and neighbours of the Arverni, were still in subjection to the Aedui; and the Sequani, who lived in Upper Burgundy, now Franche Comté, and neighbours to the Aedui, were under the protection of the Arverni.

Such were the unhappy divisions between the Gaulish commonwealths (C), which gave so great an advantage to the Romans against them, and which they failed not to improve, according to their wonted policy, as we shall see in the sequel. Caesar,

1 Idem, l. i. c. 12. vi. c. 4.

(C) Accordingly, we find the Senones, or rather Semnones, who inhabited some part of the Lionois, joining in league with that of the Parisians, and both soon after putting themselves under the protection of the Aedui. The Bellovaci, a very populous commonwealth, and in great repute and authority among the Belgæ (9), were likewise allied with them. Their capital, the a very considerable city, was called Bellovacum, and Caesarmagus; their country still retains the name of Beauvois.

Caesar reckons, moreover, five different people under the dominion of the Nervii (10), another ancient, fierce, and warlike people of Belgia, supposed to have dwelt in the now diocese of Cambray; these were the Centrones, or inhabitants of Courtray. Grudii, supposed to have dwelt about Bruges; the Laëvaci, about Louvain; the Pleumoëii, or Pleumnaëii, whose situation is uncertain; and the Gorduni, situate in the neighbourhood of Ghent. The Eburones and Condrufii, who lived in the territories of Liege and Namur, were clients to the Treviri or inhabitants of the country of Triers, the then principal nation in Belgia prima. The Veneti, or inhabitants of Gallia Armorica, or Brittany, composed so powerful a commonwealth, that our author (11) tells us, their dominion was one of the most extensive.

9 Idem, l. ii. c. 4. vii. c. 7. 10 L. vi. c. 11. 11 L. iv. c. 2.
Cæsar, finding the Arverni too strong for, and averse to him, entered into an alliance with the Ædui, who were by this time become vastly inferior to them, complimenting them with the title of friends and brothers to the Roman people. Their example was soon followed by others, so that partly by cajoling some, and sowing jealousies and discords among others, he facilitated the conquest of that noble and warlike nation, which, had it been more united in interest, and form of its government, must, in all appearance, have proved too hard for him.

But, notwithstanding this great multitude, and variety of commonwealths, it is plain, that both Gaul, Germany, and Spain, still swarmed with petty kingdoms, that is, with districts, governed by kings, whom the Romans styled reguli, or petty kings, but the Gauls styled kings (D), though their

(D) The word rex seems plainly enough to be of Celtic extract, viz. from rhey, prince, or lord: hence we have shewed in a former volume (12), Rhea, Jove’s mother, to have had that name given her, as implying a lady, or princess, as she really was. The name of Rhey might therefore be given to those ancient monarchs, till their vast kingdom came to split itself, as we have seen above, into so many petty principalities and commonwealths; at which time, it is probable, those petty kings came to be called Tyrannes, or, according to the old Celtic, Tyr-rhanwir, from their being the persons who divided the people into such districts, or communities, and settled the boundaries of each, as well as the portions of land which every family under them was to be entitled to. Hence the tyrants of the Greeks, and the word tyrant, might at first carry a much better meaning, till their degeneracy made it to become so odious, that they changed it for those of princes, dukes, earls, &c. (13).

The author of the Mona antiqua, above quoted, thinks the name and office of these tyrans to be of much older date; and that, in all probability, some such power or dignity is tacitly implied in one of the statutes of the sons of Noah, called de judiciis (14). We have formerly given our sentiments concerning that rabbinic book (15) so much discredited by some, and so strongly defended by our learned Selden. But, without having recourse to such questioned authorities, reason plainly tells us, that from the first dispersion there must have been some such tyr rhanwirs, or land-assigners, as the word implies, to prevent the continual quarrels

their dominions were ever so small. These differed from the magistrates of commonwealths, in that they enjoyed their dignity during life; and from common monarchs, in that it was not hereditary (E), but sometimes conferred by the people upon such as were in the greatest esteem for justice, wisdom, and bravery. Sometimes they were forced by one nation upon another, as the Bituriges did one over the Celtæ, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus m; sometimes a brave and powerful man forced himself upon the throne: and even those who seem to have come to the crown by succession, were far from being arbitrary, or having an unlimited power, but were as much accountable to the people as those that were chosen by them. This is, at least, what Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, owns, with relation to himself. "The constitution of our government, says he, is such, that the people

m Livy, l. v.

quarrels that must inevitably happen for want of them. And these were most likely the heads of families, whose paternal authority carried a kind of divine right. For if mankind sprung from one man, then the original of government must be supposed, of course, to have been not only monarchical, but such by divine appointment, and vested in the heads of families.

Moses further observes (16), that the three families of Noah's sons were, after the flood, divided after their tongues and families, begojhem, in their nations, that is, into separate communities, over whom the chief, or head, presided, and was the rhey, or lord, and tyr-rhanwir, or assigner of their proper lands in each settlement. But however that be, in such a change of government as here happened among the Celts or Gauls, nothing can be more evident, than the necellity of such a kind of despotic distributors and assigners of lands in each new kingdom or commonwealth; and who could be fitter for such an office, than those who bore the greatest authority?

(E) At least J. Cæsar mentions several eminent private men, whose ancestors had been formerly invested with the regal dignity, and, among these, Cafticus, whose father had been many years king of the Sequani (17); Píño, whose grandfather had reigned in Aquitania (18); and Tagetius, whose ancestors had been kings of the Carnutes (19), and whose territories retain still the name of Chaltrain. So that they seem rather to have been magistrates for life, than real kings, especially as their power is affirmed to have been limited by the people.

(16) Genesis x. (17) L. i. c. 2. (18) L. iv. c. 3. (19) L. v. c. 8.
people have no less power and authority over me, than I have over them." This form has been, indeed, much admired by Ariftotle, Polybius, Cicero, and especially by Plato, as by far the safest, and most excellent; because, as the last of these rightly observes, should kingly government be left without a bridle, when it hath attained the supreme power, as it stands upon such slippery ground, it easily falls into tyranny. "For this reason, says he, it ought to be restrained, as with a curb, by the authority of the nobles; and of such chosen men as the people have empowered for that end and purpose."

It is not easy to guess from Cæsar's commentaries, from which we have the greatest part of this intelligence, either how many of these kings there were in Gaul, or what nations were governed by them, and which by a commonwealth; but both were equally courted by the Romans, and for the same reason, viz. to withdraw from, and weaken the force of those that opposed their conquests. These petty kings, especially, were often corrupted by dint of gifts, promisés, or some fine titles, such as that of "federates of Rome," to embroil the Gaulish affairs, and foment dissensions among their little kingdoms and republics; even the poorest and most inconsiderable amongst them were thought worth their while to bring over to them; and if they found them busy and active in their interest, they failed not to reward them in such a manner as was most likely to draw others into the same treacherous practices. Among those whom Cæsar mentions among the friends and allies of Rome, was Catamantales, king of the Sequani, the grandfather of Pifo, mentioned a little higher, who reigned in Aquitain, and whose name the conqueror has not thought fit to record; and Olevico, king of the Nitiobriges, or people of Agenois, who had that title bestowed upon him by the Roman senate. Among those who made the noblest resistance against the Romans, was Divitiacus, king of the Suefones, a brave people of Gallia Belgica, who was one of the most potent princes of all Gallia. His territories were large and fruitful: he had twelve considerable cities, one of which, Noviodunum, now Noyons, Cæsar afterwards reduced, and with it that whole nation, as we have elsewhere shewn, notwithstanding they had

\[a\] Comment. l. v. c. 8. \[b\] Vide Hottoman. Franco-Gall. in fin. c. i. \[c\] Comment. l. i. c. 2. \[d\] L. iv. c. 3. \[e\] L vii. c. 6. \[f\] See before, vol. xiii. p. 29.
had brought 500000 fighting men against him. This prince's
dominions is said to have extended even to Little Britain.
He was succeeded by Galba, at the time when Caesar invaded
them. Thus much for the Gaulish government, which we
shall close with a severe reflection which that conqueror makes
upon it, and which will shew how much their intestine feuds
contributed to his conquest of them. "Among the Gauls,
says he," not only all their cities, cantons, and districts,
but even almost all families, are divided and torn by fac-
tions. These are generally cauèd and fomented by their
princes and demagogues, who exercise a kind of arbitrary
power and authority over their inferiors and dependents,
and manage all public matters with an uncontrollable
sway." Tacitus observes much the same thing of it;
so that, in spite of all their bravery, their ruin seems no les
than inevitable, when so torn and dismembered from within,
and invaded by such powerful and politic enemies from
without.

Their laws. Whether these disasters were occasioned through the
want of a good body of laws, or through the neglect and vi-
olation of them, is not easy to determine. We have, indeed,
observed, in a former volume, that Mercury is said to have
civilized the Celtic nation, in many respects, and, among
other things, that he gave them a set of laws.  Another
author gives the credit of this to one Samothes, a man of pro-
found learning and wisdom among them, and said to have been
the founder of the Celtic monarchy. But what those laws
were, if any such were, indeed, compiled for them, we are
wholly in the dark. The druids and bards, who had the
keeping and interpreting of them, were too cautious to dis-
vulge them to strangers, or even to any of their own nation,
except to those of their own order; since they observed the
fame shinses with relation to all other branches of learning,
which they carefully concealed from the people. But what-
ever that system of laws may have been, it must have suffered
a total change, upon the abolition of the monarchy, and
the dismembering of the whole into so many petty kingdoms
and commonwealths. And, indeed, by all we can gather
from Caesar, or any other ancient author, they seem so far
from having been tyed by any common body of laws, that,
except that of holding a general assembly every year, and anot-

1 L. ii. c. i, & seq.  u L. vi. c. i.  w Annal. i. i.
c. 11.  x See vol. v. p. 434.  y See Lewis hist. Brit.
and the authors quoted by him, book i. ch. 2.
ther of permitting all private quarrels and contests to be decided by single combat, which every community was obliged to permit, they rather appear to have been wholly governed by the decisions of the council, whether of each district, or of the whole nation, unless where kings did bear an absolute sway, if any such there were; for, as far as we can find, most of this sort were as much subject to the people, as they to them. If we may, however, guess from some instances of their history, they seem to have held one general maxim, viz. that the longest sword had the best title, and that it was the design of the supreme being that the strongest should strip the weakest; and that he who had not power enough to defend his right, ought to yield it to him that was capable of taking it from him. The following instance, out of Livy, is a pregnant one, that this was an established principle amongst them.

The Senones, of whom we have spoken a little higher, finding themselves too much frightened in their territories, fell foul upon the city of Clusium, whose territories happened to lie very convenient for them; upon which, the besieged applied to the Roman senate for help, who being, at that juncture, unwilling to enter into a war with the aggressors, contented themselves with sending them three young patricians of the Fabian family, in a friendly embassy to them. These opened their commission before the general assembly of the Gauls, which was, in substance, to require the Senones to cease all further hostilities against the Clusians, otherwise the senate would be obliged, against their will, to support the oppressed, against whom they could allege no cause of complaint. To this the Gauls answered, with their usual politeness, to the following effect; viz. that though they were not acquainted with the Romans, they could not but have a great notion of their bravery, seeing the Clusians had implored their assistance under their present unhappy situation. "Your principals, continued they, having chosen to send an embassy to us, rather than their forces to support their allies, we do not refuse the peace which you offer to us, provided the Clusians, who hold more lands than they can cultivate, agree to yield some of them to us, who are in want of them. This is the only condition upon which we can make peace with you, and we desire a positive answer before your departure. If the Clusians will not agree to it, we...

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2 Concerning the origin of this custom, see vol. xix. p. 312, & seq. Livy, l. v. c. 35, & seq. Plutarch, in Camil.
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"we are ready to give them battle, even now, before you,
"that you may be able to inform your countrymen how
"much the Gauls are superior to other nations, in point of
"bravery."

To this the embassadors replied, without seeming to un-
derstand the force of the last words, that they could not but
look upon it as a piece of great injustice, to inflict upon a peo-
ple's yielding the territories they were lawfully possess'd of,
and to wage war against them because they refused to do so.
Whereupon Brennus, the Gaulish leader, without further cer-
emony, answered, that the Gauls carried their right at the
point of their sword; and that the brave had the best
title to all things. "You yourselves, said he, have made
"no scruple to strip the Albanians, Fidenates, Volsci, &c.
"of the greatest part of their territories; and yet you did
"nothing, in all this, that we pretend to cenfure, as either
"strange, or unjust: for you did only follow the prime,
"and most antient of all laws, which obliges the weak to
give way to the strong. This law seems to be derived
"from the deity itself, and extends down to the very
"brutes, amongst which, the strongest naturally seek to
"subdue the weakest. Cease, then, to take the part of the
"besieged Clusians, lest the Gauls should one day think
"themselves obliged, in their turn, to shew the same com-
"passion towards those whom you have oppressed." This
"was, indeed, an argument ad hominem, and such as the Ro-
mans could never answer, but tacitly approved and follow-
ed, though they had not the ingenuity to own it, as the Gauls
did, upon all such occasions (F). What the success of this
embassy

(F) A remarkable instance of this, we have in the same Ga-
lish general, who having promised the Romans to raise the siege
of the capitol, and to retire from them, upon condition they
paid him a thousand pounds weight of gold, when the money was
brought to be weighed to him, ordered false weights to be made
use of; and being asked by the Roman tribune what he meant by
them, proudly answered him, "What should it mean, but woe to
"the conquered (19)?"

In like manner, a little before the battle which Marius gained
over the Cimbri, another tribe of the Gauls, we find one of these
fending a challenge to fight the stoutest of the Romans in single
combat, and overcome by the brave L. Opimius (20). Soon
after

in Camil.
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Embassy was, is foreign to our present subject: we have given a full account of it in a former volume, and only repeat it here to shew, by what laws this nation was chiefly governed, viz. that of the strongest arm; and that if ever they had any other laws, they suffered them to be superseded by this, which they falsely called the law of nature.

Neither was this maxim of theirs confined to foreign conquests, but extended itself to the decision of private right among themselves; for when any debates arose amongst them, about their possessions, about any injury or affront, given or received, especially among those of the better sort, in case the council or public magistrate did not give sentence to the satisfaction of both parties, they generally decided the point by single combat. Neither could their magistrates deny them that liberty, when once instituted upon by either party; nor could the opposite decline the challenge, without giving up the point, and being branded with ignominy. Antiently, indeed, that is, whilst the whole Gaulish nation were under a monarchical government, the druids and bards, who, as we have formerly hinted, were the keepers and interpreters of their laws, and presided in all their courts and councils with such an uncontroverted sway, that it was the most dangerous thing to contravene their decisions, such disputes may have been, and, it is most likely, were actually decided by these courts and councils; but after they came to be separated into so many different governments, they began to look upon such subjection as a kind of outrage to their freedom and honour, and to substitute this way of single combat to it, not only as the shortest, but as the more honourable.

*See before, vol. xi. p. 577, & seq.*

After this, Boiorix, one of their kings, came in person to Marius's camp, and challenged him to appoint a day and place for a battle, there to decide their right to the territories they were then disputing about, pursuant to their general and received maxim, that providence was always on the side of the strongest and bravest (21). The same notion was common among the Germans, and was alleged by their king Ariovistus, who having conquered the Sequani, told Julius Cæsar, that the right of conquest intitled the conqueror to use the conquered as he pleased (22).

(21) See before, vol. xii. p. 496. (22) Livy & Plutarch.
honourable, and more agreeable to that received maxim of theirs, that providence was engaged to side with the right party; and that success was a sure token that the conqueror had the best title to the thing in dispute. And as the party who thought himself injured had a right to appeal to this way of duel, to justify his dissatisfaction, even though the king himself had given sentence against him, and his opponent was obliged to submit to it; so if the case of the two contenders was so intricate, that the judges could not readily determine it, they used to adjudge them to this method of ending the contest. Even the very witnesses, if their depositions chanced to contradict each other, were obliged to clear themselves by fighting. In a word, whatever was decided by single combat, was looked upon as of greater weight and authority than any sentence that was passed either by king, or court of judicature. Accordingly, we read of two contending brothers in Spain, between whom Scipio would fain have compromised their dispute about the succession, who told him, with one accord, that they would submit to no judgment, either of God or man, but to that of Mars. Herodotus, who often confounds the Scythians with the Celts, tells us, that they were wont to keep, and threw to the strangers, that travelled through their countries, the heads of those whom they had thus overcome in single combat, in quarrels about property, honour, and such-like. The same custom was also practised among the Germans, who are reported to have lulled Varro asleep, by complimenting him with having found out means to end quarrels and disputes by the way of justice, which they were wont to decide by the sword.

To such a degree of fondness for these single combats were they grown, that the very candidates for places of honour or trust, when their pretensions or merit were esteemed nearly equal, had recourse to it; and even among the druids themselves, the choice of a chief, when the old one died, was often decided by it, whenever any dispute arose about the number or validity of the votes of those who had the choosing of him. And, what was still more prodigious, these challenges were often sent for mere punctilios, and trifling piques, especially at their feasts, and drunken revels, and many times out of

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\[b \text{ Livy, I. xxvii. c. 21.} \\
\text{c Herodot. I. vi. c. 65.} \\
\text{* Velleie Paterc. I. i. c. 118.} \\
\text{\* Comment. I. vi. c. 13.} \\
\text{Tacit. ann. I. xiii. c. 57.} \\
\text{N. Damascen. Veget. de re milit.} \\
\text{& al.}
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of mere ostentation, and to make parade of their strength and bravery; of which, the two following are pregnant instances, and plainly shew how tenacious they were of this general law of deciding all controversies by the sword. Livy, speaking of the funeral obsequies which Scipio Africanus performed to the memory of his father and uncle, who both died in the Spanish wars, tells us, that there came vast crowds of persons of distinction to Carthage, a city in Spain, said to have been built by Asdrubal, to honour that ceremony by single combats. "These, says he, did not fight "like the common gladiators, either by force, or for money, "but of their own accord, and free will." Some were sent, thither by their princes, to display their bravery, for the credit of their nation; others declared they came to do honour to their general. Some came to fight there out of ostentation; and others because they could not refuse the challenge that was sent to them. Amongst them there were some, who having law-suits, or some controversies with others, agreed among themselves to put off the decision of them to this time and place, and with this condition, that the estate or thing in dispute should fall to the conqueror. The other instance, which we have out of the same author, is of some Gaulish mountaineers, who were generally looked upon as some of the rudest and fiercest of that nation, whom Hannibal had taken prisoners: these the Carthaginian general ordered to be brought at the head of his army, and, having provided them with a sufficient number of Gallic arms, offered them their liberty, upon condition that they should engage in single combat, and vanquish every man his antagonist; promising, moreover, that every victor should be presented with a horse, and a set of warlike accoutrements. This they readily accepted, and, in fight of the whole army, fought with such intrepid bravery, that the spectators knew not which to admire most, the victor, or the vanquished (G).

I 1 4

How


(G) The Romans seem to have preserved some such barbarous custom, at an antient temple of Diana, in the neighbourhood of Rome, where the high priest was to be a fugitive slave, and could keep his dignity no longer than he had the good luck to kill such other fugitive slaves as came to dispute it with him. Whoever killed him, was immediately declared his successor and continued
How long this duelling humour has been preserved among some of our neighbours, and how little to their credit, in spite of their specious pretence of honour, we need not here observe: their ancestors, it is plain from their history, made war their chiefest trade, and highest glory; and if they carried that favourite passion to excess, this may be said, in extenuation of it, not only that the same warlike phrensy reigned all over Europe, and far beyond, but, likewise, they were under a kind of necessity of indulging it to the utmost, in order to put a stop to the encroachments of a neighbouring nation, who aimed at no less than the enslaving of all the world (H). No wonder, then, if in such a case they used continued in that office till another took it from him in the same way (23). But whether this custom was introduced in imitation, or rather, as seems most likely, in contempt of the Gaulish and Celtic duelling, we leave to our readers.

Some think, however, that when the Romans exchanged the old Italic religion for that of the Greeks, they thought fit to turn over that pontifical dignity to their slaves, which exposed the owner of it to such continual and dangerous inconveniences (24). Caligula is reported to have put an end to it, by sending an expert gladiator, who deprived him at once of his dignity and life (25).

(H) The Gauls, as well as Germans, Spaniards, &c. had the more reason to oppose the Romans, with all their might, because they knew, by the experience of other nations, that wherever these new conquerors got the better, they overthrew their fundamental laws, put an end to all their public councils, gave them new governors and magistrates, disarmed the people, loaded them with such heavy taxes, and subjected them to such a new form of government, as appeared to them intolerable.

To all these we may add a much greater instance of the Roman tyranny, which was, that when any of these brave nations, that had been unfortunately brought under their heavy yoke, did make any attempt, as it was natural and laudable in them to do, or were even but supposed by their despotic masters to have a design, to regain their liberty, they were sure to be made such dreadful examples to the rest, as can hardly be mentioned without horror: we shall refer our readers to the Roman history, for numberless instances of their cruelty to those brave nations, and only observe here, that nothing could more effectually inspire such

(23) Vide comment. l. i. c. 36. (24) Strabo, l. v. Ovid. art. amand. (25) Serv. in AEneid. verf. 136. Vide Pelloutier. hist. Celt. i. ii. c. 11.
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used all possible means to inure themselves to martial deeds, to inspire their youth with a contempt of death, and thirst after glory and liberty, and to prefer an honourable death to an ignominious slavery. This became, accordingly, such a settled maxim among them, that they seemed to have no other concern in this world, than either to preserve their liberty, or to avoid slavery by a noble death. Whenever, therefore, we shall see their descendents encourage these kinds of single combats from the same laudable motives, we shall readily own them to follow in the steps of their warlike ancestors. But if their views rather tend to rob other nations of their liberty, than to preserve their own, they will be justly chargeable with having improved the Gallic ferocity, by the superaddition of the Roman ambition and tyranny. But to return to the ancient Gauls: They had such a singular contempt of life when not accompanied with liberty and love of liberty, or incapacity of action through old age, wounds, or any chronic diseases, they either put an end to their days, or else prevailed upon their friends to do it, esteeming this last state as much a kind of slavery, as falling into the hands of their enemies. In cities, when once they found themselves so frightfully besieged by their enemies, that they could hold out no longer, instead of thinking how to make the most honourable terms of capitulation, their chief care, many times, was, to put their wives and children to death, and then to kill one another, to avoid being led into slavery. In the field, when they were forced to make such a hasty retreat, that they could not readily procure carriages for those who were not able to follow them on foot, as the sick, wounded, and the like; they made no scruple to dispatch them, out of hand. And this was so far from being reckoned a hardship on them, that it was what they begged, with the greatest vehemence and earnestness; of all which we have seen very many instances through the course of this work, and shall beg leave to add two more, very remarkable in their kind.

The first is of their famous, and, till then, successful, general, Brennus, who being dangerously wounded, in that unfortunate

\[h\] Tacit. ann. l. ii. c. 15.

such a brave warlike one as this of the Gauls, with a spirit of liberty, and detestation of the Roman tyranny, than these dimnal catastrophes of their unfortunate neighbours, which they had before their eyes.
unfortunate expedition which he undertook against Greece, and
seeing his army destroyed, partly by the enemy, and partly
by hunger, cold, and other accidents, called together the broken
remnant of his troops, and advised them to choose Cichorius
for their leader, who should first dispatch him, and all the sick
and wounded, and afterwards head them back into their own
country. The thing was accordingly executed by him, and
20,000 of those unhappy wretches were put to death. Brennus,
only, chose to die by his own hands, as the most glorious death
of the two, in his opinion 1. The other is of those Gauls who
being on the eve of giving battle to Antigonus, and being
threatened by their aruspices with a total overthrow, went
first, and killed their wives and children, and then resolutely
marched to meet that glorious death, which their soothsay-
ers had foretold them 2. With the same spirit of liberty
did those act, who were unfortunately taken prisoners by their
enemies, before they had had time to dispatch themselves: for
if once the conqueror began to treat them as slaves, to load
them with chains, or condemn them to hard labour, they fel-
dom failed taking the first opportunity of putting an end to
their slavery by a voluntary death; even the very loading
them with chains, as was commonly used by all nations, has
raised this spirit in them to such a height, that they have rush-
ed upon, and butchered one another, by mutual consent.
Neither was this love of liberty confined to the men; their wo-
men are no less famous for it, in history; nor did they come
short of the Spartan, and other female heroines, but rather ex-
celled them, in this desperate kind of fury; insomuch that, when
they have perceived their men to give ground, they have
fulfilled out, armed with axes, and such other weapons as came
first to hand, and, with most hideous outcries, fallen foul both
on the fugitives and on their enemies; on the first, as betrayers
of their country; and on the others as invaders of their liber-
ties. We shall give some remarkable instances of this female
valour under the next head.

In the mean time, it will not be improper to take notice of
a judicious reflection which Strabo makes upon this excessive
love of liberty, and contempt of death, which reigned among
the Gauls, viz. that it did very much facilitate the conquest
of that nation; because their pouring thus furiously their nume-
rous

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I. xxiv. c. 8. Paufan. in Phoc. c. 23. k Justin. I. xxvi. c. 2.
2 Idem ibid. Vide & Florum, I. ii. c. 11. iv. 12.
rous troops upon such an experienced enemy as the Romans were, under Cæsar, their want of conduct and circumspection, made them rather encroach the number of the vanquished, than stop the progress of the conqueror; whereas those in Spain, by dividing their forces, and a prudent choice of the most advantageous grounds, and strongest passes, and disputing with them every such place, inch by inch, made their conquest more difficult, and longer in completing. This remark is certainly very just, and the Spaniards, by joining policy to their valour, did put off their slavery some few years longer; whereas the Gauls trusting too much to their number and bravery, were more speedily reduced: yet were the former wanting in a main point of politics, and as they were, like the Gauls, divided into so many petty states, had they, like them, joined their forces against the common enemy, they might, in all likelihood, have baffled all the Roman valour and policy. For, as the same historian observes in another place, it was by this way of conquering one little state after another, that both Carthaginians, and, after them, the Romans, made themselves masters of that country.

This is not a proper place to enquire into the causes that occasioned the loss of liberty to the Gaulish nation: it will more properly be done, when we have brought their history down to that fatal catastrophe. The point we are upon is, their valour, and love of their country, laws, and liberty, in which noble virtues no nation ever distinguished themselves more than this, or was more dreaded by the Romans for them. Witness that law which the latter made, and is recorded by several of their own writers, whereby all dispensations formerly granted to priests, old men, and invalids, were to be made void, in case they were threatened with any tumult or danger from the Gauls; which law is, moreover, taken notice of by Cicero, and by Cæsar himself; so that there was a time when they were more afraid of the Gaulish valour, than of any other nation, or even their neighbours the Germans, whose superiors they proved themselves so far in this point, that they forced their own colonies upon them beyond the Rhine, whenever their vast encroach made their own territories too strait for them. Tacitus doth, indeed, tell us, in his life of Agricola, that they were by that time very much degenerated from their ancient valour; which is neither improbable,

m Strab. 1. iv. n L. iii. o Livy, 1. viii. Appian. 1. ii.
bale, nor a great wonder, considering how many of their pet-
ty kings, and little states, had been corrupted, partly by Ro-
man gold, partly by pompous titles, and high promises, which
introduced amongst them luxury and indolence, hastened on
the loss of their virtue and liberty, and turned them into tray-
tors against the rest of their countrymen. We shall beg
leave, in justice to them, to conclude this article with a remark-
able passage or two out of Justin, which are as follow:—

"The Gauls, finding their multitudes to increase so fast,
that their lands could not afford them sufficient sustenance,
sent out three hundred thousand souls to seek for new habi-
tations: part of these settled in Italy, and these both took
and burnt the city of Rome; another part penetrated as
far as the shores of Dalmatia, and, having destroyed there
an infinite number of barbarians, settled themselves at last
in Pannonia. A bold, hardy, and martial nation this, who
ventured (next after Hercules, who, by the like attempt,
raised himself to the highest pitch of reputation, and title to
immortality) to cross the almost inaccessible rocks of the Alps,
and places scarce passable through their excessive coldness;
where, having totally subdued the Pannonians, they waged
war with the neighbouring provinces for many years.
And a little after,— "Being encouraged by their success,
others subdivided their parties; some took their way to Gra-
cia, some to Macedonia, destroying all before them with fire
and sword. And so great a terror did the name of Gauls
spread round about them, that several kings, not in the
least threatened by them, came, of their own accord, and
purchased their peace with large sums of money." ---And
in the very next book he adds, that "So great was the fruit-
fulness of the Gauls at that time, that they filled all Asia
with their swarms; in which, that none of the eastern mo-
narchs either ventured to make war without a mercenary
army of them, or, if driven out of their kingdom, fled
to any other but to them, for refuge."

We shall have the less room either to doubt of, or to won-
der at, what we read of in antient authors concerning the
singular valour, and love of liberty, of the Gaulish nation,
if we consider, that it was as remarkable in their women as
in their men; so that both sexes had it, in some measure transf-
fused in their blood; they sucked it at the breast, and learned
the first rudiments of it in the very nursery. We have hinted
a little higher, what pains these viragoes took to keep up their
men

Hist. 1. xxiv.
men from giving ground to the enemy, and with what intrepid
fury they fell, indifferently, upon those who turned their backs
upon them, and upon those who pursued them: we shall now,
according to our promise, add some few instances more of this
female bravery from undoubted authority.

The Ambrones, says Plutarch (a Gaulish people, who lived near the foot of the Alps, between Switzerland and Provence) having been defeated by Marius near Aix in Provence, were pursued by the Romans quite to their carriages: there they found the women armed with swords and hatchets, who, mingling themselves with victors and vanquished, did, with one hand, strive to wrench their bucklers from them, and, with the other, to dispatch them, and never let go their hold but with their lives. This might be imputed to their fury and despair; but when they found themselves left beyond recovery, they sent to demand of the conqueror three things (I); viz. first, Their liberty, that is, that they might not be condemned to slavery: secondly, That their chastity might be preserved inviolate: and, thirdly, That they might be employed in the service of the victors. These conditions having been rejected by Marius, they were all found, on the next day, either hanging on trees, or wallowing in their own blood, with their children butchered by them, and by their own hands. We have given, in a former volume, another, and even more dreadful instance of this female love of liberty in the Cimbrian women; the circumstances of which are so shocking, that we hope we may save ourselves the trouble of repeating them here. The fame desperate resistance Julius Caesar is reported to have met with from the Helvetic women, when, having defeated their husbands, he came to take possession of their camp, and their baggage: for both the women,

3 In vita Marii. Vide & Orof. l. vi. c. 16. Flor. l. iii. c. 3.
Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 1. ad fin. Hieron. epíst. ad Geront.

(I) Florus, in the place above quoted, attributes this embassy to the Cimbrian women: these were another branch of the Gaulish nation, of whom we have spoken in a former volume (26), and those women were no less brave and warlike, as will appear, by their desperate defence, and catastrophe, of which we are going to speak. But he is, most likely, mistaken here, as he is in many other instances: the other authors give the glory of it to the Ambronian females.

women, and their young sons, defended themselves to the last, choosing rather to be cut in pieces, than to be carried into slavery. The Dalmatian women are likewise reported to have set fire to their baggage, and to have thrown themselves, and their children, into it; whilst others hurried themselves, and them, into the next river. The same we read of those of Istria, Illyrium, Spain, and other Gaulish nations, as well as of those of Germany, who retained more of the old Celtic ferocity than any of the rest: of these last we shall give a remarkable instance, as they shewed this love of liberty, not in the heat of despair, but in cold blood; for a number of these being taken prisoners by the Romans, and scorning to be reduced to a state of slavery, when it was offered to their choice, whether they would be publicly sold, or be massacred, did, unanimously, prefer the latter. The emperor, however, not taking them at their word, caused them to be exposed to sale; upon which, they all rushed into a voluntary death, many of them having first sent their children before, in the same way. The same spirit may be said to have run through all the descendents of the antient Celtes, and extended even to their children. The author last quoted mentions a tripling, in Spain, who, seeing his whole family taken prisoners, and having, by chance, stumbled upon a sword, fulfilled the orders which his father had given him, to free them from their misery, and put them all to death with it. He mentions, likewise, a woman, who ventured to free a number of other prisoners in the same way: so that we may conclude this article with what Orofius says of the Gaulish nation, when speaking of those Istrian Gauls who chose to burn themselves, rather than capitulate with the besiegers, he adds, that there was neither man, woman, nor child, that did not prefer death to slavery.

What their military discipline was, is hard to guess: by what we have hitherto seen, it seems to have been very imperfect; and their falling, in such vast multitudes, upon the enemy, with more fury than discretion, without either taking the advantage of the ground, or dividing their numerous host as occasion required, but trusting altogether on their numbers, and reins less bravery, sufficiently shews them to have been greatly wanting in this respect: and this seems the true reason why they had such ill success, whenever they engaged

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engaged with other nations, especially the Romans. One
might, at least, have expected that those continual wars
which they waged with these last, and their being so constantly
hired as auxiliaries, sometimes by them, and oftener by other
warlike people, would have, in time, rendered them the
most expert nation in the art of war, considering their heredi-
tary fierceness, intrepid valour, contempt of death, thirst
for glory and conquest, and their invincible dread of slavery;
all which were so strongly rooted in them by education (K),
and continual exercise in martial deeds, as we have seen under
the last article. But whether it were owing to their too tena-
cious fondness for their antient customs, or to a contempt of
those other nations, their history plainly shews, that they
never strove to excel in foreign martial discipline. Their
chief talent seems to have consisted, principally, in invading,
rather than defending, in pouring in their numberless troops
with

(K) Besides what we have lately said of their excellent way of
training up, and inuring their youth to the military trade, we
must remind our readers of an excellent method they learned of
their ancestors, the Celtes, which was, to have their martial laws
couched in some kind of verses, or songs, set to proper tunes,
and adorned with all the embellishments of rhetoric and poetry.
These the youth were obliged to learn by heart, and to sing upon
proper occasions; so that they had learned all the rudiments of
military discipline long before they were able to bear arms (27);
and it is not unlikely that they likewise initiated them in the
practise before that time.

In these songs, or poems, were, moreover, recorded, the
actions of the great and brave, the victories which they gained
over their enemies, the names of those who signalized themselves
in them, and the monuments which were erected in memory of
them. For as these bards and songsters never committed any thing
to writing, or (if they did, for their own sakes, and the better
remembering the vast number of such pieces, which time, and
their continual wars, must of course occasion, yet) they never
let them go out of their keeping, they were wont to rear up
monuments, which were nothing but rude heaps of huge stones,
artfully, and by main strength, laid one over another, without
any inscription: so that the people were obliged to have recourse
to those poems for the meaning of these monumental heaps, of
which the reader will find many instances in the authors quoted
in the margin (28).

(27) See before, vol. v. p. 409. (28) Rowland Mona an-
The History of the Gauls. Book IV.

with incredible fury and speed, and spreading terror wherever they came; in surmounting all the difficulties, and enduring all the hardships, that fell in their way, and falling upon their enemies with dreadful shouts, and desperate eagerness, maintaining the combat with an intrepidity almost peculiar to them; and, when all these failed, as it often did whenever they were engaged with troops that were better disciplined, and trained up in all the polite arts, and stratagems of war; their last resource was, to signalize their valour, and love of liberty, by such desperate exits as those we have lately hinted. Much of their success was owing to their horse, and armed chariots, in both which respects they displayed such a wonderful dexterity, as, joined to their bravery, seldom failed of doing considerable execution. When they came to be divided into small kingdoms, and commonwealths, their method was, to divide their armies, in time of action, in the same manner, that the merit and prowess, as well as the faults and misbehaviour, of every nation and tribe, might be better known, and that every man might be thereby spurred to advance the honour of that to which he belonged. But this, though excellently well designed at first, was attended with great inconveniences, and often threw things into confusion, either for want of a general discipline, or through the jealousy and misunderstanding between their commanders, and especially from the time the Romans undertook the conquest of Gaul, through the treachery of those who had been corrupted by them.

One thing more we must not omit, concerning their military discipline, which is, their extreme superstition, in which they seemed to outdo all other nations; they were very careful in observing the moon, in particular; and avoided, as much as possible, engaging the enemy before it was past the full. An eclipse of it was looked upon as such a bad omen, that no appearing advantage, how great soever, or, indeed, any thing but absolute necessity, that is, nothing but their being attacked, and forced either to defend themselves, or die, could induce them to fight; and then they did engage more like desperadoes, than regular troops. They gave, moreover, particular heed to their druids and aruspices, who, in their auguries, are branded with using some very inhuman ceremonies, of which we have given some hints in speaking of their religion. If the augury promised them success, those diviners used to march before them with songs, and dances, and musical instruments, until the onset began; but if it proved otherwise, they forbore fighting, if possible, till they met.
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met with a more favourable one: and such a sway had this order of men amongst them, that they have protracted, or even hindered the fight, even at the very instant they were going to engage. But dreadful was their case, whenever they were forced to engage after a sinister omen, or threatening augury; for then such panic horror and despair reigned through their hoofs, that they rather strove to avoid slavery by a speedy death, than by a brave defence to annoy the enemy, and give the lye to their knavish aruspices, and their conjuring tricks.

Their weapons and armour, as they were antiently in use among the Celtes, we have elsewhere given an account of b; but whether through a shew of bravery, or a contempt of those which were more peculiar to other nations, we do not find they had any others in their wars with the Romans, but their bows and arrows, the sword and lance, which last was either longer or shorter, according to their fancy, and the shield; and yet it was with these weapons that they performed such astonishing feats, as made them, a long time, a terror to their enemies. They despised the helmet, cuirass, and other such defensive armour, and rather chose to fight half, and some quite, naked. They were utter strangers to those machines which other nations used in sieges; they had, indeed, learned the method of undermining, but they rather laid their chief stress on a brisk and fierce attack, which they began with throwing clouds of stones into the place, to clear the walls of their defendants; after which, they scaled them, with the utmost fierceness and rapidity. This fierceness did often prove fatal to them, especially when they have chanced to meet with a stout repulse, as they frequently did, from the Romans; for, in all such cases, they lost all their courage, and presence of mind, and suffered themselves to be butchered, without offering to make any defence. Those who chose rather to surrender, did lay down their arms, and presented their left shoulder bare to the enemy, and the women their naked bosoms, in token of submission; after which, they scattered some of their money, plate, and fine cloaths, amongst them, to bribe their conquerors. These instances, however, of submission, were but scarce and rare amongst them, in comparison of those in which they preferred death to slavery. But we have, by this time, followed them long enough in that bloody tract; let us now take a view of them in


Vol. XVII.
in their pacific excellencies, in their arts and sciences, trade and navigation, &c.

We begin with their language, which being universally allowed to have been the old Celtic, or Gomerian, of which we have given a full account in a former volume, we shall have the less to say of it here, except it be as far as relates to the changes it underwent after it divided itself into as many dialects as the whole nation was into little estates. There is scarcely any doubt but this old Celtic was the common language spoken all over Europe. A modern author has not only given undeniable proofs of it, which, barely to abstract, would carry us too far, and be thought, perhaps, too dry a subject for the greatest part of our readers; but he has further confirmed what we had formerly advanced as a probable conjecture, that the German language was originally a dialect of the old Celtic. We shall have occasion to mention some of his proofs, in the history of the antient Germans immediately following: in the mean time, so far as relates to the Gauls we are now treating of, it is manifest, that they all used this language, and that it was that same which is still preferred in several parts of Europe, particularly in Biscay, Britain, Cornwall, and Wales, but no-where more purely than in North Wales.

What occasioned this to be called in question, by several learned men, was, that Julius Cæsar, in his division of the Gauls into the Belgæ, Aquitani, and Celtæ, affirms, that they differed not only in their customs, but language. To which we may add what Strabo and Ammianus Marcellinus say of them, that they were not of one language, but differed a little from one another; or, as we take their meaning to be, used different dialects of the same language: for so it will appear plainly, to those who shall take the pains to trace those antient dialects to their true origin, as it was brought from the Gauls into our isle, and is still retained in its pristine purity, in that part of it called North Wales, and compare it with those alterations which it did, in time, undergo, in those parts of Europe where it is still preferred, though nothing so pure and unmixed, such as are South Wales, Cornwall, Ireland, the isles of Man and Anglesey, and some parts of the highlands of Scotland amongst us, and in Brittany, Biscay, and some other parts of the continent: such a scrutiny will easily discover, not only the true original mother from her spurious offspring,
offspring, but the different channels by which this odd and corrupt mixture conveyed itself into the latter. We formerly observed, that not only most of the modern European languages were manifestly dialects, more or less diffant, of this old Celtic or Gomerian, but that even the Greek and Latin, and other antient ones, had such a surprizing affinity with it, as if they had split themselves from the same block, and that very many of them plainly appeared to be of Celtic extract (L).

We

(L) Of this we have interspersed some instances, in a former volume (29); but shall, for the satisfaction of our English readers, add a few more, and place them so, that they may have so much of them at one view, as will clearly make out what we have said; and refer them, for a more copious number, to the authors quoted in the margin (30).

| Tir terra | Mur murus | Calav calamus |
| Mor mare  | Marw mori | Arva arma    |
| Engil ignis | Trep tribus | Gayan hyems |
| Awyr aer  | Offrail offertorium | Llyvr liber |
| Aur aurum | Anival animal | Nyver numerus |
| Avon annis | Tirva turma | Geveil gemelli |
| Ghwydr. vitrum | Terwin terminus | Priv primus |
| Fynnnon fons |          |             |

The same may be said, also, of the heathen gods, whom we have shewed, under a former article, to have been of Celtic extract, as well as their names, which are thus etymologized:

| Jupiter, Jovis, | Jeuan, Juvenis princeps, the youngest of Saturn's sons (31) |
| Tonans, | Taran, thunderer |
| Mars, Mavors, | Mawr ruyfk, warlike, powerful; whence, probably, Maurice |
| Neptune, | Nofddyfn, swimming on the waves |
| Mercury, | Merk wr, a merchant; or March wr, a swift runner, or messenger |
|          | Talamon, |

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We may add what Quintilian observes of the antient Latin, that till about the middle of the consular government it was very barbarous and rude in its expressions, having in it a multitude of words and idioms of other languages, most of them Gaulish; so that if those which have been since lost, or changed, were to be added to those which still remain, the conformity would appear still greater. And if those Gauls which were afterwards conquered by the Romans, had not, partly out of necessity (M), partly out of mere complaisance, adopted

h L. i. c. 5.

Talamon, al. Atlas, Telmon, a tall man, such as he is feigned to have been
Hermes, Armes, diviner; in which art he is said to have excelled all the rest
Teutat, Duw taith, the traveller's god; or from teu tat, the father of the people
Hercules, Erchyl, horrid, dreadful, whether on account of his deeds, or that attitude in which he was represented
Vulcan, Wael gin, or ginta, the inventor of steel, or steel armour
Apollo, Ap haul, ap heulin, the son of the sun
Titan, Ti taan, the house of fire
Triton, Trwydon, a wanderer on the waters
Rhea, Jove's mother, Rheys, a princess, or lady
Juno, Jevanc, a young princess; or from Ghuin, fair
Venus, Ghuin, white, fair
Diana, Di anaf, spotless, chaste, untouched
Minerva, Min arfau, the temperer of sharp tools and weapons

(M) There is another proof of the antientness of this old Gomerian, or Celtic, viz. its simplicity, and near resemblance to the Hebrew, and other primitive tongues, of which we have formerly spoken (32), and to which we shall only add an instance, so shew by

adopted a great number of words and idioms from their conquerors, we might still behold a much greater nearness between the Low Briton, Bifcayaneer, Irith, &c. and the pure North Welsh. So that the only reason why these last have retained it in such purity, must be attributed to their never having been conquered, and thereby keeping themselves from intermixture with other nations. Thus we find the Israelites, during their long abode in Egypt, preserving their original Hebrew, which they suffered to be greatly corrupted, and, amongst a great part of them, almost lost in a seventy years captivity. Now as it is universally allowed, that most of the Asiatic tongues, such as the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, &c. borrowed most of their radical or primitive words from the Hebrew, so this old Celtic, or Gomerian, which was the language of Gomer and his descendents, who first inhabited Europe, was the mother of most of the European languages, at least as far as Scythia and Sarmatia, which were peopled by Gog and Magog, two other branches of Japhet’s offspring: and as there is such a vast affinity between those two mother-tongues, we mean the Hebrew and Gomerian \(^1\), or antient Celtic, it is not to be wondered, if we find the same resemblance diffusing itself through all their derivatives; such as the High and Low Dutch, the Latin and Greek.


by what steps they came to adopt words of other languages to supply the poverty of theirs.

The antient Celtes, as well as their descendents the Gauls, were, as we have had frequent occasion to shew (33), excellent horsemen and charioteers; and yet the North Welsh, among whom the language is preserved in its antient purity, had not, neither have they to this day, proper names for a bridle, saddler, stirrup, or spur, because they antiently despised the use of them; but are forced to express them by circumlocution: as a leading and a covering leather, for a bridle and saddler; a mounting and pricking iron, for a stirrup and spur. These, and many more such deficiencies there are in that language, which their neighbours the South Welsh, as well as the Britons, &c. have supplied by Greek or Latin words: such as that of松弛, fraenum, for a bridle, &c. which the others would never adopt; though, in other points, they are now grown very refined in preferring that antient tongue: and, if they go on in the same neglect much longer, it is much to be feared, will suffer it to be entirely lost.

(33) Ibid.
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Greek, the Arabic, Persian, &c. and, particularly, between the Greek, Roman, and old Celtic, as the authors last quoted have sufficiently shewed, as well as accounted for.

We have been the more particular on this subject, because several learned men have maintained, that the Gauls commonly used the Greek tongue. Nothing can be more wild, or more contrary to all that we meet with in antient authors concerning the Gaulish language, than such an assumption, which may be easily overthrown, by one or two express passages we meet with in Julius Cæsar. The one is, that in a conference which he had with Divitiacus, an Aeduan or Gaulish lord, he was obliged to make use of an interpreter; and yet Cæsar was a perfect master of the Greek. The other, which is still more express, is, that when that conqueror found himself under a necessity to write to Quintus Cicero, who was then besieged in his camp, he made use of the Greek tongue, left his letter should fall into the hands of some of the Gauls, and discover his designs to them; a precaution which would have been quite ridiculous, if that had been the common language of that nation. Strabo doth indeed tell us, that the Massilians cultivated all sorts of polite literature, and, particularly, that of the Greek, to such a degree, that the rest of the Gauls were, by their example, become great admirers of that tongue, insomuch that they began to write their contracts and bargains in it. But then it is plain, first, that he only speaks of those Gauls who were neighbours to Marveilles, many of whom, not only private men, but whole cities, invited several learned men out of that famed city to instruct their youth, or sent their children to be educated there: secondly, If the rest of the Gauls did afterwards follow their example, it is plain they had originally another language of their own: and, thirdly, That this fashion of learning and using the Greek tongue did not begin till Strabo’s time. Accordingly, St. Jerom tells us, upon the authority of a passage which he has preserved out of Varro, that the Massilians spoke three sorts of languages, the Greek, Latin, and Gaulish. Hence we may conclude, that the Greek tongue was only introduced among the learned, but was not the original language of the Gauls. We might further confirm this from a number of antient monuments, and

k Vide Hottomans. Franco-gallia, cap. ii. 1 Comment. i. i.
y. 135. Vide Hottomans. ubi supra, & Pelloutier. ii. c. 10.
and especially from the antient names of provinces, cantons, rivers, cities, mountains, &c. but we think the case sufficiently plain, without any such further proofs. The Greek characters, indeed, were in use among them in Cæsar's time, as we shall hint under the next head; but as for their tongue, it plainly appears to have been brought into use much later still, and that only among the learned and polite (N). As to the present language of that country, those who are ever so little skilled in antient ones, may easily perceive it to be a medley of other tongues, the greater half of which is taken from the Latin, as the Romans were very indurtrious to propagate it, and cultivate it, in all their conquered dominions (O). The rest is plainly a mixture of the old Celtic, of the Frank or German, as this did afterwards greatly deviate from its

(N) There is, indeed, one passage in Cæsar's commentaries, from which some authors pretend to prove the contrary. It is that where he affirms, that in all other public and private concerns, Græcis utuntur litteris (34); which, compared with the explication which Strabo, who wrote after him, gives of it (35), seems to imply, that they made use not of their characters, but of their language. But to this it is answered, by two learned critics (36), that the word Græcis has been foiled into Cæsar's text. And, indeed, it plainly appears, that Cæsar meant no more in this place, than that the druids did not suffer any of their doctrines or principles to be committed to writing, though, in other matters, they allowed them to write letters, accounts, and the like; which they did, accordingly, in the Greek character, as we shall prove by-and-by.

But whether the phrase, "uti litteris," properly signifies to use the letters, or character, as it often doth among Latin authors; or, as others would have it, to use the language, as it may sometimes do, though in a kind of figurative sense; yet, in this place, if the word Græcis be really part of the text, it can only be meant of the character; else it would be absurd in our historian, after he had said, a little higher, that the Gauls were unskilled in the Greek, to say, that all their public and private accounts, transactions, &c. were written in that tongue.

(O) This plainly appears, from what Valerius Maximus, Tacitus, and Aufonius, tell us, of their setting up schools at Autun, Lyons, &c., and other places of that kingdom, as fast as they conquered them. And we need not doubt, but, according to their wonted lordliness over all their vassals, they used all proper means to encourage and oblige them to learn it.

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its original; and the rest seems to be of Greek extraction. For it has been observed, by judicious men of that nation, that many Greek words have been adopted by them into common use, which were not borrowed from the academies of the druids, who, for aught that appears, knew little of it, but from the schools of the Massilians we have lately spoken of.

Before we dismiss this article of the Gaulish language, it will not be amiss to make a short remark on its pretended rudeness and harshness, against which both Greek and Roman authors have raised such an unanimous outcry. According to them, it was enough to hear a Celte or Gaul speak, to make one judge of their natural ferocity; and the greatest part of their words, especially of their proper names of men, women, towns, rivers, &c. were so very harsh, that they could not be pronounced by strangers, or written in other languages, without great difficulty; neither could they be inserted in a poem, without murdering the verse. A foreigner could hardly hear them spoke without having his ears grated, or almost flayed with it. The emperor Julian says, that it resembled the croaking of a raven, or the growling of some wild beast. There must needs be allowed to be some exaggeration in these expressions, considering how uncouth and barbarous any language appears, to those who are unaccustomed to, or ignorant of it. It is not to be questioned, but even the French and Italian, emaciated as they have been of late, do appear so at first hearing; it must, however, be confessed, that, with respect to the German, there is less of the hyperbole; and perhaps the antient Gaulish might originally have a great deal of that kind of harshness, which guttural and some other hard consonants, as well as too great a colluvies of them, will naturally caufe, unlefs softened by the interposition of vowels.

We do not, therefore, pretend wholly to disculpate the latter, but would only obverse, that there is a vast difference between those two languages in this respect; and that the true Celtic, or North Welsh, though seemingly crowded with a number of consonants, has yet a peculiar sweetness, and is much more adapted for music and poetry, than we are apt generally to imagine: and, for proof of this, we shall refer our readers to what has been said in a former volume. And here it will not be amiss to remind them, that their custom of couching and preferring all

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* Plin. jun. 1. viii. epift. 4.  
* Diod. Sicul. 1. v.  
* Ovid. de tristib. eleg. xii. ver. 55.  
* Misopog.  
* 410. (B)
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all their laws, records, history, &c. in verse, inured them to a style more swollen, figurative, and emphatic, than that of other nations (P); on the other hand, their fierce and warlike disposition might, in all probability, make them fonder both of that, and of their sonorous and masculine language, than of the smoother Greek and Roman prose. To which we may add, that their natural aversion for the Roman nation might not contribute a little to this opposition, especially as they had reason to consider all their sweetness of language, style, and behaviour, as so many snares to entrap people out of their liberty. If we may believe Diodorus Siculus', their style was not only swollen, concise, and Laconic, but intricate and obscure, full of synecdoches and hyperboles; which the reader will find, perhaps, better accounted for by what we shall say, in the sequel, concerning their manners and customs; in which, as well as their loftiness and pompousness of style and language, they seem to have been more closely imitated by the Spaniards, than any other European nation.

The Gauls had originally no characters of their own, but adopted, in process of time, the Greek ones; yet, as we have already hinted, they did not do it till very late, and till their commerce with other nations obliged them to it; their contempt of foreign learning was a great obstacle to it, and their druids or bards, whose interest it was to keep their own from the people, did all they could to improve this their prejudice against committing any thing of moment to writing, under pretence that it rather tended to destroy, than preserve the memory of them, as it was likely to be a kind of discouragement to learn them by heart out of their poetical compositions; whereas this last, they pretended, was the most effectual means of preserving them, both from oblivion, and from falling into the hands of strangers: so that it was looked upon as a disfavour for any of them to learn to read or write (Q). And even after they begun


(P) Hence the German poetry, which preserves still its antient roughness, is judiciously enough compared to those cataracts of the Nile, whose sounding falls are rather apt to inspire one with dread, than to afford pleasure to the hearers; and their swolln style to that of men that are ever mounted upon fillets.

(Q) Elian has preserved us a passage out of Andreetion, to this purpose (37), that the antient Thracians, and, in general, all the barbarian

(37) Var. hist. l. viii. c. 6.
began to introduce the use of letters, in their contracts, bargains, and the like civil concerns, the Druids never suffered them to commit any thing relating to their history, laws, and much less of their religion, to writing. Hence Origen might well tell his antagonist, that he never heard of any of their writings; and hence that scarcity of materials we meet with, with relation to their history, since they committed all their learning, laws, religion, and transactions, to those songs and verses which they carefully kept from strangers; and perished, in all likelihood, with their liberty, or, at least, with their old heathenish religion, upon their embracing Christianit(i(R). It were to be wished, that the Christian priests and monks had not imitated, so clothly, this Druidish policy, of confining all learning to their own order and monasteries; especially in Gaul and

w Idem ibid. Strab. l. iv. x Con. Cels. l. i.

barbarian nations, settled in Europe, were not only quite ignorant of letters, but had a singular contempt for them, though they were commonly used by those that settled themselves in Asia. The same is affirmed of the Huns, by Procopius (38); and this humour seems to have been so deeply rooted among them, that even Theodoric, king of Italy, could never be prevailed on to learn to write his own name, though he had spent a considerable part of his younger days among the Romans; but it is reported, whenever he was obliged to sign an edict, to have only made use of a golden plate, that had the four initial letters of it, Teod, engraved upon it, and which he traced with his pen.(39).

(R) It is probable, indeed, that upon their conversion to the gospel they might, by degrees, be so far shamed out of their superstitious fondness for concealing their laws, history, &c. that they might suffer them to be committed to writing from thenceforward, but as for those hymns, and poetic compositions, which we are speaking of, it is not to be supposed, that they were ever preserved, seeing both parties, that is, both the new converts, and those who remained in their ancient idolatry, were equally concerned to suppress them; the latter out of their natural zeal to conceal them, and the former on account of those praises that were sung in them, to their false deities, heroes, &c. and of those abominable and inhuman rites that were performed in the worship of them. Jornandes tells us, indeed, that those which were in use among the Goths, were still extant in his time. If they were, it is plain they have since perished, and, most probably, for the very reason just now assigned.

and Germany: for they seem to have so well cultivated this prejudice against it, amongst the laity, that they were forced to have recourse to them whenever any will, grant, or public act, was to be made; and then both the persons concerned in it, and the witnesses, set their own marks, and the scrivener their name to it. But, with respect to the mercantile part, among whom there was a kind of absolute kind of necessity to make use of writing, the Greek character seems to have been that which was in use amongst them, according to Cesar, Strabo, Pliny, and others, above quoted (S): and was brought among them from Marseilles, which was a colony of the Greeks, or Gallogreeks. How their conquest, and intercourse among the Romans, did afterwards introduce their character amongst them, is obvious to every one, and we need not dwell any longer upon it.

As to their poetry, it is altogether lost, we can say little of it; yet it will not be amiss to mention an ingenious conjecture of a modern historian, who thinks that the want of learning and characters, or, as he expresses it, the reigning ignorance, and contempt of letters, gave birth to those poetical compositions, at least in Europe. This was, indeed, the most effectual method to preserve the memory of such momentous events. 

(S) We have observed, a little higher, that this passage is controverted by some learned men (40) who think that the word Græcis is interpolated in the place there quoted: however, as they do not substitute any other character to it, and some other passages seem express, such as the muster-rolls, and some other public writings which were found amongst them, we make no doubt but the Greek were the first and chief letters in use amongst them.

This carries such an evidence with it, that the author of the religion of the Gauls, who makes these to have come originally out of Phœnix, and to have brought their own character from Asia into Europe; doth yet allow it undeniable, that they likewise used the Greek amongst them: and to the authorities above quoted, adds some others, taken from ancient medals; and, particularly, an antique inscription, whose legends are in the Gaulish tongue, and Greek characters (41). So that if these be really as old, and as authentic, as he, and the authors from whom he has taken them, do suppose (42), there is not the least room to doubt of those letters having been in common use among the Gauls.

mentous truths and facts as they either could not, or cared not to commit to writing, and which, by this means, were not only easily learned, and remembered, but, likewise, concealed from other nations (T). And such fondness did both Gauls and Germans conceive for these kind of performances, especially as they were set to proper tunes, that they seemed to relish nothing else, and shewed a natural contempt for those of the prosaic sort. And this humour did still prevail so strongly, even so low as the ninth century, that when Lewis the Debonnaire undertook to have the Saxons instructed in the holy scriptures, he was obliged to employ one of their poets to put them into Saxon verse². The same was done by Ottosfridus, with respect to the four gospels, which he caused to be translated into German, and put into verse: for as they could neither read, nor care to learn, they consented to learn them by heart, provided they were put into verse, and set to music for them, and they permitted to sing them on proper occasions. Some such compositions Charles the Great is said to have found among them, which were very antient and rude, and contained the wars and exploits of their antient kings, and which he caused, likewise, to be transcribed, for the same end a. We have already hinted, more than once, what were the chief subjects of those antient poetical compositions; as to their metre, and


a Eginhard in vit. Carol. magn. c. 29.

(T) This remark, however, is far from being designed to derogate from that purer and nobler origin, which pious christians have given to this excellent art, viz. the love of the Supreme Being, and the contemplation of his attributes and works. But, however true this last may be, with relation to the people of God, who so early, and so much, excelled all other nations in it, as we have fully shewn in a former volume (43), it can never be imagined to have been the case of the fierce Gauls and Germans, whose religion and genius was quite opposite to such a supposition. As for those who make Bacchus and Venus the parents of poetry, if they will but add Mars to it, they may be well enough allowed to have guessed righter, with respect to the nations we are here speaking of; and though their compositions have not reached our times, we find reason enough to guess, from their temper and dispositions, their banquets and drunken revels, of which we shall speak in its proper place, that great part of those songs and poetic compositions owed their rise to them.

(43) Vide sup. vol. iii. p. 421, & seq.
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and other particulars relating to them, we are wholly in the dark, unless we guess at them by some of a more modern date; such as those which the author of Mona Antiqua has given us out of Taliesin, who was poet laureat to Maelgwyn, about the time of Auffin the monk's coming into England. But neither from these, nor from the character which antient authors have given us of the old Gaulish language, can we conclude them to have been either smooth or elegant, except with respect to the loftiness of their expressions and figures: yet would it not be fair to conclude, that they were all of the same kind; and we should have framed but a very wrong idea of the Greek poetry, if we had had no other poems to judge by than those of a Pindar, Lycophron, and some others of their bards.

We need not here repeat what we observed, in the last section, concerning their skill in astronomy and geometry, from which we may justly infer, that if they were masters of those two sciences, they must, of course, have cultivated many others, especially such as are depending on, or leading to them; but to what a number, or degree, cannot be easily determined, any more than what new ones those were which they afterwards learned from the Maeffian fages. As for arts, next to the military, which, though their great favourite, was but indifferently cultivated among them, as we have shewed above, eloquence was that wherein they prided themselves most, and which, indeed, was most natural to them. They received, from their infancy, most of their instructions from those poems which were compoied by the bards and druids; they heard them, upon all public occasions, either read, or sung; and as the greatest part of them were of the heroic kind, so it inured them to a pompous and high-flown style. We have seen, that they represented Mercury, the god of eloquence, with the symbols of Hercules, to shew what vast power that art had over them, above all others. These emblems they seem to have taken from the Romans (V); and though they were so far from imitating them

b P. 150.

(V) It is known, that the Romans, in all places of their public exercites, placed Mercury and Hercules in full view. The Greeks usually set a Cupid between them, to shew, that love hath its origin from the other two, i.e. from strength and eloquence (44); and we read, that the Megapolitans had but one temple for those...

(44) Euatt. in Odyss. 9.
them in their long-winded periods, flow and pomposity of words and figures, but affected, in the main, a concise and nervous style, yet they could not forbear being taken with such artful declamations and pieces of oratory. This is, at least, what Cerealis, a Roman general, upbraided them with in Vesopenian’s time; and Cato the censor tells us, that the Gauls made this eloquence, and exercice of arms, their chief study. And, indeed, nothing could be more natural, or necessary, in such a country as this, where every little kingdom and commonwealth had its particular council, before which all matters relating to peace and war, and every matter, both public and private, was debated by the parties concerned, besides the grand council of the whole nation, where the rights, privileges, pretensions, and other concerns of every private state, were to be debated, and finally determined, as we have seen above. But, after all, we would not venture to affirm, that this art was equally cultivated all over Gaul; it is more likely, that these countries, which remained still unconquered by the Romans, retained still something of their natural ferocity, and contempt for such arts and sciences as were most admired among foreign nations; and we may very well suppose, that the druids, wherever they still bore any sway, did all they could to cherish this antipathy. And it is, perhaps, in order to lessen this aversion, as well as to inspire those that were subdued, with a greater love of this art, that several emperors thought fit to found academies in several parts of Gaul, with considerable rewards and honours to those who gained the prize of it. We are told, that that of Autun had, in Tiberius’s time, 40000 students: we read, besides, that other public schools were erected at Lyons, Bourdeaux, Toulouse, Narbonne, and other places, besides that so famed one of Marselles, of which we have already spoken. Hence we need not wonder, that this country has been since so celebrated for the great number of its rhetoricians and orators; and if it has

c Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 73.
d Idem, ann. l. iii. c. 43.

those two deities (45), or even represented them under one and the same emblem (46).

(45) Pausian. in Arcad.  (46) Aristid. crat. in Herculis
Chap. II. The History of the Gauls.

has not been equally famous for their excellency in this kind, as for the number of them, it is because it has happened here, as it doth every-where, and in most other studies, many labour hard at them, but few are qualified for them.⁸

We have already taken notice, from the great regard they commerced paid to the god Mercury, as he was the god of traffick, that they drove as great a commerce as any other nation. This is, moreover, proved from a great number of antient inscriptions, and, particularly, a famous one set up by the Paris merchants, and dedicated to Jupiter the good. The reader will see it in the margin (W) together with a hint or two of some curious conjectures, which a modern author has drawn from

⁸ Pelloutier. hist. des Celt. l. ii. c. 10, ad fin.

(W) The inscription runs thus: Tib. Caesare Avg. Jovi optum. maxum m. navae Parisci fish posverunt. From the disposition of some of the letters, which, for want of room at the end of the line, are put just under it, instead of beginning the next, our author supposes the Gauls to have had the antient way, which is ascribed also to the Greeks, of writing esppepno, that is, as the oxen ploughed, backwards and forwards (47). He endeavours to confirm his notion by some antient coins, whose legend runs, in some, from the right to the left; and, in others, from the left to the right: we do not, however, mention it here, as if we were satisfied, that he has fully proved it from either, but only to excite our curious antiquaries to a fuller enquiry into it from such old coins and monuments as may fall into their way.

Our author further pretends, that the Celtes, or antient Gauls, brought the Greek letters with them from Phenice (48), contrary to the general consent of antient authors, who affirm, that they borrowed them from the Greeks. As his arguments for it seem very far from conclusive to us, we have followed the current opinion, until something more evident strikes out from those hints he has given us; which is far from being impossible, considering the difficulty there is to imagine how it was possible for the Druids to retain in their heads such a vast variety of the most copious and important subjects, by dint of memory, and without having some kind of books, or writings, to refresh it, or to have recourse to, when that failed; and how easily might they conceal such a help, if any such they had, as they did so many other things, from the rest of the world?

⁴⁸) Ibid. l. i. c. 4.
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from it, which would be too long for us to dwell upon. The whole country seems to have been divided into three estates, viz. the druids, with their underlings, the bards, &c. the nobles, and the mercantile part, which was, by far, the greatest. The two former had their revenue partly from the latter, and partly from their own lands, and the spoils of war; and were so opulent, that riches seemed to flow upon them on all sides, so that their chief business, especially in time of peace, was to encourage arts and sciences, as the best means to preserve, if not to encrease, their opulence. What seems most surprising, if what an antient author tells us may be depended upon, is, that some of the Gaulish nations interdicted the use of gold and silver, which was to be all dedicated to Mars, and so become sacred and inviolable; and allowed of no coin, but that which was made of copper and brass. The passage is too curious to be wholly omitted, especially as it will convince the reader, that the war which the Gauls waged against the temples of other nations, was not owing to their greediness after those treasures that were stored up in them, but from the aversions they had, in common with the Persians, spoken of in a former volume, against all such buildings, they being looked upon by both as derogatory to the Supreme Being, which cannot be confined within walls, but fills, with his presence, both heaven and earth. We shall give the substance of this passage in the next note (X). But it is too likely, that this contempt of these two

h Athenæus, l. vi. c. 5.

(X) "Among the Gauls," says that author (49), "the Corditi" (he means the Scordisci, of whom we have spoken in a former volume (50), as is plain, by the sequel) "do not suffer to this day, any gold to be brought into their country, though they make no scruple to ravage other nations. They are a remnant of those who went to besiege the temple of Delphos, under the conduct of Brennus. Bathanatus caufed them to be stopped on the banks of the Danube, and forced them to settle in that neighbourhood; and, from his name, they have called that voyage Bathanatia, and his descendents Bathanates. The Scordisci consecrate all their gold, and suffer none to use it in their country: but they would do much better to proscribe their sacrileges, instead of that metal; for it can be no credit to

(49) Athen. l. vi. c. 5 (50) See vol. xii p. 428.
superior metals did vanish away, upon their becoming more acquainted with other nations, especially upon their becoming subject to that of the Romans; who, as we observed before, made no scruple to rifle those treasures, which, before that time, lay exposed to the wide world untouched, and, perhaps, to corrupt them into slavery with it, as Herodian reports them, and especially Severus, to have done by the German nation.

The Gauls, as well as all the other northern people, made hunting a considerable diversion; and, indeed, considering the vast forests which the country abounded with, and which bred vast multitudes of wild beasts, such as bears, wolves, wild boars, foxes, &c. (Y), if they had not made it their business

\[1\] Sueton. in Cæsar.

"to forbid the use of it, whilst they commit so many unjust robberies to procure iron and copper; for if they chance to be in want of these, they take up arms, and lay them not down till they have got a sufficient supply."

Thus far Athenæus. And though he only mentions one nation of the Gauls, yet, if we remember what hath been said of their leaving their treasures of gold and silver, when consecrated to Mars, exposed in the open fields, especially those vast ones which were thrown into the lake of Tholouse, and which consisted in ingots, and rich utensils of those metals; and that, according to Piso and Strabo, those treasures remained sacred and untouched: and if we add, to all this, what another author says, that the Gauls never shut to their doors (51); we may safely conclude, that all the rest of the Gauls suffered no other use to be made of those metals, but to dedicate them to their deities, at least till such a time as the Romans, coming to plunder these asylums, as Cæpio did that of Tholouse (52), used those metals against them, lessened their veneration for the one, and made them yet a greater value upon the other.

(Y) Cæsar (53), Pliny, and other authors (54), mention several other wild beasts which used to be hunted by the Gauls, of which we know nothing now but the names; and some of them, by the description there given us, seem to have been of a very strange kind, if there ever were any such in being: such are the alices, the bonarius, the wild as, &c. The alices, according to Cæsar,

\[51\] Strab. l. iv. N. Damaasc. in excerpt. ex Vales. \[52\] See before, vol. xii. p. 475. \[53\] Comm. l. vi. \[54\] N. H. l. viii. Pausan. in Bœot.
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business to hunt and destroy them, they must, in time, have been over-run with them. But, besides these, they hunted the elk, the deer, hare, and other harmless animals: they made, likewise, fowling a diversion, and were, it seems, so dextrous at it, that they killed them flying, with a dart thrown by hand; though they were likewise said to have used the sling, and the bow and arrow. We have, in a former section, taken notice of a way they had of poisoning those darts and arrows which they used in hunting, with the juice of a plant which they called, in their language, lineum, or limeum.

k Strabo, l. iv.

Cæsar, had no joints in his legs, and was forced to sleep leaning against a tree. The same animal is mentioned by Pliny and Solinius, without that particularity. The bonasius, according to some authors (55), had a horse’s face, and the rest resembled a bull, its horns bending so far back, that there was no riding upon it.

Much the same wonders they relate of some of their birds, one sort of which cast such a bright light from their feathers (56), that travellers made use of them to see their way in the darkest nights: but enough of these fictitious animals.

The real ones, not mentioned above, were, the wild bull, called urus, and which, Cæsar says (57), was a little less than the elephant, though it was not much bigger than a common bull; the elk, which was generally caught in traps, and, being tamed, could be taught to draw a chariot, or fledge (58); the wild goat, of which there were then great quantities, and divers kinds; besides badgers, otters, and other such not worth mentioning.

For all these kind of creatures they had a breed of proper hounds, which they trained up to the sport, and generally hunted on horseback, unless it be some of those creatures which chiefly lived among the rocks, and which they were forced to hunt on foot (59). So fond were they of their hounds, that the ancient Burgundian laws obliged a man, publickly convicted of stealing one of them, to pay five shillings, one half to the owner, and the other to the public treasury; and, if insolvent, he was obliged to kiss the dog’s posteriors (60).

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limeum, which some have taken for ellebore, some the nightshade. Strabo says, it was a kind of wild fig-tree, whose fruit, he had somewhere read, resembled the Corinthian chapter. The wound failed not, it seems, to kill the creature, and make its flesh more sweet and tender; but they took care to cut off that piece, and throw it away. The professed huntmen held a feast every year to Diana, and, among other offerings, each of them presented her with a purfœ, in which was a certain sum for every beast they had taken during that year; such as a farthing for every hare, a drachm for every fox, and so proportionally for the rest. Their devotions being ended, they adjourned to a sumptuous entertainment, and concluded the day with it.

Other exercises, of the manly kind, they were, likewise, very fond of. We have often observed, what excellent horsemen and charioteers they are said to have been, above all other nations in Europe, which skill could not be attained but by dint of practice. Accordingly, we find, they had their hippodromes, horse and chariot races, tilts and tournaments; at all which the bards assisted, and, with their poems, songs, and musical instruments, in which they celebrated the praises of those who had formerly won the prize, inspired the new candidates with a noble ardor to signalize themselves upon all such occasions. And happy were they looked upon, who could obtain a place in those records of fame. All their exercises in general tended to render them lighter, stronger, hardier, and long-winded; and we are told, that the youth were obliged to keep their belly within the compass of a girdle of a certain size, either by fasting, running, riding, swimming, or any other laborious diversion: for if they grew fat enough to exceed the bounds of it, it was not only a disgrace to them, but they were, likewise, fined for it.

Swimming was also an excellent expedient, not only to harden their bodies, but to fit them for passing the widest and swiftest rivers; in which they were so very expert, and famed, that they could cross the Rhine, Danube, and Rhone, without breaking their ranks.

These may be looked upon as some of their laudable and beneficial diversions; but they had a most predominant one,

Feastings.

L 1 2

which can scarce be ranked in that class, and yet seemed generally to accompany all the other public ones, or, rather, the others served only to introduce this; we mean their feasting in which they were generally very profuse, though very negligent in the order and decorum of them. All their public assemblies and exercises, all their feasts, birthdays, weddings, burials, and anniversaries of them, were always accompanied with such sumptuous banquets, in which they intermixed with their good cheer both vocal and instrumental music. The nobles, especially, were most fond of them, because their greatness and interest consisting chiefly in the number of their clients, vassals, and folduri, there was not a more effectual way, either to secure the old, or procure new ones, than such kind of entertainments: for the Gauls, as well as the Germans, and other northern nations, were such excessive lovers of good eating and drinking, that nothing won their hearts more than these kind of feasts; and to what height these were carried, may be seen by some few instances we shall give in the margin (Z). At these feasts, those who were most famed for valour and wisdom were always reckoned the chiefest guests, because their example did bear the greatest sway in all such elections. The reader may not be displeased, perhaps,


(Z) We read of the famed Luernius, king of the Auvernians, and father of Bituitus, who was afterwards defeated by Fabius Maximus, that he made an enclofeure of twelve furlongs square, in which he entertained all comers, during several days, with all manner of exquisite meats and liquors (61); and of one Arianes, who caused lodges to be erected upon the high roads, each of which could entertain four hundred persons, and treated them in the same sumptuous manner a whole year (62). Neither suffered they any strangers, who happened to be at the place at the times of these feasts, or were travelling that way, to pass by without being invited, or even compelled to come, and take share of them; and, if their time could not permit them to stay, they obliged them to drink a glass or two (63).

The following is a remarkable instance of their fondness for these entertainments: The same Luernius having given another such feast, and invited a famed bard to come and sing his praises, as it was usual for them to do; the bard coming just at the latter end

perhaps, to see a short description of these feasts of the antient Gauls, out of Posidonius, who had himself been in that country: we shall give it in the margin (A). It was likewise customary, to drink hard at these kinds of feasts; yet it seems, according to the same author, that the corypheee, or head-guest, always began first, and put the cup, or rather pitcher, about to his next neighbour, till it had gone round: for, it seems, they all drank out of the same vessel, and no man could drink till it came to his turn, nor refuse when it did. And hence, in all probability, the custom of drinking to one another, which was, it seems, common to the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, as well as to the Scythians, Gauls, and northern people. The misfortune was, that at these feasts they used to begin to talk of affairs as soon as the cups went round; and as they generally sat at them till the next morning,

\[L 13\]


end of it, was so deeply affected at the disappointment, that he tried, in vain, to sing out his designed panegyric: he was, at length, constrained to change it into deep lamentations, for being forced to take up with the reliques of so sumptuous a banquet (64).

(A) According to him, their tables were very low; they eat but little bread, which was baked flat and hard, and easy to break into pieces; but devoured a great deal of flesh, boiled, roasted, and broiled, which they did in a very slovenly manner, holding the piece in their hands, and tearing it with their teeth. What they could not part by this way, they cut off with a little knife, which they carried in their girdle. When the company was numerous, the corypheee, or chief of the feast, who was either one of the richest, or noblest, or bravest, fat in the middle, with the master of the house on his side: the rest took their places next, each according to their rank, having their servants behind them, holding their shields. The guards had their table over-against them, and after their masters had done, the servants were, likewise, regaled. He adds, that no one was allowed to eat of a dish, till the corypheee had tasted of it (65).

Diodorus Siculus says, that the Gauls used to eat sitting upon the ground, which was covered with skins of wolves and dogs; and the dishes were brought by the children of the family, or by other boys and girls. He adds, that near every table there was a bower, or fire-place, which abounded with spits, pots, pans, and other such kitchen-furniture (66).

morning, they so heated themselves with liquor, and wranglings, that they seldom ended without duels, the Gauls, says our author, setting so little value upon their lives. If the feast proved a peaceable one, it was generally accompanied not only with music and songs, as we observed above, but with dances, likewise, in which the dancers were armed cap-à-pié, and beat the measure with their swords, upon their shields. On certain festivals, likewise, such as that of Mithras, they used to dress themselves in the skins of such beasts as were dedicated to him, and accompany the processions that were made on that day: others dressed themselves in masquerade habits, some of them very indecent, and played several antic and immodest tricks; and this custom was retained so long among them, even since their conversion to Christianity, that some of their councils and bishops not only censured and condemned them, but appointed fasts, and proper prayers, to be used on those days, to divert them from that heathenish custom.

Their chief liquors were, beer and wine, the former the most common of the two; for they did not begin to cultivate the latter till very late. Strabo observes of the Lusitanians, that one such feast as those we have spoken of, used to exhaust all the vintage of that year; but, by degrees, they came to like it better, and left the beer to the Germans, and northern nations, and made wine their chief liquor. Their martial temper inspired them originally with such contempt for agriculture, that they committed the care of it, at first, to their wives, old men, and slaves. The Germans and they are justly blamed for it by the Romans, and a great piece of pride and folly it was in them, to chuse to purchase the conveniences of life at the expense of blood and wounds, rather than by the sweat of their brow. But the same may be said of all handicraft trades, which they looked upon as vassally below the care of a warlike nation; but one may say, in general, that when the Romans came to pour their conquering armies upon them, they forced them, by degrees, to procure those things by their labour, which they were formerly wont to get, either by the sword, or by commerce: necessity soon made them feel the sweet of encouraging agriculture, and all other kinds of trades; and by degrees, likewise, of the liberal arts and sciences; in both which branches they became, in time, as expert and famed as any other nation.

8 Relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 34. & seq.  t L. iii.  n German. c. 14, & 23.
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nation. So that one may safely look upon their conquest by the Romans to have been the mother of all these.

We shall conclude this section with a short review of the other vices and virtues which are recorded as being peculiar to the antient Gauls. As for their vices, they are reducible to these three, which are attributed to them by the generality of antient writers, viz. drunkenness, laziness, and fierceness; all which we shall have the less occasion to dwell upon, because we have occasionally given so many pregnant instances, in the course of their history. As for their drunkenness, we have given some instances of it in speaking of their feastings; but we cannot see why that vice should be reckoned more peculiar to them, than to their neighbours the Germans, who vastly exceeded them in it. Besides these, Plato has given us a lift of other people who were equally guilty of it, viz. the Lydians, Persians, Carthaginians, Thracians, Scythians, and Spaniards; and we need not direct our readers where to look for some others, who may justly come under the same cenfure. But the Gauls were more envied for their bravery, both by Greeks and Romans, and were, therefore, made oftener the subject of their reflections. Accordingly Livy and Plutarch pretend to have it from antient authors, that those Gauls who lived near the Alps, having once tasted the Italian wine, became so enamoured with it, that they immediately resolved to go and conquer that country. And Diodorus Siculus tells us, that they were so fond of that liquor, that they would give a man, that is, one of their slaves, for a gallon of wine; which made the merchants very ready to furnish such customers with that beloved commodity, both from Greece and Italy. It is likewise pretended, that they were more than ordinary greedy of it, on account that it made them fight more courageously, or rather furiously, and more apt to despise all manner of dangers and fatigues; and yet, in fact, nothing is plainer, than that, if those authors have not exaggerated their accounts, the Gauls could not encounter a worse enemy than wine proved to them, upon all occasions, since, according to them, it seldom failed throwing whole armies of them into disorder and confusion; and, which was still worse, by bating them with some large quantities of that liquor, it either so overcame them, that they fell down dead-drunk, and exposed, as it were, naked and defenceless, to their enemies, by which means they have been all cut in pieces;

x De leg. i. i. Vide & Athen. i. x. Clem. Alex. pæd. i. ii.
y Hist. i. v. Plut. in Camil. z L. v.
pieces; or, as it often happened, it set them a fighting one against another, so that they became an easier prey to them. One would, therefore, be apt to think, that, after they had so oft and severely smarted for their greediness after that destructive liquor, their kings and generals would have made some wholesome prohibitions against so dangerous a custom: and what may incline us to believe they did so, is, that though the Greek and Roman authors charge the whole Gaulish people, in the lump, with this vice, yet the instances they give are but few, and happened sometimes to one nation, sometimes to another of them (B). However, though this abuse has been somewhat exaggerated, yet we own, that there must have been some foundation for it, since Charles the great was forced to make some severe laws against it: one of which obliged the judges on the bench, and the pleaders, to continue fasting; others, which forbade the forcing of any one to drink more than he cared for; others, which forbade the soldiers, whilst in the field, to invite any man whatever to drink, under pain of excommunication, and being condemned to drink water till they had been sufficiently punished for their fault. This vice, it seems, was so universal, that even the Myodians, a kind of monkish tribe among the Scythians, who were obliged to abstain from all flesh, wine, and strong liquors, had yet a way amongst them of intoxicating themselves by the fumus of some odoriferous weeds, something, perhaps, of the nature of our tobacco, which made them exceeding cheerful and merry, though without being attended

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(B) Thus, for instance, we are told, that those Gauls who took the city of Rome, and those who ravaged Greece, were mostly cut off in their drunken revels (67). The same fate, we are told, overtook the Goths in Thrace (68); one fort were defeated by Cyrus, in the same manner; and another by the Romans (69). But these are hardly more than single instances, that happened to one tribe or other of them.

attended with the ill effects which are commonly caused by excess of wine, &c. C.

The laziness, imputed likewise to them, appears, by what we have said a little higher, to have been rather owing to their pride, than to any dislike they had to labour, under an honourable title: for it is plain, that in their exercises, as well as their wars, they accustomed themselves to hardships and fatigues of any kind; so that if they neglected agriculture, and handicraft trades, it was rather because they looked upon them as a kind of slavery unbecoming their martial genius. And it was upon this account that they so readily rushed upon any desperate death, to avoid being taken prisoners especially by the Romans, who, they knew, were wont to make slaves of them, and condemn them to the hardest and meanest employments. And though, after their conquest, we have seen them take up with a laborious life, cultivate their lands, vineyards, and useful trades; yet the same spirit reigns still among their gentry and nobility both in Gaul and Germany, where they retain still a contempt for all the laborious and mercantile part, and chuse rather to live in a shameful sloth, and even poverty, than support themselves, and families, by any other way than that of arms. They even carry this punctilio of honour so far, as to look upon it as dishonourable to the last degree, for a nobleman, in how low circumstances soever, to marry the daughter of a mechanic, or even merchant, though her fortune was ever so large, and capable of enriching him, and his family.

As to their last vice, viz. their ferocity and cruelty, there will be the less occasion to wonder at it, if we consider, that they were brought up with a peculiar contempt of death: for how can it be expected they should be tender of other peoples lives, that were so careless, and even lavish of their own?


(C) The same, we are told, was practised by the Scythians and Thracians, who had no wine (70). The men and women, it seems, sat round a good fire, into which they threw these weeds: some call it a grain, or seed (71), the smoke of which they sucked up in such large draughts, that, in a little time, it set them all a laughing, dancing, and singing.

own? And if slavery appeared so terrible to them, that they preferred any death to it, might they not deem it a mercy in them to massacre their prisoners of war, or sacrifice them to their gods, rather than to make slaves of them? But we observed before, that this excessive love of liberty had made them look long ago upon other people, especially upon the Romans, not only with a jealous eye, but inspired them with an invincible hatred against them, and all whom they observed, like them, diligent and successful in enslave other nations. And this might not add a little to their native ferocious, and to that cruelty with which they thought the ought to treat such open invaders of public liberty, as well as those who basely assisted them in it. This will appear less improbable, if we come now to examine some of those social virtues for which they were famed, even by the confession of their enemies, such as their hospitality, frugality, justice, and fidelity.

It will, doubtless, be thought strange that a nation, so cruel to their enemies, and so touchy and fierce among themselves as to have recourse to single combat upon every trifling affront, should yet be so famed for their hospitality and humanity, not only to strangers, but to such as refuged themselves among them; and yet they are highly cried up for this admirable virtue, both by Greek and Roman authors. It was, it seems, a constant custom among them, to invite their strangers to all their feasts and, after it was over, to enquire who they were, and wherein they might be served. This was practised, according to the fame author, by the very Celts, who were looked upon as some of the cruellest among the Gauls, inasmuch that they came in crowds to invite a traveller to their houses; and happy was he thought whom he chose for his host: if he pitched upon one whose circumstances would nor permit him to afford a very long entertainment, (for they generally treated them very sumptuously) he always took care to turn him over to another that could do it. If any Gaul was convicted of having refused this courteously to a stranger, he was not only looked upon with abhorrence by all his acquaintance, but fined by the magistrate: witness that law which was enacted among the Burgundians, which laid a fine of three crowns on all such inhospitable delinquents; and one of double that sum to any Burgundian that should direct a stranger to the house of a Roman. In some other places they added a corporal punishment to the fine; and Tacitus

Diod. Sicul. l. v.
Tacitus doth that justice even to the German nation, as to
give several instancies of their tender regard to strangers: and
Caesar adds, that they esteemed all such persons as sacred and
inviolable, and to whom every house was to be opened, and
every table free. They even conducted them from one terri-
tory to another, and punished those upon the spot, from whom
they had received any damage, or ill treatment. They even
punished the murder of a stranger more severely than that of one
of their own nation, viz. the former by death, and the latter
by banishment. As for those who took refuge amongst the
Gauls, and a more safe and steadfast sanctuary they could not
meet with in any other nation, they were sure to be protected
and maintained, according to their rank. Hence that great
number of distressed kings, princes, and others, who fled
thither preferably to any other country, for refuge and defence,
of which we have already had occasion to speak in some for-
er sections of this history; and with what faithfulness they
were protected by them, may, out of many more instan-
ces, be inferred, from that which we shall give our readers in
the margin (D), to avoid dwelling too long upon so known
a subject.

These instancies are no less an argument of their justice and fidelity: the confidence which the emperors, princes, and

German. c. 21.

Comment. l. vi.

Aristot.

(D) Torifin, king of the Gepidae, had a noble refugee at his
court, named Ildigus, who had a lawful right to the crown of
Lombardy, but had been excluded from it, after the death of king
Vaces, by Aduin, who seized upon it. This last caufed Ildigus
to be demanded of the Gepidae, and procured his demand to be
backed by the emperor Justinian’s embassadors. Torifin, who had
just concluded a peace with the Romans and Lombards, called a
council of all his nobles, and acquainted them with Aduin’s re-
quest, and the danger he was in if he refused. Upon this, that
truey august assemblly unanimously agreed, that it were better that
their whole nation, men, women, and children should perish, than
to give way to such a sacrilegious demand.

Even among the ruder Slavonians, who lived on the other side
the Elbe, it was permitted to set any man’s house on fire, who re-
 fused sanctuary to a stranger; and, in such cases, every one proved
to punish the violation of hospitality.

(72) Procop. hist. Gothor. I. iii. c. 35. I. iv. c. 27.

(73) Helmold. chron. Slavon. c. 82. Pelloutier. l. ii. c. 16.
commowalthe, placed in them, not only in courting their alliance and friendship, and in hiring great numbers of them as auxiliaries, but likewise in the former chusing them for their life-guards, is another proof of it. And if they could be thus faithful to even the Roman emperors, such as Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Claudius, and others; we need not doubt of their being so to other nations, to whose service they had not such a natural reluctance: though it must be owned, that the Germans gained, in time, a greater degree of confidence in those monarchs than the Gauls had done; and perhaps, on this very account, that they did not shew such natural aversion to the Roman yoke as the Gauls did, who took all opportunities that offered to shake it off. But before even the time of Augustus, we find the Gauls and Spaniards in great credit and trust with Juba, king of Mauritania ¹, with Herod, king of Judea ², with Cleopatra ³, and with most princes far and near; an account of which hath been given in every proper place of this work. They have, indeed, been branded with the reverence, by several Greek and Roman historians ⁴; and it must be owned, that they have sometimes receded from their fidelity, notwithstanding their valuing themselves so much upon it, above all other nations; and we have formerly given several instances of it, though, for want of knowing what motives induced them to it, we have been obliged to condemn them for actions, which, if those authors had rightly informed us of the true springs of, might have passed uncensured. Neither Greeks, Carthaginians, nor Romans, were famed for their strict adherence to their treaties, any more than scrupulous about the means of obtaining them: and Cæsar, for instance, has laid the blame on the Gaulish perfidy, which Cato has bravely retorted upon him ⁵. And who knows what provocations they may have had, whenever they have departed from their usual fidelity and justice? But not to dwell too long upon uncertainties, we may affirm, that, in the main, they long enjoyed that noble character, however their conquests afterwards, and since them their unmeasurable ambition have hurried them into the quite opposite extreme.

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Of their frugality we have likewise given several instances, such as their contempt of gold and silver, of trades and manufactures, and the like; the antient plainness of their diet, dresses, houses, &c. Their cloathing was a kind of vest and breeches, light and neat; they wore their hair long, had a collar about their neck, and bracelets about their wrists, and above the elbow. Those who were raised to dignities, wore them of gold, the rest of brass. The druids were always clothed in white when they officiated, and the freemen, on all public occasions, appeared with their arms. We know little of their marriages, except that they do not seem to have allowed polygamy, and that they had power of life and death over their wives: at last this last plainly appears, from a passage of Pomponius Mela, who, being a Spaniard, must understand the Gaulish laws and customs better than any Greek or Roman author that has written of them. We shall give the substance of it in the margin; first, because it contains some curious particulars about the Gaulish funerals, with which we shall close this section: and, secondly, because the author doth therein clear that nation from having entertained the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which other writers have absurdly charged them with, and which we promised, in a former section, to disprove (E). Their burning of the dead bodies, we have seen, in a former section, by those urns which contained their bones and ashes, with some other trinkets which they mingled with them, of more or less value, according, as may be supposed, to the condition of the deceased; but that they likewise buried without burning, may be also gathered from those entire bodies which have been found, especially in the mounds of Salifbury plain, of which we have given an account: for as the Gauls received their religious laws and customs from the British druids, we make no doubt they exactly agreed in them, in both countries.

S E C T.

(E) Among other tenets which the druids hold, says that author (74), there is one, which they endeavour to inculcate into every Gaul, in order to inspire them with greater bravery; namely, that of the immortality of the soul, and a future life. Accordingly, says he, when they burn the bodies of their dead, and bury their ashes, they bury, likewise, with them, their books of accounts, and the notes of hand of the moneys they had lent whilst alive, that

(74) De fit. orb. l. iii.
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S E C T. V.

The history of the antient Gauls, from the Roman invasion, and their conquest by Julius Cæsar, to the irruption of the Franks.

We shall have the less room to enlarge upon this subject, first, because we have little or no account of this nation before they were visited by the Romans, but what we have given an account of in some part or other of this chapter: and, secondly, because what happened to them from that time to the irruption of the Franks, has been fully spoken of in the Roman history. However, that we may not leave this part too imperfect and short, for the sake of avoiding repetitions, and that we may save our readers the trouble of collecting the particulars of it out of our former volumes, by having recourse to every index, we shall give them here a summary of them in one view, and in as succinct a method as we can, with proper references in the margin, of that they may be of service to them in the other world. Sometimes, likewise, their near relations and friends have flung themselves into the funeral pile, to go and live with them there. Hath this doctrine of a future life any thing in common with the Pythagorean transmigration? Could these account-books, receipts, and notes, be of any service to souls which pass into other bodies, either of men, or brutes? Can those, who affirm it, imagine that souls, thus transmigrated, into whatever body it be, could be still the same persons whom those accounts concerned? And would those friends have been such fools, as to choose to die with them, for the sake of living with them hereafter, had they had the least notion of such a transmigration? How could they ever expect that happiness, if they really believed that, upon their going out of this world, their souls were to enter into fresh bodies, of either men, women, brutes, or vegetables, the one, perhaps, in one corner of the world, and the other in another? What likelihood is there, that the Gauls, so jealous of their liberty as they were, would, by thus rushing into immediate death, run the risque of passing into the bodies, I won’t say of either plants or beasts, but even into those of slaves, or even of women, over whom they had the power of life and death?
of the places where those facts have been more fully discussed, and add to it an account of such other transactions as have not yet, or have been but slightly touched upon. All which we shall endeavour to couch, as well as it can be done, in a chronological order, and near as we can to its epocha, according to such of our chronologers as may be best depended upon: we shall only add here, that the Gauls, being a strong and hardy people, and multiplying so fast, that their country could not contain them, was one constant cause of their excursions into other countries far and near, and in such vast multitudes, that they spread terror where-ever they came. It often happened, likewise, that these colonies, thus settled in a foreign country, were so molested by their neighbours, that, to prevent their being dispossessed, they sent into their native country for fresh affittance, and easily obtained it, the Gauls being always ready to pour out their numerous swarms, upon all such occasions, to prevent any of their old colonies being driven back unto them. Hence their vast multitudes, their known valour, natural fierceness, and cruelty to those who fell into their hands, joined to an unavoidable necessity, upon all such expeditions, either to conquer or starve, added not a little to the dread of their name. We shall pass by those which they antiently made out of Europe into several parts of Asia, where they settled themselves in several fine countries, and under different names, and for which we shall refer our readers to the Celtic history in a former volume a.

Their earliest, and most considerable sally we have recorded, is that which they made into Italy, under their famous leader Bellovesus (A), who, crossing the Rhoine, and the Alps, settled himself in that part of Italy called Piedmont and Lombardy, then inhabited by the Hetrurians, about the year of Rome 160 b.

The


(A) Ambigatus, then king of Celtogallia, finding his kingdom overstocked, sent his two nephews, Bellovesus and Segovesus, each at the head of a numerous army, to go and seek some new settlements. The first crossed the Alps, the latter the Rhine and Hercynian forest, and settled in that part of Germany since then called Bohemia and Bohemia, from the Boii, who accompanied him in that expedition (1), as shall be further shewn in the next chapter.

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The Cenomani, who dwelt between the rivers Seine and Loire, made the second grand expedition under their general Elinus, and settled in the Bresciano, Cremonese, Mantuan, Carniola, and Venetian; the time of this and the next is uncertain.

The third was made by the Laves and Ananes, the former of whom settled in Novara, on one side of the Po; and the latter in Piacentia, on the opposite side.

In a fourth, the Boii and Lingones, having passed the Pennine Alps, settled on the south side of the Po, between Ravenna and Bologna.

In the fifth, which happened about two hundred years after that of Bellovesus, the Senones, seated between Paris and Meaux, were invited into Italy by an Hetrurian lord, and settled themselves in Umbria. Brennus, who was their king, had laid siege to Clusium, and here it was that he gave the noble answer to the three Fabii, who were sent from Rome to expostulate with him, of which we have had occasion to take notice in a former section. We have seen, in the volume last quoted, that the treachery of the Fabii, in entering and defending that city, and of the Romans in countenancing, instead of punishing it, did so exasperate the Gallic general, that, raising the siege of the place, he immediately turned all his force against the latter, and, having defeated them, marched directly to Rome, whose inhabitants were struck with such terror at his approach, that they abandoned it to his mercy. When Brennus entered the place, which appeared to him like a very desert, he secured all the avenues round the capitol, and then gave up that metropolis to be plundered by his men, who preyently after reduced it to ashes, and all its stately temples and palaces into an heap of rubbish. Finding the capitol too strong for him he turned the siege of it into a blockade, and marched against Ardea, where he was easily defeated by Camillus, who had been a refuge there about two years: for the Gauls were, by this time, so intoxicated with their success at Rome, and with the wine of that country, that they kept neither order nor discipline; so that Camillus, at the head of the Ardeates, made a terrible slaughter of them. His next attempt was, to surprize the capitol, and would, in all likelihood, have succeeded in it, had not the noise of some geese awakened the brave Manlius, who founded the alarm, and gave them such a fierce repulse, that most of the Gauls flung themselves headlong down the steep

"Ibid." 
"See vol. xi. p. 577."
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steep rock, and lost their lives. However, the besieged in the capital were reduced to such straits on the one hand, and the Gauls on the other, who were themselves besieged in the city by Camillus, now chosen dictator, that the senate thought fit to send Sulpitius, a tribune, to treat with Brennus; and between these it was agreed, that the Romans should pay him a thousand pounds weight of gold, and he depart out of the Roman territories. But when the money came to be paid, and Brennus had brought false weights with him, Camillus ordered the gold to be carried back, and told the Gaul, that Rome should be ransomed by the sword, and not with money. He proved as good as his word; for a dreadful contest ensuing upon it, between the two armies, the Gauls were so disheartened on the sudden, that they made a running fight of it; but being pursued by the dictator, were all cut off, it seems, to one man, not one of them being left to carry the news into their own country.

The next expedition was still more unfortunate; for those Gauls who had settled themselves in those parts of Italy we have lately spoken of, led but an uneasy life there, being continually harassed by the Romans; upon which, they sent into Gaul for fresh reinforcements; but these came in such vast numbers to their assistance, that they became more dreadful to them than the Romans: so that they made no scruple to turn their arms against them, and, having killed their two leaders, easily put the whole army to flight. The Romans, however, were in no small dread of them, when they found how active they were in Italy, and what vast armies they could draw out of Gaul; and it was to dissipate that fear, that they perpetrated that horrid piece of superstition at Rome, which we formerly mentioned, of burying a Greek and a Gaulish man and woman alive in the ox-market. But they did not trust to this so far as not to make vast preparations, when they heard that the Gæfatae, another brave Gaulish nation, were invited, by their Italian countrymen, to their assistance. These were of a fiercer nature than any of the rest; they scorned all kind of defensive armour as mean and cowardly, and generally chose to fight naked. Had but their martial skill been as great as their courage (B), it is likely they

* Vol. xi. p. 585, & seq.

(B) We have purposely omitted several other defeats which they met with in some other expeditions, and which the reader will find

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they might, at that juncture, have disenabled the Romans from ever conquering any more nations: for their approach had spread such a terror all over the Roman territories, that they raised one of the vastest armies that ever had been known amongst them. If we may believe Polybius, it consisted of no less than 80000 men, horse and foot. The Gauls, however, nothing terrified at it, though they had but 50000 foot, and 2000 horse, forced their way through them, and entered their territories; but being as inferior to them in military discipline, as they were in number, they met with a total defeat: 40000 of them were killed on the spot, and 10000 taken prisoners, and amongst them Concolitanus, one of their kings; whilst the other, named Aneroeetus, and by far the most experienced warrior, only escaped to a neighbouring village, and there killed himself, as did most of the officers who followed him, according to the Gaulish maxim, of preferring death to slavery.

Notwithstanding all these successes, the Romans had no small reason to fear, that the Gauls would, at length, be made sensible, by their frequent defeats, of their own want of martial discipline and policy, and by their example, and that of other nations, become, in time, as expert soldiers as they (C); in which case, they could not but become

L. ii. c. 22.

find in the places of the Roman history quoted in the margin (2); where he will find, that the Romans were by that time so well apprised of their superiority to them in this point, that they generally trusted to it, and with good success, since it appears, by all these instances, that it was by that that they gave them such frequent and surprizing defeats.

They fought much after the same undisciplined manner, in single combat; witness that gigantic Gaul, who, by his golden collar, seems to have been one of their generals, and, Goliath like, challenged any of the Romans to fight with him, and was, like him, overcome by a brave stripling (3). For the Gaul, trusting to his superior strength, began the fight by discharging a great blow on his antagonist, whilst the dexterous youth, rushing under his shield, stabbed him to death with his sword (4).

(C) We are told (5), that their very weapons, especially their swords, were so wretchedly tempered, that, upon the very first onset,

(2) See vol. xi. p. 618, 634, 642, & vol. xii. p. 62.
(3) Vol. xi. p. 634.
(4) Livy. i. viii. c. 9.
(5) Polyb. ubi supra. Plutarch, in Marcel. Oras. &c. i.
come a very formidable enemy to their nation, considering their hatred to it, their hardiness, intrepidity, and readiness to join every foe against them. The assistance they gave Hannibal, as he was crossing their country, and over the Alps, of which we have given an account elsewhere; and, after him, to Mago, and the Carthaginians, during their war; their being so frequently hired as auxiliaries, by other states and kingdoms, most of them at war with Rome, and among which they were sure to perfect themselves more and more in the martial trade, whilst they themselves could not venture to take them into their pay without manifest danger (D); these considerations obliged them, at last, to retaliate upon them, and invade their country, upon the first favourable opportunity, and before they were become too expert in the art of war for them: but before we come to speak of this,

h Vol. xi. 188, &c. 1 Ibid. p. 276.

onset, in which they constantly charged with incredible fury, they used either to break, bend, or be so blunted, against the Roman javelins, as to become useless; so that before they could have time to sharpen or straiten them, the enemy presently closed in upon them, and, throwing by the javelin, and shortening their swords upon them, stabbed them, like so many sheep.

(D) They gave a dreadful instance of it from the beginning, when Scipio, after the defeat which the Carthaginians had given him, on the banks of the Ticinus, retired to Placentia, to cure his own, and his soldiers wounds; for here about 2000 foot, and 200 horse, of those Gauls which the consul had in his pay, upon some discontent, rose up in the dead of the night, and, whilst the Romans were asleep, entered their camp, flew a great number of them, cut off their heads, and carried them to Hannibal, who gave them a kind reception, and invited them, with vast promises, into his service.

This treachery so disheartened the consul, that, fearing left the rest of their countrymen, that were left in his army, should follow their example, and make the mischief still greater, he wisely chose to give them the slip, and lead his own troops to a place of more safety. The Carthaginians, finding the Roman camp cleared, plundered and set it on fire, whilst the Gauls flocked, in great numbers, to their general, and lifted in his service (6); an action, one would think, sufficient to deter the Romans from ever trusting a Gaul again.

(6) Polyb. l. iii. c. 66, & seq.
this, it will be necessary to say something of their other expeditions and exploits, in Asia, Macedonia, and other countries.

The first of this kind was in the year after Pyrrhus passed into Italy, when the Gauls, finding themselves again overstocked at home, sent out three vast colonies to seek new habitations. Brennus (perhaps a descendent of him who had some two centuries before made that dreadful irruption into Italy we have lately mentioned) was the chief adviser of this expedition, and head of one of the Gaulish armies; Cerethrius commanded the second, and marched into Thrace; and the third, under the command of Belgius, marched into Illyricum and Macedonia: as for Brennus, he was entered into Pannonia, or Hungary, a poor country in comparison to those which Belgius had invaded, and wherein he had enriched himself with immense plunder; so that envious his success, he resolved to join him, and share it with him. Belgius being soon after defeated to such a degree that we hear no more of him, or his men, he hastened thither, under pretence of revenging and afflicting him; and it is not improbable, that the remainder of Belgius’s army lifted themselves under him. The army with which he entered into those two provinces, consisted of 150,000 foot, and 15,000 horse; but a revolt happened in it, in which Leonorus and Lutarius, the two chief leaders of it, carried off 20,000 men, and marched into Thrace, and, joining themselves to Cerethrius, seized on Byzantium, and the western coasts of Propontis, and there settled, and made the adjacent parts tributary to them.

To retrieve this loss, Brennus sent for fresh supplies from Gallia, inlisted some Illyrians, and, with a new army of 150,000 foot, and above 60,000 horse, entered Macedonia, defeated Sathenes, and ravaged the whole country. He next marched towards the freights of Thermopylae, with an intent to invade Greece, but was stopped by the forces which were sent to defend that pass against him. This obliged him to get him some guides over those mountains, over which Xerxes had passed his forces before; upon which, the guards retired, to avoid being surrounded by him. He then ordered Acichorius, the next to him in this expedition, to follow him at a distance with part of the army, and with the bulk of it marched straight towards Delphos, with a design, as is supposed, to plunder that rich city and temple; but met...

k Polyb. i. i. c. 6. Vide Pausan. Phoc. Justin. i. xxiv. & seq.
it seems, with a terrible repulse, from a violent storm of
thunder, lightning, and hail, which destroyed a great number
of his men; and from a dreadful earthquake, which over-
whelmed another part of his army: so that the remainder,
being seized with a panic fury, fell upon, and murdered each
other, all that night. The next morning they found their
mistake, and near one half of their army destroyed, and
the Greek forces pouring in upon them from all parts, and
in such numbers, that though Acichiorius joined him in the
nick of time, yet were they not able to make head against
the Greeks, but were defeated, with a terrible slaughter.
Brennus himself was desperately wounded, and so disheart-
ened at his miscarriage, that he assembled all his chiefs, and
having advised them to slay all that were wounded and dis-
abled, and to make as good a retreat as they could, he put
an end to his life. Acichiorius, immediately after, led the
remainder of his shattered army back, as well as he could;
but their long marches through enemies countries, the op-
positions and hardships they met with from them, and the
grievous calamities which accompanied them, did, it seems,
so thoroughly exhaust them, that not one of them return-
ed from that expedition m: a just judgment, indeed, upon
them, if they really went with that sacrilegious design which
is charged upon them by the Greek and Roman authors, and
in which we make no doubt but they have as much exag-
gerrated their punishment in their above-mentioned defeat, as
they have their guilt, as the reader may see, by what is added in
the margin (E).

m idem ibid. Vide & Memnon. excerpt. ap. Phoc. c. 19, &
hymn. in Delum. Suid. in voc. Galatai.

(E) We promised, in a former section, to explode the virulent
charge which Cicero lays against the Gaols, and their religion,
found chiefly on this action of their plundering the Delphic
temple, and that of their besieging the capitol, and, as he adds,
to aggravate it the more) the great Jupiter in it; from which he
infers, that their religion consisted only in a diametrical oppo-
sition to all others, and in waging war against the gods of other
nations, &c. and that the Gaols were a most irreligious, wicked,
and dangerous people, not fit to live; and much more to that
purpose.

Now if it be true, that the Gaols, before their conquest, did
worship the one Supreme Being, and, like the Perjes, Brachmans,
and
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WHILST this expedition was carrying on in Greece, the other colonies under Leonorius and Lutarius, parting from the others who were settled in the Propontis, marched into the Hellespont, and made themselves masters of Lyphimachia, and the Thracian Chersonesus. Here some great misunderstanding happening

and other antient nations and philosophers, thought it an indignity to confine him in temples, or represent him by idols of any kind, as we have formerly shewed they did, then will their destroying those temples and idols, or even plundering them of their treasures, if they had really done so by this of Delphos, stand justified, and rather deserve commendation, than such a black reproof. The plunder of such superstitious treasures, to men of these principles, and for the support of a numerous army that stands in need of it, will be justly deemed applying them to a better use.

But it plainly appears, from the majority of those authors quoted above, that they did not plunder the Delphic oracle, but that they were scared from it by a storm and earthquake, which threw them into such a panic, as made them be easily overcome by those Greek forces, which came, with great fury, to defend their country and oracle against them; upon which it is supposed, that all these disaffairs befell them as a just judgment for their sacrilegious design against that temple and treasure: but this last is at best but a surmise, founded on a wrong, though common notion, that such disaffairs always argued some atrocious crimes in the sufferers; all which is here dressed up, by authors who were professed enemies to the Gaulish nation, and have, doubtless, exaggerated both at their pleasure, though without any real foundation.

Justin, and after him Cicero, indeed, accuse them of having plundered the Delphic treasure; and the last adds, that they carried it home too; but being grievously plagued for their sacrilege, they were divided to throw their ill-got pelf into the lake of Thoëse. This, though plainly opposite to all those authors who have written of that expedition, seems to us only an injudicious improvement on the account they have given of it, in order to bring a scandal on that vaft treasure which was consecrated and repofited in that lake, and which Strabo and Athenaeus, on the authority of Pheidonius, tell us was (so far from being fetched from Delphos) dug up out of some rich mines in that neighbourhood, as we have already had occasion to observe in the last section. If anything, therefore, could be objected, with any seeming justice, against the Gauls, it was their sending such powerful colonies to invade other nations; but neither Greeks nor Romans could have any pretence to find fault with that which was their own practice, as well as that of all other nations.
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pening between those two chiefs, they parted their forces; the former returned to Byzantium, and the latter stayed where he was. They did, however, rejoin their forces some time after, and passed into Asia, being invited thither by Niconomades, whom they assisted against his brother, and fixed him in all his father's dominions; in acknowledgment of which, he assigned them that part of Lesser Asia which we described at the beginning of this chapter, and which was, from them, called Gallogræcia, and Galatia. Thither came, some settled also, a great number of those other Gauls who had settled in Thrace, and who were driven from thence by Antigonus Gonatus, who had seized the kingdom of Macedon upon the death of Sosthenes. A greater number of them dispersed themselves about in other countries, and either perished, or so intermingled themselves, as not to be heard of any more; so that of this great and threatening Gaulish army, none remained but those who settled in Galatia. These, likewise, in time, increasing in number, and being straitened in their territories, endeavoured, according to custom, to enlarge them where they could, and to send their colonies and auxiliary armies abroad (F), which did not a little annoy and alarm

(F) Justin tells us, that all Asia swarmed with them, and that there was hardly an eastern prince at war that did not hire them as mercenaries (7). This was, in particular, the case of Antiochus Hierax, in his war against Seleucus, whom he defeated at Ancyr (8), by the help of the Gaulish auxiliaries. But his victory had like to have cost him dear: for these, having heard a rumour, that Seleucus had been slain, formed, it seems, a project to murder him, and seize upon his kingdom; so that he found no better way of saving himself, than by giving them all the treasure he had (9).

The scene of war between the two contending brothers being at length removed to Mesopotamia, it is not improbable, that the battle of Babylon was happened between the Babylonish Jews and the Gauls, in which 8000 of the former defeated and killed 120000 of the latter (10): for Babylon was then a province of Mesopotamia, and Antiochus, then in confederacy with the Gauls, who were then very numerous there, and all over Asia, as we mentioned out of Justin, was totally defeated by Seleucus

(7) L. xxv. c. 2. (8) Idem. ibid. (9) Idem, l. xxvii. c. 2. (10) 2 Maccab. viii. 20.
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alarm all their neighbours; but they were at length sup-
presseed by the proconsul of Asia, Corn. Manlius Vulso, who
gave them several defeats, and obliged them to live quietly,
and keep within their old limits *. They are, however,
affirmed by some authors to have been subdued about fifty-
three years before, by Attalus, king of Pergamos p; and if
so, they must have found out some means of recovering
their liberty, to have been so powerful in Manlius’s time;
unless we suppose these authors to have confounded the
Gauls with the Galatians. However that be, these last
were still, above 130 years after, governed by their own
tetrarchs, one of whom, named Deiotarus, was, for his services
done to Pompey the great, created king by him (G), and
had the Lesser Armenia, and some other territories, added
to his own q. Thus much may suffice for the Gaulish
expeditions abroad. It is time now to return to those at
home, and to give an account of their conquest by the Ro-
mans.

We hinted a little higher, that the Romans were grown
so fearful of the Gauls, that they thought it proper, in or-
der to humble them, to lead their armies into their country.
After many attempts, not worth mentioning, the perfon that
opened the most effectual way into Gaul was the great con-
sul Q. Marcius, surnamed Rex, to whose lot this province
was fallen, as well as the supreme power, by the death of
his colleague in Numidia. Marcius, the better to carry on
his design, opened a way between the Alps and the Pyrenees,
a work of immense labour, in which he was stoutly opposed
by the Gauls, especially the Stceni, who lived at the foot
of the Alps r, and who, finding themselves overpowered by
him,

Polyxen, &c.  q Strabo, 1. xii. Eutrop. 1. vi.  r Steph. de
urb.

•cus (11). But whether these were the Galatians of Asia minor,
or troops sent out of Gaul, is not easy to guess, from either Justin,
or the book of Maccabees, as we hinted at the beginning of this
chapter.

(G) This is the same Deiotarus that soon after disposessed the
other three tetrarchs, and seized upon all Galatia. For this he was
summoned before Julius Caesar, upon which occasion Cicero made
a speech in his behalf, which is still extant, under the name of
Oratio pro rege Deiotaro.

(11) Justin, ubi supra. Polyxen. 1. iv. c. 19.
by him, set fire to their houses, killed their wives and children, and threw them and themselves into the flames. Marcus, having accomplished his work, planted a colony, for the security of it, in the country of the Volcae Testo-fagi, between the Pyrenees and the city of Tholouse; and built a city in it, and called it Narbo Marcus, since Narbonne, which became the capital of that province. The reduction of such a considerable part of Gaul, and the opening and securing such a way between the Alps and Pyrenees, as laid the foundation for the conquest of the whole country, was thought so considerable a service to Rome, that the senate ordered him a triumph for it. His successor, Scapus, not only conquered some other nations of the Gauls, as the Gentisci and Carni (H), but, to facilitate the sending of troops from Italy thither, he made some excellent roads between them, which before were almost impassable, and was likewise honoured with a triumph.

In the mean time, the Cimbri and Teutones, taking the alarm at these successes, took up arms against them, and gave them several considerable overthrowds; in one of which plundered, the Tigurini (I), having surprisèd them, made them, and the general Popilius, pass under the yoke. The Cimbri, in particular, had retaken some parts of Gaul from the Romans, and, in particular, the famed city of Tholouse, upon which, Cepio marching his army to retake it, it opened its gates to him; notwithstanding which, he not only gave it up to be plundered by them, but carried off all that vast treasure that had been consecrated there by the Gauls, and of which we have lately given an account, to the amount of 100,000 pounds weight of gold, and the fame of silver, even according to the most moderate accounts of it; and, in spite of his treachery, avarice, and facrilege, was continued proconfus of the Narbonnese Gaul. This vile action so exasperated the Gauls, that they joined with the Cimbri, and, taking the advantage of the squabble that was between the general and his colleague Manlius, they fell upon them so furiously, that they gave them such an overthrow as they had...
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had scarcely ever met with, killing 80,000 men, besides 40,000 servants and butlers, in one day; only ten men, of their whole army, escaped with the two generals, and among the former the brave Sertorius, who saved himself by swimming over the Rhine. The Gauls, who, according to custom on such occasions, had devoted all the spoil, threw all the silver and gold into the Rhine, drowned all the horses, and murdered all the prisoners they had taken. What consternation this loss threw the city of Rome into, and what punishment was inflicted on the sacrilegious Cepio, we have elsewhere shewn. As to the victorious allies, they held a general council, whether to march immediately into Italy, or reduce those provinces which the Romans held in Gaul: they agreed, however, to consult the brave Aemilius Scaurus, whom they had taken prisoner in a preceding action, and who, Roman like, strove to deter them from invading the territories of that republic, but was, for his bold speech, stabbed to death by Boiorix, king of the Cimbri.

The Roman senate, expecting nothing less than a fresh irruption of the Gauls and Cimbri, thought fit to recall Marius from his successful expedition against Jugurtha; and, having honoured him with a triumph for it, appointed him general against the enemy, and Sylla to serve under him. They both set out accordingly, and Sylla gained several advantages against the Teutoni, and took Copillus, one of their kings, prisoner, whilst Marius resolved not to engage such a numerous army as appeared against him, till he had received sufficient reinforcements to his own. In the mean time, the Marli, another people of Germany, had joined the Cimbri, with a design to enter Italy with them; and Sylla was sent to oppose them; but he, instead of engaging them, found means to gain the former over to the Roman interest. The Cimbri, enraged at this, ceased not to infest the Roman general till they forced him to remove to Aque Sextiae, now Aix in Provence, and in his way was briskly attacked by the brave Ambrones, now the canton of Bern, to whose valor had been chiefly owing the dreadful blow they gave Cepio and his colleague. They fought with the utmost fury and intrepidity, indeed, but wanted discipline; so that, not being able to stand the shock of such regular troops as they engaged, so dreadful a slaughter was made of them, that the next river ran stained with their blood. Here the Ambronian women did likewise signalize themselves, ran with their axes against the

v Ibid. p. 476–478, & (I).
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the pursuing Romans, and made a stout opposition. But being at length overpowered, and offering to surrender upon honourable conditions, which were denied them by the enemy (K), they murdered all their children, and themselves; so that not one of them was found alive.

After this defeat, the Gauls seem to have been quiet for some time, whether too much suppressed by the Romans, or that they left it to the Germans to harass them, as they in fact did, and gave the confus'd much trouble, though to very little effect, they being constantly overcome, as often as they engaged him; but he met, soon after, with a more dreadful enemy in Sylla, and Rome was so rent, and in such conteration, on account of those two factions, as we have seen in the Roman history, that they rather fought the friendship of the Gauls, than their reduction. But Sylla found means, by his address, to draw them to his side. Hence it is likely, that he suffered them to live in peace during the whole time of his dictatorship; for we hear nothing relating to them during that time, nor for some space after his death, though the scene of war was by this time removed into Spain and Portugal by Sertorius, and where he had very great success against Pompey, who was sent against him. This war was no sooner ended there, than a new one began in the heart of Italy under Spartacus, who was at the head of an army confitting chiefly of Gaulish slaves, and whom he designed, after some notable success against the two consuls, to have led back over the Alps into their own country. But this they stiffly refused, and were soon after totally defeated by Crassus, who was sent against them, and Spartacus himself slain, after having fought with incredible bravery, and sacrificed heaps of Romans round about him: 40000 of the Gauls were killed on the spot, the rest

(K) These conditions were, as we hinted in a former section, that their honour should be preserved; that they should not be fold into slavery; and that they should be employed in the service of the vestibals. These conditions being denied, they would have contented themselves with the first; but that being inhumanly refused, their love of chastity made them prefer such an honourable death, as could not but cast a more shamefull brand on those who stiled them barbarians, and yet used such brave matrons in so inhuman a manner (12).

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rest fled into Lusitania, where they were soon after cut off by Pompey. Whether the Transalpine Gauls had any hand in this rebellion, doth not appear. In that famed conspiracy of Catiline they were indeed invited into it by some of his partisans, in hopes of drawing some considerable helps from thence; but the embassadors of the Allobroges (L), then at Rome, who had been also tampered with, made such a full discovery of the whole design to their protector Q. Fab. Sanga, and he to the confuls, that it was happily prevented and difconcerted b.

From all this it seems as if the Gauls had lived all this long while in quiet and good friendship with Rome, whatever feuds there might be among them in the heart of their country: the Helvetii were they which kindled that fresh war which brought Cæsar over the Alps, and ended in the conquest of that brave and warlike nation. Orgetorix was the first cause of it, who, whether through want of room, or a desire to exchange his inclement country for a better, or for some other cause not mentioned by any writer, had engaged a vast number of his countrymen to burn their towns and villages, and to go in search of new conquests. Julius Cæsar, to whose lot the whole country of Gaul was fallen, made such haste to come and suppress them, that he was got to the Rhine in eight days, broke down the bridge of Geneva, and, in a few days more, finished the famed wall between that city and mount Jura, now St. Claude, which extended seventeen miles in length, was sixteen feet high, fortified with towers and castles at proper distances, and a ditch that ran the whole length of it (M). Whilst this was doing, and the reinforcements he wanted were coming, he amused the Helvetii, who had sent to demand a passage through the country of the Allobroges, till he had got his reinforcements, and then flatly refused

a Vol. xii. p. 619. b Ibid. p. 635.

(L) These inhabited the regions at the foot of the Alps, known now by the names of Savoy, Dauphiné, and Piedmont.

(M) If his own account of it may be relied upon (13), he did not set out till the beginning of April, and yet this huge work was finished by the ides or 13th of the month: so that subtracting the eight days he was a coming, it must have been all done in about five days: a prodigious work! considering he had but one legion there, or even though the whole country had given him a helping hand.

(13) Comment. l. i. c. 1. & seq.
refused it to them; whereupon a dreadful battle ensued, in which they lost 130,000 men, in spite of their valour, besides 557 a number of prisoners, among whom was the wife and daughter of Orgetorix, the leader of this unfortunate expedition; the rest submitted, and begged they might be permitted to go and settle among the Ædui, from whom they originally sprung; and, at the request of these last, were permitted to go (N). This action and victory, joined to the policy and incredible dispatch with which Cæsar had carried it against them, gained him such reputation, and, at the same time, struck the Gauls with such a dread, that they strove who should pay him the first homage and congratulations, and procure his friendship. So that we may look upon it as the basis of all his glory and conquests in this country.

We formerly took notice of the sad divided state he found them in at his first coming amongst them, their vast variety of governments, their jealousy over each other, the overgrown power of some, and the reduction of others into a state of dependence next to slavery: Cæsar, who knew best how to make the most of these intestine broils, soon became the protector of the oppressed, a terror to the oppressor, and the umpire of all their contentions. Among those who applied to him for help, were his allies the Ædui, against whom Ariovistus, king of the Germans, joined with the Arverni (O), in their late wars, had taken the country of the Sequani from

(N) The Ædui were situated between the rivers Seine, Loire, and Saone, and were the only allies Cæsar then had. Theirs being a fruitful country, they had promised to supply him with corn, but made so many delays, that he began to suspect their fidelity, and to find himself in great distress for want of it. Divitiacus, one of the lords of it, was then in his army, with Lifcus, one of their magistrates: Cæsar examined them both about it separately, and the latter told him, that Dumnorix the younger, brother of Divitiacus, desiring to seize upon the supreme power, had allied with the Helvetii, and sent that corn to them which should have been conveyed to him. Divitiacus confirmed what Lifcus had said, but without naming his brother; and when Cæsar would have punished him for his perfidy, generously interceded for him, and obtained his pardon (14).

(O) The Arverni were seated on the Loire, and were so called from their metropolis, Arvernium, now Clermont, the capital of the Guiennois. They were once the most powerful people of the Gauls.

from them, and obliged them to send hostages to him. Cæsar forthwith sent to demand the restitution of both, and, in an interview which he soon after obtained of that haughty and treacherous prince, was like to have fallen a sacrifice to his perfidy; upon which, he bent his whole power against him, forced him, against his will (P), out of his strong intrenchments, and gave him a total overthrow. Ariovistus escaped, with difficulty, over the Rhine; but his two wives, and a daughter, with a great number of Germans of distinction, fell into the conqueror’s hand. Cæsar, after this signal victory, put his army into winter-quarters, whilst he went over the Alps to make the necessary preparations for the next campaign c. By this time all the Belgæ in general were so terrified at his success, that they entered into a confederacy against the Romans, as their common enemy, of which Labienus, who had been left in Gaul, sent him word; upon which, he immediately left Rome, and made such dispatch, that he arrived upon their confines in about fifteen days. Upon his arrival, the Rhemi submitted to him, but the rest appointing Galba, king of the Sueviones, general of all their forces, which amounted to 150,000 men, marched directly against him. Cæsar, who had seized on the bridge of the Axona, now Aisne, led his light horse and infantry over it, and whilst the others were incumbered in crossing that river, made such a terrible slaughter of them, that the river was filled with their dead, insomuch that their bodies served for a bridge to those who escaped. This new victory struck such terror into the rest, that they dispersed themselves; immediately after which, the

Comment. I. i. c. 1, & seq. See before, vol. xiii. p. 13, & seq.

Gauls, their territories are said to have reached from the ocean to the Rhine, on one side, and the Pyrenees on the other (15).

The Sequani were neighbours to the Ædui, and inhabited that part of Gallia Belgica called Upper Burgundy, now Franche Comté.

(P) Cæsar, who lost no advantage he could get on an enemy, had intelligence that some German prophetesses, and such were in high esteem among them, had foretold, that they could not be victorious till after the new moon; or rather, he knew that was a superstitious notion common among them, and all the Gauls; and this it was made him so eager, and Ariovistus so averse, to come to blows before that time.

(15) Strabo, I. iv.
the Suevones, Bellovaci, Ambiones, and some others, submitted to him. The Nervii, indeed, joined with the Atrebates and Veromandui against him, and, having first secured their wives and children, made a stout resistance for some time, but were, at length, defeated, and the greatest part of them slain; the rest, with their wives and old men, surrendered themselves, and were allowed to live in their own cities and towns, as formerly. The Aduatici were next subdued, and, for their treachery to the conqueror (Q.), were sold for slaves, to the number of 50,000. Young Cæsius, the son of the triumvirs, subdued likewise seven other nations, and took possession of their cities; which not only completed the conquest of the Belgae, but brought several nations from beyond the Rhine to submit to the conqueror. The Veneti, or ancient inhabitants of Vannes in Brittany, who had been likewise obliged to send hostages to the conqueror, were, in the mean time, making great preparations, by sea and land, to recover their liberty. Cæsar, then in Illyricum, was forced to equip a fleet on the Loire, and, having given the command of it to Brutus, he went and defeated them by land, as Brutus did by sea; and, having put their chief men to death, sold the rest for slaves. The Unelli, with Veridoria, their chief, together with the Lexovii, and Auleri, were, about the same time, subdued by Sabinus, and the Aquitani by Cæsius, with the loss of 30,000 men. There remained nothing but the countries of the Morini and Menepii (R) to be conquered, of all Gaul. Cæsar marched himself against them, but found them so well entrenched in their inaccessible fortresses, that he contented himself with burning and ravaging their country; and, having put his troops into winter-quarters, passed again over the Alps, to have a more watchful eye over some of his rivals there.

(Q.) These were the remains of those Cimbri whom Marius had defeated in Italy, and had been left on the banks of the Rhine to guard the baggage. They made a sham submission to Cæsar, and surrendered their arms to him, but had concealed a third part of them, with which they fell on the Romans in the night; upon which, he broke down the gates of their city, put many of them to the sword, and sold the rest for slaves (16).

(R) These are the territories, now called Ferouennes, Cleves, Gelder, and Juliers. Tho’ of the Aulerici and Lexovii are now the Eureux and Lifsieux. As to the Unelli, their abode is differently guessed at, but without any certainty.

(16) Comm. l. ii. c. 1, & seq.
there; but he was soon after obliged to come and defend his Gaulish conquests against some nations of the Germans, who were coming to settle there, to the number of 400,000, and whom he totally defeated, and then resolved to carry his conquering arms into Germany. As this laid the foundation for that bloody war which he afterwards carried against them, it will be more properly seen in the subsequent chapters, as well as his several expeditions into this isle in that which immediately follows, and to which we shall refer our readers.

Upon his return into Gaul, he found it labouring under a great famine, which had caused a kind of universal revolt. Cotta and Sabinus, who were left in the country of the Eburones, now Liege, were betrayed into an ambush by Ambiorix, one of their chiefs, and had most of their men cut off. The Aduatici were fallen upon Q. Cicero, who was left there with one legion, and had reduced him to great straits: at the same time Labienus, with his legion, was attacked by Indutiomarus, at the head of the Rheni and Senones; but had better luck than the rest, and, by one bold sally upon them, put them to flight, and killed their general. Cæsar acquired no small credit by quelling all these revolts, but each victory lost the lives of so many of his troops, that he was forced to have recourse to Pompey for a fresh supply, who readily granted him two of his own legions to secure his Gaulish conquests.

But it was not long before they, ever restless under a foreign yoke, raised up a new revolt, and obliged him to return thither. His fear lest Pompey should gain the affections of the Roman people, had obliged him to strip the Gauls of their gold and silver, to bribe them over to his interest: and this gave no small handle to these frequent revolts which happened during his absence. He did, however, soon reduce the Nervii, Aduatici, Menapii, and Treviri, the last of which had raised the revolt, under the command of Ambiorix; but he soon found the flame spread much farther, even to the greatest part of the Gauls, who had chosen the brave Vercingetorix their generalissimo. Cæsar was forced to leave Insubria, whither he had retired to watch the motions of Pompey, and, in the midst of winter and snow, repassed the Alps, into the province of Narbonne, where he gathered all his scattered troops with all possible speed, and, in spite of the hard weather, besieged and took Noviodunum, now Noyons.
Noyons; and defeated Vercingetorix, who was come to the relief of that place. He next took the city of Avaricum, now Bourges, one of the strongest in Gaul, and which had a garrison of 40,000 men, of whom he made such a dreadful slaughter, that hardly 800 escaped. Whilst he was besieging Gergovia, the capital of the Arverni, he was informed that the Nitiobriges, or Agenois, were in arms, and that the Ædui were sending to Vercingetorix 10,000 men, which they were to have sent to reinforce him. Upon this news, he left Fabius to carry on the siege, and marched against the Ædui. These, upon his approach, submitted, in appearance, and were pardoned; but soon after that whole nation rose up in arms, and murdered all the Italian troops in their capital. Cæsar, at this, was in great straits what measures to take, but resolved, at length, to raise the siege of Gergovia, and at once attack the enemy’s camp, which he did with some success; but when he thought to have gone to Noviodunum, or Noyons, where his baggage, military chest, &c. were left, he heard that the Ædui had carried it off, and burnt the place. Labienus, justly thinking that Cæsar would want his assistance in the condition he now was, went to join him, and in his way defeated a Gaulish general, named Camulogenus, who came to oppose his march; but this did not hinder the revolt from spreading itself all over Celtic Gaul, whither Vercingetorix had sent for fresh supplies, and, in the meantime, attacked Cæsar, but was defeated, and forced to retire to Aleflia, a strong place, now Alise in Burgundy, as is supposed. Hither Cæsar hastened, and besieged him, and, having drawn a double circumvallation, with a design to starve him in it, as he was likely to have done, upon that account refused all offers of a surrender from him. At length, the long-expected reinforcement came, consisting of 160,000 men, under four generals; these made several fruitless attacks on Cæsar’s trenches, but were defeated in three several battles, which, at length, obliged Vercingetorix to surrender at discretion. Cæsar used all his prisoners with great severity, except the Ædui and Arverni, by whose means he hoped to gain their nations, which were the two most potent of Celtic Gaul, as he actually did; for both of them submitted to him, and the former received him into their capital, where he spent the winter, after he had put his army into winter-quarters. This campaign, as it proved one of the hardest he ever had, so he gained more glory by it than any Roman general had done.
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Before : yet could not all this procure him from the fervile senate, now wholly dedicated to his rival, a prolongation of his proconsulship; upon which, he is reported to have laid his hand upon his sword, and said, that that should do it. He was as good as his word, and the Gaüs, upon their former ill success, resolving to have as many separate armies as provinces, in order to embarrass him the more, Cæsar, and his generals Labienus and Fabius, were forced to fight them one after another, which they did, however, with such success, that, notwithstanding the hardiness of the season, they subdued the Bituriges, Carnuti, Rhemi, and the Bellovaci, with their general Correus, by which he at once quieted all the Belgic provinces bordering on Celtic Gaul. The next who followed were the Treviri, the Eburones, and the Andes, under their general Dunmarus. The last place which held out against him was Uxellodunum, which was defended by the two last acting generals of the Gaüs, Drapes the Senonian, and Luterius the Cadurcean. The place being strong, and well garrisoned, Cæsar was obliged to march thither from the furthest part of Belgic Gaul, and soon after reduced it, for want of water. Here, again, he caused the right-hands of all that were fit to bear arms, to be cut off, to deter the rest from revolting afresh. Thus was the conquest of Gaul finished from the Alps and Pyrenees to the Rhine, all which vast tract was now reduced to a Roman province under the government of a praetor. The sum of all the provinces, cities, and prisoners taken, if not exaggerated by that conqueror and Plutarch, the reader may see in the Roman history above quoted.

Thus ended, in a great measure, the liberty of that once famed and warlike nation, and with it their singular valour, asTacitus observes, in the life of Agricola. Some cities, or commonwealths, however, we are told, were permitted to remain free; such as the Nervii, Ulbanesef, Sueflones, and Leuci; and others retained the title of confederates to Rome, viz. the Ædui, Lingones, Rhemi, and Carnutes: as to the rest, who were reduced into the form of a Roman province, we may guess at their miserable condition, by what Critognatus the Arvernian, as quoted by Cæsar, tells us of it. "If, says he, you would know after what manner distant nations are used by the Romans, you need but look at our neigh-

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Chap. xi. The History of the Gauls.

"neighbouring Gaul, now reduced into a province, which at having its laws and customs changed, and being brought under the power of the axes, is oppressed with perpetual slavery." To understand rightly the difference of these three conditions, or, more properly, degrees of slavery; the first was, the having a number of soldiers quartered upon them, to keep them in awe (S); the next was, when the province was laid under tribute, in which case they were compelled to endure a vast number of tax-gatherers, which, like so many leaches, or harpies, sucked out the very vitals of the country (T). The third was, when they were deprived of the privilege of being governed by their own laws and magistrates, but had governors set over them, with full power and authority (cum imperio & securibus) over their lives and estates, and sent to them from Rome. It was on account of this threefold tyranny that they so often revolted; for, as Tacitus himself observes, in the reign of Tiberius the continuance of those taxes, the extortions of usurers, and infolation of the soldiers, were become so intolerable, that they drove the Gaulish cities into a fresh rebellion. And Suetonius, in the life of Nero, tells us, that the world, having for near thirteen years groaned under his tyranny, did at length shake it off, the Gauls setting the first example to all the rest.

Gaul was soon after divided into sixteen provinces, the names of which the reader will find in the margin (V), each of which was divided into 16 provinces.

(S) In which case, if these provinces continued quiet and peaceable, they had, it seems, no great armies quartered in them, since Josephus tells us (17), that, in Titus’s time, they had no more than 1200 soldiers in garrison in all Gaul, although, adds he, they had fought for their liberty against the Romans above 800 years, and had near as many cities as these had then soldiers there.

(T) We are told, accordingly, that, after Julius Cæsar had finished the conquest of Gaul, he laid it under a tax, or tribute of HS. quadringenties (18), that is, about a million of English crowns. How much heavier they were taxed in subsequent reigns, may be easily guessed, by their frequent revolts, and continual complaints against those extortions and oppressions, some instances of which we shall have occasion to mention by-and-by.

(V) Viennensis, Narbonensis prima, Narbonensis secunda, Aquitania prima & secunda, Novempopulana, Alpes maritimae, Belgica

of which groaned now, more or less, under the Roman tyranny, according as they were more or less favoured by the emperors, or by the prætors sent thither to rule them. However; neither under Cæsar, whilst he lived, nor even under his successor Augustus, do we read of any considerable revolt; on the contrary, though the latter did, in a manner, begin his reign with making them undergo a census, which is the first we read of made out of Italy, and which could not but be galling to them, they seem to have submitted to it patiently. Some years after, indeed, when Drusus was sent thither to stop the incursions which the Germans were frequently making upon them (W), and had there begun a second, and perhaps a more

Belgica prima & secunda, Germania prima & secunda, Lugdunensis prima, secunda, & tertia, Maxima Sequanorum, & Alpes Graeca; of all which, the reader may see a further account in the authors hereunder quoted (19).

This division, however, was not made by Julius Cæsar, since we find it still under the three distinctions in which he left them, when Augustus caused the first census to be made in it (20); but was begun towards the latter end of this last’s reign, and finished by some of his successors.

(W) It is hardly to be doubted but the Gauls, who did so grievously brook the plundering and insolences of the Romans, and found themselves too weak now to make head against them, did, by some private means, either invite the Germans as friends, or hire them as auxiliaries to their affluence; and this seems to have been the first beginning of the colonies of the Franks. For those Germans, whether defeated by the Romans, or, which is more likely, bought off by them, began, by little and little, to settle on the borders of Gallia. For we are told, that Augustus transplanted the Suevi and Sicambri, who submitted to him, into Gallia, and assigned them lands along the Rhine (21). And of Tiberius we read, that he brought 40000 of those that rendered themselves, in the German war, over into Gallia, and settled them on the banks of the Rhine (22).

To this we may add, what another author tells us of the emperor Probus, in whose reign above sixty cities had revolted from the Romans, and made a bold push for the recovery of their liberty. This prince, says he (23), marched with a vast army into Gaul, which, after Posthumius’s death, was all in commotion.

a more strict one, taking a particular account of each person's estate, in order to tax them according to it; they then began to express an universal discontent, and an inclination to take up arms, and regain their liberties. Drusus, however, without seeming to suspect anything like it of them, summoned all the Gaulish chiefs to assist at the consecration of the temple which the Lugdunenses had built in honour of Julius Cæsar, and, upon their coming, behaved with such address and complaisance to them, that they not only dropped their intended revolt, but agreed to build an altar to Augustus, and to pay him divine honours, even during his life. Sixty Gaulish nations, it seems, contributed to the rearing and adorning of this magnificent altar, which was consecrated on the 1st of August, and games were, at the same time, instituted, in honour of this new kind of deity, not unlike the Isthmians and Nemean of Greece.

This fulsome flattery to that monarch, which might, probably, be owing to the presence of Drusus, did not, however, divert them long from their favourite view of regaining their liberty, whenever fortune should favour them with a proper opportunity. The druids, on the contrary, seem, upon this occasion, to have exerted themselves to cherish that noble design in them, to prevent any further defection from their antient religion; and hence, most likely, arose those frequent revolts, as well as threatening edicts, that came out against them in the succeeding reigns, and of which we have had occasion to speak in a former section: however that be, the violent extortions, and horrid butcheries which they underwent under Caligula, were of themselves sufficient to have spirited up a less warlike nation; though that reign was not long enough to ripen their design, and under the next they either enjoyed more respite, or, which is as likely, were more narrowly observed. But in that of Nero, under whom they were more cruelly treated than ever, the brave and noble


m See vol. xiv. p. 74.
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noble Julius Vindex (X), at that time governor of Cельtic Gaul, declared his resolution to free his country from slavery, and the empire from that bloody tyrant. As soon as his design was known, the Gauls, harrassed and reduced to beggary by intolerable imposts, flocked to him from all parts to affix him in it; so that, though he had no Romans under his command, yet he soon saw himself at the head of 100,000 armed men. When Nero heard the news of this revolt, he appeared quite glad at it, as it would afford him occasion for fresh extortions and cruelties. What he seemed most affected with was, that Vindex, in some of his edicts against him, among other contemptuous language he had given him, did call him a bungling harper; so that instead of making proper preparations to oppose him, he only strove to display his skill in music, to wipe off the scandal, as he thought it, that was thrown upon him. But when messengers came to him thick and threelfold, and acquainted him with the progress Vindex had made in Gaul, and with Galba's revolt in Spain, he left Naples, in a fright, and repaired to Rome: however, a frivolous, but lucky omen, as he imagined it, having dispelled his fears, he returned again to his musical amusement, without taking one step to suppress either revolt. We shall not need repeat here the unworthy behaviour, and dreadful end of that emperor, of which a full account has been given in a former volume: all that needs be recapitulated here concerning the ill success of our Gaulish general is, that his army, having been surprised by that of Rufus Virginianus, who was marched against him, whether by treachery or accident, is not agreed, the Gauls were defeated, with the loss of 22,000, who were killed on the spot; upon which, Vindex, in a fit of rage and despair, laid violent hands upon himself; and the rest dispersed themselves for want of a leader. Galba had much better success, and was soon after raised to the empire; but the Gauls were so heavily oppressed by him, and so loaded

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(X) He was descended from the ancient kings of Aquitain, and bore a natural aversion to all tyrants. Upon his first resolution of revolting, he sent to persuade Galba, then in Spain, to do the same, who neither followed his advice, nor betrayed his design, though some other governors, to whom he wrote on the same subject, sent his letters to Nero: but Galba, upon receiving a second letter from him, actually raised a revolt there (24).

Chap. 11. The History of the Gauls.

loaded with taxes, that they dared not undertake any thing against him. In the great struggle between his two successors, Otho and Vitellius, though they heartily hated them both, yet they were forced to declare for the latter, by Fabius Valens, who, in his march through their territories towards Italy, whether he was leading a gallant army, committed the greatest plunders and extortions. This threw the nation into such a terror, that every province and city sent their embassadors to meet him, and bribe him with large presents, to prevent their towns from being either plundered or burnt (Y).

They did, however, recover themselves so far, notwithstanding all these oppressions, as to make several bold pushess for their liberty, especially in the reign of Vespasian. We have given an account of it in a former volume, as well as of the peace that emperor thought fit to clap up with them, rather than to exasperate them to turn their arms against him at that juncture. In Adrian’s time this province was visited by that emperor in his progress through the empire, and as it had been greatly oppressed and impoverished during the former reigns, he left, where-ever he passed through it, some tokens of his pity and munificence to that nation, and built some Stately edifices there, especially a sumptuous palace, in honour of Plotina, Trajan’s widow. He forgot not, at the same time, to repair all the Roman towns and fortresses in that country, to keep them in subjection, as it actually did, no considerable revolt happening during his and some of the succeeding reigns. All this while they seem to have made no inconsiderable

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(Y) Amongst those that suffered the effects of his fury and avarice, was the city of Vienne, against which that of Lions had infligted him, as having aided the late noble Vindex in his revolt. They were therefore forced to buy their pardon from him by an immense sum, besides a donative of 300 Sesterces, the surrender of all their arms, and furnishing his army with provisions.

As he drew nearer the Alps, he ordered the city of Lucus, a municipal town of the Vocontii now Dauphiné, to be set on fire, because they expressed a backwardness to pay him the large sum he had exacted from them; and thus he went on extorting all the way he passed, whilst Cæcina did the same among the Helvetii, who, not having been apprised of Galba’s death, refused to acknowledge Vitellius; but, upon their submission, they were at length pardoned by him (25).

(25) Tacit. c. 60, & seq. see vol. xiv. p. 363, & seq.
The History of the Gauls.  Book IV.

able figure, or bore a small sway, since, in that famous contest between Severus and his competitors, the Gauls having first saluted him emperor, their example was followed by almost all the provinces in Europe, and he was every-where acknowledged and received with the loudest acclamations⁵. He proved, however, very ungrateful to them, at least to the christians in this country, having raised a bloody persecution against them, instigated thereto by his favourite Plautianus, who took occasion of a soldier's refusing to wear a crown as a donative, to seize on the estates of all the christians of rank and quality, and to put a great number of them to death, and amongst them Ireneus, the worthy bishop of Lyons.¹ Gaul was again made the scene of war, in the famed contest between Gallienus and Posthumius, the latter of whom had delivered this province from the dominion of the Germans, under which it had groaned for some time, and for which he had been acknowledged emperor both there, and in Spain and Britain, of which we have already given a full account in the Roman history.¹ The latter having been murdered by his soldiers, for debarring them from the plundering of Mentz, Lollianus got himself proclaimed emperor of that part of it which borders upon the Rhine; whilst Victorinus, whom Posthumius had taken for his colleague, governed over the rest. Both these being soon after murdered, as we have there related, and the son of the latter, then an infant, being named his successor, the Gauls murdered him likewise, and set up in his room one M. Aurelius Marius, formerly an armourer, but a man of extraordinary courage and strength; but being likewise run through by a soldier who had been formerly his journeyman, and with a sword, as himself told him, of his own making, P. Pivesius, or Pefuvius Tetricus, a man of senatorial and confular dignity, was proclaimed in all this province, and soon after acknowledged in Spain and Britain. Tetricus did not long enjoy his dignity, before the constant jars and mutinies which happened in his army, as well as the approach of the emperor Aurelian, who had restored peace in all other parts of the empire, and was marching to reunite Gaul and Britain to it, made him wish to be fairly rid of it. There is even some reason to suspect, that he invited him into Gaul; and though he made a faint opposition against him at the battle of Chalons, yet, upon the first onset, he yielded himself to that emperor; so that the Gaulish troops, for want of a leader, were

¹ Vol. xiv. p. 91, pass. ¹ Ibid. p. 111, & seq. ¹ Ibid. p. 232, & seq. ¹ Ibid. p. 246. ¹ Ibid. & seq.
were entirely cut off, and this province again reduced to its former obedience. This action quite completed the conquest of Gaul, and Tetricus, whether to cover his treachery in abandoning his troops, or because he did not make his submission soon enough, was led in triumph by that emperor; but was soon after advanced, and loaded with honours and titles by him, as we have formerly seen. In Constantine's time, who is supposed to have been the person who first divided the whole empire into four parts, each containing a number of provinces, or, as they were then called, dioceses, and each of these four parts put under the government of a distinct praefectus praetorio, which was before only under two, Gaul being made one of those dioceses, and had its provinces assigned to it; we have already had occasion to mention them in this chapter, and in a former volume; and shall not repeat it here, but only add, that the Gallic praefect had Gaul, Spain, and Britain under him.

We should now come to the latter part of the Gallic history, and give an account of the horrid ravages this country since suffered from the Germans, the Huns, especially under Attila, under the Vandals, and especially under the Goths, or Visigoths, and Burgundi, who formed themselves into distinct kingdoms here, and held them, through a series of princes, till dispossessed of them by the Franks: but as these have already been spoken of in the course of the Roman history, and must be resumed in that of those northern invaders, in the chapters hereafter following, we shall refer our readers to them as they come in course, and proceed now to the history of the antient Germans.


C H A P. XII.

The history of the antient Germans, to their breaking into the Roman empire, invasion of Gaul, and expulsion out of it by the Franks.

It is universally acknowledged, that the farther northward we move from antient Gaul, the more we are in the dark about the nations that inhabited the vast regions beyond the Rhine and the Danube, which, we have seen in the last chapter,
chapter, were, in a great measure, the limits between the Gauls and them. Nothing is more uncertain than their origin, the countries they came from, and the territories they settled themselves in: antient authors commonly confound them under the names of Celtes, Scythians, and Celtoscythians; and, among them, such a great variety of people are comprehended, that it would be dangerous to apply that to the antient Germans, which they write of them under those other names, without some concurring circumstances to confirm it. Yet we may venture to affirm, after no small number of modern, and some of the antient writers, that they were originally one and the same nation with the Celtes and Gauls, and both descended from the antient Gomerians, or descendents of Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet. Only the Germans were very much intermixed with the old Scythians and Sarmatians, on that side which joined with their territories, and particularly, as we hinted in the last chapter, between the two great rivers Rhine and Danube: and these, no doubt, had adopted a great many of their customs among them, as well as intermingled some of their language with their own; but in all other parts of Germany we find such an exact conformity in their religion, laws, customs, and (what may appear still more surprizing to the generality of readers, but has been fully proved by some of the modern authors last quoted) in their very language, as leaves scarce any room to doubt but that they were descended from the same antient flock with the Celtes or Gauls, and came, by gradual migrations, from Asia, as we have already shewn these did, both in a former volume, and at the entrance of the last chapter. The truth is, as Pliny rightly observes, that the Germans were little known to the Romans, or, indeed, to any but their very neighbours, till a long time after the coming of M. Agrippa into those parts; and many things which even Tacitus has written of them, pretendedly

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pretendedly from their own relation, are apparently fabulous: so that we must fetch our intelligence from another quarter, even from those moderns who have with indefatigable pains endeavoured to strike light out of darkness: among whom, besides those already mentioned, we may add two celebrated ones, viz Rener and Mafcov, whose curious discoveries, in many points, have added no small evidence to those who had written before them on this head. So that, abating the almost unavoidable fondness with which they have all of them endeavoured to give the preference to their own nation, in point of antiquity, into the merit of which it is not our business to enter, unless we could do it with greater certainty than the subject will possibly admit of; we may venture to follow them as sure guides in other respects. If the evidence seems to lean on one side more than the other, we should conclude it to be on that of the Gauls, not only as their origin can be more clearly traced from the ancient Gomerians, as we have formerly seen; but as they are found seated in the best and noblest climate of the two, whilst the Germans, as a younger branch, were, perhaps, forced to spread themselves towards the more northern and inclement parts of Europe, till length of time gave them an opportunity of crossing the Rhine, and possesting themselves of the southern provinces, as we have seen they did, at the close of the last chapter, and shall further shew at the sequel of this.

How this country came to be called Germany, and its inhabitants Germans, is not easy to guess; the reader may see the various conjectures about its etymology in the following note (A); but it is plain, it was not their original name, but

(A) It is not easy to determine whether this word be of Celtic or Roman extrait; if the latter, it must have been given by the Gauls, either on account of their nearness of kindred to them, or of that frequent assistance they called upon them for, against the domineering Romans, of which we have spokon in the conclusion of the last chapter. Tacitus, indeed, thinks they were called so by other nations, on account of their similitude of religion, manners, &c. with the Gauls (1): but though this resemblance was really true, in fact, yet the etymology itself seems too far fetched and strained.

The other, which makes it of Celtic extract, is, indeed, much more natural, Ger and man, in that ancient tongue, signifying a warlike

(1) Mor. Germ. lib init.
but is of a more modern date, and seems to have had its rise on the other side of the Rhine, when the Condruis, Eburones, Caereti, and Pannoni, crossed that river, after the example of some others of their countrymen, and went to settle in Gaul. These, it seems, were the first to whom the name of Germans was given, and which therefore extended no further than the Rhine shore on the Gallic side, but soon after passed over to the other, and became common to other nations of the same original language and customs, till at length it became the general name of the whole nation, and the country called, from them, Germania, or Germany. But whether it was given to them by the Gauls on their coming over to their assistance against the Romans, or by these on account of the affinity of their religion and customs, or, lastly, whether affirmed by them on their settling themselves among the Gauls, and claiming by it a kindred to them, we will not venture to determine. One thing is plain, that it is not of Dutch extraction; so that if they really called themselves by it, as Tacitus says they did, it is surprizing it should not have been rather preferred by them, and handed to us in their own language. If we may be allowed to offer a conjecture as to their primitive and general name, both from what we have observed from their original descent from the antient Gomerians or Celts, and from several monuments they have left in several parts of Germany, especially towards the north, such as Cimbrica Cheronefus, and such-like; it is not improbable, that they called themselves Cimri, or Cymbri, which is but a harsher pronunciation of the original Gomerai: for these Cimri are allowed


warlike or martial man, as, indeed, it is plain, that the Germans, as well as Gauls, did highly value themselves on that account. They were likewise known by another name, viz. that of Allemannia, which, though supposed to have been given them, by the Gauls, or French, because only preferred by them, who still call them Alemans, and their country Alemanie, and Alemagne, and, as is pretended, on account of their intermixing, after Maroboduus’s retreat, with strolers of all nations; yet to us that name appears to be rather of German extraction, and signifies nearly the same as Ger-man, that is, altogether warlike: and this name may have been carried thither either by those Germans who went thither to assist the Gauls against the Romans, or by those who at length conquered that country, and are better known by the name of Franks,
allowed to have been an antient, if not the antientest peo-
ple of Germany, and inhabited a very considerable part of
that country. We have already hinted, that they gave their
name to the Cimbria Cherfonesus, which was a kind of
peninsula extending from the mouth of the river Elbe into
the north sea: and if they really were the same, as they
were antiently supposed, with the Cimmerians that inhabited
the countries about the Palus Maeotis, and Ptolemaeus seems
to confirm it, from the great likeness of their names, they
must have spread themselves vaftly along that northern tract.
We are, moreover, told, by Strabo and Livy, that the
Cimbri alone penetrated into Noricum and Illyricum, and,
about the 640th year of the Roman æra, defeated the con-
sul Papyrus Carbo near Noreia. Some years after, they
sent an embafly to Rome, to defire the Senate to aflign
them lands to inhabit in, in consideration of which they
would serve them in their future wars. Their fuit being
denied, gave occasion to a bitter war which they waged a-
gainft them, in conjunction with the Tigurini, of which we
shall have further occasion to speak, and which is only hint-
ed here, to fhew how powerful and numerous they were by
this time, and how, probably, they were some branch of the
old Gomerai, and the antientest inhabitants of Germany.
We fhall fee, in the sequel, their valour, and various for-
tunes, againft the Romans, Gauls, and other nations. As
for tho' who remained in their native country, or returned
that after their defeat, they, in time, joining in their ex-
cursions with the Saxons, who likewise inhabited some parts
of the forementioned peninsula, it is supposed, that they be-
came fo blended with them, that their name was swallowed
up in that of Saxon, fo that nothing was retained of it but
the denomination of Cimbrica, which was still given both to
their country, and to the sea that surrounded it. The name
of Allemans and Alemans, still retained by the French, we
have spoken of under the laft note; that of Teutones, from Teutona
which their preffent one of Teutschen, or Dutch, is thought
to be derived, is another by which they were antiently
known, and is of a much older date than that of Germans,
but the etymon of which is not easily guessed at, unless we
fetch it from the Celtic Theut, as we fhall fhew further in
the sequel. These, according to Mela, antiently inhabited
the

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ubis supra, 1. i. c. 6. k Vide Plutarch. in Mario,
1 Apud Strab. 1. vii. m Liv. epit. Strabo, l. v.
the neighbouring coasts and islands of the east, or Baltic sea; but growing too numerous for those narrow territories, the most daring part went, with their wives and families, to seek new settlements in other countries; but when, and where, is not easy to guess. We shall see them, in the sequel of this history, often joined with the Cimbri, Cimbrones, and others, and making excursions into Gaul, Italy, and Spain, till at length a number of them, who were left to guard the heavy baggage along the Rhine, being greatly harrassed on all sides, fought their way quite to Belgic Gaul, where they settled, and became, in time, known by the name of Atuatici

Thus much shall suffice for the most noted common names of the antient Germans. A vast variety of others they had, according to their particular tribes, cantons, kingdoms, and commonwealths, which being in a continual fluctuation, as they were continually either warring and jostling each other out of their habitations, or were jotted out of them by the Gauls, who were frequently throwing in new colonies over the Rhine, sometimes penetrating as far as the Hercynian forest, at others spreading themselves far and wide, along the sides of it, and beyond; insomuch that, as we observed in the last chapter, there was scarcely a country from that river to the east sea, or the most northern verge, but had some of that nation either intermixed with the Germans, or settled in some territories between them; it were labour lost to endeavour to fix their different abodes, or even to offer any conjectures about them, or of their various governments, laws, and manner of life. They, like the Gauls, never committed any thing to writing concerning either that or their own history, and were still more unknown than they, both to the Romans and Greeks, even in their very names, till the times that, by intercourse with, or by their knowledge of, the Roman and Greek historians, they have got into their annals. (B)

(B) According to one author, they joined with the Cimbri, and, having crossed the Rhine, invaded some of the Gaulish territories (2); but we have seen, a little higher, out of Livy and Strabo, that the Cimbri had long enough before invaded some of those provinces, then under the Roman yoke, and had settled themselves in them: so that it is not easy to determine whether this Teutonic expedition fell upon Gaul, Italy, or any still more distant regions.


their wars against the former, they became, by degrees, more and more known unto them, and their names, countries, and history, recorded by their writers. In our settling, therefore, the confines of Germany, and of those cantons and territories which each different nation of that vast tract of ground possessed, we shall go no further back than the epocha in which they became fully known to them.

We took notice in the preceding chapter, that the Rhine, according to the Roman authors, divided the antient Gauls from the Germans on the west, and the Danube on the south; the Hercynian forest, at that time reckoned impenetrable, confined them on the north, and the German and northern ocean on the north-west, and Scythia and Sarmatia on the east, where they were as much intermixed with those two nations, as they were on the west with the Gauls, and where it is still more difficult to fix their boundaries, by reason of their constant fluctuation, and change of abode, as they so frequently invaded and drove each other out of them.

Of those several nations which the Romans reckoned of German extract, we shall have the less to say in this chapter, because we have given as full an account of them as could be extracted out of those antient writers in a former volume, to which we shall refer, as we go on, in enumerating them, that the reader may readily find all that can be known of them, and the authorities there referred to for what is said of them. We have already spoken of the Cimbric, and their neighbours the Saxons, who inhabited the Cimbrica Cheruscus, on the other side the Elbe. On this side that river were the Chauci, upper and lower, who were divided from each other by the Vifurges, now the Wefer; their country contained what is now called Bremen and Lunenburg, Friesland and Groningen; and the upper had the Cherufcii, and the lower the Chamavi on the south-east, and the German ocean on the north-west. The Frisii, upper and lower, were divided from the lower Chauci by the river Amfia, now Ems; and from each other by an arm of the Rhine. Their country still retains the name of Friesland, and is divided into east and west; but the latter of the two is now dismembered from Germany, and is one of the seven united provinces: from them were parted by the Itela, now Itel, the country of the Brucesteri, since called Brockmorland, and the

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"Caesar. Comm. l. ii. c. 29. See before, vol. xiii. P. 417, 521, note (H)."
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the Marsi, situate about the river Luppia, or Luppe, of whom we have also formerly given an account 9. On the other side of that river were the Ushipii, or Ushipetes 1, but these were famed for often changing their habitation, and are therefore found in other territories; the Tencteri were next to them, and next to these the Juhoes, or inhabitants of Juliers, between the the Maeae and the Rhine: the Cotti, another antient warlike people, who inhabited part of Hesiae and Thuringia, from the Hartzian mountains to the Rhine and Wefer, and of whom we have formerly spoken 2; among whom were comprehended the Mattiaci, whose capital was called from them Mattiacum, by some taken to be Marpurgh, and by others Baden, on account of its hot waters 3. Next to them were the Sedusii, bordering upon Swabia; Narisci, or antient inhabitants of Northgow, whose capital is the famed city of Nurembergh; and the Marcomani, whose country antiently reached from the Rhine to the head of the Danube, and to the Neckar: here were the famed Agri decumales, so called, among other reasons, for their being taxed a tenth part of their produce by the Romans. The Marcomani afterwards went and settled in Bohemia and Moravia, under their general Maroboduus, and some of them in Gaul, whence they drove the Boii, who had seated themselves there 4.

On this side the Rhine, between that river and the Mofel, or Maeae, were the Ubii, who were brought over by Agrippa. Their metropolis was Colonia Agrippina, so called from the empref of that name, who founded it, and now Cologn 5; and next to them the Tungris, which are supposed to be the same whom Caesar calls Eburones and Condruis, and whose metropolis, then called Attuatica, is since known by the name of Tongres 6. Higher up from them, and on the other side of the Mofel, were the Treviri, whose capital was Augusta Trevirorum, now Trieri (C); next to them were the Triboci,

9 Ibid. p. 539, note (C).
1 Ibid. p. 528, note (Q).
2 Ibid. p. 529, note (B).
3 Ibid. p. 533, note (T).
4 See Ibid. p. 535, note (W).
5 Ibid. p. 404, note (E).
6 Ibid. p. 516, note (D). & p. 520, note (F).

(C) As Germany came to be divided into Prima and Secunda, the former being that which was nearest the Alps, the Treviri have been supposed to have belonged to it (3), as they boasted themselves of German extraction; but this is much questioned by

(3) Bucherius, Belg. Rom. i. i. c. 12.

boci, Nemetes, and Vangiones; the former dwelt in Allatia, and their metropolis was called Argentinae, and Argentoratum, now Straburgh. The others lived in the cities of Worms, Spire, and Moguntia, now Mentz. Those three, besides the Treviri mentioned in the last note, made the Germania prima; and those below them the Germania secunda, and reached as far as the Maes and lower Rhine, and was divided from Belgia by the Demer and Scheld, which latter has always divided the fees of Liege and Cambay. The Mediomatrici were situate along the Mozel, about the city of Metz in Lorraine; above them, on the same river Rhine, were seated the Raurici, called also Rauraci, and Rauriaci, another antient German nation, who inhabited that part of Helvetia, or Switzerland, about Basil: their capital was Rauracum, or Augusta Rauracorum. 

Between the heads of the Rhine and of the Danube, were seated the antient kingdoms of Vinodelicia, whose capital was called Augusta Vinodelicorum, now Asburgh; and below it, along the banks of the same river, thole of Noricum and Pannonia, the former of which was divided into Noricum Ripense and Mediterraneum, and contained a great part of the provinces of Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Tyrol, Bavaria, and some others of less note; and the latter the kingdom of Hungary, divided into upper and lower, and extending from Illyricum to the Danube and the mountains Caeti, in the neighbourhood of Vindebona, now Vienna, the metropolis of Austria. On the other side of the Danube, which was more properly called Germany, and Germania magna, besides

\[ See\ Maspov. I. iii. c. 5. \]
\[ See\ vol. xv. p. 461. \]
\[ Ibid. p. 405. sub not. \]

by others, who rather think, that they, with some others who obtained their liberty, and are by Pliny (4) called liberæ civitates, were excluded from that division (5). The other cities mentioned by that author were those of the Nervii, Sueofones, Sylvaneces, and Leucii; those on the other hand of the Rhemi and Lingones in Gaul, that is, of the provinces of Rheims and Champaigne, he there calls civitates foederatae.

The Treviri, however, became in time the principal nation of Belgica prima.


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sides the Marcomans (D), whom we have mentioned above as more properly situate between the Rhine and it, were the Hermunduri, whose country ran northwards from it, and extended itself along the Hercynian mountains quite up to the river Sala. These possessed, particularly, the country now called Mśnia, in Upper Saxony, though some make their territories to have extended much farther, and to have reached quite to, and even beyond, the kingdom of Bohemia. On the other side those mountains was the abovementioned kingdom of Boiohemum, now Bohemia e, once one of the seats of the Boii; and beyond them, north of the Danube, was another seat of the Marcomani, along the river Albit, now Elbe; from which they spread themselves into Bohemia, and drove the Boii out of it, as we hinted a little higher: we have spoken of these in a former volume, to which we refer the reader d. The Quadi were situate next to Bohemia: their territories extended from the Danube to Moravia, and the northern part of Austria e; these are likewise comprehended under the antient name of Suevi, part of whom forced their way into Spain, and settled a kingdom there, as hinted under the last note. The Baftarnae were situate eastward of the Quadi, and parted from them by the Granna, now Gran, a river that falls into the Danube, and by the ridge of the Carpathian mountains, called from them Baftarnacē Alpes: their country made, indeed, part of the European Sarmatia, and so was out of the limits of Germania propria; but they antiently lived on this side the Danube, were concerned with the Marcomans, Quadi, Hermunduri, Suevi, and a number of other German nations, in the famed war against M. Antoninus f, and are accounted of German extract by Pliny g; and it was not till the reign of Probus that they were transplanted over the Danube thither by that emperor, to repeople those countries which were become desolate by the wars and pestilence.


(D) These, the Quadi, and some others we shall have occasion to mention, were of that tribe of antient Germans known by the name of Suevi: they antiently possessed a considerable part of Germany, that is the greatest part of it from the Rhine to the Elbe; but, in process of time, some of them removed more northward, and settled along the Danube, whilst another part went into Spain, and formed a kingdom there, as we shall shew in a subsequent chapter.

pe十足ence. These soon conformed to the Roman laws, and became one nation with the other inhabitants of that country. We have formerly taken notice of that colony of them which was settled in Tharce by Probis; but where the original seat of them was before their removal, is not easy to guess; it has been, for that reason, much questioned whether they were of German or Sarmatian extract: we, however, quoted Pliny in favour of the former opinion, who in another place makes them one of the five principal tribes of the German nation. We may add to his evidence that of Strabo, who plainly distinguishes them from the Sarmatians; and that of Tacitus, who ranks them among the former. We read of their afflicting Perseus and Mithridates against the Romans, but after their conquest by the latter, we hear no more of them by that name; probably the remainder of them united with the Goths, and as for those who stayed in their native country, if any such there were, they were, in all likelihood, blended with those Pechengi, or Patzinicæ, which we find mentioned in the Byzantine and Polish history, and which Strabo and Tacitus mention in the place above quoted with the Baetaræ and some other German tribes.

Between those nations we have seen seated along the other side of the Danube, and the Hercynian forest, were several other antient nations, of whom we know little more than their names, and about whose exact situation we are quite in the dark: such as the Martingi, Burii, Borades, Burii, Lygii, or Loganies, and some others, who are placed by our geographers along the forest abovementioned, between the Danube and the Visula. The Burii are reckoned the same with the Borades, and are mentioned as auxiliaries to the Marcomani in their war against M. Antoninus; and the Lygii, or Loganies, as assisting Vibilius, king of the Hermunduris, against the haughty Vannius, king of the Suevi: and their bordering one upon another is collected from a passage of Pliny which places the latter between the Danube and the forest abovementioned, but with no sufficient exactness to lead us to the right situation of either: only the Sileian historians affirm, that the Lygii, and part of the Quadri,

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b Nat. hist. l. iv. c. 28.  
Vopiscus. in vit. Probi, c. 18.

Georg. l. iii. p. 306. Mor. Ger. c. 46.


n H. N. l. iv. c. 25.
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remained still in their own original country. The last we shall mention on this side the Hercynian forest, were the famed Rhoetii, now Grifons, who were seated on the Alps: their country, which was antiently called Western Illyricum, was divided into Rhoetia prima, or propria, and secunda, and was then of a much larger extent, spreading itself towards Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria. This country and that of Noricum, and others, became a Roman province, and belonged to the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy; but upon the declension of it they fell under the dominion of the Franks, about which time the name of Bavarians first became noted in history.

On the other side of the Hercynian forest were the antient feats of the Suevi, whom we have shewn above to have been an old tribe of Germans (E), and spread themselves from the Vistula to the Elbe, and beyond, though they in time did, at least a great part of them, either penetrate through that forest, or wind themselves about it, and came and settled in the more pleasant southern parts of Europe, such as Belgium, Gaul, and even Spain, as shall be seen in the sequel. The most famous of these were the Longobardi, so called, according to some, on account of their wearing long beards; but, according to others, on account of their confounding of two nations, viz. the Bardi and Lingones; these dwelt along the river Elbe, and bordered southward on the Chauci, mentioned a little higher, and both these were reduced by Tiberius, as we have shewn in a former volume. But the Longobardi,

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(E) At least we find them so styled by Pliny, and other antient authors: but we must here remind our readers of what has been heretofore occasionally observed with respect to those authors, that they so often confound the Celtes and Scythians, that it is not easy to guess whether those antient Suevi or Germans, whom they allow to be of Celtic extract, were really so, or of Scythian breed. But from the nearer likeness of manners, language, &c. to the latter, one would be more apt to think they derived their original from them. However, the truth seems to be, that both Celtes and Scythians were in all these parts so intermixed and blended together, especially from the Rhine eastward and northward, that all those antient Germans bid fair to be the offspring of that mixture, rather than of either Scythic or Celtic original properly so called.

gobardi, having passed the Danube, invaded and defeated the Heruli, did afterwards cross the Alps, and settle in Italy, where they founded the kingdom of Lombardy, and, in process of time, quite forgot their antient German, and adopted that of Italy. The Burgundi are the next of note. Pliny affirms them likewise of German extract, and ranks them with the Vindili, Variini, Carini, Guttones and Ingvenes, which last he makes to have been a mixed people, partly Cimbric, partly Teutonic, and partly Chauci. It were labour lost to enquire after their original feat (F), but it is plain they were, like their other neighbours, enticed to exchange it for a better; and, having penetrated first into Germany, where they alighted Valentinian against the Alemanni, they afterwards crossed the Rhine, and settled in Gaul, where they founded a kingdom in that province which still retains the name of Burgundia, as we shall shew in some of the subsequent chapters. The Semnoniens, likewise, left their old habitation, and settled about the Lionnois in Gaul: we find them seated about the Elbe, in Tiberius’s time, and, in conjunction with the Hermunduri and other Germans, bravely striving to obstruct his crossing that river; but at what time they passed from thence into Gaul, is not easy to guess: but they fell upon one of the most fruitful parts of that kingdom, and there grew so rich and considerable, that they are thought to have been called Sennones on that very account, it being an old Celtic word, which signifies opulent and venerable (G), as we have had occasion to shew in the history

\( ^4 \) See before, vol. xvi. p. 36. \( ^{ibid.} \) 320. \( ^w \) Vide.

Giannoni, h. i. Neapoli. p. 294. Mascof. l. xv. c. 14. \( ^x \) Ubi supra. l. iv. c. 28. \( ^y \) Marcellin. l. xxviii. c. 5. \( ^z \) Vellat. Paterc. l. ii. c. 106.

(F) Some have imagined the Burgundi and Burgundiones to have been two different people, but without any probability, since they are mentioned by some antient authors as the same nation, though under those two different names; and that is, Marcellinus calls them Burgundi, whom St. Jerom and Orosius call Burgundiones.

(G) Some have, indeed, sought the etymon of this name from the Greek, and think they were so called from the word Ευρώς, stranger, new-comer; on account of their being some of the last German nations that came over the Rhine into Gaul (8). Accordingly, a Roman historian tells us (9), that they were the very

\( ^8 \) Vide Flacc. sect. \( ^{9} \) Tit. Liv. h. i. v. c. 35.
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history of the Gauls. These three were the most noted nations on the other side the Hercynian forest, to which we shall only add the names of some others, though scarcely known to us by any thing else: such are the Aviones, Reudigni, Eudosites, and Swardones, whom we find placed between the Elbe and the Suevos, or Viader, on the north of the Longobardi; the Rugii, Lemnovii, Heruli, Gothones, or Gothini, the Sidui Carini, between the last-mentioned river and the Vistula: as for the Angli, Saxi, Goths, Hunns, &c., they will be spoken of in some of the following chapters. But before we pass further, we must not omit the country of the Aestii, an antient tribe of the Suevi, who inhabited along the coasts of the east sea (H), so famed for the great plenty of

Æstii, and their amber trade.

very laft of all the strangers that came thither. Servius, indeed, thinks they were at first called Ξέρισκ, and afterwards Ξέρωνας, because they received Bacchus into their country.

But if we must have recourse to the Greek, would not the word Ξερισκ afford us a better etymon, as it is more like the name of the antient Semnones than that of Semonas or Xenonas? We read of Semna mysteria, and Semnai thea, in which the word implies something venerable or awful, and might be either taken up by the Semnonic tribe, or given them by their neighbours, either on account of their opulence, or the great sway they bore above the rest, all which doth well agree with their history. But we would rather chuse to stick to the Celtic, which doth still more closely square to it than to the Greek, which, how like forer to it in most things, doth yet sometimes deviate from the original design and meaning, especially as to such appellatives as this we are upon: and if we observe, that in several provinces of Gaul, even to this day, the natives never pronounce an m before an n, but like a nn, we may perhaps find out the most probable etymon for the word fenex, fenatus, fenator, senior, fenioratio, feneshal, carta fenica, and many others of the like import, in which the mn was gradually absorbed into nn; and this last softened into a single one.

(H) So called, in all probability, from their inhabiting those coasts of the east sea, containing part of Prussia, Courland, and Livonia. These, as well as their neighbours the Gothini, were not unknown to Tacitus, who has given us a succinct description of their religion, customs, and language; in all which they differed so little from the Celts, or old Gauls, that we may take it as a further proof, that the antient Germans and they were but distinct branches of the same nation, as we observed at the begin-
of amber that was found there, especially along those of Prussia, and for the vast quantity that was fetched from thence both by the Greeks and Romans, of which we find particular mention in most antient authors, such as Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Pytheas Maffilensis, as quoted by Pliny, but especially by Tacitus, who has given us a very curious description of it, as well as of these Ætii, who gathered and sold it to them. These, he says, worshipped the mother of the gods, and placed such confidence in her safeguard, that they scarcely knew the use of iron weapons, or any other fort but cudgels. They were more industrious than the rest of the Germans in cultivating their corn and other fields, and dived into the seas and rivers for amber, which is a commodity peculiar to them, and which was of little use to them, except to sell it to strangers, rough and unwrought, as they gathered it. He then goes on in describing the nature of that wonderful gum, according to the notion they then had of it, which we need not here dwell upon, but from which, as well as from what other antient authors have writ of it, we may infer, that it was in very high esteem in those days. In Nero's reign, by which time the Romans had wholly set aside the thoughts of conquering Germany, one of that emperor's favourites persuaded him to send thither a kind of embassy to buy it there upon the spot, and at the first hand. The thing was accordingly done, and the Roman knight, who was at the head of this expedition, setting out from Carnuntum, a fortress on the banks of the Danube (I), arrived at the place.

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and

Bibl. l. v.  d  N. H. l. xxxvii.

Mor. Germ. c. 45.  f  See Pliny nat. hist. l. xxxvii. c. 3.

ning of this and the last chapter. What is still more observable is, that our author tells us, that their language differed but little from the old British, that is, from the old Celtic or Gomerian; the Britons, who were a branch of these, or rather the same nation, under a different name, that was given them on account of their painting their bodies, the word Brit, in the old Celtic, signifying the name as Pict or painted, and both Britons and Gomerians retaining the same tongue not only then, but even to this day, as we have had frequent occasion to observe, both in the last chapter, and in the history of the antient Celtes (10).

(10) Carnuntum was a fortress in Upper Pannonia, on the same side with Vienna, and was a kind of boundary between the frontiers

and met with a kind reception from the Aestii, from whom he bought and brought away, according to Solinus, 13,000 pounds weight of that commodity, which was desigued, it seems, by one of their kings, as a present to the emperor; and among it there was a piece which must have been of very great value, if it be true, what another author affirms, that it weighed alone thirteen pounds. We find in Cæsiidorus, a letter sent by Theodoric, king of the Goths, to the Aestii, wherein he thanks them for a noble parcel they had sent to him of the same precious drug, and wherein he promises them his friendship, which, it seems, they were endeavouring to obtain by this embassy, and valuable present. By this letter it should seem, that the inhabitants were wholly ignorant whence it came, and how it was formed; for so their embassadors told that monarch; and added, that the sea threw it upon their coasts. These Aestii were still famed among other German nations on the east sea, in the time of Charles the great. We read of the Sciri, Hirri, Galindi, and Sudeni, in Ptolemy, which some have endeavoured to prove were to be reckoned among the Aestii, or antient inhabitants of Prussia, but with very little likelihood: as for the name of Prussia, it is of much more recent date, as shall be seen in the modern part of this work. All that needs be added, with respect to the Aestii, is, that they were at length conquered, with some other nations, by Ermanaric, king of the Goths.


tiers of the Germans and Pannonians (11). If, therefore, this embassy set out from thence, as our author affirms, and it be very unlikely they should sail up the Danube, and down the Rhine, in order to coast it round to the Prussian coasts; it may be inferred, that the Hercynian forest must have had some passage cut across, for them to go thither by land; and as we are told they passed through the country of the Gothiones, or Gothini, in their way thither, we may conclude it probable, that they sailed down the Vistula, at the very mouth of which were the Electriads insulae, or Amber islands, so called from that commodity being either gathered upon those coasts, or brought thither as to a mart by the Aestii.

Chap. 12. The History of the Germany.

On this side the Æstii, and, as is supposed, near the mouth of the Vistula, now Weychfel, were the Gepidae; and farther north, on the coasts of the east sea, between these and the Æstii, were the Chaiboni. It is not easy to determine whether these two were of German, Scythic, or Gothic extract: the Gepidae are indeed affirmed to be Germans by some antient authors; but we have had frequent occasion to observe, that they frequently confound those nations, so that we cannot readily depend upon them: were we allowed to offer a conjecture of our own, we should rather think them of Celtic origin. We have already observed, in the Gaulish history, that the Celtes had spread themselves towards the farthest parts of the north, as the Cimrians in the Cimbrica Chersonesus, and the Teutones (K) in the islands adjacent:

"Vide Procop. de bell. Vind. 1. i. c. 2. & Maflcov. 1. x. c. 6. l. xi. c. 21.

(K) We have already hinted some conjectures concerning the etymology of that word, at the entrance of this chapter, and in a former volume, in speaking of the Titans. The old Celtes boasted themselves sprung from the god Theutat, or Mercury, whom Cæsar calls Dis (12), the name of that deity after his death, or apotheosis, as we showed in the last chapter, and Tacitus Twifton (13); and upon that account did, in all probability, take the name of Teutates from him, which, by length of time, variety of dialects, and of hands, through which it passed, diversified itself into Teutoni, Teutones, Teutonarii, Teutobodiaci, Teutôfagi, Taurisci, Tautantii, Teutolci, and Teutchen, which two last names they still retain in Germany and Italy.

That this name is very antient, and common to all the Celtes, we have shewn in the parts of their history above quoted, and we shall beg leave to add a pregnant testimony of it, which is as follows: Servius observes, that the city of Pîa had received its name from Pius, a king of the Celtes, who founded it; and presently after, upon the authority of Cato adds, that the Teutones were settled in that country long before the Hetruscì made themselves masters of it. The city itself, says he, was called Teuta, and the inhabitants Theutas (14).

As to the Técôfagi, we find a tribe of them in the neighbourhood of Thouloufe in old Gaul, who were surnamed Volsci, of whom we spoke in the last chapter. Cæsar and Strabo mention another tribe, who were seated about the Hercynian forest, and make

and, indeed, it seems as if those antient Gomerians were either
ebowed by new-comers, farther and farther northwards, as our
Welsh were here in England; or, if we suppose them to have
been Celtic colonies, sent afterwards in search of new habita-
tions, as they were often forced to do for want of room, that
they found the more temperate parts already so well inhabited,
that they were forced to take up with such climates as they
found still uninhabited by reason of their extreme coldness.
In either case the Cimbrians, Teutones, Gepidae, Chaiboni, and
Æstii, being found all in one line, and under the same climate,
may, probably enough, have been all of the same extract,
considering the conformity of their manners, language, &c.
but we only offer this as a conjecture. Of the Chaiboni, indeed,
we know but little, except what we read of their invading
Gaul in the time of Diocelesian, and of their being totally routed
by Constantine the great. The Gepidae are famed in history
for having reared themselves into an early kingdom, and ex-
tending their territories into Pannonia, and taking the famed
city of Sirmium, or Sirmish, from the emperor Marcian (L);

Cl. Mamertin. panegyr. l. i. c. 4, & 5. Nazar. int.
panegyr. vet. ix. c. 18.

make them to be descended from the Gaulish (15). We find
the Teutones and Teutonarii spread far and wide about the Baltic,
and Scandinavia had scarcely any other inhabitants but Teutones,
if we may believe Pliny and Mela (16). Among the Gallogreeks, or
Galatians, we find two tribes, one of which had the name of Te-
tofagi, and the other Teutobodiaci, or Telftobogi (17). The name
of Taurisci can hardly come from any other than Thaut-rich, the
kingdom of Thaut, and that of Thaulantitii from Thaut-lant, the
land of Thaut. All these, put together, sufficiently shew that they
were originally, or boasted themselves as such, descendents or sub-
jects of Teut, or Mercury, once the famed monarch of the great-
est part of Europe (18).

(L) It seems that emperor had suppressed the annual penion
which he had engaged to pay to them; upon which, they, under
the conduct of their king Ardaric, who had already conquered
Dacia, passed the Danube, and added some part of Pannonia to
their kingdom. As for Sirmium, it was the metropolis of Lower
Pannonia; and though it was afterwards destroyed by lightning
(19), and since then reduced to a mere village by the Turks, yet

c. 14. De situ. l. iii. c. 3. Vide & Ptolem. l. ii. c. 2. (17)
(19) See vol. xiii. p. 452.

as likewise for their wars with the Goths, Burgundians, and especially the Romans, for their invasion of Germany and Belgia, and for the terrible havoc they made in both, in conjunction with the Quadi, Vandals, and other northern nations, of which St. Jerom gives us a particular and dreadful account, as may be seen by the abstract in the margin (M). They kept themselves in possession of all Dacia, till the emperor Justinian’s reign, when, being left in the lurch by that prince, and Cunemund, their last king, being overthrown and killed by Alboin, king of the Longobards, there was a final end put to their kingdom. The Abaris, who were allied with Alboin, took possession of Dacia, and the whole Gepidæan nation was so thoroughly dispersed, as never to recover itself again. Some of them we find accompanying that conqueror’s expedition into Italy, and the rest went and refuged themselves where they could (N), as we shall see in a subsequent chapter.

Thus much shall serve for the names and situation of the antient Germans, according to their different tribes and nations


it was celebrated heretofore for two Arian councils held in it under Constantius, viz. an. 351, and 357, and for being the birthplace of Probus (20).

(M) These barbarians broke down, like an inundation, not only on Upper and Lower Germany, but into Gaul likewise, and as far as even Spain. In the former they destroyed, among other cities, those of Strafoburgh, Spire, Worms, and Mentz; and in Belgia those of Rheims, Amiens, Tournay, Arras, and Terouane; and carried the inhabitants captive into Germany. They likewise ravaged, in a woful manner, the provinces of Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Narbonensis, and carried off an immense plunder. The rest the reader may find in the letter above quoted.

(N) It is supposed, that the poor remains of the Gepidæ took refuge under the emperor Justinian, and that he took, upon that account, the title of Gepidicus, which we find afterwards added to the imperial one: as appears by the preamble of some of his successors letters, especially that of Maurice, who defies himself there, Alemanicus, Gothicus, Anticus, Vandalicus, Herulicus, Gepidicus, Africanus, &c. (21).

As

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At the time of the Romans first invasion of them, as far as a subject so involved in darkness and confusion can be brought into any tolerable light and order. In Augustus's reign it was divided into Germania Prima and Secunda, that is, Upper and Lower, as we hinted above, and guarded by eight legions of Roman forces, which were, according to custom, employed in making high roads, new fortifications, and other useful works, whenever they were not engaged in the field. This division seems to have continued till about the time of the emperor Jovinus, when, though the constitution still subsisted with regard to Germania Prima, yet it was then, in all probability, lost, with respect to Germania Secunda, which was by that time become, in a great measure, subject to the Franks: for in the Notitia Imperii, which is thought to have been written then about, though the state of Belgica Prima and Secunda be there still entire, yet there is no farther mention of Germania Secunda.

As for the country of Germany itself, we have such a dreadful account given us of it, both by Cæsar and Tacitus, even of those parts of it which lie under a more temperate climate, that one would think it almost incredible, that such a brave nation as that would have been contented to live in it, when they wanted neither strength nor courage to have broken their way into others, more pleasant and fruitful. Nor would one be able to know the worst parts of it, as they are now, by the description they give us of the best. According to them, it was barren, uncultivated, and frightful all over; and even its variety of soil and climate added

Bucheler. Belg. Rom. 1. c. 12, 17, & 18.  
M. Germ. c. 2. Comment. l. iii. c. 1.

As for the unfortunate Cunemund, the use which Alboin made of his body was, to make a drinking-cup of his scull, a custom descended to them from their barbarous ancestors, of which we have had occasion to speak, in the history of the Celtes and Scythians, and which, it appears by this, was still rife among a vast many nations of their descendents, so many ages after their embracing christianity. As to the Gepidae, we have nothing to add, concerning them, but that they professed Arianism in common with the Goths (22), as will be seen in some of the following chapters.

(22) Procop. bell. Vandal. 1. i. c. 2.

added to the horror of it from the dreadful forests, flinking
and unwholsome bogs, the inclemency of its winds, damp-
ness of its seas, lakes, and rivers, and harshness of its soil.
But as, on the one hand, we must allow for exaggeration in
historians, who plainly sought in every thing to magnify
their own courage and prowess, by the difficulties and hard-
ships they met with in the conquests of those countries and
nations; so we must grant, on the other, that the Romans
proved the means of cultivating those, till then, barren and
inhospitable territories, by cutting down great numbers of
forests, draining of wet and marshy grounds, and other such-
like improvements as they were able to admit of. So that
we need not now tell our readers, that this pretended bare-
neness and unhealthiness was rather owing to the supineness
of the inhabitants, than to any defect in its soil or climate,
since we find it now capable of bearing all sorts of grain,
vines, fruit, and even foreign plants, in great abundance,
and due maturity. And thus far may be owned, that the
coming of the Romans into Germany, as well as into Gaul,
contributed much to the fertilizing and enriching of those two
countries, which, till then, had been wholly neglected by
both nations, who, as we hinted in the last chapter, thought
this, and every occupation, besides the martial trade, too
much below their fierce and warlike genius. We are told,
in particular, that the emperor Probus was the first who
permitted vines to be brought into Gaul and Germany,
and to be planted along the Rhine and Mosel, and other parts

Vines, when first brought thither.

Among those many woods and forests with which this forest.
country abounded, perhaps, more than any other on this
side the Rhine, was that famed one called the Hercynian,
and, by the Greeks, Orcinian forest, the longest and thick-

x Vopisc. in vit. Prob. c. 18.

(O) An antient author compares this action of his to that of
Hannibal, who caufed olive-trees to be planted in Africa, in or-
der to furnish the foldiers with profitable employments in time
of peace (23). But if Probus knew any thing of that natural
propensity which the German nation had to strong liquors, one
would be apt to think he had something more in his view than
the bare finding out proper employment for them, when he intro-
duced the juice of the grape among them (24).

(23) Aur. Vict. in Caesar. c. 37. (24) See the last chap-
ter, p. 535.
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east in Europe, and reckoned by Julius Cæsar to have extended sixty days journey in length, and nine in breadth. We have given an account of it in a former volume, to which we refer: all that we need to add is, that not only this, but all the forests, woods, and groves, in Germany, even the trees, boughs, and leaves of it, were reckoned sacred; and this is the reason why the ancient Germans made it a piece of their religion not to cut them down, unless it be some branches of the oak, and some other trees which they carried with them, on particular solemnities; but since their conquest by the Romans, a good many were cut down, partly for convenience, and partly out of a dislike of those superstitious and bloody rites, which were performed in them. Many more were destroyed, since their embracing of Christianity, upon the same account, and some are yet still remaining; and, amongst others, one which is known by the name of the black forest: the Bacenian is another famed one, which parted the Suevi from the Cheruisci, by some supposed to be that of Thuringia, and by others the black forest last mentioned. The Cælian forest, or Cælia Sylvia, was likewise very famous: some suppose it to have likewise been a remnant of the Hercynian, and part of it remains still in the duchies of Cleves and Westphalia. Tacitus tells us of a famous one dedicated to Hercules, and called, from him, the Herculean forest; but it doth not appear that they had, as yet, adopted either that, or any other Roman deities: so that if there was any such forest of that name, it must have been called so upon some other account than a religious one. For, as we have observed in the last chapter, the Germans made a much longer stand against the Roman polytheism than the Gauls.

Rivers.

Danube.

Rivers of note they had in abundance, of which we shall only mention the most considerable ones, and what is most remarkable in them. At the head of these may justly be placed the Danube, now Ister, by far the largest in Europe. It has its rise in Swabia, and flowing through that province, and those of Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Moldavia; Beslerabia, and part of Tartary, and receiving about sixty other rivers in its course, falls into the Euxine or Black Sea, in two arms. It was once the boundary between Sarmatia.


z Vide Claudian.

a Lii. c. 12. See before, p. 428.
Sarmatia and Germany, but became afterwards subject to the Romans to its very source, under the emperor Trajan. The Rhine, another famous river, which antiently divided Germany from Gaul, and springs from the Rhetian Alps in the western borders of Switzerland, and northern of the Grifons: as it rises from two springs, which unite their waves near Chur, now Coire; so it divided itself into two streams, one of which falls into the Maeze, and the other into the German ocean: upon both accounts, perhaps, it is called, by Virgil, Rhenus bicornis, or bicorniger. It has now no passage into that ocean, but with the Maeze above-mentioned, below Briel, unless that branch of the one part of it called the Yssel, which empties itself into the Zuyder-Zee, may be said to do it. This mouth, which was antiently known to the Romans by the name of Flevum, and still retains that of Vlie, or Flie, had a strong castle built by it, to guard the passage out of the Zuyder, or fouth, into the north sea. As for the Rhine, it became afterwards a barrier between the Romans and the Germans, upon the overthrow of Varus by the latter, who unwisely spent their time in destroying the fortresses of the former along that river, instead of pursuing the advantage of that signal victory; so that they only shortened the extent of the Roman territories, which before reached as far as the Weser, if not beyond. The same river did likewise part the Batavi from the other Germans, as has been formerly hinted. Julius Caesar, in one of his German triumphs, caufed, among other pageant figures, that of the Rhine to be carried; in imitation of which, it is judiciously observed, that his successors did oftener triumph over, than conquer it. The Vistula, now Weichsel, was another considerable river, which divided Germany from the European Sarmatia, whence the latter was called Germania Tranisvistulana. It had its rise in the Carpathian mountains in

\[\text{See Mascov. German. & Lediard. ibid. sub Ind.}\]
\[\text{See Florus, l. v.}\]
\[\text{Vol. xv. p. 302.}\]
\[\text{Florus, l. v. c. 2.}\]

(P) We are told, that he established at Zarmigesothula, the capital of Sarmatia, the famed colony called Ulpia Trajana, having laid a bridge over the Danube, as appears from several antient medals, and, particularly, by the column erected in honour of him, and the explanation given us of it by the authors quoted in the margin (25).

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in Higher Silesia, and, crossing the Hercynian forest, disposed itself, by three streams, into the Baltic sea, not far from Dantzig. The Drave, or Draw, springs from the Alps in the Tyrolese, and, dividing Upper and Lower Hungary from Sclavonia, falls into the Danube near Esseck. The Moraw rises in the confines of Bohemia, divides Moravia into two parts, and falls into the Danube not far from Vienna. The Nab, in Nortgów, hath its source near that of the Main, and falls into the Danube a little above Ratibson. The Neckar, in Suabia, rises from the black forest, not far from the Danube, but takes a different course, and falls into the Rhine. Regen rises in Nortgów, on the borders of Bohemia, and empties itself into the Danube at Ratibson, thence called Regensburgh. The Vefer, antiently Vifurgis, descends from Franconia, and, passing by Bremen, falls into the German ocean between the mouths of the Elbe and Ems. The former of these, called by the Romans Albus, and by the Germans Elve, Elbe, and now Elb, is a very large and considerable one, and hath its spring in the mountains called the Giant Mountains, Montes Heroum, in Silesia, on the confines of Bohemia, and, passing through it and Upper and Lower Saxony, falls into the above-mentioned sea at Ritzbuttel, twenty leagues below Hamburgh. The latter, viz. Ems, antiently Amfisia, rises in the bishoprick of Paderborn, and, passing by Embden, the metropolis of East Friesland, and through the bay of Dullert, falls into the same ocean a little above the mouth of the Vifurgis, or Vefer. The Luppia, now Lippe, and Ifala, or Yfel, fall, the one into the Rhine, below Cologn, and divided the Bruceteri and Marsi from the Usipi; and the other into the Fossa Drusiana. The rest, being of less note, we shall pass by.

Cities of any consideration the Germans did not begin to build till after the coming in of the Romans, but were divided into cantons and districts, like the Gauls, and lived in villages like them; even those famous large ones they now have, were either most of them built by the Romans, or enlarged, beautified, and enfranchised by them (Q). Such were the city of Cologn, of which we have given an account

(Q) These new colonies were, it seems, endowed with most of the privileges of the city of Rome; and Cologn, we are told (26), was one of them.

count in a former volume, and of its being called Agrippina. It was formerly called Colonia Ubiorum, and was their metropolis. It is commodiously situated on the Rhine, and in the circle of the lower Rhine, and is now the metropolis of the archbishopric of that name, an imperial city, and a famed university. Colonia Trajana, another antient Roman colony, below the former, by some thought to be the present Keyseriswaert. Colonia Ulpia, now Cleves, the capital of Cleveland in Lower Germany, supposed to have been built by Julius Caesar, as well as that of Bonn, antiently Bonna Julia, situate above Cologn, and on the same river. This laft is now the residence of the electors of Cologn. Aueburgh, i. e. Augusta Aueburgh, antiently called Augusta Aueburgh. Vindelicorum, now the capital of Suabia; this is likewise an imperial city, very populous and trading, situate on the Lech, not far from the Danube, and famed, among other things, for the Augustan confession, or confession of Aueburgh, which is that of the Lutherans. Argentoratum, now Strasburgh in Alsatia, the antient capital of the Trebochi on the Rhine, is reckoned one of the antienteft cities in Germany (R), and is now famed for its magnificent cathedral, and

(R) And well it may, if what some German antiquaries pretend be true, that it was built 33 years before Abraham. But it will be time enough to believe it when they give us some further proofs of it than they have hitherto.

This place, we are told, was chiefly famed, in antient times, for a living well, or spring, which was used for the washing and purifying of the victims which were offered up by their priests, and was from thence called Blotkeda, and Blotbrum, from the antient word blot, which signifies a bloody sacrifice. Hence some infer, that human victims were thrown alive into the well; others, that they were first dashed to death against the stones, and then flung into it (27). This well was, after the conversion of the Germans to christianity, inclofed with a wall, and consecrated, to serve for a baptismal font; and the waters of it became so famous, for some miraculous power attributed to them, that they were fetched or reforted to from all parts: but since the reformation it hath been opened, for common ufe (28).

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and the spire and curious clock of it, of which we shall say something more in the sequel; but, above all, for a living well, inclosed in that church, which was originally dedicated to superstitious and heathenish uses, such as we have mentioned in the last note. Triers, another ancient city of Lower Germany, said to have been built by Trebevas, the brother of Nimus, 1496 years before Christ, and made a Roman colony in the time of Augustus. It became afterwards the most famed city of Gallia Belgica, and was, for some time, the seat of the western empire, in the reign of Constantius. Here Valentinian triumphed, in a magnificent manner, over the Alemani. Triers had been formerly the seat of the Gallic perfects, or of the praefectura Galliarum, and obtained the right of coinage from the Romans; at present it is only the metropolis of the ecclesiastic electorate of that name, though the bishops of it were formerly styled primate of those of Gaul, on account of its having been once the seat of the prefects of it, which was afterwards removed to Arles, on occasion of the former being destroyed by the Franks. Ratisbon, in the circle of Bavaria, said to have been first built by Tiberius, and now famous for the diet of the empire being held there. Mentz, now famous for the invention of printing by John Fust, alias Faustus, a gentleman of that city, and for being the residence of one of the ecclesiastic electors, in the lower circle of the Rhine, and situate on the banks of it; was formerly enlarged and fortified by Datus, with several others on that river; such as Bonn Andernach, and many others on the same river, as well as upon the Maece, Elbe, and Weser. He built, likewise, bridges over them, especially at Mentz and Bonn, and kept a fleet, for the security of those parts: near the former of these was erected a monument, in form of a funeral pile, in memory of him, by those legions which he had there commanded, some remains of which are still to be seen, and are mentioned by several antient and modern authors, and described by Hucbichius. It is known by the name

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name of Eichelfstein, and stands in the now citadel-yard of the city above-named; but that this was the same that was erected for that prince, we must depend wholly upon tradition, as we must for a vast number of other such structures, with which this country abounds, but which retain neither inscriptions nor any other indices, by which they may be fixed to their original design. As we mentioned these cities only on account of their being either built, fortified, or celebrated by the Romans, we shall not take upon ourselves to go any farther with the rest, because we confine our geography to the antient, and not to the modern Germany, which latter is too well known to our readers, to need our expatiating upon it.

S E C T. II.

Of the religion, government, laws, and policy, of the antient Germans.

This subject hath been already so copiously handled in the last chapter, as it is so naturally knit and interwoven with it, that we hope we may save ourselves the pains of a needless repetition. The Gauls and Germans, as nearly allied to each other originally, received their religion, laws, and customs, from the same hand, and both retained them, some few particulars excepted, during a long series of ages, with an invincible tenaciousness; and we have had occasion to observe, that the latter continued much longer inflexible against introducing the Roman superstition, than the former: so that, with regard to their antient religion, they exactly agreed, in worshipping the same supreme deity, under the name of Eifus, or Heifus, falsely said, by Roman authors, to have been Mars, or Mercury. They worshipped him under the emblem of an oak, consecrated that tree more peculiarly to him, and had a great veneration not only for the tree itself, but for its leaves and fruit, especially the mistleto, which they call, to this day, by the old name of Guthyl, or Gutheyl, and ascribe extraordinary virtues to it, especially in epileptic disealess (A). Their method of, and time for, gathering it,

P p 2


(A) This name doth in the old German signify good heal, or good healer, as doth that of mistella, or rather mistel dha, in the Celtic;
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was the same which was observed by the Gauls. They held, like them, all other trees, likewise, as sacred, though not in the same degree with the oak; all woods, forests, and deserts, as well as groves, lakes, rivers, fountains, &c. in high veneration. The druids had the sole care and direction in all religious, and the greatest sway and authority in civil matters; only it may be here observed, that though both nations held some sort of women, whom they looked upon as prophetesses, in great esteem; so the Germans seem to have exceeded the Gauls in this kind of superition; and to have shewn and retained a much greater fondness and veneration for their pretended oracles (B). In other things they were, as far as can be

b See before, p. 332, note (H).

Celtic; though some question whether the word misile be of Celtic extract. Hence, that which we formerly mentioned out of Pliny, that they called it by a name which signified all heal. The inhabitants of some parts of Upper Germany, who still retain a great number of ancient heathenish superstitions, are affirmed to retain the old druidish custom of rambling about, at certain feasts, from town to town, and from house to house, in great troops, rapping at every door and window with hammers, and crying out gutheyl, gutheyl, alluding to that verse falshly ascribed to Ovid.

Ad viscum duriides, duriides clamare solenbant:

In some other parts, especially in Alsace, they give it the name of marenthaken, or the bush or shrub of spectres; probably from those magical virtues which were attributed to it, not only by the Germans and Gauls, but much more by the more northern nations; concerning which, the reader may see some extravagant infinaces in the authors quoted in the margin (1). Among other virtues they attributed to it, that of driving off all shafts and offensive weapons from the person that wore it, or of effectually directing against the person or beast they intended to shoot, was so rife, that they never went even a hunting without it (2).

(B) It is not easy to guess whence this high esteem for those female soothsayers had its rise; but most antient authors agree, that the Germans never undertook anything of importance without consulting them, and would even forbear fighting an enemy, let the advantage appear ever so great on their side, if these women

be gathered from Cæsar and Tacitus, subject to, and obliged to receive their directions, like the Gauls, from that grand druid, who, as we hinted in the last chapter, had his residence in England, or some one of the British isles. If there was any mendisapproved of it (3). They seem to have derived this custom from the Celtes and Cimmerians, their ancestors, who, as we have formerly observed, looked upon them as inspired (4); and we have likewise mentioned some of them, who are reported to have foretold some very strange events to some of the Roman emperors (5), enough to raise their reputation, not only among their own people, but likewise among the Romans and Greeks.

If we may, however, be permitted to offer a conjecture concerning the origin of this superstition, it seems to have had its rise from this: The Germans, warlike, fierce, and active as they were, and constantly employed either in the martial or hunting trade, might, probably, have committed the care of their sick and wounded to their women, who, having more time and leisure upon their hands, began to study the virtues of herbs, plants, and other medicinal things. From this skill, which they generally intermixed with that of astrology, they might, in time, pretend to greater, and to be able to pry into futurity. The old ones might likewise naturally give into dreams, visions, and other superlitious observations, such as were then practised by almost all other nations; such as the flight of birds, the running of rivers, and the colour of their waters; the entrails of victims, and such-like kinds of fortileges; till they, at length, raised themselves to such credit and admiration, that, if Tacitus may be credited, they were looked upon as a kind of goddesses: and, in particular, that famed one called Velleda, of whom he speaks as of a person deified, and worshipped by the whole German nation (6). Some others are mentioned of like repute, viz. Aurinia (7), or Allruna, Ganna (8), Jettha, Sifa, Thrudur, &c. of which we shall say nothing more, seeing we are quite in the dark about them in every respect, but that of their being spoken of as famed prophets among the Germans. The reader may, however, see all the different conjectures of the learned about them, in the authors quoted in the margin (9).

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any difference between the Gauls and Germans in point of religion, it consisted only in this, that the latter, being more fierce and untractable, were not only more full and tenacious of their superstitious rites, but likewise more cruel and inhuman in them. They not only offered the same expiatory human victims, and used them in their auguries, and other parts of their religion, but treated them much more cruelly than they. The Gauls, in some cases, fattened them for one whole year with the finest dainties, put them to a quick death, and sometimes stabbed them unexpectedly in the back: the Germans, on the contrary, made theirs undergo many grievous indignities and torments, before they dispatched them, some instances of which we have given in the Gaulish history, that will hardly bear repeating. Other victims they likewise offered of domestic animals, and of these the horse was reckoned the most acceptable. The flesh of them was, it seems, to be boiled, stewed, or dressed in some other way, in the heart of their groves; the fat and the flesh was served to the votaries, by way of feast, and the blood was sprinkled upon the altar, trees, and by-standers, by way of ablation: but though they did the same by that of human victims, it doth not appear, that they eat the flesh of them. We have formerly observed, likewise, from Caesar, Tacitus, Dionysus Siculus, Strabo, Athenaeus, and other ancient authors, that the Germans had no temples, but performed their religious rites in groves erected for that purpose, or in woods, forests, and deserted places; tho' this latter seems to have been practiced after their conquest, and to avoid the penalties of those severe edicts which the Roman emperors had issued out against the druids, and their inhuman sacrifices: however that be, temples were not introduced in Germany till long after the Gauls had shewed them the way; and it is plain, that after the former had introduced the worship of Jupiter, Mars, &c. they dedicated still oaks, groves, woods, and whole forests to them, and performed their superstitious rites in them a considerable while before they could be brought to erect temples to them. This is evident, from what Tacitus tells us of the goddess Hertha, one of their antient deities, whose idol was preferred in a wood, or grove, Calium Nemus, upon a covered cart, and had but one priest to minifter to her, and the only one who dared come near it. He adds, that whenever the deity had a mind to go out and air herself, or to take a view of mankind, that priest, who was her only confident, gave notice

See before, p. 426.

tice of it to the whole nation; upon which, nothing was to
be seen but feasting and jollity amongst them, whilst she was
carried about in her covered car, drawn by two heifers, and
attended by the priest above-mentioned. His chief business
was to observe when she appeared satiated with rambling, and
to convey her into her sacred grove again. He doth indeed
mention a temple which he there calls the temple of Tanfana
(C), and which, he says, the Romans levelled to the ground:

\[ \text{P p 4} \]

but

\[ d \text{ Annal. i. v. c. 9.} \quad e \text{ Ibid. i. i. c. 51.} \]

(C) It will be, in a great measure, labour lost, to enquire
who this Tanfana was, whether a German goddess, or the place
where the temple was: if the former, her name is quite foreign,
and no footsteps are left of her, or her worship, unless our author,
or his copiers, mislooked Tanfana for Onfana, the name of Minerva
among the Gauls.

There are some inscriptions, one in particular, dug up in the
neighbourhood of Lyons, in which these words are engraved on a
tiusq; Domus ejus Aunfani Matronibus & Matribus Pannoniorum &
Delmatarum. Ti. Cl. Pompeianus, &c." from which a modern
antiquary (10) would conclude, that it should be Tanfaniis, instead
of Aunfaniis, as bearing some relation to the goddess Tanfania,
whose temple Tacitus here speaks of. But since there are other
inscriptions which agree with this, and call these Matres Aunfaniis,
his conjecture will hardly be allowed.

Who these Matrones were, is as hard to guess; the author last
quoted thinks them to have been campetrian deities, such as pre-
dided over woods, rivers, lakes, &c. and were, by this time,
worshipped both by the Gauls and Germans, as we have seen in
the last chapter: but why such aerial beings should be called Matres
and Matrones, cannot well be conceived; and to us it seems more
probable that they were those famed druidesses, or prophetesses,
of whom we have spoken in the last note, and who, being deified
after their death, were still invoked by the living, and had altars,
and other inscriptions, reared to them by their votaries, as they
were supposed to preside till on health, life, pregnancy, &c.
whereas those aerial beings, which were thought to live in, or
preside over fire, water, earth, woods, &c. and have been since
distinguished by the names of salamanders, sylphs, nymphs, and
gnomes, were supposed to have been created from the begin-
ing, and to have had those elements assigned them by the Supreme
Being.

Hence

(10) Reines. synt. art. 175. Vide Keyzler ubi supra, c. 39.
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but as in the foregoing instance of Hertha he first calls it a temple, though he says in general, that the Germans had none, and afterwards explains his meaning by calling it a grove, and a private lake; might not this of Tanfana be of the same kind? However, suppose it to have been a real temple, there will be no wonder, that such a building should be erected by the Marsi, or, at least, in their country, and, perhaps, by the Romans, who had, by this time, subdued them; for this was in Augustus’s reign, about eighty years before the time in which Tacitus wrote. For though this be the only one we read of, yet there might as well have been some others built by this time, either in imitation of, or obedience, to the conquering Romans, who, as we have formerly hinted, were very industrious to propagate their religion among those nations they subdued. For if, either through complaisance or fear, they once adopted their deities, why might they not, from the same motives, erect also temples to them?

We


Hence we may see whence the Rosicrucian notion, so much in vogue still among the Germans, and other northern people, had its rise; and that it is no other than a relic of the old northern heathenism, improved by the enthusiastic help of a warm imagination: for, to this day, the same, and even much more preposterous superstitions, are still preserved, in several parts of Germany, among the vulgar, and much more so as you go farther northwards, especially among the Icelanders, Samojedes, Laplanders, &c. some of which can hardly be read without horror, and might be much better passed over in silence, were it not that they plainly shew to us how far unassisted reason may be depraved and warped, by education and custom; since all the pains that have hitherto been taken, especially since the reformation, have not been able to root it out.

Before we dismiss this subject of these Deæ Matres, or Matronæ, we beg leave to mention an inscription found upon an altar-stone at Louthor in Westmorland, with these words: Deæ Matriæ Tramæ Trambil Vex Cermæ P. V. R. D. Pro salute, &c. in which a German antiquary has endeavoured to shew, that the word Tramai should be read Tarami, or Tarani; Taran being one of the Celtic names of Jupiter (11). But we think our learned Gale (12) hath much better corrected the lection, by reading it Brama, the name of a place in that country, mentioned in the Itinerarium Antonini, and from which these Matres might, in all likelihood, be denominated.


We have already spoken of those inferior ones introduced among the Gauls, such as Jove, or Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, Diana, &c. The same, and very nearly under the same notion, were adopted by the Germans, though some of them under different names: we shall just mention some of those names and attributes, as they were peculiarly given by the Germans to each of them. Jupiter was worshipped under the name of Thor, Tharam, or Taran, i.e. the thunderer. This name we have already seen, in the last chapter, was given by the Gaols to Mars, also, on account of the clattering noise of the martial trade. The same was done by the Germans, who gave it to their Odin, or Woden, which was the same deity, as we shall see under the next article. As for the name of Jupiter, we have formerly shewn, that it was never adopted by the Gauls, nor doth it appear to have been so by the Germans: if these had any other names for him than those we have mentioned, they have been since lost, and are not worth seeking further after.

Mars, called by them Odin, Othin, and Woden (D), has sometimes been confounded with Mercury by the Roman authors, and no wonder, when they were so unacquainted with their language, and could have so little information from them concerning their religion or politics. For the Germans, as well as the Gauls, made it a constant maxim, not to communicate any thing of either to strangers; and hence may be assigned the reason why some of them have even more absurdly imagined this

(D) This deity had several other names, according to the several offices they attributed to him; such as Wallfader, and Walladur, the father of slaughter, and of arms; Sigmundur, the giver of victory, and the like. This of Odin seems derived from the ancient word Audun, which signifies exterminator, as they prayed to him to exterminate their enemies. The Gauls did, most likely, give him that of Ollodius, as has been found by an inscription dug up near Aix in Provence, which runs thus: "Vigilia Melia Maffa filia Marti Ollodio," which last word is thought by some to be of Greek extract, as it was found so near Marseille, where Greek had been so long introduced; and may be either from αλλός, or ἄλλος, to put to death, to destroy (13). In the same sense he is called, by Homer, οὐλός, fatal, or murderer; as his chief business, according to the heathen theology, was, to supply hell continually with new-comers. Yet,

this Odin to have been the same with Hefus, or Esus & the Supreme Deity. The great veneration they observed to be paid to the former, their calling upon him at the beginning of a fight, and vowing to him all the plunder, and even lives, of their enemies, might easily lead those authors to mistake him for the latter. Mars, when his worship came to be adopted, was always, as far as can be gathered from ancient monuments, represented in armour, though antiently under the type of a naked sword; whereas Hefus was only worshipped under the type of an oak, or even the bare stump of one. Mars was looked upon not only as the god of war, but as the patron and guardian of those who were slain, whose souls the survivors bequeathed to him, in words to this effect, “Odin receive thee; mayest thou be with Odin” (E)! If you ask what they supposed was to be their employment in that place of bliss which was called by them Valhalla, and of which Odinus was the chief disposer; some of their antient poets will tell you, that one of them was to carouse with exquisite beer in human skulls, whilst Odinus alone is allowed to drink wine. They were, moreover, to be served by elegant virgins, whose buffets it was to furnish them with a constant supply of whatever could make them happy and merry; and this notion of a Mohammed’s paradise was no small spur to warlike actions, since every man’s felicity there was to rise in proportion to


Yet, after all, it may not improbably be derived from the old Celtic ohll, which signifies beer. For as neither Germans nor Gauls had vines till long after the Romans invaded them, as we have lately shewn, beer was not only their choicest liquor, but they believed, that Mars, or Odin, dispensed it in large quantities to his votaries in the next world, as we shall see by and by. So that he might be properly enough called Ollodinus, or Ollodius, from thence, that is, the god of strong beer.

(E) It seems from some sepulchral inscriptions, and funeral orations, still extant, that in some of the northern regions they bequeathed the souls of the deceased to Odin, in words to this effect: “Odin preferve thee, a dear child, faithful friend, an honest servant, and the like, even after their embracing christianity; and the sending any one to Odin, was reckoned a very kind and good wish, though it is since looked upon, especially by the Suevi, as bad as sending one to the devil (14).

(14) See Relig. des Gaul. vol. ii. c. 4.

the number of enemies they had conquered or killed (F). According to this notion, we need not wonder at their consecrating

(F) We have properly no ancient author to vouch for this their belief of a Turkish paradise; our authority for it is only taken from some of the oldest northern poets (15), who quoted it from more antient songs and verses of the druids, who, as we have often observed, couched all their religion and history in such kinds of poems, and conveyed them down from one generation to another. To this we may, however, add, this collateral proof, from the general agreement of Greek and Roman authors, that the antient Celts and Scythisians made use of the skulls of their slain enemies to carouse with, and that they were in general, but none more than the Germans, very fond of drinking to excess. So that it is very natural to suppose, the druids would carry this notion of happiness beyond the grave, in order to inspire the people with courage, and a contempt of death.

Accordingly, the famous king Lodbrok is introduced singing his own requiem, in these words, as translated out of Edda, by Bartholine.

"Pugnavimus ensibus
"Hoc ridere me facit semper
"Quod Balderi (Odin) patris scamna
"Parata scio in aula
"Bibemus cereviisam brevi
"Ex concavis crateribus craniortum
"Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
"Magnifici in Oddi domibus
"Non venio desperabundis
"Verbis ad Odini aulam (16).

He concludes thus (17):

"Fert animus finire
"Invitant me deae
"Quas ex Othini aula
"Othinus mihi misit
"Latus cerevisiam cum Asis (diis)
"In summa fede bibam
"Vita elapsa sunt horre
"Ridens moriar (18).

ing so great a share, and sometimes all the plunder of their enemies, making him heir of all their wealth, keeper of all their treasure, and often vowing their own lives to him; since they expected to be so amply rewarded by him in the next life, and with such a kind of happiness as best suited with their genius k.

The German, and other old historians, have since transformed this deity into a northern hero, whom they bring from Asia into Scandinavia, where, after a long and bloody prowess, and a reign stuffed with the greatest wonders, during which he gave them a body of laws, some of which we shall speak of in its proper place, that he might end as he begun, and inspire his people with the same contempt of death, he gave himself a slight wound with an arrow, because he would not go into the other world without one, and soon after died; and, after a magnificent funeral, in which his corpse was laid on a large and magnificent pile, that the brighter and higher the flames ascended, the greater might be his glory among the gods, he was deified as the protector and rewarder of those who die in battle l. This may, perhaps, have been trumped up to wipe of the imputation of their having given into the Greek and Roman idolatry, and to shew, that they only paid a more than ordinary veneration to their heroes and heroines, some of whom they ranked in the same name as Hercules among the men, and Hertha and Fria, or Friga, among the women. Their mythologists, on the other hand, have split this Odin into two; the antientest of the two they suppose somet to have been Mars, others the sun, and the youngest to have been one of their deified heroes; yet there is no doubt but that one may find a great resemblance between the antient Germans, Suevi, Aesittii, &c. and other most distant nations; such, for instance, we may reckon the worship of the goddess Hertha, mentioned a little higher, which agreed with that which the Romans and others paid to the earth, under the name of Magna deorum mater; or as Tacitus says of the latter m, their worship of Fria, or Friga, under that denomination(G).

How

k Vide interal. Bartholin de contempt. mort. in Dan. l. ii. c. 12.

l Snorron. Yngliga saga, c. 8.  m Germ. c. 9, & 45.

(G) That historian is, however, contradicted by some German authors, who pretend, that Fria Friga, or Frejun, was the sun (19). This they pretend to prove by what he adds, that they

(19) Vide Keyzler. ubi supra, § 15.

How much of this kind of idolatry they may have had before their becoming acquainted with the Romans, is not easy to say; and we shall gladly refer our readers to what has been already hinted on that head in the history of the Gauls; but after that time, especially after their being subdued by them, there is no doubt but they adopted many of their other deities, as well as a great number of their ceremonies and superstitions. However, it plainly appears, upon the whole, that their antient theology differed much from the mythology of the Romans and Greeks. The Germans, even according to the testimony of Roman writers, neither presumed to confine their deities within temples, nor to represent them under any forms, nor admitted into that number any but such they saw, and received assistance and benefit from; such as the sun, moon, and Vulcan, or the god of fire wore the boar on their standard, and which, these pretend, was owing to an acceptable sacrifice, which Odinus had offered of this creature to that planet. But, if they worshipped the sun under the name of Frejun, or Friggon, might they not as well do the same by the moon, under the name of Frea, Fria, and Frigga? And might not the wild boar be as fit a sacrifice to that huntress, as to the sun?

Isis, who was the same with the moon, since Caesar calls the same deity Luna which Tacitus calls Isis, was worshipped by Germans and Gauls, and is affirmed, by the latter historian, to have been the chief deity of the Suevi. He doth, indeed, there say (20), that he could find no footsteps upon what account her worship was there introduced; but supposes, by the figure in which she was represented, viz. that of a ship, or frigate, that it was brought thither from abroad; and it is somewhat strange, since she was worshipped by the Romans under that type, as presiding over the sea, and navigation (21), and had a feast festival in their falls, that he should conclude from thence, that the Suevi, who were of Celtic extract, and given to navigation, should receive that deity from abroad, which was peculiar to all the Celtes. However, therefore, Fria and Freius, Isis and Mithras, Sol and Luna, Apollo and Diana, may be found confounded in antient historians, on account of their joint influence on earthly things, and their common course in the heavens; yet there is no doubt to be made but they were severally worshipped by all the northern, as well as southern nations; and why not more so than earth, water, rivers, lakes, woods, forests, trees, and plants?

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fire (H). Their veneration for their deified heroes and heroines, and the encomiums they gave them in their poetical performances, extended no farther than to their virtues and heroic exploits, their strength and courage, victories and conquests; whereas the Greeks and Romans not only attributed to their deities all their own imperfections, but even sanctified their most monstrous and unnatural vices.

The Germans, as well as Gauls, were early taught, by their druids, two momentous truths, viz. an over-ruling providence, and the immortality of the soul. The misfortune was, that these two noble springs of virtue and religion did not run long uncorrupted; for as, on the one hand, a too eager desire in the people of prying into futurity, and a fatal ambition in their druids and diviners of being thought more intimately acquainted with the ways of that providence, introduced an infinite variety of auguries and superstitions; and some of them, as we have elsewhere hinted, were of the most inhuman and diabolical kind; so, on the other, the belief of a future life and immortality, proved but too fatal a spur.

German. c. 2.  

(H) So, at least, that author is understood by most writers: We are, indeed, told, by Plutarch (22), that Viridomarus, a king of the Gauls, who lived above 200 years before our Saviour, having declared war against the Romans, made a vow to consecrate all the arms he took from the enemy to Vulcan: so that if that author be right in the name, the worship of that deity must have been very antient among the Gauls and Germans. But the misfortune is, as a late writer observes (23), that the Roman writers either mistook the names of those heroes or deities, or mentioned them by the names of such of their own gods as they imagined them to resemble most; by which means, that part of German antiquity is become so intricate, that it can hardly be relied on.

Some inscriptions shew, that they had a deity called Volian, or Volianus, according to the Roman termination. Hence some authors have concluded, that the two branches of the K were worn out, and that the name was originally Volkanus, which supposition is natural enough. But Volian being a Celtic word, which signifies either a furnace, or a fiery forge, the latter may, probably, have been the original name, though hardened since into Vulcan.

(22) Invit. Marcel.  

c. 35.
a spur to rashness, ambition, and cruelty, especially after they came to imbibe that poisonous notion hinted a little higher, that the surest way to that happiness was, to die in the field of battle; and that their felicity in the next world was to rise according to the number of the enemies they had destroyed in this. For this not only inspired them with a barbarous courage and cruelty in their wars, but made them less solicitous to enquire whether the motives of it were just or unjust. We have already given such instances of these bloody superstitions, in the history of the antient Celtes and Scythians, and lately in that of the Gauls, that our readers, we hope, will easily spare us the trouble of repeating them here, seeing they are all of the same kind, and of such a nature, that they can scarcely be read without horror. Only this we must be bound to add, that, whether the Germans received them from their neighbours, or whether they crept in amongst them by degrees, as they did almost everywhere else, they appear not only to have exceeded other nations in them, but to have retained them much longer than any of those who received the gospel (I). One piece of superstition, common to all the Germans and Gauls, was, never to fight, or undertake any material point, before the moon was full six days old, nor even then, if their soothsayers, who were mostly women, did not like the auguries. These were always consulted, upon all emergencies, as the druids and druidesses were in Gaul. They were always admitted to their councils, bore the greatest sway in them, not only as having the chief management of all their auguries, without which they did not do any thing, but as being esteemed by the whole nation to have been endowed with a prophetic spirit.


(I) Hence all that sad trade of witchery and sorceries still in vogue among the more northern parts; the divining wand, to find out mines, thieves, and murderers, among the southern; their notions of fairies, and other aereal beings, some of a benevolent, others of a malevolent nature; of apparitions, charms, enchantments, fascination, magical and diabolical contracts, carnal commerce with demons, and a number of other heathenish forgeries, which cannot be rooted out from among the vulgar of both, all which plainly appear to be owing to their tenaciousness, of, and fondness for, the old leaven of the antient Celtic superstition.
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Next in authority to these pretended prophetesses, were the druids, or rather priests. Caesar says, indeed, that they had no druids, as the Celtes; but Tacitus, who was better acquainted with them, speaks frequently of their priests, whose office and authority, according to him, being much the same with the Gaulish druids, shews them to have been the same order of men, though they did not, perhaps, bear the same name. For these priests, he tells us, were not only admitted to their public councils, but accompanied them in the wars, and bore a great sway in both. For we are told, that they were the only ones who had power to impose silence in those meetings, to reprove or punish offenders, which exactly agrees with what Caesar says of the Gaulish druids, whose office it was to try, condemn, and even to inflict capital punishment. And hence it may be, that the office of hangman is still in so much request all over Germany, contrary to what we find it in all other Christian nations; where they are either taken from the dregs of the people, or, when that fails, some noted delinquent is commonly condemned to it. As, therefore, one main part of the priests office among the antient Germans, consisted chiefly in stirring them up to martial deeds, in killing and slaying victims, and very frequently human ones, both in their sacrifices and auguries, in condemning and executing criminals, in punishing lesser offenders with milder punishments, and the like; we need not wonder if the external part of their religion was so void of the Greek and Roman pomp, and so full of every thing that could strike an awful dread on that fierce and warlike people, whose devotion might perhaps be better kept up under the covert of thick and gloomy groves, as well as by the bloody rites performed in them, than by all the ornaments of Greek and Roman temples, and the pageantry of their ceremonics and dress. It is therefore no small wonder, that such men should chuse a garb so contrary to their butchery trade, and to affect to be clad in white, and not rather in the deepest crimson: and may not this contrast be a kind of proof, that their office at first was of a quite different nature, and that from singing the praises of their Creator, and of their famed heroes, or killing, perhaps, some few harmless creatures, in honour to them; their ambition, and thirst of rule over an untractable people, made them degenerate, by degrees, into this pitch of arbitrary power and cruelty?

* Comm. i. vi. c. 21.

w Tacit. ubi supra, l. vii.

x Idem ibid.

cruelty? But we offer this only as a conjecture, which is not, however, without some foundation, if we consider, that they received their religion from the same foundation that the Perses, Brahmanists, and other Indian sects, did, who yet, either from their living, perhaps, in milder climes, or from a more conscientious adhering to their primitive institution, have ever been justly famed for a character the most opposite to theirs.

As for their antient laws and government, we can only say, that they discover those evident marks by which men, by degrees, were forced to form themselves into societies for their general good and preservation; to have magistrates to govern and protect them in times of peace, and generals to command and lead them in war. This, considering the extent of their territories, and their fierce and warlike genius, prevented their being long united into one common state, whatever they might have been originally. But every tribe of them had its own form of government, independent from the rest, except, perhaps, that they had some laws in common, for the better union and preservation of the whole body against foreign enemies, or to keep up a kind of balance among themselves, that one nation should not grow too strong for the rest: in other things each canton held their national councils at least once a year, that is, in the spring, and oftner, if need required; and there deliberated about peace or war, the choice of magistrates, and other annual officers, both civil and military; the sending out of colonies or auxiliaries, and other such points, according to their present exigence. And these assemblies were so exactly observed, that, we are told, the last comer to them was sure to lose his life (K). It is very likely also, that all others matters relating to property, crimes, and such-like, were here also finally determined by the plurality of votes, rather than by any body of laws they can be supposed to have had in thee early

(K) This, we are told, they did in imitation of the cranes, to which they, as well as the Gauls, in their auguries, paid a singular regard: and as these birds are said by naturalists to shift their habitats every year, and to appoint a general rendezvous, in order to take their flight, and to kill the last comer to the place; so they did the same by him who came last to the general assembly (24).

(24) See Vol. de idololat. I. iii. c. 22.

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early days. Liberty, being by them looked upon as the
suumnum bonum \( z \), made them exceeding watchful against
every thing that looked like an infringement of it; and as
they were too impatient to go through the fatigues of long
law-fuits, they rather chose to have them decided at once
by such an assembly, and sometimes by single combat, rather
than stay for their next meeting. These assemblies were com-
monly accompanied with sumptuous banquets, as they were
judged to promote friendship and mutual confidence, to in-
spire men with greater freedom of speech, and open a door
to wholesome counsels \( a \). In those states which were under
a kingly government, as a great many of them were, they
applied to the prince only in matters of smaller moment;
but in those which concerned the whole nation, to the grand
council of it \( b \); neither allowed they any other revenues to
those monarchs but a part of the fines, and such free-will
offerings as the people thought fit to make to them of cat-
tle, and the fruits of the earth; so that they had little else
to keep up their grandeur, except their hereditary eftates \( c \).
Their expence was, indeed, inconsiderable, because all their
subjects, fit to bear arms, were obliged to follow them into
the field, and their nobles thought it an honour to make
part of their retinue; upon which account these had the
free ufe of the prince’s table, and were sometimes presented
with a horse, or some of his arms \( d \). The subjects were
diftinguished into several ranks, or classes, such as nobles,
free-born, freed-men, and bondsmen; in each of which
classes those were still most esteemed, who had signalled
themselves best, by their courage, conduct, or any laudable
exploit \( e \). As for their other laws, if any such they had
compiled in a body, they were rather preferred by tradition
and custom, than kept upon record, since we have often
observed they made it a constant maxim, not to commit any
thing to writing. But that some such laws they had, is ap-
parent from this, that they still retained many of them, even
after those of the Romans had been introduced amongst them.
Judges they likewise had of their own, and their office was
held in such esteem, that men of the highest rank were
promoted to it, as well as those of the greatest probity,
years, and discretion: even their princes sometimes took
it upon them. Every judge had, it seems, a number of
afflutors,

\( z \) Lucan. Pharal. i. vii. v. 430. Tacit. ubi supra, c. 37.
\( a \) Idem ibid. c. 22. \( b \) Ibid. c. 11. \( c \) Ibid. c. 15;
\( d \) Ibid. c. 14, & seq. \( e \) Ibid. c. 11.

affessors, with whom he might consult upon occasion; whence, probably, the office of scabinus, or sheriff, had its rife.

These general assemblies were antiently held in the open country; for the Germans despised cities and fortresses, as monuments of servitude, rather than places of defence; and were some of the latest of the Europeans that either built any for themselves, or would take refuge in them: so that, whenever they were obliged to fight an enemy, they always chose to do it in the open field, and, when worsted, to retire into woods, marshes, and inaccessible places, where they could get provision for their cattle, and keep their pursuers at a distance; rather than to shelter themselves in towns, and fortified places, where they might be caught, as in a trap. It was, moreover, a common saying among them, that even wild beasts would lose all their strength and courage, if penned up. And we are told, that this custom subsisted in Gaul till the eighth century, and much longer in Germany (L). The whole nation being, moreover, naturally

Qq 2

Their state of war. Had neither cities, nor fortresses.

See Masov. German. l. ii. c. 3. 8. Tacit. ann. l. iv. c. 64. Cef. comment. l. iii. c. 29. l. iv. c. 19. & 29. Vide Pelloutier. hist. Celt. l. ii. c. 5. sect. 4.

(L) We have formerly seen, that both antient Germans and Gauls lived in a kind of cantons, or villages, with their houses and grounds about them, at a convenient distance from each other, that every family might have land enough for themselves and their cattle (25); and that, as soon as they had gathered in their harvest, they generally removed to new habitations. But when they came to be either conquered by the Romans, or enslaved, perhaps, by some of their ambitious princes; either of these were forced to build castles, fortresses, and fenced cities, to keep them in awe, and deprive them of all possible means of regaining their liberty. And hence proceeded their aversion to all such strong places, as tending only to bring and hold them the faster in slavery. But as necessity, in process of time, obliged them to have their cities, castles, &c. for their own defence and preservation, they fell into the same superstition with the Greeks and Romans, of dedicating them to certain deities, and even personifying and apotheosing them, and to celebrate a kind of anniversary of their foundation: which custom lasted till long after their embracing Christianity, as appears from many antient inscriptions, which the reader may find in Gruter's collection, and from sundry

(25) See before, p. 403, note (H).
of a warlike genius, and esteeming cowardice as the greatest reproach and disgrace that could be thrown upon them, all such fenced cities and fortified places were looked upon by them as so many shameful asylas for the weak and pusillanimous to flee to, and they, consequently, despised them, as unworthy a brave people, who always scorned to take any advantage of their enemy, whether of weapons, intrenchments, discipline, stratagems, or, indeed, of any other kind but those of strength and bravery, intrepidity, and an invincible love of liberty. It was in these that they solely trained up their youth, leaving all other arts of gaining a superiority to those of their enemies to whom the want of these martial virtues rendered them more necessary. Accordingly, no nation could take more care than they did to inure them to all hardships (M), to inspire them with a contempt of danger, and even of death, and to rear them up to martial deeds. This was their chief and surest road to wealth, honour, and preferment, and, as their priests taught them, even to the greatest happiness in a future life. It was for this that the ambitious amongst them neglected agriculture, and despised all mercantile and mechanic employments, how necessary and advantageous for ever, and obliged all who were able to bear arms to

\[1\] Caes. com. i. iv. c. 22, & seq. \[k\] Idem ibid. See also Essay on those countries, &c. which helped to pull down the Roman empire, p. 13--16.

 sundry prohibitions of Christian bishops against all future obser vances of them (26).

(M) We are even told, that those who lived nearest the Rhine, or any other rivers, used to dip their children, as soon as born, into them, in order to knit and harden their limbs (27). We have, indeed, formerly observed, from Julian the apostate (28), that the waters of that river were supposed to have some peculiar virtue above others, insomuch that they threw their children into it whenever they had any suspicion of their mothers fidelity. Whether our authors mistook the design, or confounded the one with the other, we cannot affirm; but it is very probable, that if any such custom they had, it was rather introduced on a persuasion, that such children who were not proof against the severity of such a trial, were not worth the rearing up, and might as well be left to be swallowed up by the waves.

go into the field. Hence it was that they were never at a loss how to raise, in a very short time, such powerful and numerous armies either to repulse an enemy, or to assist their friends and allies; for whenever any country was disengaged from a war, the ablest soldiers were sent into foreign service, not fingly, or according to their own option, but in considerable bodies, and under the command of such officers as were set over them by the state; by which means, the whole nation not only shared in the honour of their exploits, but was likewise furnished with more experienced generals. Another advantage was reaped from it, viz. that when a canton or state became too populous, they could draw out such numbers as could be spared, to go and seek out new habitations; and these, by being trained up to the trade of war, could the better fight their way through, and maintain themselves in those countries which they had the good fortune to settle in m.

They had but little cavalry, in proportion to their foot, in which they placed the main of their strength; but what foot they had of the former was extremely well disciplined, though their horses were, it seems, inferior to those of the Romans, either in bigness, swiftness, or dexterity, as well as in those evolutions which were so artfully used by the latter. As for saddles and stirrups, they were quite neglected, by both Gauls and Germans, who were accustomed to mount and dismount by their own agility, and could, whenever occasion required, fight as well on foot as on horseback (N). In their order of battle, every canton and district were placed together, that every one of them might reap either the glory or disgrace of fighting valiantly or cowardly, which was no small spur to them to behave in such a manner as might be a credit to their own tribe; and, by this means, they commonly fought in several distinct bodies. We are told, indeed, that some of them, especially the Cimbri, formed their whole infantry into one square battalion, and placed their wives, children, and baggage, behind a fence made of their waggons: as soon as

1 Idem ibid. See Mascovs. l. ii. c. 37. a Tacit. Germ. c. 6.

m Tacit. ann. l. iv. c. 12. Cæs. comm. l. vi. c. 23.

(N) This plainly appears, by Cæsar’s own confession (29), who owns, moreover, that he had them in most of his wars; and often boasts of the great services he received from them (30).

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every thing was ready for the onset, the signal was given, which was answered by an universal shout, which was redoubled in a most dreadful manner, till they came to close engagement. They used no art or stratagems in fighting, but placed their whole confidence in a joint and furious onset on the enemy, and continuing it with a desperate intrepidity, till they had either won or lost the day; by which means, if they once met with a stout repulse, or were put into disorder, they seldom knew how to rally again, but became stupefied and desperate, and either fought till they died, or else betook themselves to flight; for it was reckoned so inglorious amongst them to yield themselves prisoners, that we read but of few instances of their doing so, in comparison to those in which they died with sword in hand. Time and experience did, indeed, at length teach them to trust less to their own strength and courage, and to study a little more the Roman discipline, and art of fighting. But they began too late: had they done so from the beginning, they might, perhaps, have continued unconquered to this day.

Their weapons were likewise vastly inferior to those of the Romans; the cavalry had their shields and spears in common with the foot, but the latter had, besides, their darts, bows and slings, and seldom had recourse to their pikes and swords. Helmets, armour, and coats of mail, were generally despised amongst them; some of them did even affect to fight naked: so that if any such armour was worn amongst them, it was rather for distinction, than defence: upon which account, they adorned them with the horns and heads of some wild beasts. Hence those frightful figures which Plutarch observed among the Cimbrian cavalry, some of which are still to be seen upon the seals and arms of those antient times. Their shields, which they distingushed only by different colours, or some particular emblem, were reckoned so sacred amongst them, that they looked upon it as the greatest disgrace to lose them in fight; because none durst appear either at their religious ceremonies, public assemblies, or even funerals, without them (O). Their arms were esteemed their favourite furniture.

furniture, and chieuest ornament; they never appeared in public without them, and nothing was so earnestly wished for by their youth, as the day in which they became qualified to bear them. The sword was so sacred amongst them, that no oaths were reckoned more binding than those they took upon a naked one; neither did they appear in public, or assist at any solemn rite, without their sword, shield, and spear. We are even told, that they wore them at their familiar visits, banquets, religious dances, and the like. When they fat down, they had their sword by their side, and a servant behind, to hold their shield and spear; and when they rose, every one took them up again: in a word, they looked upon themselves as wedded to their arms; and when they had worn them from their youth to their extreme old age, they commonly caused them to be burnt or buried with them, when they died. It was on account of this excessive regard they paid to their warlike weapons, as well as from their ancient custom of rearing a sword, pike, or spear, at the head of their army, round about which they all gathered themselves to perform their devotions, that they were supposed to worship them; though it is plain, that they only worshipped the Deity, or, at most, the god Mars, since adopted their grand patron and protector, under these types: but, upon the whole, it appears, that both Celts and Scythians, and all their descendents, were accustomed to wear their arms, as well in the time of the profoundest peace, as in war; which was also practised by all the Greeks, Persians, and other ancient nations. In voluntary death (31). He tells us farther, that the Suevi were the only people in all Germany where private men had not the liberty to wear their arms, or even to keep them at home; and the reason he gives is, that they lived under arbitrary princes, who, to maintain themselves in their tyranny, stripped their subjects of them, and put them under the custody of their favourite creatures (32).

(P) It is not unlikely, that not only the Persians, but likewise the

(31) Tacit. Germ. c. 6. (32) Ibid. c. 44.
In their sieges of places they were likewise vastly inferior to the Greeks and Romans, whether in the offensive or defensive, being strangers to those destructive instruments which were used by the latter, such as towers and circumvallations, battering-rams, mining and counter-mining; and placing the stress of their confidence in their missile weapons, as darts and stones, and their vigorous assaults and scalings, or in a resolute and intrepid resistance, if these failed, as they too often did, especially when they were engaged against the well-disciplined and artful Romans, who, besides that they used all these, and many other such warlike engines, in the greatest perfection, were likewise expert in a great variety of stratagems, with which the Germans were wholly unacquainted, they fell immediately into confusion, and became an easy prey to them. Hence the native strength and valour of the latter is the more conspicuous, as they defended themselves so long, and so bravely, against such powerful and dexterous enemies, and at length conquered them by their own arts.

From what we have seen we may infer, that the Germans in general, though too long unacquainted with the art of war, did yet observe a strict discipline with their soldiers; and that cowardice and neglect of duty were severely punished amongst them: they were not, indeed, so strict in other cases, but adapted their punishments to the different purposes of the commonwealth; were severe against some offences, and remiss towards others; insomuch, that even murder was not esteemed capital amongst them, but was punished by such a fine, of great or small cattle, as was deemed a sufficient compensation to the family for their los. In disputes and accusations, whenever the case appeared dubious or intricate, they had two expeditious ways of deciding the matter; the one by their pretended divine auguries, and the other by single combat; for in either of these they looked upon Providence

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* See Macro. Germ. l. ii. in fin. c. 37.
* Tacit. Germ. c. 12, & 21.

the antient Greeks and Romans, had this custom from the old Cetles. However, the two last, when they came to form themselves into more regular societies, and under a wholesome set of laws, probably abrogated this custom, and permitted the people to carry their arms, in time of peace, only at their public spectacles, games, &c. (33).

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Chap. 12.  

vidence as the chief director, and therefore submitted to its unerring judgment. When, therefore, Varus endeavoured to introduce the Roman laws among them, we are told, that they refused it; alledging, that it was their way to decide all their controversies by the sword; and this custom continued amongst them several hundred years.

Sciences they were altogether strangers to, if we except those who lived by the sea-coasts, and had made some considerable progress not only in navigation, and building of ships, but probably, also, in some branches of astronomy, as well by observation, as by their converse with other more polite nations: the rest were all rude and ignorant, and it is even doubted whether they knew the use of letters (Q). Their greatest skill in physic consisted in the knowledge and use of plants.

b Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 188.  
c In vet. leg. Aleman. tit. 44. ap. Marcvl. l. ii. c. 38.

(Q.) At least Tacitus, who knew them best, and may be supposed to have been conversant with the polished part, tells us, that neither men nor women knew anything of them (34); unless by literarum secreta be meant something more than the bare knowledge of letters, which is not unlikely; since he tells us, in the same book, that both they and the Switzers made use of the Greek characters (35); which is also confirmed by Cæsar (36) and by some antient coins and inscriptions written in that character (37).

We have already taken notice, that the Gauls probably received that character from the Greek colony that settled at Marseilles (38); from whence it might easily pass into Switzerland, and thence into Germany, and have been adopted by these for the same reason that they were by the Gauls; and this is the only way to reconcile Tacitus with himself, and with Julius Cæsar.

With respect to the Germans being ignorant of the liberal sciences, we must except what a later author says of the Goths (39), that a Grecian philosopher, named Diceneus, finding in them a fit capacity for philosophy, astronomy, &c. took the pains to instruct them in every branch of them: for if that be true, the Germans could not be long without them. But our author, who was a Goth, is too justly suspected of partiality for his own nation, in many other particulars as well as this, to be relied on. As for the Germans, it plainly appears, that literature of any kind was not introduced amongst them till even some centuries after him, as we have shewn in the last chapter (40).

(34) Germ. c. 18.  
(35) Ibid. c. 3.  
(36) Comment. l. i.  
(38) See before, p. 518.  
(39) Jordan. de reb. Getar. c. 11.  
(40) See before, p. 521.
use of certain plants and roots found out by observation and experience, in which these pretenders intermixed a deal of superstitious trash; such as the time of the moon for gathering and applying them, charms, and other occult quackeries, which served only to amuse and raise the admiration of the vulgar. Music and poetry were much better cultivated amongst them, though one would be apt to judge their tongue too harsh and inharmonious for the one, and for the other. But besides that such foreign languages appear more so to us than to the natives, we may reasonably suppose, that both their music and poetry being adapted to the genius of the German nation and tongue, their harshness might be looked upon rather as a majestic beauty, than a defect: however that be, they had a set of men whose business it was to couch the heroic deeds of their warriors in lyric poems, and to sing them to the people, upon proper occasions, as the Gauls did of theirs. And as martial deeds were the common topic of these verses, and one part of the instrumental music, which accompanied it, was the clattering their swords against their shields, it is no wonder Julian the apologist, whose ears were accustomed to more gentle and harmonious strains, gives such a frightful account both of the German tongue, music, and poetry.

Their sports, games, and exercises, were all, likewise, of the masculine kind, and fit to inure them to the martial trade. The youth performed them naked, and with incredible agility, such as running, shooting, swimming, leaping, and the like. Some equestrian exercises were much in vogue with them, as they were extraordinary horsemen; they were likewise fond of gaming, to such a degree, that, when they had lost all they were worth, they would venture even their liberty upon one cast more of the dice. Manufactures were not introduced very early amongst them, that of linen excepted, which was, perhaps, one of the first, if not the only one they cultivated, for a considerable time, as it was the favourite dres of their women, priests, and men of quality. Their original dres, when they came first to cover themselves, were the skins of beasts (R); the Germans and

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f Tacit. ubi supra, c. 24.  g Plin. nat. hist. l. xxix. c. 1.

(R) These were called by several names, according to those nations among which they were worn. In some parts of Germany

and Britons seem to have been some of the last who exchanged them for cloths made of flax and wool: these they did not wear long and full, as the Sarmatians, but short and strait, and fit to display every limb of their body. As they became more acquainted with the Romans, they not only improved in their dress, and the manner of weaving, flowerings, and embroidering those stuffs of which they were made, but adopted a great number of manufactures, in which they have since excelled other nations: for it was their contempt of such trades, and not their want of capacity for them, which made them so long neglected, as beneath a martial genius; but when they came to take them up, they soon convinced the world, that their country seemed cut

Tact. ubi supra, c. 17.  

many they were called reno, which Cluverius thinks is derived from the rein-deer, whose skins they made their garments of. In others, mafruga; supposed to have been called so because it made those who wore them appear like monsters, or brutes in human shape. Tacitus adds, that the only distinction between men of quality and the vulgar consisted in the richness and fineness of those furs.

And here it will not be amiss to take notice of a merry jest which some Greeks, settled in Scythia, had endeavoured to impose upon Herodotus, as a serious truth; viz. that the Nauri, a northern nation, were once a year changed into wolves, and after some time, resumed their own shape. He doth indeed own, that he could hardly give credit to it; but it is plain they only imposed on his too great credulity in this point, as they did in some others, particularly where they told him that on the other side the Danube the air was, at some seasons, so full of feathers, meaning of snow, that a man could scarce see two yards before him. Wolves, it is certain, were in such quantities and so dangerous, in all these northern countries, that the inhabitants were forced to destroy them as fast as they could. Their skins they probably dressed, and made them into close garments, to wear during the winter, and, when spring came on, they exchanged them for some lighter habit: and this is all that could be meant by this pretended transformation. Unless we will suppose, not without some probability, that these Greeks had so far corrupted their native language, by their long abode in Scythia, that our author, naturally fond of wonders, understood them quite differently from what they meant.

(41) Germ. ant. p. 110.  
(42) Ixidor. Orig. I. xix. c. 23.  
(43) Tacit. Germ. c. 17.  
(44) Herodot. I. iv. c. 105.
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cut out to produce the best artificers; and we may add, that, in the number and variety of curious mechanic inventions, they have outdone all the world (S). They did not so soon give into the liberal arts, or even that of writing: we are told, that Charles the great caused some of their old barbarous poems, which they till then only sung by heart, and contained the actions of their ancient kings and heroes, to be committed to writing for their use, and to encourage them to learn to read. The Saxons had such a contempt for letters, that they refused to learn to read the gospels till they were put into verse, and set to such tunes as they could easily sing. Even their laws were not, it seems, reduced to writing till about the 12th or 13th century: which plainly shews that their runæ, or letters (T), are not of so antient a date as some moderns have imagined.

Before


(S) Amongst these, that of clocks, watches, and other such kind of useful and curious machinery, they have been long since famed for; but for none more than for the noble art of printing, which was found out at Mentz, soon after the year 1440, by John Fust, or Faust, a citizen of that place, and improved by his son-in-law, Peter Shoeffer, and from thence propagated, by some of his countrymen, through all the famous cities of Europe, in less than half a century (45).

In speaking of this noble and useful invention, we cannot pass by a pathetic reply which a German made to a Frenchman, who allowed, indeed, that the Germans were generally good mechanics, but in other cases, said, that they had but a low and groveling genius, and no wit. To which the German gravely asked the following question. "Pray, Sir, which of the two nations shewed the brighter genius; ours, which invented the art of printing; or yours which condemned the inventor of it to the flames for a conjurer?" For it plainly appears, that the parliament of Paris had condemned John Faust to be burnt for magic, and that he went with great difficulty obtained his pardon, at the expense of discovering his new invention to the archbishop of Paris (46).

(T) The runæ, or antient characters, are suppos'd to have been called so ab incidendo, from cutting out, because they were either

\(45\) See Palmer's history of printing, l. i. c. 2, & seq. l. ii. c. & seq. \(46\) Vide Pelisson. ap. cund.

Before we finish this section, it will not be amiss to say something concerning the character and genius of the antient Germans, which was pretty near the same through all that large country. They are generally described to us by Greek and Roman authors as resembling one another, and differing from other nations by the largeness of their stature, ruddy complexion, blue eyes, and yellow and bushy hair, haughty and threatening looks, strong constitutions, and proof of robustness against hunger, cold, and all kinds of hardship. Nothing could be more conducive to their bodily strength than their coarse diet, their living in huts rather than houses, their constant and strenuous exercises, and inuring themselves betimes to all kinds of fatigue; to which Tacitus joins another thing, which is not, perhaps, quite so authentic, viz. their drinking of strong liquors made of barley or wheat, and which they drank either cut out of wooden blocks, or cut into the bark of some trees (47), and in a very rude manner. The antientest author who appears to have made mention of those runes, is Venantius Fortunatus, who lived about the beginning of the 6th century; he speaks of them as being used by the Franks, whose manner of writing, as well as of the Goths, was yet but coarse and uncouth. He gives us their method of painting, or rather graving them upon wooden planks, which were called runes. The Germans have retained the same etymon in their language, in calling their letters buchstaben, which implies their being engraved on wood, and in short lines (48). It has been much disputed whether these letters were Latin or Greek, and much has been urged on both sides; but a sepulchral inscription, dug up at Rome, and the only one, perhaps, that has been preserved of that old character, shews them to have been mostly Greek, with here and there a Roman one (49). Some old coins also confirm it, in some of which the legend is wholly Greek, and in others, partly that, and partly Latin (50). And this is, in all probability, the character which is, by Venantius above quoted, called the runic, and was, at that time, common to all the Europeans; only among the northern nations they were very coarse and ill-shaped, in comparison of the rest.

(47) See Celsius's letter to Mr. Vignoles, ann. 1733. ap. Pellnytter, ubi supra, l. ii. c. 10. (49) Vide Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 4.
(23) Idem ibid. (50) Bouteron, ubi supra, p. 43, 62, & seq.
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drank in large quantities. Caesar adds, that their animal spirits not being exhausted in their youth by study, learning, or any troublesome occupations, nor enervated by early a-
mours and gallantry, their bodies were more apt to grow large
and robust. Pliny attributes much of this to the temperate-
ness of their climate; but though it be true, that the per-
spiration is not so copious in such cold countries, yet it may
be much doubted whether this doth so much contribute to
the growth and strength of their inhabitants: on the contrary,
experience shews, that there are very small people in some of
the coldest climates, as in Lapland; and very gigantic ones
in some of the warmest, as among some of the Ethiopians,
as the same author justly observes. What may have farther
conferred to the strength and stature of the Germans, was,
their never or rarely intermarrying with other nations, nor
adopting any of their soft customs; by which means, they
transmitted these qualities to their children pure and uncor-
rupted.

Their native disposition displayed itself chiefly in their
martial genius, and in their singular fidelity. The former of
these they did indeed carry to such an excess, as came little
short of downright ferocity; but as to the latter, they not
only valued themselves highly upon it, but were greatly
esteemed by other nations for it; so much that Augustus,
and several of his successors, committed the guard of their
persons to them, and almost all other nations either courted
their friendship and alliance, or hired them as auxiliaries;
though it must be owned, at the same time, that their ex-
treme love of liberty, and their hatred of tyranny and oppro-

tion, has often hurried them to treachery and murder, espe-
cially when they have thought themselves ill used by those
who hired them: for, in all such cases, they were easily
flirred up, and extremely vindictive. In other cases, Tac-
tus tells us, they were noble, magnanimous, and beneficent,
without ambition to aggrandize their dominions, or invading
those from whom they received no injury; rather choosing
to employ their strength and valour defensively, than offen-

dively; to preserve their own, than to ravage their neighbours.

Their friendship and intercourse was rather a compound of
honest blunt ness and hospitality, than of wit, humour, or gal-

lantry.

\(^{\text{p}}\) Comment. l. iv. c. 1. \(^{\text{1}}\) Nat. hist. l. ii. c. 78.

\(^{\text{2}}\) Tacit. ubi supra, c. 4. Conring. de habit. autiq. & nov. corp.
Germ. causis. Malcov. Lediard Germ. l. ii. c. 32. \(^{\text{3}}\) Tacit.
Germ. c. 35.

Ibid. c. 2.  

(U) Our author, however, excepts some cases, which yet were not frequent among them, as when any of their princes or noblemen allowed themselves a plurality of wives, more, says he (50), out of grandeur and ostentation, than wantonness.

(50) Tacit. ubi supra, c. 18.
full twenty years old, was accounted shameful wantonness. They have been, indeed, unjustly taxed with permitting a promiscuous and unnatural commerce of parents with their children, brothers with their sisters, and the like; but the only thing that seems to have given a colour to this pretended incelesous mixture was, their living together in their plain and homely cottages, and the whole family lying promiscuously in the straw, and stark-naked: which custom, though shocking to more polite nations, yet, being natural to them, was much more likely to restrain such unnatural commerce, than give birth to it. But though they did lie together in the same hut, yet we can scarcely doubt but nature taught them to observe some decency; and that the husband and wife lay in some corner apart, and the boys and girls at a convenient distance from each other. We may add, that such a brutish intermixture is quite opposite to that care which they took to keep their youth chaste and unmarried, till after twenty; and to that conjugal fidelity for which they are so justly admired. The women shared with their husbands not only the care of their family, and the education of their children, but even the hardships of war. They attended them in the field, dressed their victuals for them, dressed their wounds, stirred them up to fight manfully against their enemies, and sometimes have, by their courage and bravery, recovered a victory, when it has been upon the point of being snatched from them. In a word, they looked upon such constant attendance on them not as a servitude, like the Roman dames, but as a duty, and an honour. We find, in most parts of Germany, especially where vassalage is still in use, some notable relics of this ancient female submission; we have even lately seen some remarkable, and, as they appeared to us, shocking instances of it here, in those Palatines and Salzburgers whom persecution and distress drove hither for shelter; young, hale, and lusty fellows, sauntering along, with their pipes in their mouths, and a staff under their arm, whilst their obsequious wives trudged and sweated after them under a load of their cloaths and other lumber, and a child or two in their arms (W). But what appears to have been still a harder fate upon

* Cæs. com. l. vi. c. 21.

(W) We have ourselves taken upon us to reprove their husbands for it, and told them, in a friendly manner, that our nation was much offended at it; but have been gravely answered by their passive dames, that it was the fashion in their country, and that
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upon the antient German dames was, that their great Odinus excluded all those from his valhalla, or paradise, who did not, by some violent death, follow their deceased husbands thither. We shall have occasion to speak of it in the next paragraph, and conclude this with an observation, that, notwithstanding their having been antiently in such high repute for their wisdom, and supposed spirit of prophecy, and their continuing such faithful and tender helpmates to their husbands, yet they funk, in time, so low in their esteem, that, according to the old Saxon law, he that hurt or killed a woman, was to pay but half the fine that he should have done, if he had hurt or killed a man.

There is scarcely any one thing in which the Germans, though so nearly allied in most of their other customs to the Gauls, were yet more opposite to them than in their funerals. Their funerals profusion the latter performed theirs; those of the former were done with the same plainness and simplicity which they affected in all other things: the only grandeur they affected in them was, to burn the bodies of their great men with some peculiar kinds of wood; but then the funeral pile was neither adorned with the cloaths and other fine furniture of the deceased, nor perfumed with fragrant herbs and gums: each man’s armour, that is, his sword, shield, and spear, were flung into it, and sometimes his riding horse. The Danes did, indeed, fling into the funeral of a prince, gold, silver, and other precious things, which the chief mourners, who walked, in a gloomy guise, round the fire, exhorted the by-standers to fling liberally into it, in honour of the deceased. They afterwards reposited their ashes in urns, like the Gauls, Romans, and other nations; as it plainly appears, from the vast numbers which have been dug up all over the country, as well as from the sundry dissertations which have been written upon them by several learned moderns of that nation, a lift and account of it would cast a much greater disgrace on their good men to help them off with any share of the burden. And what appeared still more surprising was, when these poor women have been offered a draught of ale or beer to refresh them, they have desired it might be given to their husbands, for that themselves could drink water so great is the force of education and custom.

of which the reader may see in the author last quoted. One thing we may observe, in general, that, whatever sacrifices they offered for their dead, whatever presents they made to them at their funerals, and whatever other superstitious rites they might perform at them, all was done in consequence of those excellent notions which their antient religion had taught them, the immortality of the soul, and the bliss or misery of a future life.

It is impossible, indeed, as they did not commit any thing to writing till very lately, and as none of the antient writers have given us any account of it, to guess how soon this belief of their great Odin, and his paradise, was received among them. It may, for aught we know, have been older than the times of Tacitus, and he have known nothing of it, by reason of their scrupulous care of concealing their religion from strangers: but as they conveyed their doctrines to posterity by songs and poems, and most of the northern poets tell us, that they have drawn their intelligence from those very poems which were still preserved among them; we may, rightly enough, suppose, that whatever doctrines are contained in them, were formerly professed by the generality of the nation, especially since we find their antient practice so exactly conformable to it. Thus, since the surest road to this paradise was, to excel in martial deeds, and to die intrepidly in the field of battle, and since none were excluded from it but base cowards, and betrayers of their country, it is natural to think, that the signal and excessive bravery of the Germans flowed from this antient belief of theirs: and, if their females were so brave and faithful, as not only to share with their husbands all the dangers and fatigues of war, but, at length, to follow them, by a voluntary death, into the other world; it can hardly be attributed to anything else but a strong persuasion of their being admitted to live with them in that place of bliss. This belief, therefore, whether received originally from the old Celtes, or afterwards taught them by this, since deified, Odin, seems, from their general practice, to have been univerally received by all the Germans, though they might differ one from another in their notions of that future life (X).


(X) What the bliss of this paradise consisted in, we have already seen; but, besides this, there are some notions attributed to them, by these writers lately mentioned, which do not seem to square altogether.

In general, they seem to have had a twofold notion of this future state, the one to precede, and the other to come after, what they called, in their language, ragna rockur, or the crepucule of the gods, or heroes; by which they meant the consummation of all things by a general conflagration 4. So that, according to them, there was to be a future life of bliss and misery, till the destruction of the world; and another which was to follow it presently after, when a new sun, new heavens, and a new earth, were to be created, and in them a place of endless happiness for the good, and another of endless misery for the bad: which notion one would be apt to imagine they had imbibed from the christians, did it not appear, from Seneca, to have been the doctrine of the Stoics; unless we should suppose that author had it rather from some of the apostles 5, or their disciples, than from his own sect (Y). However that be, some of the circumstances, which these old Germans believed would attend this general conflagration, seem to us to have been taken from the apocalypse, and adapted to their own antient notions and taste; we shall give

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together with it (51): such as that of the transmigration of souls, which, if we may believe some antient christian writers (52), Pythagoras received from them. We have shewn, in the last chapter, that the Gauls were unjustly charged with adopting the same notion; and the same thing may, for aught appears, have been done with respect to the Germans. But if these had any such belief amongst them, it can only be reconciled with that of Odin’s paradise, by supposing the latter to be reserved for their brave and enterprising heroes; whilst the rest, who had no title to it, were left to transmigrate from body to body, more or less noble and happy, according to their merit or demerit, in a continual rotation, till the consummation of all things.

(Y) It is not to be doubted, that the doctrine of a general conflagration was believed by many antient nations, as we have had occasion to shew at the beginning of this work; but Seneca, in the place last quoted, speaks of it in such a manner, as makes one believe he had conversed with some christians, or, at least, some Jewish


(51) See Keyzler. ubi supra, p. 116, & seq. & auct. ab eo citat. (52) Clem. Alex. from. l. vi. Euseb. prap. l. x. c. 2.
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give our readers some few instances of this in the margin (Z), they being scarcely worth mentioning any where else. We shall finish this section with observing, that the notion of a future happiness obtained by martial exploits, especially by dying sword in hand, made them bewail the fate of those who lived to an old age, as dishonourable here, and hopeless hereafter: upon which account, they had a barbarous way to send them

Jewish rabbies, from whom he had adopted many particulars, which the stoics, till then, knew nothing of.

(Z) They tell you, among other things, the old earth being thus destroyed, a new one is to start up out of the sea, which will produce all things necessary and delightful to its inhabitants; and that the males and females which escape the general destruction are quickly to replenish it with a more hopeful offspring: that on the south side of heaven there is a court vaftly brighter than the sun itself, and which will be proof against the flames which are to destroy the rest of the creation; and there it is that the good will be preferred for that new and endless life. That the general destruction is to be preceded by the most severe seasons, bloody wars, enormous crimes, &c. after which, two monstrous wolves are to be let loose, who shall devour sun, moon, and stars. That the rainbow, by which the souls of the good went up to heaven, will be broken down. That some of the afe, or deified heroes, shall begin an unsuccessful war, and Odin himself be devoured by one of the wolves; after which, the universe is to be set on fire: that there is another court, as dismal as the other is glorious, whose gates open towards the north; the fences of it are woven with the hinder-parts of venomous serpents, whose heads are all turned towards the inside of it, and cast continual streams of deadly poison, which infects all the rivers round it, through which the wicked are forced to wade; and much more to the like purpose.

We shall not trouble ourselves further, to enquire whence those northern poets drew all this mythological rhapsody; but only observe, from the whole, that they plainly appear not to have had so high an opinion of their country, as some of a moderner date, who have taken a vast deal of pains to prove, that the earthly paradise was situate there, and that they, especially Sweden, afforded every thing that is useful and delightful to mankind (53); for if those old ones had entertained any such favourable opinion of these cold regions, they would hardly have made them the abode of miserable souls, and removed the seats of the blessed to the southern side of the universe (54).

(54) Vide Keyzer.

them packing into the other world, willing or not willing. And this custom lasted several ages after their receiving christi-
anity, especially among the Prussians and Venedi; the former of whom, it seems, dispatched, by a quick death, not only
their sick children, servants, &c. but even their parents, and
sometimes themselves: and of the latter we have instances of
this horrid parricide being practised even in the beginning
of the 14th century.

All that need be added is, that, if
those persons, thus supposed to have lived long enough, either
desired to be put to death, or, at least, seemed cheerfully to
submit to what they knew they could not avoid, their exit
was commonly preceded with a feast, and their funeral with
another; but if they endeavoured to shun it, as it sometimes
happened, both ceremonies were performed with the deepest
mourning. In the former they rejoiced at their deliverance,
and being admitted into bliss; in the latter they bewailed their
cowardly excluding themselves from it. Much the same
thing was done towards those wives who betrayed a backward-
ness to follow their dead husbands. We need not here ob-
serve, that, in these funerals, as well as in all their other
feasts, they were famed for drinking to excess; and one may
say of them, above all the other descendants of the antient
Celtics, that their hospitality, banquets, &c. confined much
more in the quantity of strong liquors, than in the elegance
of eating. Beer, and strong mead, which were their natural
drink, were looked upon as the chief promoters of health,
strength, fertility, and bravery; upon which account, they
made no scruple to indulge themselves to the utmost in them,
not only in their feasts, and especially before an engagement,
but even in their common meals. Tacitus tells us, that they
could bear neither heat nor thirst; and that they thought it
no disgrace to spend whole days and nights in quaffing:
so that though they were in no case more invincible than in
this, yet if you plied them with enough of it, you could not
fall of overcoming them. As for wine, though they at first
betrayed an excessive fondness for it, yet they quickly found
by experience, that it only tended to enervate and emaculate
the men, and obstructed the fecundity of the women; for
which reason some of them, especially the Suevi, forbade the
importation of it. And it is thought, to this day, that the

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i. vii. Keyzler. ubi supra, p. 147; & seq. h Germ. c. 4, & 22.
I Ibid. c. 23. Vide & Julian. milopog. p. 352. k Caesar,
comment. l. iv. c. 2.
We have taken notice, at the beginning of this chapter, that the most antient historians, both Greek and Roman, have so injudiciously confounded the whole German nation under the names of Scythians and Celtes, and that Tacitus himself, who had conversed so much amongst them, is, in some cases, so manifestly fabulous, and, in many others, so obscure and inconsistent, that no tolerable certainty can be expected, either with relation to their origin, or antient history, except we can strike out some light from better hands, and from some such concurring circumstances as may add weight to their testimony. This, we hope, we have done, in some measure, with relation to the first of these two points; but it is much more difficult to adjust the latter to any satisfaction, considering what a vast number of nations are comprehended in the general name of Germans, their constant fluctuations, and driving each other from place to place, their various intermixtures with each other, till the name of the one was quite swallowed up in the other; that many of them did, in time, come to differ widely from the rest, in their customs, government, laws, and politics; and others are scarcely known to us by any thing but their names; and especially, considering that none of them wrote any thing of their own affairs, and that both Romans and Greeks had but a very confused, if any knowledge of them, till the Romans did, by their wars and commerce with them, open a more easy way to it (A). Upon these accounts, we must be contented to

(A) It is plain, that, before the Romans came over the Alps, they had so little knowledge of them, that they confounded them with the Gauls, and called both nations by that name. The general one of Germans doth not, indeed, appear to have been of so early date as some have thought it, as we have shewn at the beginning of this chapter; so that each nation being distinguished by their peculiar names, unknown then to the Romans, it was natural for
to set down the epocha between the coming and settling of
the former in the severall parts of Germany, and the invasion
of the latter, for dark and uncertain, and as impenetrable as
their famed Hercynian forest; except what we have been able
to gather from those authors concerning their names, situation,
and some few other particulars, which we have already,
or shall have occasion to mention, in the sequel of this
section.

What occasioned the Romans breaking in upon Ger-
many, as they did upon all other nations they could come at,
we have already seen, in the course of the Roman history; the
Germans were then so far from being formed into one
single community, that they were divided into a vast number
of small kingdoms and commonwealths. They might, in-
deed, look upon themselves, in general, as a nation descend-
originally from the same stock, and so have some laws in
common to them all, either for the supporting of each other
against

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for these to include them all under the name of Celtes, Gauls,
and Galatae, as they were so nearly allied in their origin, religion,
customs, &c.

There is, indeed, one passage, in the facti Capitolini (1), in
which mention is made of that great victory so much cried up by
Virgil and other writers (2), which Marcellus gained over Viri-
domarus and his Gauls, who are here joined with the Insubri and
Germans, and which, if this last name be not corrupted by the
transcriber, will plainly shew it to have been longer in use than
we suppose it. But a late writer hath shewed it very probable,
at least, both from the similitude of the names, and other concur-
rising circumstances, that Germani is here transcribed, instead of
Cenomani (3); for these were not only next neighbours to the
Insubri, and concerned with them in the same war against the
Romans, but were defeated with them, not long after, by Cethe-
gus, who, thereupon, triumphed over them both at the same

time (4).

This Viridomarus is by some styled a king, and by others a gen-
eral of the Gauls (5); and his invasion threw the Romans into
such a consternation, that, to turn away the impending evil, they
were guilty of that inhuman piece of superstition we have men-
tioned out of Plutarch, in a former volume (6).

(1) Sub an. U. C. 531. (2) Æneid. vi. v. 855, & seq.
(3) Maslov. Germ. i. i. c. 4. (4) Faét. Capitol. sub an.
U. C. 555. (5) Plutarch. in Marcel. Polyb. i. ii. Flor. i.
ii. c. 4. & al. (6) See before, vol. xiv. p. 598.
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against foreign invaders, or for the preservation of a due balance amongst their vast variety of commonwealths; but, in other things, each had its particular form of government, laws, policy, and interest. They were all of them bred up with an excessive love of liberty, and hatred to all kinds of invasion; and could not, but with jealousy and resentment, behold the daily encroachments which the Romans continually made on all their neighbours, or, consequently, without uniting themselves more closely against them, and assisting those of their neighbours, who were likely to fall the next sacrifice to their ambition; as we have seen they did, with respect to the Gauls, Helveti, and other neighbouring states. Hence arose those wars and conquests which ended in their total conquest; for the politic Romans soon took the advantage of their being divided into so many different republics; and by fomenting jealousies among some of them, bribing and corrupting others, and by using all their force and art against the rest, they found means to subdue them gradually, and by piece-meal: so that one state after the other fell a prey to their conquering arms, till the whole country was reduced into a Roman province. This part, therefore, of their history, is not to be looked upon as a general one of a whole nation, but as a separate one of such a number of different states subdued one after the other, and in a great measure independently one from the other, till we come to that period of time the Franks brought and united all the other Germans, who remained in those countries, together with many other Roman provinces, under their dominion. For this reason, and because a full and particular account has been given of all these conquests in the Roman history, we shall, to avoid all necessary repetitions, content ourselves with giving a chronological summary of the reduction of each of these nations, till we come to the grand epocha of the Franks above-mentioned; and refer our readers to the volume and page where each of them is more fully and feverally mentioned. For the Roman history being not only the most considerable one in this whole work, in all respects, but being, as it were, the basis, or pivot, on which that of all the nations they subdued stood chiefly turn, we thought it would render it more complete, useful, and instructive, to give them all in one view, or series, in that part of it, than if we had detached them from the main body, and branched them out into so many distinct parts of history, which could hardly have been done without either great confusion, or endless repetitions. From the conquest of Germany by the Romans, our next point in view will

will be, to shew by what means they regained their liberty, and made such ample reprisals upon their conquerors under the Franks; and as the defection of these gave rise to the German empire, which will make a considerable part in our modern history, which is to follow, we shall, to avoid confusion, give the history of all those several nations, and of those kingdoms which they erected in other countries, in their several transmigrations, each in a distinct chapter, and confine ourselves, in the latter part of this, to mentioning the most considerable of those other countries which have been since conquered and possessed by the Germans who now inhabit the empire, at least as far as will be necessary to open the way to the modern history of it.

But before we come to the Roman invasion, it will be necessary to mention some transactions, relating to the ancient Germans, which are previous to it, and have yet been but touched upon; the first of which is, the Gaulish irruption into their territories, under the conduct of Sigoveus, whilst his brother, Bellovesus, made the like over the Alps. These two valiant princes were sons to the sister of Ambigatus, a king of the Celtæ, or Gauls, about the time of Tarquinius Priscus. That monarch, finding his subjects to encroach too fast for the extent of his territory, resolved to send two large colonies out of it, to settle somewhere else, under the conduct of his two nephews. These being directed, as the Gaulish manner then was, by the flight of birds, the former of these was directed over the Rhine, and settled in the Hercynian forest b, whilst the other went and penetrated into Italy, as we have seen in a former volume c (B). Whether the Germans had any hand in this latter expedition, doth not clearly


(B) We find, however, no farther mention of the former colony, and their settlement in Germany, unless we suppose, that it is of them that Julius Cæsar speaks, when he informs us of a Gaulish nation, which in his time inhabited the heart of Germany, along the Hercynian forest, and all the most fertile parts of that country between the Rhine and that famed wood, and had entirely conformed themselves to the customs and manners of that country (7). Tacitus, likewise, by placing the Boii and Helvetii much about the very spot of ground, and making them both to be descended from the Gauls (8), doth, in all probability, mean the very same nation and colony with Cæsar and Livy.

(7) Comment. I, vi. c. 24.  (8) German. c. 28.
clearly appear, for the reasons mentioned in the last note. Only if the regions lying at the foot of the Apennine hills were at that time inhabited by Germans, or semi-Germans, as Livy calls them, there is no question to be made but they might be hurried, by those Gaulish swarms, to follow them in those excursions, and share in those devastations and pillages, which they committed. But hitherto it doth not appear, that the rest of the German nation were at all concerned in them, since Tacitus gives them this peculiar character, that they rather studied how to preserve their own, than how to invade the territories of others; and it is most likely, that they did not begin to act offensively against the Romans, at least, till they were alarmed at the greatness of their power, and the daily encroachments they made round about them. Swarms of colonies they must be supposed to have sent abroad, to prevent the want of elbow-room, as they multiplied so fast: but there was so much of that to spare towards the north parts of Europe, and so little on the south parts, where they were, moreover, sure to meet with a stout opposition, that they poured most of them towards the other way, at least till the Gauls did, in some measure, oblige them to make reprisals upon them.

The first of these we meet with, and which, in all appearance, is of much later date than that of Segovesus into Germany, is that of the Belgæ, one of the fiercest, and most warlike nations of Germany; who, having passed the Rhine, and driven the Gauls out of a canton of it, seated themselves so firmly in it, that neither their neighbours, whom they continually annoyed, nor any other nation, could ever drive them out of it. Cæsar adds, that they were not a little proud of this their settlement, and that they assumed a high hand over all their neighbours; and we have elsewhere observed, that they were, probably, called Belgæ, upon that account, that word, in the old Teutonic, signifying fierce and quarrelsome. (C). They afterwards peopled the coasts of Britain, and

[C] And which is the character Cæsar gives them, and attributes this roughness of theirs to their living at a distance from the more civilized provinces of Gaul, and having few or no foreign merchants to trade with them, and bring them such commodities as serve to effeminate mankind.

(9) Comment. l. i. c. 1:
and drove the natives into the inland parts, and waged continual wars with the Germans. We have already given an account of these Belgæ, of their origin, wars with the Romans, and reduction to their yoke, in a former volume, to which we refer our readers. From this irruption of the Belgæ into Gaul, which is the first the German nation made upon them, at least that we read of, these two nations continued in a kind of alternate state of hostility and friendship, as occasion served; sometimes invading each other’s territories, at other times afflicting each other against the Romans, as we have had frequent occasion to hint in the last chapter, and shall again in this: but it is time that we should speak of those wars and defeats which the several German nations waged against the Romans, the defeats they received from them, and by which they were subdued by them, in the succinct method and order of time, as we have promised.

The first we read of, who ventured to invade the Roman territories, were the Cimbri and Teutones: we have already spoken of their antient settlement, the former in the Cimbrica Chersonesus, and the latter on the coasts and isles of the Baltic; but whether, for want of room there, or, perhaps, invited by the beauty of a warmer clime, both these (D) marched,

h Comment. l. i. c. i.  i See vol. xiii. p. 16, (X). p. 30.

k See before, p. 574.

(D) It doth not, indeed, appear, that these two nations began their first excursions jointly, or at the same time, much less, that they all left their territories, for they left a much greater number behind; but only that some of the resolutest of each resolved to exchange them for new ones. It is more likely, that, upon the sight of the vigorous opposition they were likely to meet with from the confederate armies, and under such experienced generals, the Cimbri invited the Teutones, who were their neighbours, to come and join them, as they did some others, both Germans and Gauls, through whose territories they passed; particularly the Tigrunini and Ambrones, who are mentioned in the same invasion (10). They parted, indeed, from them all, upon what account doth not appear; but, instead of pursuing their Italian invasion, marching toward the Pyrenees, and being there repulsed by the Celtiberi, they rejoined the Teutones again, and made sad havoc in Gaul, which was then in no condition to withstand them. They moved, at length, towards Italy, by several ways, and were forced to fight their way through each of them. It proved, however, a fatal expedition.

(10) See vol. xii. p. 429, & 489.
marched, with their wives and children, through, and ravaged, Noricum and Illyricum, penetrated into Italy, defeated the Romans, at several pitched battles, and threw all Italy into the greatest consternation. In the first of these actions they vanquished the famed consul, Papirius Carbo; in another, M. Junius Silanus, another consul, who was soon after called to a severe account for it; and, in a third, L. Caflus; and, in a fourth, the brave M. Aurelius Scaurus, whom they took prisoner, and put to death, by their king, Bolos (E), for speaking too boldly in praise of the Romans: but, after several other successes in Italy, they were totally defeated and destroyed by the policy of consul Marius. For this general took care to post himself so advantageously, on the day of battle, that the Cimbri had not only his army, but the sun, wind, and dust, to combat with, and were the more easily overthrown, by that subtle stratagem (F). How greatly the Romans

1 Vol. xii. p. 429, & seq.  
2 Ibid. p. 494—497, & seq.  
3 Ibid. 498, pass.

expedition to them all, particularly to the Teutones, who, after having insulted the Roman army with the most biting taunts (11), were cut off by them, to the number of 100,000, by the same victorious consul (12).

(E) This is, in all likelihood, the same whom Plutarch calls Boiorix, king of the Gauls (13), but Livy Bolos, king of the Cimbri (14). We have formerly mentioned the murder of the brave Scaurus, by that young hot-headed prince, and the occasion of it (15); and there we followed the former of these authors, though, most likely, the latter is in the right. We lately took notice, how apt the Greeks and Romans were to confound the Gauls and Germans; the Cimbri were, doubtless, antient Celtes, as their name imports, with respect to their origin; but Gauls they could not be, since they inhabited the most northern parts of Germany.

(F) This circumstance we are beholden to Plutarch for (16), and need the less question it, seeing that author had it out of Sylla's memoirs, who was himself in Marius's army, and had wrote a description of this victory, besides Catulus, who likewise left an account of his consulship: and, perhaps, some other helps he might have had besides. The description which he and some others (17) give us of the order of battle of the Cimbrians, their

(11) Ibid. p. 496.  
(12) In Mario.  
(13) Plutarch. ubi supra.  
(14) Epit. lxvii.  
(15) Vol. xii. p. 480, & seq.  
(16) In Mario.  
(17) Valer. Max. l. ii. c. 6.  
Vide & Artholin. de contemp. mort. ap. Danos.

Romans esteemed this victory, may be seen by the triumph, and other singular honours which they decreed both to Marius, and to Catulus, as well as by the monuments which these caused to be reared in memory of it \(\text{G}\). Those Cimbri who escaped this dreadful slaughter, did, in all likelihood, return into their own country; for they are said to have sent afterwards a submissive embassy to Augustus \(\text{p}\); and are likewise mentioned, by authors of later date, as the most warlike of all the northern Germans \(\text{q}\), down to Claudian’s time, who calls the north sea by their name \(\text{r}\). But it is likely the Saxons, their neighbours, joining with them in their excursions, and growing, by degrees, more famous, the Cimbrian name was swallowed up in theirs \(\text{s}\).

The next excursion we find recorded of the Germans, is that which happened in Julius Cæsar’s time, on occasion of the jealousy, which it is justly supposed that politic conqueror fomented between the Aedui and the Arverni, the then two most potent nations in Gaul; the former of whom being then in friendship with Rome, and the latter allied with the Sequani, these thought fit to call in the neighbouring Germans to their assistance. At first, only 15000 came over to them, but they accoutrements, weapons, valour, and intrepidity to the last, plainly shews what brave warriors they were, and that they only wanted some parts of the Roman discipline and policy to have made them, in all points, superior to the conquerors of the world.

We are told, farther, that their wives behaved, in this action, with incredible bravery; and at length preferred an honourable death for themselves and their children, to a dishonourable captivity \(\text{t}\); and Seneca adds, that, after their death, their very dogs fought in defence of the carriages, which these heroines had lost their lives for.

(G) Among these was the famed temple of Virtue, built by the former, and the brazen bull, which the latter is said to have taken from them, and caufed to be preserved in his own house \(\text{u}\). What this bull was, hath puzzled most antiquaries, because it is not mentioned by any other author: some think, that the Cimbrians had it upon their standards, as the Romans had the eagles; others, that it was only a bullock’s head \(\text{v}\); but all this is mere conjecture, and not worth dwelling upon.

\(\text{t}\) Plutarch. ubi supra. \(\text{u}\) N. Hift. I. viii. c. 41.
\(\text{v}\) See Mascof. & Lediard. I. I. c. 13. n. 1, & seq.
they became so enamoured with this delightful country, that,
to keep their footing in it, they sent for fresh supplies from
over the Rhine, in which much that they amounted, at last, to
20,000. The Sequani, by their assistance, soon subdued the
Edui, as we have formerly seen; but their victory cost
them dear, for they were forced by Ariovistus, the German
king, to evacuate one third part of their kingdom, to settle
his troops in. He soon after obliged them to yield an-
other third to him, as a settlement for 40,000 Harudes, who
crossed over to him, and, at the same time, did, by his
address, induce Julius Cæsar, then consul, to allow him the
title and honour of a king. But it proved a short-lived
kingdom, and Cæsar, who only cared for his own
ends, soon found a specious pretence to dispossess him of it.
The vast numbers of Germans which Ariovistus had brought
into Gaul, and the success which their bravery had gained
them, could not but raise the Roman jealousy, and alarm
not only the Sequani, but the greatest part of the Gauls,
who thereupon applied to the consul with bitter complaints a-
gainst the German devastations, and the danger they were in
of being quickly swallowed up by them. Cæsar turned all
this to his own advantage, and sent to desire an interview
with the German prince, who found means to excuse him-
self from it, and to get six other nations, or cantons, to join
with him, besides his own Suevi (H), and a fresh reinforcement
of those which were hastening over to him; upon which, Cæsar
made what haste he could towards him, to prevent their join-
ing. A conference was, at length, agreed upon, in which Cæsar
used some threats to him, and plainly told him, that the Romans
would doubtly resent his tyrannic fate of their old friends the
Edui, after they had flayed him so much regard, and bestowed
such honours upon him; and therefore insisted, that he should
restore their hostages to them, send back part of his German
troops, and forbear all future hostilities. To all this imperious
stuff,

* Dio, l. xxxviii.

(H) These were the Marcomans, Harudes, Tribochi, Vangiones,
Nemetes, and Seduii. We have given an account of these Ger-
man nations, at the beginning of this chapter; besides these, the
Treviri gave notice to Cæsar, that a fresh swarm of Suevi were
got as far as the banks of the Rhine, under the command of Na-
fuia and Cimerius, two brothers, who were just on the point to
cross over into Gaul, and join the German army (21).

(21) Comment. I. 9. c. 35, & seq.

Cæsar, in vain, pleaded the right of conquest, his being invited into Gaul, and his treaties with the Sequani, and even offered his services and friendship to Cæsar himself: the conference was broken, and followed with a dreadful engagement, in which the Roman policy got the advantage of the German bravery (1), gave them a total overthrow, and forced

(1) Cæsar played a double stratagem against them; the first, by animating his Roman and Gaulish allies, with the pretence, that Ariovistus had been guilty of the blackest treachery against him (22); which notion, whether true, or false, would not fail exasperating them, and disheartening the Germans: the other, by obliging them to fight before the new moon, which, he had been informed, both Germans and Gauls carefully avoided, as ominous to them: and accordingly, Ariovistus strove all he could to shun it, till the Romans fell suddenly upon him, and obliged him to fight, which both he, and his men, did, with greater fury than discretion; and being once put into disorder, betook themselves to a hasty flight, in spite of the cries and endeavours of their wives and children to rally them, and stopped not till they got safe over the Rhine.

The misfortune is, that we have no other account of these things but what Cæsar has been pleased to give us, who is evidently partial to his own nation, and much more to himself. Had they been written by a more impartial hand, it is likely we should find them in a very different light from what he has given them. However, even as we have them from him, it is not difficult to discover such incon sistencies as seem to us to carry their own confutation. Such as is that which he says of the Germans at this action, viz. that they formed themselves into such a thick and impenetrable phalanx, and held their shields close over their heads, that the Romans were forced to leap upon them, and tear them asunder, and sinking down between them, kill those who lurked under them, till they had opened a passage for their companions to come in upon them (23).

But Cæsar was not the only Roman writer who betrays such fond partiality for the glory of that nation; the account which some of them give of the total overthrow of such a vast army as that of the brave Cimbrians, and their allies, mentioned a little higher, and with the loss of only 300 men on Marius's side (24), seems no less stretched beyond all probability, especially considering how bravely they tell us the enemy behaved on this occasion, and how much superior they had proved in all former actions.

forced them over the Rhine, some by swimming, and others in boats, and, among the rest, Ariovistus himself, who, by what may be guessed by a passage in Cæsar, did not long outlive his disgrace x. After this, the nations which sought under him dispersed themselves, the Marcomans into Boiohe- mum, under the conduct of Maroboduus; the Tribochi, Ne- metes, and Vangiones, stayed in Gaul, or went over the Rhine, and submitted, with the Ubii, to the Romans; for we find them still seated along the banks of that river y. As for those Suevi who were assembled on the same side, they retired, upon their receiving the news of this defeat; only a great number of them were cut off, in their flight, by the U- bii, who had been treated in a hostile manner by them z. And thus ended this second expedition of the Germans into Gaul. On the very next year the Belgæ, alarmed at the success of the Romans, formed a great alliance with the Celtes, Ger- mans, and Gauls, in order to drive them farther from their neighbourhood. Cæsar, according to custom, found means to few such divisions amongst them, that many of those allies submitted to him; only the Nervii, Atrebates, and Ve- romandui, stood firm against him, and, though defeated at length, yet yielded him one of the dearest victories he had ever got: so that the whole Belgæ nation was forced to submit to the Roman yoke a. Comius, a faithful dependent on Cæsar, was by him made king of the Atrebates, and soon gained a considerable authority over all that country b; the Atuati, about the same time hearing of these swift conquests, came in one body to the succour of the Atrebates, and entertained no small contempt of the Romans, when they found them so far inferior in stature: they were, however, soon undeceived, to their cost, when, being briskly besieged by them in their capital, into which they had been forced to retire after the defeat of the Atrebates, and unable to obtain better terms than to surrender it at discretion, both their city, and all the garrison of it, to the number of 53000, were fold by the conqueror c (K).

x Ibid. l. v. c. 29. See vol. xiii. p. 13. y Tacit Germ. c. 28. z Comment. l. i. c. 54. a Ibid. l. ii. pass. See vol. xiii. p. 14--24. b Comment. l. iv. c. 21. c Ibid. c. 33, & seq.

(K) Cæsar, in his account of this action, seems to intimate, that he had extirpated the whole nation by it (24): for he says, that they

(24) Comment. l. ii. c. 29, & seq.
Caesar was, not long afterwards, forced into a war with two other German nations, viz. the Tencteri, and Usipetes (L): these, having been forced out of their own territories by the Suevi, the fiercest and most warlike of all the northern Germans, of whom we shall speak in the sequel of this volume, had passed into Gaul, and settled themselves in the neighbourhood of the Eburones and Condrueri. Caesar was then at Rome, to obstruct the cabals of Lucius Domitius against him, but was obliged to hasten into Gaul, to prevent their joining with that nation against the Romans. Upon his arrival, they sent an embassy to acquaint him with the reasons of their coming into that country, and to beg, that he would allow them settlements there, promising him, if he did, to serve him upon all occasions; otherwise, that they would maintain their ground by force of arms. Caesar not only refused to grant them their request, but fell suddenly and furiously upon them, and made a terrible slaughter of them, together with their wives and children; and of those who escaped, the greatest part perished, with endeavouring to cross the Maese; only their cavalry, who happened not to be in the battle, crossed the Rhine, and fled to the Sicambri, whose territories were fitted between those two rivers. This, and the assistance which the Ubii about Cologn sent to beg of him against the threatening Suevi, afforded him a pretence for building a bridge over the Rhine, to the great surprise of all the Germans (M), but especially of the Sicambri, whose country they had all abandoned their cities and towns, and had sheltered themselves in this capital, where those who escaped being killed in the siege, were all sold for slaves. But they are found, in process of time, to have made such powerful head against the Romans, as shews plainly enough how apt that conqueror was to exaggerate every advantage he got against those who fell under his hand.

What this capital was, he doth not tell us: Cluverius thinks it to have been Namur; if so, it is strange that Caesar, when he describes the strength of the place (25), should say nothing of the Maese, on which that place is situate, and which could not but add considerable strength to it.

(L) We have given an account of these two nations, and their country, in a former volume (26).

(M) The Ubii, indeed, offered to waft him over in their boats; but

try he ravaged at an unmerciful rate, set fire to their houses, cut down their corn, and returned to the Ubii; whilst they, at his approach, ran with all their effects into their forests, and exhorted the Tencteri and Ushipetes to do the same. This was the first time, in all likelihood, that the Romans set foot on the German territories, which became afterwards the scene of so much bloodshed on both sides, both under that conqueror, and his successors, and which ended in the almost total conquest of this brave nation. The Treviri were the first who gave an occasion to that general to invade their country, who doth not appear to have had any intention, upon his first entering Germany, to carry on a war against them, but only to keep them in awe, by convincing them, that he was not afraid to come to attack them in their own territories (N). However that be, the Treviri, grown jealous of the Romans, and of their own liberty (O), had, by their credit and valour, well nigh stirred up a general revolt in Gaul, which had groaned some time under the Roman yoke: this obliged Cæsar to send Labienus against them, whilst he went to the assistance of Cicero, who was, in some measure, besieged by the Nervii. We have given already a full account of all those transactions,

*e Comment. ubi supra, c. 7, & seq.

but the politic general told them, that it would be more for the honour of the Romans to build a bridge over that river; which it seems was the first attempt of that kind, they being used before to cross it in floats, and other light and flat vessels. What encouraged their surprise, if his account can be credited, was, that he finished it in ten days, and set a strong guard on each side of it. The reader may see this famed fabric described by himself (27).

(N) Cæsar had two other views, the one to shew the Germans, by the example of the Sicambri, how dangerous it was to exasperate the Romans; and the other, by the timely assistance he gave the Ubii against the Suevi, though for his own ends, to induce them to set a high value upon Roman friendship.

(O) They had been formerly reckoned a very powerful nation among the Germans (28), and having since passed the Rhine, had extended their dominions from that river quite to the country of the Rhemi. They had, a little before, shook off the Roman yoke, and were even reported to have invited other Germans to come and assist them, and the Gauls in defence of their liberty (29); which occasioned their being defeated by Labienus, as has been elsewhere hinted (30).

(29) Comment. l. v. c. 2. (30) See vol. xiii p. 35.
actions, in a former volume; for which reason we shall refer our readers to them, as they are quoted in the margin, to avoid needless repetitions.

For the same reason we shall content ourselves with just recapitulating the principal and brave efforts which they made, upon all favourable conjunctures, for the recovery of their liberty, and the desperate wars which they renewed, and carried on, upon all proper occasions, against several Roman emperors, and during several centuries; till they had accomplished their end, and subdued their conquerors; and refer our readers to those parts of the Roman history, where they have been as fully treated of as could be done in a work of this extensive nature. It is not, indeed, to be supposed, that their insuperable love of liberty could suffer them to be longer patient under the Roman yoke, than till an opportunity offered itself for shaking it off, and this, in spite of the Roman carelessness, policy, and vigilance, could not but often happen, considering the continual distractions of that unwieldy empire: neither could the ill success, which too often attended these attempts, discourage them from fresh ones: for that it would unavoidably draw us too far, to particularize them all here again; especially considering that they were, in process of time, divided into many distinct nations, and appear, in history, under several names; such as those of Franks, Alemans, Gepidae, Burgundians, &c. of each of whom, as well as of the other considerable northern nations, such as the Hunns, Goths, Sueves, Dacians, Lombards, &c. we shall give a full history, in the subsequent chapters (P).
The History of the Germans. Book IV.

With relation to the Germans in general, the most considerable transactions which remain to be taken notice of, are those which follow, and which having been already spoken of in the preceding volumes, we shall here only recapitulate and refer our readers to the places quoted in the margin. In Augustus’s reign, who, as we formerly took notice, had issued out some edicts against the inhuman superstitions of the druids, which, in all likelihood, affected both nations, the Germans took that opportunity to pass the Rhine, and to ravage those countries which were subject to him. Against them Agrippa was sent, whose arrival so intimidated them, that they quickly repassed that river. But whilst he was gone into Spain, they repassed it, and defeated a body of Roman horse, and afterwards the Gallic proconsul M. Lollius, from whom they carried off a standard: but he soon recovered his honour, and drove them back again, with considerable loss. All this while the Gauls were in great ferment, and meditating a general revolt; upon which he sent Druus thither to quell them, which he had no sooner done, but he passed the Rhine, drove all before him, and penetrated almost to the German ocean.

The famed revolt which happened among the Roman legions left in Pannonia, and which was happily quelled, in part, by Druus, and afterwards wholly by Germanicus, gave occasion for a fresh invasion, which the last-mentioned general carried on with great success, and much greater havoc and slaughter of the Germans for fifty miles about; and, if we may believe Tacitus, without the loss, or even the wounding of one single Roman. This action, which may be more properly called a massacre than a conquest (Q), alarmed


among the antient Germans, the Huns, Goths, eastern and western, and other Scythian nations, together with their migrations, settlements, wars, conquests, &c. they will be best treated of, each under a separate chapter, according to the best accounts we can get from antient authors, and in such a manner as may best open the way to the modern history of the German empire.

(Q) That general was, it seems, informed, that the Germans were then celebrating some great festival; and as he knew it was their

alarmed some other German nations against them; but these, likewise, had the misfortune to be defeated, as we have seen in the Roman history. The Roman general had soon after a fairer field offered to him, on occasion of the rupture between the two German chiefs, Arminius and Segeftes, the former a sworn enemy to the Romans, the latter a staunch friend to them. What advantage Germanicus made of this rupture, we need not repeat here, but only that the Germans received several defeats, and Arminius himself, after some advantages gained over them, was totally routed. All that we shall add concerning this war is, that though it cost the Roman general very dear, yet he had received such reinforcements of men and arms from Gaul and other parts, that he hoped in one campaign to have reduced all Germany; but his success raised the jealousy of Tiberius, and occasioned his being recalled.

Their other most considerable wars with the Romans the reader will find in the places quoted in the margin; in the reign of M. Aurelius, and afterwards under the following emperors, which we shall but just mention here, and refer to the places where they are spoken of in the Roman history, viz. against Alexander and Maximin, against Valerian and Aurelian, Probus, Constantius, Julian, Valentinian, and

** Ibid. p. 535--542, 547, & seq.  
* See ibid. p. 545.  
** Ibid. p. 562.  
* See vol. xv. p. 13, pass & seq.  
** Ibid. p. 189, p. 184.  
** P. 255.  
* P. 279, & seq.  
* P. 469.  
* P. 483, & seq.

their custom to drink very hard, and to carouse it all night, he did not doubt but to find them either dead-drunk, or fast asleep, as he actually did. For having, with a numerous army, crossed the Caphian forest all night, he fell upon them, before they either knew anything of his coming, or were recovered from their de-bauch. The confusion that reigned among them upon such a surprize, made them become an easy prey to him, and he failed not to make the best advantage of it; permitting his troops to put all to fire and sword, sparing neither age or sex, or even their most sacred groves; witness that famed one of Tanfana, of which we have had occasion to speak at the beginning of this chapter, and which they burnt, and levelled to the ground (28).

(28) See Tacitus's ann. c. 50, & seq. & vol. v. p. 369, & (P).
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and some of his successors; but these, and the sequel of their history, will be best seen in some of the subsequent chapters, where we shall speak of them under the names of Alemans, Gepidæ, Franks, &c. by which they were distinguished, and better known, by that time.

But before we come to their several histories, it will be necessary to pass, according to our plan, over to the British isles, whose first inhabitants being undoubtedly of antient Celtic extract, as we have, we hope, sufficiently shewn in a former volume, as well as in this and the foregoing chapters, claim a preference, in point of time; whereas those northern people above-mentioned, so far as they appear, at least, under those new names, being not only of recenter date than the antient Britons, but of more uncertain origin, we think will more properly be spoken of in the subsequent chapters, and each in its due order.

b P. 582, & seq. vol. v. p. 398, & seq.

C H A P. XIII.

The antient state and history of Britain, to its desertion by the Romans, and the invasion of the Angles and Saxons.

S E C T. I.

Description of Britain. The first inhabitants. The customs, religion, government, &c. of the antient Britons. The state of Britain under the Romans.

The island, which is now called Great Britain, and comprehends the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, with the principality of Wales, was, in more antient times, by way of distinction, styled Albion, the name of Britain being then common to all the islands, that lie round it. Hence, Agathemerus speaking of the Britifh islands, "They are many "in number," says he; "but the most considerable among "them are Hibernia and Albion." And Ptolemy, to the chapter, wherein he describes the island now called Great Britain,

a Agathem. I. xi. c. 4.
Chap. 13. The History of Britain.

Britain, prefixes the following title; "The situation of Albion, a British island." But, as this far excelled the other British islands, the name of Albion, in process of time, was quite laid aside, and that of Britain, by way of excellency, used in its room. By this name it was known in Pliny's time, and even in Cæsar's. "The island of Britain," says Pliny, "so much celebrated by the Greek and Latin writers, was formerly called Albion, the name of Britain being then common to all the islands round it." And Cæsar, "The other angle of Britain, shooting out to the west, lies over-against Spain; on which side is Hibernia, an island thought to be half as big as Britain, and about the same distance from Britain, as Britain is from Gaul." Hence it is manifest, that the name of Britain, once common to all the islands in our ocean, was, in Cæsar's time, and Pliny's, become peculiar to the island, which is still known by that name. Whence it had the name of Albion, is uncertain, some deriving it from the Greek word alphon, which, according to Festus, signifies white, the chalky cliffs, that, in several places, rife on our coasts, being of that colour; while of this name, others pretend this name to have been borrowed from a giant, feigned to have been the son of Neptune, and mentioned by several antient writers. Some of our etymologists have recourse to the Hebrew tongue, and some to the Phœnician; alben, in the former, signifying white; and alp, in the latter, high. The derivation from the Greek word alphon, or from the Hebrew alben, seems to be countenanced by the British poets, who style Britain Inis Wen, that is, the White Island. The origin of the name Britain is no less uncertain, than that of Albion. Nennius, and some other British writers, derive it from Brutus, whom they likewise call Brito, the fifth in descent from the celebrated Æneas. Others bring it from the British words Pryd Cain, that is, a white form, softened, by degrees, into Britannia. The learned Camden derives it from the words Brith, which, in the antient language of the island, signifies painted, and Tania, importing, in Greek, a region or country; so that the name Brithania, changed in process of time into Britannia, expresseth what the Britons really were, that is, painted. Somner, disliking Camden's etymology, proposes another, viz. that the name Britain comes from Brydio, signifying, in the British tongue, rage, and pointing out the violent motion of the sea, that surrounds the island.

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Of these four etymologies, the first is founded on a fable; and against the other three lies one common, and, in our opinion, unanswerable objection; which is, that the name of Britain was given to the island by foreigners, who could not borrow it from the British tongue, with which they were, in all likelihood, unacquainted. That the island received the name of Britain from foreigners, is evident, since the natives never styled themselves Britons, nor their country Britain, their true name being Cumri, or Cumbri; whence Cambria the name of Wales to this day among the Welsh. Besides, the second of the above-mentioned etymologies, deriving Britain from Pryd Cain, seems too far fetched. As to Camden's etymology, Somner observes, that Caesar, in telling us the Britains painted their bodies with woad, speaks only of the inhabitants of Albion; whereas all the isles in our ocean were called by one general name infilae Britanniae, British islands. Is it probable, that a name, common to all the islands in our ocean, should owe its origin to a custom peculiar to one, though the most considerable among them? As for the rage and fury of the sea, whence Somner derives the name of Britannia, it is not true, that the sea rages more on the coast of Great Britain than elsewhere. The learned Bochart, speaking of the colonies and language of the Phoenicians, offers a conjecture, which most of our modern writers have adopted as the most natural. The Phoenicians, according to that writer, called this island, and some others near it, Barat Anac, that is, "the land or country of tin or lead", and more contractedly Bratanac; which name, passing from the Phoenicians to the Greeks, and from these to the Romans, might have been softened into that of Britanniae and Britannia. That the Phoenicians first discovered those isles, which were afterwards by the Greeks called Caffiterides, and are proved by Camden to be our Scilly islands, appears both from Strabo and Pliny, of whom the former tells us, that the Phoenicians first brought tin from the Caffiterides, which they sold to the Greeks; but kept the trade to themselves, and the place private; and the latter writers, that Mediocritus was the first, who brought lead from the Caffiterides; where Bochart fhes, that we ought to read Melichartus, who is the Phoenician Hercules of Sanchoniathon, to whom the Phoenicians ascribed their first western discoveries. But, notwithstanding the care of the Phoenicians to conceal these islands, the Greeks at last discovered them, and gave them the

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f Boch. I. i. c. 39.  
* Strab. I. ii. c. 2.  
b Plin. I. vii. c. 36.  
i Boch. ubi supra.
the name of Caffiterides, which, in the Greek tongue, answers that of Barat Anac in the Phœnician. This name was at first given to the above-mentioned islands, but, by degrees, communicated to all the others lying in the same sea. Thus Bochart. But, after all, his opinion, however plausible in appearance, may be as foreign to the purpose, as any of the rest, the late instances of names given to new discovered countries teaching us, that the origin of such names is not always owing to reason, but often to chance and caprice. As therefore the origin of the names given to this island is of too ancient a date to be traced with any certainty, we shall dismiss this subject, and proceed to some more material account of the country.

Britain lies over-against France and Germany, as Caesar observed, in a triangular form, having three promontories of the country shooting out three different ways, viz. Belerium, the Land's-try, end towards the west, Cantium, the Kentish or North Foreland towards the east, and Travisium or Orcas, Cathness, towards the north. It is divided from Ireland, to the west, by the Virginian or Irish sea; washed on the north by the northern ocean; on the east, where it faces Germany, by the German ocean; and on the south, towards France, by the British channel, called by the Romans Fretum Britannicum. Some writers have thought, that, where the channel is most contracted, the island was antiently joined by an isthmus to the continent; it lies between the 50th and 59th degrees of northern latitude, extending from north to south about 560 miles. Its breadth is various; and in compass its three sides are found to contain, allowing for the windings of the coast, about eighteen hundred miles. The south side, extending from the North Foreland in Kent to the Land's-end in Cornwall, contains about three hundred miles; the west side, from the Land's-end to the most northern point of Scotland, about eight hundred; and the east side about seven hundred. Were Great Britain to be considered as a perfect triangle, formed by three right lines, the length of its three sides, put together, would amount to about fifteen hundred miles. The fertility and pleasantness of Britain gave occasion to Isacius Tzetzes to imagine, that these were the fortunate islands, described by the poets, where the face of nature smiled with a perpetual spring.

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spring. It was, in former times, the granary of the western empire; for hence was every year transported an immense quantity of corn for the supply of the armies on the frontiers of Germany. But the convenience of its situation, the fertility of its soil, and the innumerable blessings, with which it has been enriched by nature, are, with high encomiums, described by two antient panegyirts, one of whom pronounced his speech before Constantine, and the other before Constantius. To these we refer the reader, and pass to the first inhabitants of this island.

The southern parts of Britain were peopled, according to Cæsar, by the Gauls. Tacitus is of the same opinion: "If we consider all circumstances," says he, "it is probable, that Gaul first peopled Britain, which lies so near it." This opinion, which is followed by most of the antient, as well as the modern writers, is chiefly founded on the agreement observed by the Roman writers between the two nations in their customs, manners, language, religion, form of government, way of fighting, &c. Besides, as the Gauls sent colonies into Italy, Spain, Germany, Thrace, and Asia, it is but reasonable to conclude, that they did the same with respect to Britain, which lay so near them, that they could discern it from the continent, and was no less plentiful than the other countries, where they settled. As for the more northern inhabitants of Britain, Tacitus infers, from the make of their limbs, and other circumstances, that they came from Germany; and Cæsar telling us, that they were Aborigines, seems to imply, that he discovered no affinity in their language, manners, customs, &c. with those of Gaul, and the southern parts of Britain.

As for the Picts, who held the eastern parts of Britain, which lay north of the Tine, the venerable Bede tells us, that they came out of Scythia in long ships, and landed first in the north of Ireland; but not being suffered to settle there by the Scots, who then possessed that island, they were advised to plant themselves in the north part of Britain; which they did accordingly, with the assistance of the Scots, who moreover supplied them with wives to perpetuate their colony; but upon this condition, that, in all disputes concerning the succession to the crown, the Picts should prefer the female to the male line of their former kings; which is observed among them, says Bede, to this day. By Scythia Bede perhaps meant

1 Cæsar, l. v. c. 16.  m Tacit. vit. Agr.  n Idem ibid.
* Bed. hist. l. i. c. 1.
meant the northern parts of Germany; for that Scandinavia, now comprehending the kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, was, by the best writers of the middle ages, styled Scythia, is shewn by the learned Usher, and Stillingfleet, of whom the latter admits, as not improbable, the conjecture of Hec tor Boetius, deriving the Picts from the Agathyrsi, who, from Sarmatia, came into Cimbrica Cersoneus, and from thence into Scotland. As no Roman author makes mention of the Picts before Ammianus Marcellinus, who lived about the end of the fourth century, some writers are of opinion, that the Picts were not a distinct people from the Britons, but such of that nation as, to avoid the tyranny of the Romans, had retired into the northern parts of the island; where, continuing to paint their bodies, they were, by the Romans, called Picti, to distinguish them from those, who, submitting to Rome, had laid aside that custom, and adopted the Roman manners. To confirm this opinion, they allege the authority of Camden, who, in his introduction, endeavours to shew, that the names of places, formerly held by the Picts in the south and west parts of Scotland, are British, and consequently, that one and the same was the language of the Britons and Picts. But that these two nations spoke different languages, is manifest beyond dispute from Bede, who tells us, that, in his time, God was served in five several languages in Britain, viz. of the Angles, of the Britons, of the Scots, of the Picts, and of the Latins; which latter was commonly used in divine worship. Now, this difference of language, which Bede, who lived so near a neighbour to the Picts, could not be ignorant of, weighs down, with us, all the arguments, that are adduced to prove, that the Britons and Picts were one and the same people. Besides, it is certain, that the Picts were, for several ages, a separate and distinct nation, differing both from Scots and Britons, not only in their language, but in their laws and customs. The contrary opinion is entirely built on the conformity of the name Picts with the Latin word Picti; which is but a weak foundation, since some writers, and among the rest Vertuegan, derive the name of the Picts from a word in their own language signifying warrior. The Scots called them Pehiti, which name, in the opinion of some antiquaries, answers that of Picts, from the Latin word Picti; but others think it highly improbable, that the Scots, who were late subdued by the Romans, and continued

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5 Uff. antiq. Brit. c. 15.  
9 Stillingf. orig. Brit. c. 5.  
1 Idem ibid.  
8 Bed. l. i. c. 1.
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nued but a short time under their dominion, should give their neighbours a Roman name. Buchanan takes the name of Picts to be Roman; but at the same time pretends they came from certain Gaulish colonies settled in Thrace, where they painted their bodies, as well as in Britain. The same author adds, that the Picts spoke the same language as the Britons and Scots. But herein he is contradicted, not only by Bede, whom we have quoted above, but by John Major, one of the most ancient Scots historians, who tells us, that as yet, that is, in his time, "almost half Scotland spoke the Irish "tongue, which they had brought over with them from "Ireland."

The origin of the Scots.

As for the origin of the Scots, Bede tells us, that they came into this island out of Ireland: "In process of time," says that writer, "Britain received a third nation, viz. the "Scots, besides the Britons and Picts, who, coming out of "Ireland, under the conduct of one Reuda, possessed them- "selves of those territories, which they still hold among the "Picts." From this Reuda, adds our historian, they are called, to this day, Dalreudini, the word Dal, in their lan- "guage, signifying share or portion. But of this colony, and the time, in which it is supposed to have settled in the north part of Britain, called afterwards Scotland, we shall speak more at length in the history of that kingdom.

To return to the Britons: their manners, customs, religion, form of government, &c. are described, not only by Cæsar in his commentaries, but by others, and perhaps more fully, who wrote after the Romans were become masters of the island. The country was, according to Cæsar, well peopled, and stocked with cattle. Their houses were not unlike those of the Gauls. They used copper or iron plates, weighed by a certain standard, instead of money. If they bred domestic fowls, hens or geese, it was for their diversion, being strictly forbidden by their religion to eat them. Of all the Britons those, who inhabited Cantium or Kent, were the most civilized, not differing much in their manners from the Gauls. The more inland people, for the most part, sowed no corn, their usual food being milk and game, with which their woods and plains were well stored. The use of cloaths was scarce known in the island. Only the inhabitants of the southern coast covered their nakedness with skins of wild beasts, carelessly thrown over them, not so much to defend themselves against the cold, as to avoid giving offence to the strangers,

Idem ibid.
strangers, who came to trade with them. All the Britons painted their bodies, with the juice of woad, of a sky-colour, and wore long hair; but shaven the rest of their bodies, except their upper-lip. One custom prevailed among them, which seemed detestable to other nations; which was for ten or twelve men, brothers or friends, to have wives in common. This custom continued among them some time after the Romans were masters of the island; for Diodorus Siculus tells us, that a British lady, being upbraided with this usage by Julia, wife to the emperor Severus, returned her this smart answer: “Surely the Roman ladies ought not to reproach us on this account, since we do publicly with the best of men no more than what they do privately with the worst of their freemen and slaves.” They abstained from all manner of fish, though the seas, that surrounded their island, and their rivers, were plentifully stowed with them. Their towns, or rather villages, were a confused parcel of huts, placed at a small distance from each other, and, generally speaking, in the middle of a wood, whereof the avenues were defended with slight ramparts of earth, or with the trees, that were cut down to clear the ground. Strabo tells us, that they exceeded the Gauls in stature, but their bodies were not so well-set; that he saw, at Rome, some of their youth taller by half a foot than other men; that they had many princes and distinct governments among them; that their woods served them instead of cities; for having cut down trees, and inclosed with them a large, round spot of ground, there they built huts for themselves, and folds for their cattle. Diodorus Siculus speaking of the manners and customs of the antient Britons. Their houses, says he, are made of reeds or wood; they lay up their corn in the ear in granaries, taking from thence no more than what they consume in one day; they are simple and upright in their dealings, and strangers to the craft and subtility of our countrymen; their manner of living is remote from the luxury of other nations; they are satisfied with a very mean and frugal diet; their island abounds with men, who are subject to divers kings and princes. Thus Diodorus and Pomponius Mela: Britain is well peopled, and obeys several kings; but they are all rough and unpolished, and the farther they live from the continent, the less they are acquainted

ed with foreign riches, abounding chiefly in cattle. They dye their bodies with woad, but whether by way of ornament, or for some other cause, is uncertain. Ambition of empire, and desire of enlarging their dominions, prompt them to disturb each other with frequent wars. Tacitus writes, that the Britons, in their manners, resembled the Gauls, which was owing either to the same original, or the like climate; that the Britons however, not yet softened by a long peace, shewed greater intrepidity in war; that they were formerly governed by kings, but were then, that is, in Agricola’s time, divided by petty princes into parties and factions. Tacitus adds, that nothing was of greater advantage to the Romans against the most powerful among them, than their not consulting one common interest, nor their joining to repel common dangers. Thus, while they fight separately, says that author, they are all alike overcome. Dion Cassius, as epitomized by Xiphilin, speaking of the more northern Britons, says, that they tilled no ground, their food being game and fruits; that they lived in their huts naked; that they had wives in common; that the chief authority resided in the people; that, in war, their arms were a shield, and a short spear, to the lower end of which was fastened a ball of brass, in order to terrify the enemy with the noise, when they shook it. They are inured to hunger, cold, and all manner of hardships, continues the same writer, and, when in the woods, can live upon the bark and roots of trees. He adds, that, on all occasions, they had ready a certain kind of food, of which if they took but the quantity of a bean, they were not troubled with hunger or thirst for a considerable time after. Herodian and Solinus, in describing the more northern nations of Britain, tell us, that they knew not the use of garments, but girt their waists and necks with iron, by way of ornament, that metal being no less in request among them, than gold was among other nations; that they made deep incisions in their bodies in the shape of flowers, trees and animals, which, with the juice of woad, they painted of a sky-colour, that never wore out. They are a warlike nation, adds Herodian, and most greedy of slaughter. In war they use a narrow shield, a lance, and a sword. As for breast-plates and helmets, they look upon them as an incumbrance. Pliny observes, among their other customs, that

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e Pomp. Mel. de situ orbis, l. iii.  
ed Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 2.  
edio apud Xiphilin. l. lxiii.  
ed Herodian. l. xi. & Solin. l. vii. c. 8.  
ed Herod. ibid.
that they wore rings on their middle fingers, and manured their land with marl; which must be understood of the more civilized Britons dwelling near the coast; for the others, as we have related above, did not apply themselves to agriculture.

As to their manner of fighting, Caesar, who extols their valour, and the undaunted bravery, with which they went to battle, tells us, that they made use of chariots, driving furiously among the enemy’s ranks, and discharging their darts, by which means they often put the Romans in disorder. When they engaged the horse, they left their chariots to fight on foot, their charioteers in the mean time retiring, and placing themselves so, that their masters, if overpowered with numbers, might readily find them, and have an easy retreat. By this manner of fighting, they had, says Caesar, both the speed of the horse, and the steadiness of the foot, and were, by daily practice, so expert, that they could stop their horses on a steep descent, though in full career, turn them in a narrow compass, run along the pole, fit upon the yoke, and from thence, with incredible quickness, return to their chariots. Thus Caesar. But why they chose to engage the horse rather on foot than in their chariots, is not easily conceived.

Their trade was very inconsiderable, notwithstanding the convenient situation of their island for carrying on an extensive commerce. Their vessels were very small, with their keels and ribs made of light timber, interwoven with wicker, and covered with hides; which shews, that they undertook no long voyages; nay, in all likelihood, they never ventured to sea beyond the coasts of Gaul. Their chief traffic was with the Phoenician merchants, who, after the discovery of the island, which happened, according to Sammes, before the Trojan war, yearly exported great quantities of tin, which they sold to the Greeks, and other distant nations. As this trade proved very profitable, the Phoenicians, with great care, concealed, for many ages, the fountain-head; but the Greeks discovered it at length, about an hundred and sixty years before Julius Caesar, as Sammes will have it, and traded to the same place, giving the islands, from whence chiefly they brought the tin, the name of Cassiterides, answering, as we have observed above, the Phoenician name Barat-Anac. But this trade was only carried on in the Scilly islands.

\[\text{Cæf. comment. l. iv.}
\text{Sam. Brit. p. 47.}
\text{Idem. ibid.}\]
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islands, where Camden tells us that some veins of lead were found even in his time.

The religion of the antient Britons was, as Cæsar informs us, much the same with that of their neighbours the Gauls. They worshipped Jupiter under the name of Taranis, or Taran, signifying in the antient British language, as it does still in the Welsh, thunder. Maximus Tyrius writes, that they paid divine worship to the highest oak they could find, as the figure or representation of this god. Their other deities were Tutates, called by the Britons Duw Taith, the god of journeys, and supposed to be the same with Mercury; Hesus, called also Camulus, according to Camden, the god of war, or the Mars of the Britons; Beleus or Belinus, that is, as appears from a passage of Julius Capitolinus, Apollo, who is also supposed to have been called Belatucardus, this inscription, Deo Belatucardo, being found in several monuments of antiquity. As for their goddesses, they worshipped Diana under the name of Camma, and paid a very particular veneration to Andate, their goddess of victory, who had a temple at Camalodunum, now Maldon in Essex. To her they are said, by Dion Cassius, who calls her Andrae, to have sacrificed their prisoners of war. The care and direction of all religious matters was, by the Britons as well as the Gauls, committed to the Druids, whose authority was great, not only in religious, but civil affairs. Their name seems to come from the British word Deru, or the Greek word Drus, both signifying an oak, not only because they esteemed nothing more sacred than the mistletoe that grows on the oak, but likewise because their usual residence was in groves among oaks; nor did they perform any of their ceremonies without some branches or leaves of that tree. They were held, both by the Britons and Gauls, in such veneration, that their authority was almost absolute. To them belonged the care of private and public sacrifices, the interpretation of religion, the bestowing rewards, or inflicting punishments, the deciding controversies, let the difference be of what nature soever; and whoever refused to obey their decree, whether lord or vassal, was excluded from the sacrifices, which was accounted the greatest punishment that could be inflicted; for such as were thus, we may lay, excommunicated, were reckoned in the number of the wicked, and, as such, avoided by all, not allowed to commence a fault.

1 Cæs. comment. l. iv.  m Jul. Capit. in. vit. Maximin.
* Dio, l. lxiii.  * Vide Plin. l. xvi. c. 44.
a suit, to discharge any public office, or to have the least regard paid them. These Druids had a superintendant or pontiff, to whom they were all subject. Upon his decease, the most worthy succeeded him; but, if there happened to be several candidates of equal merit, the election was decided by a majority of votes, and sometimes, as Cæsar tells us, by the sword. Once a year, the Druids of Gaul had a general assembly in the midst of the country, to which reformed persons from all quarters, who had any controversies to decide, every one submitting readily to their decrees. The discipline of the Druids was thought, as Cæsar writes, to have been first instituted in Britain, and from thence transferred to Gaul; for, even in his time, those who were desirous to have a thorough knowledge of it, came over to this island to learn it. The Druids were exempted from all military duties, taxes, and imposts, and met with such encouragement, that many embraced that profession. The youth, especially the nobility, were educated by them. Those who embraced the same profession were, first of all, obliged to learn by heart a great number of verses; which employed some, says Cæsar, for the space of twenty years; for the Druids never committed anything to writing, not that they were ignorant of letters, for, on all other occasions, they made use of Greek characters, but in order to lock up, by that means, their mysterious learning from the vulgar, or to exercise the memory of their disciples. Thus Cæsar. But from hence we must not conclude, that they had any knowledge of the Greek tongue, since Cæsar himself, when he wrote to Q. Cicerò, besieged among the Nervii, penned his letter in Greek, to prevent its giving, if intercepted, any intelligence to the enemy; which plainly shews, they were strangers to that language. Selden thinks the word Graecis has crept into the text, the meaning of Cæsar being, that the Druids never committed their learning to writing, but, on all occasions, made use of letters; which opinion does not appear to us ill grounded. One of the chief tenets they taught, was the immortality of the soul, and its transmigration from one body to another; which doctrine they looked upon as proper to inspire them with courage, and a contempt of death. They instructed their youth in several other traditions concerning the stars, and their motions, the extent of the world, the nature of things, and the power of the immortal

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\[ p \] Cæs. l. vi. Plin. ubi sup. \[ q \] Cæs. ibid.
mortal gods. There were women as well as men Druids; for a female Druid of Tungria, now the bishopric of Liege, foretold to Diocletian, as we read in Vopiscus, when yet a private soldier, that he should one day be emperor. The sect and religion of the Druids spread as far as Italy; for Augustus published an edict, forbidding the Romans to celebrate their mysteries. Besides the Druids, there were, among the Britons and Gauls, priests of an inferior rank, called Bards, whose province it was to celebrate the exploits of their heroes in verses, which they sung to the harp. The Bards were still in Britain, after the Romans had entirely abandoned it.

The same form of government prevailed in Britain, as in Gaul; that is, the whole country was divided into several small states, with a head over each, dignified by authors with the name of king. Of these heads or kings, Cæsar mentions four in the small compact of Kent. Whether these states were hereditary, or elective, we find nowhere recorded. On great and imminent dangers, one of these heads or kings was, in a general assembly, and by common consent, chosen commander in chief of all their forces. Thus, when Cæsar invaded the island, the chief command of all the British forces was conferred upon Cassibelenus; and when the Britons revolted in the time of Claudius, Caracactus, king of the Silures, was chosen general. As in other cases, the several states, into which Britain was divided, had no dependence upon each other, they had, no doubt, quarrels and contentions among themselves. But of their affairs before Cæsar’s invasion we have no account, but such as may be deemed fabulous; and therefore at that period, and no higher, ought the English historian, as Camden well observes, to begin his history.

That part of Britain, which comprehends the present kingdom of England, and the principality of Wales, was in antient times divided into seventeen petty states, whereof the inhabitants were distinguished by the following names, viz. the Damnonii, the Durotriges, the Belgæ, the Atrebati, the Regni, the Cantii, the Dobuni, the Catticulani, the Trinobantes, the Iceni, the Coritani, the Cornovii, the Silures, the Dimetæ, the Ordovices, the Brigantes, the Ostatini. That part of Britain, which extends a great way to the west, and is bounded on the north by the Severn sea, on the south by the British ocean, and on the west by St. George’s.

Idem ibid.
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George's channel, was antiently inhabited by those Britons, who are called by Solinus, Dunmonii, by Ptolemy, Domnonii, and, in the more correct copies, Danmonii. In this tract, or, as we may call it, peninsula, now comprehending the counties of Cornwall and Devon, the following places are mentioned by Ptolemy, viz. the estuary Vexalla formed by the confluence of the two rivers Pedredus and Ivellus, now the Parret and the Ill; the promontory of Hercules, about half-way between that estuary and another promontory, called by Ptolemy, Bolerium, and by Diodorus Siculus, Belerium. The promontory Belerium, which is by Ptolemy called also Antivesfæum, is the most western point of Britain, now known by the name of the Land's-end. Not far from this shoots out to the south the promontory Danmonium, or Ocrinum, now the Lizard. On the south coast the following places are taken notice of by our geographer, viz. Voliba, now Falmouth; the mouth of the Tamara, now the Tamar or Tamer, on which stands the town of Plymouth; the mouth of the Isca, now the Ex. The inland places mentioned by Ptolemy are, Isca Danmoniorum, Exeter; Tamare, Tavistock; Uxella; according to Camden, Leftwithiel.

Next to the Danmonii, eastward, were the Durotriges, inhabiting that tract, which is now called Dorsetshire. In this country Ptolemy take notice of one place only, which he calls Dunium, and Antoninus, in his itinerary, Durnovaria. All critics agree, that, instead of Dunium, we ought to read in Ptolemy, Durnium; and that this was the antient name of Dorchester, the chief town of the county of Dorset. To the north and east of the country of the Durotriges, were situated the Belgæ, who possessed Somersetshire, Wilts, and Hampshire. In this country, Ptolemy and Antoninus mention on the coast Magnus Portus, Portsmouth; and Trifantonicus Portus, Southampton, so called from the river Trifanto, now Hampton, on which it stands. Either Portus Trifantonicus, or another place very near it, is called by Antoninus, Claquentum. In the inland country stood Venta Belgarum, Winchester, a place of great note in antient times, as we read both in Ptolemy and Antoninus; Aquaeclidae, or, as Antoninus styles it, Aquæfolis, so called from its hot waters, now Bath; Iscalis or Iscalis, Ilchester. On the Belgæ bordered the Attrebatii, the inhabitants of Berkshire. Attrebatii. The Attrebatii, as well as the Belgæ, came originally from Belgic.

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6 Ptol. l. ii. c. 3. 7 Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 22.
Belgic Gaul, as we read in Cæsar, and settling in Britain, retained their antient names. The chief city of the Attrebati was Calcaua, as Ptolemy calls it, or Caleva, as it is named by Antoninus, now Wallingsford. Antoninus mentions another place, viz. Spinae, which, according to Camden, still retains its antient name, being called Spene; but is now only a village near Newbury, which rose out of its ruins. On the country of the Attrebati, bordered that of the Regni, comprehending Surry, Suffolk, and part of the sea-coast of Hampshire. In this country Ptolemy mentions but one city, viz. Noviomagus, which is also taken notice of by Marinus Tyrius, as appears from Ptolemy. Some antiquaries take this to be the present town of Guildford; but Noviomagus was only ten miles distant from London, as we read in Antoninus's itinerary; whereas Guildford is thirty. Camden tells us, that, in his time, were still to be seen the ruins of a city, answering exactly the distance set down in the itinerary. Besides Noviomagus, Antoninus mentions several other places in the country of the Regni, viz. Othona, where was, according to the Notitia, the station of the Roman soldiers called Fortenses. Camden takes Othona to have stood where Hastings now stands. Portus Adurni, now the small village of Beddington, and Regnum, now Ringwood, that is, the wood or forest of the Regni, into which they fled for protection. In the country of the Regni, namely at Ockham in Surry, where the Wey falls into the Thames, at a place to this day called Coway-flakes, from the flakes, with which the Britons had fenced the bank, Cæsar passed the Thames, and entered the territories of Cassivelan. Cæsar crossed the Thames eighty miles from the sea; and this is the only place, at that distance, where the river is fordable. To the east of the Belgæ and Attrebati, lay the country of the Cantii, called by Ptolemy and Caesar, Cantium, by Bede, Cantia, now Kent. The Cantii were, according to Caesar, the most civilized of all the Britons, not differing much, in their customs and manners, from their neighbours the Gauls. The places in Cantium, mentioned by the antients, are, Durovernum, Durobrivis, Durolenum, Portus Rutupiae, Portus Dubris, Regulbium or Regulvium, and Portus Lemanis, now Canterbury, Rochester, Lenham, Dover, Reculver, and Lime. Whether Rutupiae and Portus Rutupensis, called by Tacitus Portus

\[\text{a Cæs. comm. l. v. c. 12.} \quad \times \text{Ptol. l. i. c. 15.} \quad y \text{Ptol. abifupra. Cæs. comm. l. v. c. 14.} \quad z \text{Bed. hist. l. i. c. 26.} \quad \& \text{l. iii. c. 3.} \quad a \text{Cæs. ibid.}\]
Portus Trutulentis, were one and the same place, is questioned by our antiquaries. Somner thinks they were two places, contrary to the opinion of Leland, Lombard, and others. Perhaps he may be in the right; but it is not probable, says Camden, that Sandwich was the Portus Rutupensis, it being evident, that Stonar was the road, where the ships lay, that came to Rutupiae; and Somner himself allows Stonar to have been an antient port. In the opinion of Camden therefore, Portus Rutupensis was Stonar, and Rutupiae the present village of Richborough, at some distance from the sea. Be that as it will, it is certain, that, in the Roman times, Cezsfloria-cum, now Bologna, and Rutupiae or Portus Rutupensis, were, for those who from Gaul came into Britain, or from Britain crossed over into Gaul, what in our times are Dover and Calais. Hence, frequent mention is made of Rutupiae by the Latin writers; nay the word Rutupinus was, by some of the poets, ufed instead of Britannus, so famous was Rutupiae in the Roman times. Portus Dubris, now Dover, is first mentioned by Antoninus; but, before the Romans abandoned the island, it became no less famous than Rutupiae itself. At Rutupiae was quartered the second legio Augusta; at Portus Dubris the Tungricani; at Portus Lemanis, or Novus Portus, as Ptolemy calls it, the Turnacenses; and at Regulbium or Regulvium, the first cohort of the Betafii, as we read in the Notitia. Ptolemy reckons Londinium, London, among the cities of the Cantii; but he was therein certainly mistaken. When the Roman government was established in Britain, the sea-coast of Kent, which they termed littus Saxonicum, or the Saxon shore, had, from the time of Dioclesian, a particular governor, called by Marcellinus, count of the sea-coast, and by the Notitia, count of the Saxon shore, whose province it was to prevent the barbarians, especially the Saxons, who began then to infest Britain, from plundering the country. In imitation of the Romans, our ancestors set over this coast a governor or portrave, commonly called the warden of the cinque ports, from his prefiging over five ports. Ceasar landed, when he invaded Britain, in the country of the Cantii, and, as is commonly believed, at Deal, on the twenty-sixth of August.

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\[b\] Som. ports and forts, p. 3, 4.  
\[c\] Vide Camd. Brit. p. 244.  
\[e\] Juven. & Aufon, ibid.
August, in the afternoon, fifty-four years before the birth of Christ. Cantium is parted from the continent by a narrow sea, called by Solinus, Fretum Gallicum; by Tacitus and Ammianus Marcellinus, Fretum Oceanii, and Oceanus Frētalis. Thus far of that part of Britain, which is bounded by the ocean, the Severn sea, and the river Thames.

On the north side of the Thames, near its head, are placed by Ptolemy the Dobuni, the antient inhabitants of Glocestershire and Oxfordshire. In their country that writer mentions but one city, namely Corinium, called by Antoninus, so far as we can conjecture from the distances set down in his itinera ry, Durocornovium, which stood in or near the place, where the present town of Cirencester stands. Two other places are taken notice of by Antoninus, viz. Altone, or Avone, and Clevum, or Glevum, built by the Romans, as a curb upon the Silures, now Alvington and Glocelster. To the east of the Dobuni lay the country of the Cattieuclani, Calyeuchlani, Cattidudani, Cathiicudani, as they are styled in different copies of Ptolemy’s works. Dion calls them Cattucliani, and also Cassii. In their country, which comprehended Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire, the following places are named by Antoninus; Lactodorum, Bedford; Magiovinium, Ashwell; Durocobrīvus or Durocobrīvæ, Hertford; Pontes, placed in the itinerary twenty-two miles from London; and Verulamium, mentioned not only by Antoninus, but by Ptolemy, and all the Roman writers, who speak of Britain. Camden conjectures Verulamium to have been the town of Cassivelan, which was taken by Cæsar. In Nero’s time it was a municipium, as we read in Tacitus; but being afterwards destroyed, as is supposed, in the Saxon war, the town of St. Albans rose out of its ruins, which are still called Verulam. In the country of the Cattieuchlani, Ptolemy mentions only Verulamium, which he calls Uralmium, and Salenæ, of which no footsteps are remaining. Before the arrival of Cæsar, the Cattieuchlani had reduced great part of the country belonging to the Dobuni, and were constantly at war with their neighbours.

Next to the Cattieuchlani were the Trinobantes, as Cæsar calls them, or Trinonantes, as they are styled by Tacitus and Ptolemy. They inhabited the present counties of Middlesex and Essex. To them belonged the city of London, called by Tacitus, Ptolemy, and Antoninus, Londonium; by Ammianus,
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Ammianus, Lundimum; by Stephanus, Lindonium; and by Bede, Lundonia and civitas Lundonia. There seems to have been no such place as London in Cæsar's time; and yet it was a town of great note and trade in Nero's, as appears from Tacitus. It must therefore have been founded between the times of these two emperors, and, in all likelihood, as the learned bishop of Worcester thinks, about the time of Claudius. Tacitus calls it a place famous for trade, and the concourse of merchants, though not distinguished with the title of colony. Whether in process of time it attained this honour, may be questioned; for though Ammianus Marcelinus styles it Augusta, yet we cannot from thence conclude, that it was a Roman colony, since antiquaries, of no mean character, are of opinion, that the emperors allowed some towns, that were not colonies, to assume that title. Perhaps it took the name of Augusta from Constantine the Great, who is said to have surrounded it with a wall. Ptolemys, as we have observed above, and also Ravennas, place London in Cantium, on the south side of the Thames. The other towns of the Trinobantes were, Durolitum, Cæsaromagus, Cononium, Camalodunum, and Colonia, now Leighton, Burghstead, Cannonden, Maldon, and Colchester. Camalodunum, called by Ptolemys, Camudolanum, was the first Roman colony in Britain, granted by the emperor Claudius to the veterans, who, driving out the natives, settled there; but they were afterwards themselves, in a general insurrection, either driven out, or put to the sword, the theatre, the temple of Claudius, and the several villa's in the neighbourhood, belonging to the Roman commanders, being utterly demolished by the incensed Britons, who looked upon the colony as the seat of slavery. The country bordering on that of the Trinobantes, and comprehending the counties of Suffolk, Iceni, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, was inhabited by the Iceni, called by Ptolemys, Simeni, and by others, Tigeni. Camden is of opinion, that the Iceni were the people, whom Cæsar calls Cenomagni. To them belonged the following places, mentioned both by Ptolemys and Antoninus, Villa Faustini, Cambrenion, Sitomagus, Venta Icenorum, Garienis Offium, Iciani, Brannodum, and Durobrivae, now St. Edmundsbury, Breitenham, Thetford, Castle, Yarmouth, Ichburrough, Brancaster, Dornford. In the Roman times,
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the commander of the horse under the count of the Saxon shore was stationed at Oftium Garianis, called also Oppidum Garianorum; and the Dalmatian horse, as appears from the Notitia, at Brannodunum. To these we may add Camboritum, mentioned by Antoninus, though not by Ptolemy, and in the itinerary placed on the Cam, where the present city of Cambridge stands; which Camden supposes to have been built out of the ruins of Camboritum.

Coritani.

On the Iceni bordered the Coritani, whose country comprehended Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire. Their chief places were, Lindum, Lincoln; Tripontium, Towcester; Bennavenna or Beneventa, thought to be Northampton; Ratae, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Rage, according to Camden, Leicefter; Verometum, Burrowhill; Margidunum, Margidoverton; Pontes, Panton; Crocoolanum, and Agelocum, or, as Camden will have it, Adelocum, Idleton. Lindum, called by Bede, Lindocolina civitas, was, according to Ptolemy, the metropolis of the Coritani. In this country, between the springs of the Nen and the Avon, are still to be seen the ruins of antient fortifications and military fences, erected, as Camden believes, by Oftorius governor of Britain, after he had fortified the banks of the Severn, the Avon, and the Nen, in order to prevent the irruptions of those who inhabited Wales, and the north parts of Britain. When the banks of the two latter rivers, the one running eastward, and the other westward, were well defended, the only passage from the north into the hither part of Britain was between the springs of these two rivers; and this pass was defended with strong works, whereof the ruins are still to be seen at Gildsborough and Dantry. Oftorius, says Tacitus, after having disarmed such as were suspected, by fortifying the banks of the Antona and Sabrina, restrained them from breaking into the province; where, instead of Antona, mentioned by no other writer, Camden reads Aufona, or Avona, which name was, according to him, common to the Nen and Avon. To the west of the Coritani, were situated the Cornavii, who, according to Ptolemy’s description of their country, seem to have possessed Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire. Their chief towns were, Branonium, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Branogenium, Worcefter; Praefidium on the Aufona or Avona, Warwick, where the prefect or commander of the Dalmatian

\[2\] Tacit. l. xii. c. 31. \[3\] Vide Camd. Brit. p. 464.
Dalmatian horse was posted by the appointment of the governor of Britain, as we read in the Notitia; Pennocrucium, Penridge; Viroconium or Uriconium, as Ptolemy calls it, the metropolis of the Cornavii, probably built by the Romans, when they fortified the banks of the Severn, which is here fordable, and no-where lower. It is now a small village, called Wrockcester. Out of its ruins rose the present town of Shrewsbury. Deva, or Deuna, as Ptolemy calls it, on the river Deva, from whence the town borrowed its name, now Chester. It was antiently a Roman colony, and the station of the twentieth legion, surnamed Victrix, Concord, Congleton; and Rutunium, now Routon.

The principality of Wales, formerly comprehending the Silures, whole country beyond the Severn, was, in the Roman times, inhabited by the Silures, the Demetae, and Ordovices. To these belonged not only the twelve counties of Wales, but likewise the two others lying beyond the Severn, viz. Herefordshire and Monmouthshire, now reckoned among the English counties. The Silures and Demetae, according to the description Ptolemy gives us of them, inhabited that part, which is now known by the name of South Wales, and comprises the following counties, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Glamorganshire, with Herefordshire and Monmouthshire. As to the origin of the people, Tacitus is of opinion, that they came originally from Spain, on account of their ruddy complexion, their curled hair, and their situation over-against that country. They were a warlike people, of great intrepidity and resolution, utterly averse to servitude, and great sticklers for their liberties, as will appear from their wars with the Romans under Ostorius, Veranius, and Julius Frontinus, who in the end subdued them. In Herefordshire stood Bletium, now the Old Town on the Monow; and about three short miles west of the present city of Hereford, near the village of Kencheister, Ariconium, mentioned by Antoninus. In this country are to be seen the vestiges of several Roman camps. In Brecknockeshire, towards the north, where it is divided from Radnorshire by the Wye, some place Bullæum Silurum; but others think it stood in Glamorganshire. Brecknock, the chief town of the country, was inhabited, in the Roman times, as appears from several Roman coins found there, from a Roman brick discovered with this inscription, "Leg. II. Aug." and from a square camp near this place, called by the natives Gaer, that is, fortification. In Monmouthshire, about three miles from Chepstow, which stands near the fall of the Wye into the Severn,
Severn, is placed by all our antiquaries Venta Silurum, called to this day Kaer-went, that is, the city Venta; but now only some ruins of it are to be seen. On the north-west border of the country stood Gobannium, mentioned by Antoninus, at the confluence of the Icæ, now Wyfk or Ufk, and the Goveni; whence it took the name of Gobannium, which, with a small alteration, it retains to this day, being called Aber-Gavenni, that is, the confluence of the Gavenni or Gobannium. About twelve miles from Gobannium, Antoninus places Burrium, where the Birdhin or Birthin falls into the Ufk. This place is now known to the Welsh by the name of Brynbiga, and to the English by that of Ufk. On the other side the Ufk, twelve miles from Burrium, stood Icæ Silurum, where the second legion was stationed; whence it is styled by Antoninus, Legio Secunda, and by the Britons to this day Kaer-Lheion, or Kaer-Wyfk, that is, the city of the legion, or of the river Ufk. The Legio Secunda, called also Britannica Secunda, was raised by Augustus, and removed out of Germany into Britain by Claudius, under the conduct of Vespasian, to whom, upon his aspiring to the empire, it secured the Britth legions. It was placed in garrison at Icæ by Julius Frontinus against the Silures, and long after that, that is, in the reign of Valentinian, translated from thence by count Theodosius, the father of Theodosius the Great, to Rutupia, as we read in the Notitia, and in Marcellinus. At Icæ Silurum, many monuments of antiquity have been discovered, as the reader will find in Camden. The most southern country formerly belonging to the Silures, is Glamorganshire, where, at a small distance from the Remney, which divides it on the east from Monmouthshire, is to be seen Kaer-philly-castle, in the opinion of Camden, the most noble and ancient piece of architecture remaining in Britain. That this castle was built by the Romans, seems highly probable, though we have no other reason to conclude it Roman, but the flateliness of its structure, no Roman inscriptions, statues, coins, or other monuments of antiquity, having ever been discovered there. Camden thinks it was the Bullæum Silurum, of which we have spoken above.

The remaining part of South Wales, comprehending Caer-Mardhinshire, Pembrokeshire, and Cardiganshire, was likewise inhabited, according to Pliny, by the Silures; but Ptolemy, to whom Britain was better known, placed another nation here, called by him Demetæ and Dimetæ. Besides,

1 Ammian. Marcel. l. xxvii. c. 18.
both Gildas and Nennius style this country Demetia; and the Britons to this day call it Dyved, changing M into V, according to the dialect of that language. Perhaps the Latin name Dimetia owes its origin to the British Dyved; for it was the custom of the Romans, as Camden observes, to retain such names of the places they conquered, as had been given them by the natives, adding only to them a Latin termination. In the country of the Demetæ, Ptolemy takes notice only of two places, Loventium or Luentium, at the mouth of the Tuoerobis, now the Towy, and Maridunum, or, as Antoninus calls it, Muridunum, now Caer-Mardhyn. The country now known by the name of North Wales, and comprehending Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, Caernarvonshire, Denbighshire, and Flintshire, was inhabited by the Ordovices, a brave and powerful nation, Ordovices, who held out first against the Romans, and afterwards against the English, after the other Britons were subdued; for by the Romans they were not reduced till the time of Domitian, nor by the English, till the reign of Henry I. In their country, namely in Montgomeryshire, where the village of Meviod stands at present, stood formerly, according to the conjectures of the best antiquaries, the city of Mediolanum, celebrated both by Ptolemy and Antoninus. Besides Mediolanum, Antoninus mentions other places in the country of the Ordovices; viz. Segontium, on the river Sejont, whence, without all doubt, it took its name; Conovium, now Conway; and Varis, of which the ruins were to be seen in Camden’s time, near the village of Bodwar. In this country are the ruins of several ancient forts raised by the Romans, to awe and keep in subjection the natives. Over-against Caernarvonshire lies the island of Mona, now Anglesey, the antient seat of the Druids, first attempted by Paulinus Suetonius, and afterwards reduced by Agricola. It was called in the British tongue Môn, and, when conquered by the English, Anglesey, that is, the English island.

The Brigantes, whom Stephanus calls Brigæ, a numerous Brigantes, and powerful people and much commended by the antient writers, possesed the following countries; viz. Yorkshire and the bithoprick of Durham towards the east and the German ocean, and to the west Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. In Yorkshire, and in the west-riding, on the Don, now the Don, stood the city of Danum, mentioned by Antoninus, and in the Notitia called the station of the Crispinian horde. Nennius styles it Caer-Dann; but it is now known by the name of Doncaster. Olicana, mentioned by Ptolemy, is, from its situation with respect to Eboracum or York, thought by Camden
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Camden to have stood where Ilkly, on the Wharf, now stands. It was rebuilt in the reign of Severus by Virius Lupus, legate and proprætor of Britain, as appears from an ancient inscription dug up there. The second cohort of the Lingones was quartered here. Near the confluence of the Calder and the Are stands the small village of Castleford, formerly, according to Camden, Lageolium, or as Antoninus styles it, Lagetium. This our learned antiquary conjectures from its situation, by a Roman way, from several monuments of antiquity discovered there, and its distance from Danum and Eboracum. Colcaria, according to some Tadcaster, according to others Aberford, is mentioned by Antoninus, but not by Ptolemy. Issurium Brigantium is placed by both on the Ure; and by Camden thought to have stood where the present village of Aldborough stands, at a small distance from Burrowbridge. Eboracum or Eburacum, now York, on the Owse, for the Ure takes that name at Aldborough, where the Owseburn, a small brook, falls into it, was the metropolis of the Brigantes. It owed, no doubt, its origin and grandeur to the Romans; for it was both a Roman colony and a municipium, as appears from several antient inscriptions. The sixth legion, called Victrix, sent out of Germany into Britain, was quartered here in the time of the Antonines, and likewise the ninth in Galba's reign. In this city the emperors had a palace, in which died Septimius Severus, and Constantius Chlorus. Upon the death of the latter, his son Constantine, who afterwards acquired the surname of Great, was here first declared emperor. The rescript of the emperors Severus and Antoninus, "de rei vindicatione," is dated from this place. Upon the death of Severus, justice was, for some time, administered here by the great oracle of the law Æmilius Paulus. When the Romans abandoned Britain, Eboracum was, by the Scots and Piets, reduced to the shadow of what it had been. In the east-riding, about seven miles from York, stood Derventio, now Auldby, a small village on the Derwent, formerly Derventio. At the same distance from the Abus, now the Humber, where the small town of Wigton stands, stood, in the Roman times, Delgovia; and on the promontory called by Ptolemy, Ocellum, now Holderness, the city of Praetorium, now Patrington. The only places in Lancashire mentioned by Antoninus, are, Mancunium, now Manchester.

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Manchester, and Alene, called in the Notitia, Alone, now Lancaster, the chief town of the county to which it gives name. In Westmoreland, two short miles from the Ituna, or Eden, stood Viterae, now a village called Burgh. It is mentioned by Antoninus; and from the Notitia we learn, that upon the decline of the Roman empire, was quartered there a prefect, with a band of Dacores. Not far from hence stood Aballaba, on the Ituna, the station, as we read in the Notitia, of the Mauri Aureliani. It retains its ancient name, being now called by contraction Apelby. At Whallop-castle appear vast ruins of an ancient town, where Roman coins and urns have been frequently dug up. Here stood, according to Camden, Gallagum, mentioned by Ptolemy, and called by Antoninus, Gallatum; which conjecture agrees with the distances in the itinerary. From this place, an old causeway runs almost in a straight line, for the space of about twenty miles, to Caer-Vattan, near the Picts wall. Upon this causeway, now commonly called the Maiden-way, Camden thinks, that the stations and mansions, mentioned by Antoninus in his ninth iter, were settled. At Brougham, according to Camden, the ancient Brocovum and Brevonianum of Antoninus, called in the Notitia, Brocianiacum, where a cohort of the Dacores was quartered, several coins and other monuments of antiquity, have been dug up. In Cumberland, the sea-coast was fortified by the Romans in such places as were convenient for landing; whence the Scots, when from Ireland they invaded our island, met with the greatest opposition. Many remains of antiquity are still to be seen at Moreby, perhaps, as the present name seems to imply, the Morbium of the ancients, where, according to the Notitia, the equites cataracti were quartered. At the head of the Wize, a small river, that falls into the Waver, are the ruins of an ancient town, called, by the neighbouring inhabitants, Old Carlisle; perhaps the Cacra Exploratorum, placed somewhere hereabouts by Antoninus; for it is seated on a high hill, and therefore, as it commands a free prospect round the country, was very convenient for spying an enemy. From several inscriptions it appears, that the ala, named Augusta, and Augusta Gordiana, was quartered here in the time of the emperor Gordian. A little higher jets out a small promontory, below which is a large arm of the sea, at present the boundary of England and Scotland, and formerly of the Roman province and the country of the Picts. On this promontory stood Blastobulgium, now Bulness, from which, as the most remote limit of the province of Britain, Antoninus begins his itinerary.

At
At Blatobulgium are frequently found Roman coins and inscriptions. A mile beyond it, at low-water, are to be seen the foundations of the famous wall called the Picts wall, built by the Romans to restrain the barbarians from breaking into the province. Though a vast arm of the sea comes up here about eight miles, called by Ptolemy, Itunæ aestuarium, now Solway-frith, yet, at low-water the Scots and Picts found means to ford it. Upon the same frith stands Drumbough-caffle, formerly a Roman station, and thought by Gale to be the antient Blatobulgium. This frith is called by Ptolemy Itunæ aestuarium, from the river Ituna, now Eden, which here falls into the bay. It is now called Solway-frith from the town of Solway in Scotland standing upon it. At the present Burgh-upon-fands was another Roman station. At a small distance from the confluence of the Eimot and the Loder stands Penreth, according to Gale, the Voreda of Antoninus. The city of Carlisle, having the Eden to the north, the Petrervill to the east, and the Caude to the west, was by the Romans called Luguvallum, Luguballum, and Lugubalia. The word vallum was, no doubt, derived from that famous vallum of the Romans, which ran close to the city. As to the word Lugus, or Lucus, it signified among the Celtæ, who spoke the same language as the Britons, a tower; for what Antoninus calls Lugo-Augusti, Pomponius Mela styles turris Augusti; so that Lugovallum signifies a tower on the vallum. This city was a place of great note in the Roman times, as appears from several monuments of antiquity found in that neighbourhood, and from the frequent mention made of it by the antient writers.

Next to the Brigantes, Ptolemy places the Ottadini, Ottadeni, or Ottalini, according to the various readings of the several copies. Camden reads Ottatinos, because they dwelt ultra Tinam, beyond the Tine. Their country extended from the wall at least to the Tweed, and was afterwards part of the province Valentia; for so count Theodosius named it, after he had recovered it, by driving out the barbarians, who had feized it. It is now called Northumberland, as lying north of the Humber. In this country, near Caer-vorran, part of the wall was still standing in Camden’s time, fifteen foot in height, and nine in breadth. Bede writes, that it was only twelve foot high, and his account is, generally speaking, exact; for, where there has not been any extraordinary fortification, what was still standing in Camden’s time came near

Gale, p. 36.
near that height, and no part exceeded it. The breadth
which Bede allows it, viz. eight foot, is pretty exact; for
every-where it still exceeds seven. In this country have been
discovered many monuments of antiquity, of which the read-
er will find an account in Camden 2. Beyond the wall, and
at the mouth of the Tina or Tine, stood Segedunum, now
Seton, where refided, according to the Notitia, the tribune
of the sixth cohort of the Lergi. At a small distance from
Segedunum, Antoninus places Corftorpitum, or, as Camden
reads it, Morftorpitum, according to him, Morpeth. On the
north side of the Alaunus, now the Aln, and not far from that
river, stood antiently Bremenium, from which Antoninus
begins his first journey in Britain. Some take Bremenium
to be Rochefort, near the head of the Rhead, others to be
Brampton. At Gabroſentum, according to some, Newcastle,
was quartered the second cohort of the Thracians. The coun-
try of the Ottadini reached, according to some, to Edinburgh-
frith; but the only places taken notice of by the antients be-
tween Bremenium and that frith, called by the Roman writers
Bodotriae æſtuarium, are Tæi or Tavi ostium, the mouth of the
Tweed, and Caftra Alata, thought by all our antiquaries to
be Edinburgh. On the west coast, between Solway and Dum-
briton friths, are placed by Ptolemy the Selgovæ, and the towns
Trimontium and Oxellum belonging to them. To the north
of the Selgovæ were the Damnii, in whose country, extending
westward towns mentioned by Ptolemy; Colania, Coria, Alauna,
and Victoria. The Horefti, mentioned by Tacitus, are placed Horefti
by Camden between the Selgovæ and the Ottadini. Agricola
entered their country, as we read in Tacitus; and, having re-
ceived hostages, commanded his admiral to sail round Britain.
Hence Camden infers, that their country bordered on Solway-
frith, and that the Roman fleet was then riding there. In this
voyage were discovered the Orcades, unknown to the world
 till that time. That narrow neck of land, by which Glotæ
and Bodotriae æſtuaria, that is, Dumbriton and Edinburgh
friths, arms of different seas, are kept from joining, was
fortified by Agricola with garrisons and castles; by which
means all Britain, on this side, being possessed by the Romans,
the barbarians were removed, as it were, into another island.
Those who dwelt beyond the two friths, are by Dion Cassius
comprehended under the two denominations of Mæatae and Mæatae,
Caledonii. The south part of Britannia Barbara, as the
Romans

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Romans styled it; was possessed by the former; and the north part by the latter. From the Caledonii, Calidones, Deucalidones, or Dicalidones, as they are styled by different authors, the north part of Britain was called Caledonia; nay, Florus calls the woods adjoining to the Thames, Caledonian woods; for speaking of Caesar soon after he had passed that river, "Having followed the Britons," says he, "into the Caledonian woods, he took one of their kings prisoner." But herein he shows himself little acquainted with the country. Of the Picts no mention is made either by Tacitus or Ptolemy; but under that denomination the Caledonians were comprehended in Constantine's time: "I do not mention," says Eumenius in his panegyric upon that prince, "the woods and marshes of the Caledonians and other Picts." And Ammianus Marcellinus, writing of the time of Valentinian and Valens; "The Picts," says he, "under which denomination are comprehended the Dicalidones and the Vecturiones, the Attacotti likewise, a warlike nation, and the Scotti, roaming about, committed great devastations." Hence it is manifest, that, in the reigns of those two princes, the Attacotti, and the Scotti or Scots, were two different nations from the Caledonii and the Picts. But of Scotland, and its antient inhabitants, we shall speak more at length hereafter. Thus far of the inhabitants of Britain, of their towns and territories, while the Romans were masters of the island, in the description of which we have followed Ptolemy, Antoninus, and our best modern antiquaries. But, after all, we cannot pretend exactly to ascertain the bounds of so many different nations subject to so many kings, who were continually making encroachments upon each other. Most of the towns we have mentioned were, in all likelihood, built after the Romans had made themselves masters of the island; but that the Britons had no towns at all before their arrival, as Strabo seems to insinuate, is what he can hardly believe. What that geographer wrote of Gaul and Britain, he copied from Caesar, who tells us indeed, that the Britons gave the name of towns to woods, after they had fortified them with a ditch and rampart, to restrain the incursions of those with whom they were at war. But, from their giving the name of towns to the woods, which they chose for places of shelter, and fortified in time of war, we cannot conclude, that they had

a Flor. l. iii. c. 10.  
b Eumen. panegyr. Const. c. 7.  
c Ammian. Marcel. l. xxvii. c. 18. Vales. c. 88.  
e Caesar. l. v. c. 21.
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had no other places, deserving that name, to dwell in, when under no apprehension of an enemy. Who can believe, that the twenty towns, which Vespasian reduced under the emperor Claudius, as we read in Suetonius, were only woods thus fortified and fenced in?

We cannot dismiss this subject, without taking notice of the walls or ramparts raised by the Roman emperors in this island, to secure the countries belonging to Rome against the incursions of the northern barbarians. That three walls were erected for that purpose by three different emperors, is manifest from history. Of these the first and hitherto was, without all doubt, the work of Adrian; for Spartan tells us Adrian's wall.

in express terms, that he was the first, who, by a wall or rampart eighty miles in length, parted the Romans and barbarians. This wall is, by our best antiquaries, placed between Solway-frith and Tynemouth; and truly, considering its extent, it can be placed nowhere else. This wall or rampart, (for some writers style it murus, and others vallum) was made, says Spartan, "in modum muralis septis," or septi, that is, "after the manner of a mural hedge," with large flakes fixed deep in the ground, and fastened together. Upon it stood Pons Aelis, perhaps Pont-Eland in Northumberland, Caius Aelia, Cohors Aelis, and Ala Sabiniana, which took their names from Aelius Adrianus, and his wife Sabina. In the reign of Antoninus Pius, the successor of Adrian, the Brigantes revolted; but Lollius Urbicus, then governor of Britain, having overcome them, and driven back the barbarians, built another wall of turf or earth, says Capitolinus in the life of Antoninus Pius. As no antient writer mentions the place where this second wall was built, it is impossible to determine it with any certainty. Some learned antiquaries, whom we have followed in our Roman history, place it between the frith of Forth and Clyde. But Camden and Brietius, upon the authority of a very antient chorographical table, are of opinion, that it began at the mouth of the Taus or Tweed, and was carried southward to the head of the Esk in Eskdale, so as to secure the east coast, and inchoe part of the country of the Ottadini. Upon second thoughts, this opinion does not seem to us improbable, since Antoninus begins his itinerary from the mouth of the Tweed, as the most northern boundary, at that time, of the Roman empire.

Suet. in Claud. c. 4. 

Spartian. in Adrian. c. 11.

Capitol. in Anton. Pio, c. 5. 


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empire. The first wall was built, according to our best chronologers, in the year of the Christian æra 123, the fourth of Adrian’s reign, Glabrio and Torquatus being then consuls; and the other in 142, the third of Antoninus Pius, then consul with Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. That a third wall was built by the emperor Severus, is plain from Spartian, who, in the life of that prince, tells us, that he secured Britain with a wall carried on cros, the island from sea to sea. There is a great disagreement among antiquaries about the place where this wall was built. Camden maintains, that Severus’s wall was raised in the same place, where Adrian had erected his about eighty years before. But we cannot help disagreeing herein with that learned antiquary, since Eutropius, in the life of Severus writes, that he built a wall thirty two miles in length, reaching from sea to sea; whereas Adrian’s wall extended eighty, viz. from Solway-frith to Tinto. Besides, we cannot persuade ourselves, that Severus, after having overcome in several battles the barbarians, after having marched from one end of the island to the other, and been at an immense trouble and charge, not to mention the loss of fifty thousand men, in draining marshes, cutting down woods, and making highways, should have abandoned so extensive a country, which Agricola had formerly reduced, and Antoninus inclosed with a wall, and this at a time when the enemies of Rome were quite dispirited, and suing for peace. It must therefore be placed on the isthmus between the friths of Forth and Clyde; and indeed, if it was but thirty-two miles in length, it could stand in no other part of the whole island, that was ever possessed by the Romans. But the hitherto wall, says Camden, is still called Gual Seuer, that is, Severus’s wall. May not those, who call it so, be mistaken? Is it not well known, that many appellations, or, as we may style them, traditions, of this nature, when narrowly examined, prove quite groundless? Such is this, if we believe the Scots writers, who, as Camden himself observes, have always called the hitherto wall Adrian’s wall. The neck of land between the two friths of Forth and Clyde is not above sixteen miles over. This tract Agricola secured with castles and forts placed at convenient distances, that the forces might easily draw together upon the first apprehension of danger. In building afterwards the wall, those who were employed in the work, took the most direct line; which must be the cause why some of the forts are at a distance from it. They began it where the rivers

rivers are narrow, and carried it along the neck of land between the friths. It begins between the Queen’s-ferry and Abercorn, and, for the space of thirty-six Scots miles, runs westward to Dumbriton, with a great ditch on the north side of the wall, and many square fortifications in the form of a Roman camp. It is called by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country Graham’s dyke. But of Severus’s wall, we have spoken at length in our Roman history⁵, to which we refer the reader. The hithermost was, as we have observed already, built by Adrian, not with stone, but turf or earth, and defended by a rampart, and sharp stakes driven deep into the ground. However, it is certain, that afterwards a stone wall was built in the same place; but when, or by what emperor, we cannot determine. The remains of this wall were still to be seen in Camden’s time. That learned antiquary traced it with great care, and, according to the account he gives of it, it began at Blatobulgium, or Bulness, on the Irish sea, kept along the side of Solway-frith by Burgh-upon-fands to Lugovallum, now Carlisle, where it passed the Iruna or Eden. Thence it was carried on crosst the little river of Cambeck, where the ruins of a great castle were to be seen. Afterwards passing the rivers Irthing and Poltrofe, it entered Northumberland, and through those mountains along the river South Tine, was continued by a bridge over North Tine, and ended at the German ocean. On the north side of the wall was a ditch twelve yards broad. In some places it is six yards deep, hewn out of the solid rock. The wall itself was about eight foot thick, and in very few places built upon that of Adrian. Camden takes this to be the wall, that was built by the Romans about the middle of the fifth century, upon their abandoning the island. But one legion only was then sent over, and that was soon after recalled: and could one legion, in a very short time, and in great haste to return, build, even with the assistance of the Britons, a stone wall eight foot in breadth, twelve in height, and eighty miles in length? This to us seems incredible, and therefore we are inclined to think, that this last wall was built upon that of Severus between Bodotria and Glota, where, in Buchanan’s time, were discovered the remains of a stone wall.

This is the opinion of the learned Usher, who maintains, that Bede was mistaken in placing the last wall between the Eden and the Tine. The last legion, sent to the

affistance of the Britons, drove out the barbarians with great slaughter, and recovered the country they had seized. Is it therefore probable, that, abandoning such a vast tract to the enemy, they would have chosen to build a wall eighty miles in length, though in great haste to return to the Continent, when they might have inclosed a much larger country with a wall not half so long?

These three walls were, in different times, the boundaries of the Roman empire, dividing Britannia Romana from Britannia Barbarica, which last appellation they gave to that part of Britain, which was not subject to Rome. Britannia Romana was divided into Britannia Superior, and Britannia Inferior, or Upper and Lower Britain. The former reached from the Channel at least as far as Chester; comprehending both England and Wales, as they are now styled; for, on one hand, we read in Dion Cassius, that the legio secunda Augusta was quartered in Upper Britain; and on the other, in Ptolemy, that it had its station at Isca Silurum, now Caerleon, about four miles from the Severn in Monmouthshire. The same Dion Cassius tells us, that the Legio vigesima, called likewise Valeriana and Victrix, was quartered in Upper Britain; and both Ptolemy and Antoninus determine the place, viz. Deva, now Chester, on the Deva, now the Dee. The Legio sexta Victrix is placed by Dion Cassius in Lower Britain; and by Antoninus, as well as by Ptolemy, at Eburocum or York, which, as it is plain from hence, stood in Lower Britain. Under this division was comprised only that part of Britain, which was subject to the Romanis, the other more northern part being by them distinguished with the name of Britannia Barbarica. This division owed, without all doubt, its origin to the emperor Severus, who, having settled the affairs of Britain, divided it, as we read in Herodian, into two prefectures. Before that prince’s reign, no mention is made of any division of Britain; and Ptolemy, who divides Germany, Pannonia, and Macedonia into Upper and Lower, takes no notice of any such division in his description of Britain; a convincing proof, that, when he wrote, that is, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus, this division was not yet introduced. If Severus was, as he seems to have been, the author of this division, Britannia Inferior extended to the isthmus between Glota and Bodotria, where he built a wall, parting Britannia Romana from Britannia Barbarica.

**BRITANNIA**

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p Dio Cass. l. IV. p. 564.  
:\tPtol. l. ii. c. 3.  
:\tHerodian. l. iii. c. 8.
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BRITANNIA ROMANA, comprehending the Upper and Lower Britain, was first divided, probably by Constantine the Great, into four governments; viz. Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Flavia Caesariensis, and Maxima Caesariensis. Britannia Prima lay between the Chanel on one side, and the Thames and the Severn on the other; Britannia Secunda reached from the Severn to the Irish sea; Flavia Caesariensis was inclifed by the Thames, the Severn, and the Humber; and Maxima Caesariensis extended from the Humber to Adrian's wall. To thefe was added afterwards the province of Valentia, probably so called by the emperor Valentinian from his brother Valens; for, in the reign of Valentinian, this country, extending from Adrian's wall to the friths of Bodotria and Glota, was recovered by Theodosius, father to the emperor of that name. This division we have copied from the breviary, which Sextus Rusius wrote, and dedicated to the emperor Valentinian. Of this work, some imperfect copies leave out Flavia Caesariensis; and one of these Camden has followed. Each of these provinces had its particular magistrate, some a confular, others only a praefectus or president. They were all, according to the Notitia, subject to the vicarius of Britain, as he was to the praefectus praetorio of Gaul, one of the four praefectus praetorio instituted by Constantine. The vicar of Britain had several officers under him for the better and more expeditious administration of civil affairs, viz. his princeps or lieutenant; a cornicularius, who published the sentences and decrees of the vicar and other magistrates, and was so called from cornu a horn, with the founding of which he commanded silence in the court; two numerarii or accountants, whose province it was to set down the sums of the public revenues; a commentariensis or jailor, so called from the commentaria or calendars of the prisoners, which he kept, and delivered to the judges; officers called ab actis, that is, public notaries, who wrote testaments, contracts, and other instruments; secretaries called de cura, and de cura epifctorum, whose office it was to write and send letters and dispatches from the governors of the provinces to the emperor, or to each other. Besides a great number of petty officers, viz., informers, pursuivants, apparitors, &c. the vicar had under him the governors of the five above-mentioned provinces, who were three presidents, and two consuls; for by presidents were governed Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Flavia Caesariensis; and the other two, Maxima Caesariensis and Valentia, by consuls, as appears from the Notitia, and was agreeable to the custom of the Romans, who, on the decline of
of the empire, committed to consuls the care of those provinces only, that, lying next to the enemy, were most exposed to their attempts. The vicar had the power of reversing the judgments and decrees of the other governors; and with the same power was the praefectus praetorio of Gaul vested, with respect to the judgments and decrees of the vicar. The ensigns of the vicar's office were a book of mandates in a green cover, and five castles placed on the triangular form of the island, with the names of the five above-mentioned provinces, which they represented.

By the vicar, and the governors of the five provinces under him, was the civil government administered. As to the military, it was executed by three chief officers under the magister militum of the west; viz. the comes Britanniarum, the comes litoris Saxonici, and the dux Britanniarum. No mention is made in the Notitia of the troops under the command of the count of Britain, nor of the places under his jurisdiction; but as the other two commanded on the coasts, and in the northern parts of Britain, as appears from the places where their forces were quartered, we conclude from thence, that the inland and south part of the island was subject to his command. The comes litoris Saxonici, or count of the Saxon shore, whose province it was to cover the eastern coast, lying over-against Germany, and prevent the Saxon pirates from ravaging the country, had no fewer than eight praesidii under his command, and one tribune; viz. the praesidus or commander of the numerus or cohort of the Fortenenses, quartered at Othona, thought to be Haftings; the praesidus of the Tungricani at Durobrivae or Dover; the praesidus of the Turnacenses at Lemanis or Lime; the praesidus of the Branodunenses, who were Dalmatian horse, at Branodunum or Brancaster in Norfolk; the praesidus of the Stableian horse at Gariannonum or Caistor, near Yarmouth; the praesidus of the second legion, called Augusta, quartered at Rutupiae or Richborough; the praesidus of the Abulci at Anderida or Newenden; and the praesidus of the exploratores, whose office it was to discover the state and motions of the enemy, at Portus Adurni, or Eddington in Suffolk. The tribune commanded under the praesidus of the legion. The dux Britanniarum had under him fourteen praesidii; viz. the praesidus of the sixth legion quartered at York or Eboracum; the praesidus of the Dalmatian horse at Præsidiun, or Patrician in Holddernes; the praesidus of the Cripanic horse at Dagenham.

* Vide Pancreol. in notit. imperii.
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Danum or Doncaster; the praepositus of the Catafractarian horie at Morbium, perhaps Morby in Cumberland; the praepositus of the Barcarii Tigritenses at Arbeia or Jerby in the same county; the praepositus of the Nervii Dictenses at Dictis or Diganwy in Caernarvonshire; the praepositus of the Vigiles or scouts at Concangii or Kendal in Westmorland; the praepositus of the Exploratores at Lavatres or Bowes in Yorkshire; the praepositus of the Directi at Veterae or Borough upon Stanmore in Westmorland; the praepositus of the Defenfores at Broconiocum or Bougham in the same county; the praepositus of the Solenfes at Magona, thought by Camden to be Macheleneth in Montgomeryshire; the praepositus of the Pancenfes at Magi or Old Radnor; the praepositus of the Longonicarii at Longonicus or Langchester, in the bishoprick of Durham; and lastly, the praepositus of the Derventionenses, so called from Derventio, where they were quartered, a town upon the Derwent, seven miles from York, thought to be Auldb. All these praepophi are named in the Notitia, with the places where they were quartered.

Besides the above-mentioned forces, a strong guard or watch was kept on the wall, or, as the Notitia expresses it, along the line of the wall, per lineam valli. Here was posted the tribune of the fourth cohort of the Legi, at a place called Segodunum, now Seaton, on the sea-coast of Northumberland. The tribune of the cohort of the Comonii had his station at Pons Aelii or Pontland in Northumberland. This bridge was probably made by order of the emperor Aelius Hadrianus. The tribune of the ala of the Aftores was quartered at Condercum or Chester-upon-the-street, in the bishoprick of Durham. Next to him was stationed the tribune of the first cohort of the Frixagi at Vindobala, as we read in the Notitia, or Vindomora, as it is styled in the itinerary, the former name importing, in the British language, finis muri, and the latter finis valli; and hence the place is now called the Wall's-end, in Northumberland, the river Tine serving perhaps instead of a rampart from this place to the sea. The prefect of the ala Saviniana was posted at Hunnum, which Camden conjectures to be Sevenshale in the same county. The prefect of the second ala of the Aftores lay at Cilurnum, which some take for Cillerford, and some for Scilicesther-on-the-wall, likewise in Northumberland. The tribune of the first cohort of the Batavi was stationed at Procolitia, according to some, Colcester upon the Tine. The tribune of the first cohort of the Tungris was quartered at Bocovicus or Borwick in Northumberland. The tribune of the
the fourth cohort of the Gauls at Vindolana or Winchester-on-the-wall. The tribe of the first cohort of the Aetores at Alesia, thought to be Netherby on the Esk in Cumberland. The tribe of the second cohort of the Dalmatae at Magni, a place without all doubt near the wall, and not Raanor, called by the same name. The tribe of the first cohort Elia at Amboglanna, according to some Willoford in Cumberland, according to Camden, Ambleside in Westmorland. The prefect of the ala Petriana at Perith in Cumberland. The prefect of the Mauri Aureliani at Aballaba, or Apleby in Westmorland. The tribe of the second cohort of the Largi at Congavata, or Rose-cast in Carlisle in Cumberland. The tribe of the cohort of the Hispani at Axelodunum, now Hexham in Northumberland. The tribe of the second cohort of Thracians at Gabrofentum, Gateshead, close to Newcastle. The tribe of the first cohort, called Elia Clasica, at Tynnocellum or Timmouth. This cohort, Camden thinks, was employed in naval affairs, induced thenceunto by the surname of Clasica given it in the Notitia. That the Romans kept some vessels on the Tine, to hinder the Caledonians from making descents on their territories, is not improbable; for that they maintained a fleet in the ports of this island, is manifest from a law still extant in the panedicts, wherein mention is made by Javolenus of one Seius Saturnius, archigovernor or admiral of the British fleet. The tribe of the first cohort of the Morini was stationed at Gannobanta, thought by Camden to have stood on the Wensbeck in Cumberland. The tribe of the third cohort of the Neravi at Alione, now Whitley-castle in Westmorland. The cuneus of the Armature is placed by the Notitia at Bremetacum, a station near the wall, and not in the neighbourhood of Preston in Lancashire, sixty miles distant from the wall, as Camden would have it. The prefect of the first ala Herculea had his station at Olenacum or Ellenborough in Cumberland, where many monuments of antiquity have been discovered. The tribe of the sixth cohort of the Neravi is mentioned the last of all in the Notitia, and placed at Verusodium, thought to be Werwich upon the Eden near Carlisle. All these forces were appointed to defend the limit, that is, to secure the wall, under the command of the dux Britanniarum. These three officers, viz. the comes Britanniarum, the comes littoris Saxonici, and the dux Britanniarum, were equal in power, but subordinate to the vicar. The forces...
forces maintained in Britain under the two latter officers, a-
mounted, according to Pancirolus, to nineteen thousand two
hundred foot, and seventeen hundred horse. Of the troops
under the comes Britanniarum, we find no account in the
Notitia; Pancirolus thinks, because the greater part of the
island was then in the power of the barbarians. But this rea-
son might have served against enumerating the forces under the
two other commanders; for at the very time the Notitia was
compiled, the Britons were, by frequent embassies, soliciting
the emperor, and his officers in Gaul, for aid; which they
could not have wanted, had the fourth part of the troops,
set down in the Notitia, been quartered towards the wall.
In the times before the Notitia, no mention is made of the
comes Britanniarum, but only of the dux, and the comes
tractus maritimi, called comes littoris Saxonici, when the
Saxon pirates began to infest the coasts. The first vicar of
Britain we find mentioned in history, and probably the first
who, with that title, governed here, is Pacatianus, to whom
we find an edict directed in 319, enacting, that one decurio
should not be bound to pay the taxes that were due from anoth-
er. The authority of the count of the Saxon shore was
thought to have been confined within Britain, till it was by
the learned Selden extended to the opposite coasts of Cimbria,
Batavia, Belgica, and Armorica; for to them he finds the
name of littus Saxonicum given by the writers of those times,
no doubt from their being infested by the Saxon pirates. The
count of Britain had for his ensigns a book of mandates, and
the island represented in a triangular form; the count of the
Saxon shore a purple book, with nine castles, representing the
nine places where the praepositi and tribune, under his com-
mand, were quartered; and the dux likewise a purple book,
with the fourteen places, where the prefects under him were
stationed. Of these munitions or forts, fourteen have over
them the names we have mentioned; but the first has only
the word sexta, signifying, we suppose, the station of the
sixth legion, which was quartered at York; whence that city
is styled by Antoninus, in his itinerary, Eboracum legio sexta;
If the power and jurisdiction of the count of the Saxon shore
had extended to the opposite coasts of Gaul and Germany, as
Selden maintains, mention would have been made in the No-

 Vide Seld. in Mar
claudio.
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The Roman highways.

Of the forces under his command in those places; but as the Notitia is quite silent upon that head, and, in the ensigns of that officer, we find only the names of nine British towns or garrisons, we conclude from thence, that his authority was confined to this island. His troops were quartered in several towns or stations along the coast from Kent to the most northern part of Norfolk. The more northern coasts, and that facing Ireland, with the inland countries in those parts, were under the jurisdiction of the dux Britanniarum, for Danum, now Doncaster, seems to have been the most southern station of his troops. These stations, designated at first for camps, called in Latin castra, grew, by degrees, into cities; and this is the origin of almost all our great cities and towns, built either in the same places where the Roman camps were, or at a small distance from them. This observation holds especially in those, the names of which end in chester or ceester, derived from the Latin word castra; for, to this day, the stations or forts near the Picts wall, the remains of which are to be seen in several places, are, by the common people, called Chesters.

To maintain a communication between one station and another, and for the convenience of the armies, when they marched, or of the governors, when they visited the provinces, the troops, in peaceable times, were employed in making roads or causeways, called viae militares, confuarae, praetoriae, stratae, publicae, &c. As no fewer than an hundred and fourteen mansions through fifteen different roads are mentioned in the Itinerary, and in the Notitia forty-fix garrisons, viz. nine on the sea-coast, under the command of the comes litoris Saxonici, fourteen more inland, and twenty-three per lineam valli, or along the wall, under the jurisdiction of the dux Britanniarum, many highways must have been made for passing, according to the Roman custom, from one place, however distant, to another. Our historians indeed mention only four of note; but, in a province so abounding with stations, camps, fortresses and cities, there must, without all doubt, have been a great many more. Had the Notitia given us an account of the forces and places under the command of the dux Britanniarum, as well as of the other two great officers, we should have had knowledge of more cities and places of note in this island; for Bede tells us out of Gildas, who flourished about the time the Notitia was composed, that, in those days, there were twenty-eight most flately cities,
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ties, besides innumerable castles, fortified with strong walls, towers and gates 2. The four ways, or, as we call them, streets, mentioned by our historians, are, Watling-street, so called, as is conjectured, either from Vitellianus a Roman, perhaps employed in making it, or from a Saxon word signifying a beggar, it being much frequented by beggars. This way is thought by some to have reached from Dover to Cardigan in Wales; by others to have extended from Dover to the coast over-against Anglesey, passing through London, Dunstable, Towcester, Allerston, and crossing the Severn near the Wrekin in Shropshire. The Foss-way, so called perhaps, because in some places it was never perfected, but left like a ditch. This way is thought to have reached from Totnes in Cornwall to Lincoln, and from Lincoln to Cathness, the most northern point in Scotland. Ikenild-street, so called perhaps from Icen, it led from Southampton to York, and from thence to Tinmouth. Ermine or Ermingestreet, reaching from St. David's to Southampton 3. Besides these, we find two others mentioned in history; viz. Julia Strata in Monmouthshire, made, as Camden conjectures, by Julius Frontinus, who subdued the Silures; and Strata Marcella, mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, as lying at a small distance from Julia Strata. The former is thought to have been the work of Ulpius Marcellus, praetor of Britain in the reign of Commodus.

The forces, employed in the defence of Britain, were all foreigners, as the reader must have observed, the Romans not thinking it safe to trust the natives, who perhaps would have defended their country with more vigour and resolution against the barbarians, but might, when masters of all the strong places, have turned their arms against their masters, and shaken off the yoke. To prevent this, the Romans transplanted into other countries the numerous levies raised here. It appears from the Notitia, and several antient inscriptions, that bodies of British troops were dispersed almost over the whole empire; for we find the following corps mentioned; viz. Ala Britannica milliaria, Ala quarta Britonum in Aegypto, Cohors prima & Elia Britonum, Cohors tertia Britonum, Cohors septima Britonum, Cohors vicefima sexta Britonum in Armorica, Britannici sub magistro peditum, Inviicti juniores Britannici, Excubitores juniores Britannici, Britones cum magistro equitum Galliarum, Inviicti juniores

2 Bed. hist. 1. i. c. 1. 2 Vide Barton, comment. in tiner. Antonin.
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ores Britones intra Hispaniam, Britones seniores in Illyrico. These different corps were supplied from time to time out of this island. No wonder therefore, that Britain, exhausted and deprived of its youth by so numerous levies, became, upon the withdrawing of the foreign troops quartered here, a prey to the northern barbarians. Having thus described the state of Britain before and after the arrival of the Romans, we shall now proceed to the history of that part of it, which was subject to Rome, from the time of its being first invaded by Julius Cæsar, to its desertion by the Romans in the reign of Valentinian III. containing the space of about five hundred years.

S E C T. II.

The history of Britain, from the first coming of Julius Cæsar, to its desertion by the Romans.

Cæsar’s first expedition into Britain.

BRITAIN was but little known to the Romans till the time of Julius Cæsar (A), who having carried his victorious arms to the opposite coast of Gaul, parted from Britain by a narrow channel, there formed the design of bringing the Britons, as he had already done the most warlike nations of Gaul, under the dominion of Rome. Whatever was the

(A) We must ingenuously confess, that we have no accounts, but such as are evidently fabulous, of what passed in this island before the Romans were acquainted with it. Gildas, who flourished in the latter end of the sixth century, freely owns, that, as for the ancient monuments of his country, they were no where to be found in his time, being either destroyed by the enemy, or carried into foreign countries by the banished Britons. However, Annius of Viterbo, in his Berosus, gives a long succession of Celtic kings, whom he derives from Samothes, one of the sons of Japhet, supposing him to have planted colonies first on the continent of Celtica or Gaul, and afterwards in this island, from him named Samothes. But Annius has been long since unmasked, and the fables he vents in his counterfeit Berosus universally exploded. What Geoffrey of Monmouth writes of Brutus, and the kings descended from him, supposed to have reigned in this island, deserves no more credit, than the fables of Annius, whether Geoffrey was the author, or only the translator of that pretended history: for in the preface prefixed to it, he tells us, that he received an antient British history from Walter archdeacon of Oxon, which
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the real motive that prompted him to this undertaking, whether his unbounded ambition and thirst of glory, as to us seems most likely, or the hopes of enriching himself with the British pearls, as we read in Suetonius, the pretence he alleged.

Suet. in Jul. c. 58.

which he faithfully translated out of the British tongue into Latin. This history, or rather romance, he inscribed to Robert earl of Gloucester, natural son to Henry I. But though it was at first received with uncommon applause by the Welsh, who, to this day, are unwilling to give it up as fabulous, yet it began very early to be cried down, as appears from what we read in William Niobrigensis, who flourished not long after Geoffrey, and writes of him thus: “In these our days a certain writer is risen, who has defiled many foolish fictions of the Britons. His name is Geoffrey.” And a little after: “With how little shame, with what great confidence, doth he frame lies!” However, as it would be unpardonable in us to pass over in silence what all our historians have thought fit to take notice of, we shall here relate, in a few words, what we read in Geoffrey’s fabulous history of Brutus, and his successors, said to have reigned in this island many ages before the arrival of the Romans. According to that writer, Brutus, the great-grandson of Æneas by his son Ascanius, having accidentally killed with an arrow his father Sylvius, king of Alba, was forced to leave Italy; and flying into Greece, joined there the Trojans, who had settled in that country after the destruction of their city. With these he put to sea, being supplied with a fleet by Pandarus, king of the country, whose daughter he had married; and entering the Atlantic sea, performed wonders in several places, particularly in Gaul, where he overcame Goffarius king of Aquitain, and drove him from his kingdom. But the banished king having prevailed upon the other princes of Gaul to lend him powerful succours, Brutus, not finding himself in a condition to withstand so great a force, put to sea again, and, after a few days sail, arrived on the coast of Albion, and landed at the place in Devonshire, where Totness now stands. He immediately marched up into the country, which he found peopled by giants, whose chief or king was Gogmagog. These he overcame; and having rooted them out, and divided the lands among his people, he called the island, from his own name, Britain. Having got possession of the whole country, he built a city in a proper place, which he made the seat of his kingdom, calling it Troja Nova, a name afterwards changed into Troyovantum or Trinobantum. Before his death, he divided his kingdom among his three sons. Locrinus, the eldest, had for his share Leogria, so called from him, now England. Camber, Brutus’s second son, had Cambria
ledged was, that, in all the wars of Gaul, the Britons had assisted with considerable supplies the enemies of the republic. Upon this either real or pretended provocation, he attempted to pass over into Britain, and, by the conquest of this island, enhance the reputation, which he had already acquired in Gaul. As the summer was already far spent, and winter came on very early in these northern climates, he was sensible, that the time of the year would not allow him to finish the war. However, he thought, it would be no small advantage to view the island, to learn the temper, customs, and manners of the inhabitants, and to get some knowledge of their ports and havens, then visited by none but merchants, who were acquainted with the coast lying over-against Gaul, but seemed utter strangers to the rest of the country; for, being called together by Cæsar from all parts, they could not inform him of what extent the island was; by what nations, and how powerful, it was peopled; how they understood the art of war; by what customs they were governed; or what ports were capable of receiving a fleet of great ships (B). In order therefore

Bria, now Wales; and Albanæatus, Albania, now Scotland. Having laid this foundation, the author pursues his history, giving us an account of the various revolutions, that happened in the island in the reigns of the kings, who succeeded each other, from Brutus to Cassibelen, who, being appointed guardian to Androgus and Tenuantius, his two nephews, the sons of king Lud, prevailed upon the people to transfer the kingdom upon himself. Lud is said by Geoffery to have surrounded the city of London with new walls and towers, and to have built a gate, which, from him, is still called Ludgate. In the reign of Cassibelen, Cæsar landed in Britain; and here it is, as Camden well observes, that the English historian ought to begin his history, whatever Geoffery or others have writ of the British affairs before this period being altogether groundless. As for Geoffery’s history in particular, it sufficiently confutes itself, bringing with it such marks of forgery, as must evidently convince every reader, that the whole is a fiction either of Geoffery himself, or of the author, whom he pretends to have coppied.

(B) Cæsar tells us elsewhere (1), that Divitiacus, one of the most powerful men in Gaul, was not only master of a considerable part of that country, but had some footing likewise in Britain; that several provinces of Britain were peopled by colonies from Gaul; that the Britons had assisted the Gauls in most of their wars; and lastly,

(1) Cæsar. comment. I. ii. c. 2.
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therefore to discover what he could not learn of the merchants, he sent out C. Volusenus with a galley, enjoining him to return as soon as possible with what intelligence he could get. Suetonius tells us, that Cæsar went in person to view the coast; but Cæsar’s own account shews that writer was mistaken. In the mean time Cæsar marched all his forces into the country of the Morini, now the province of Picardy, whence was the shortest passage into Britain, ordering at the same time all the vessels, that lay in the neighbouring ports, and the fleet, which he had built the year before for his expedition against the Morini, to attend him. The Britons, alarmed at these preparations, dispatched embassadors to Cæsar, offering to submit to Rome, and deliver hostages for their fidelity. Cæsar received them with great kindness; and having encouraged them, with fair promises, to pervert in their resolution, he sent them back to their own country, ordering Comius, whom, for his extraordinary wisdom, virtue, and fidelity, he had made king of the Atrebates, to attend them into Britain, with instructions to visit as many states as he could, to persuade them to accept of an alliance with Rome, and to acquaint them with his design of landing in a short time in their country. In the mean time Volusenus, having made what discoveries he could from his ship, for he did not think it advisable to venture ashore, returned after five days to Cæsar, and acquainted him with what he had observed.

Hereupon Cæsar, having embarked two legions on board barques with two legions, eighty transports, and appointed eighteen more, which were wind-bound at a port about eight miles off, to convey over the cavalry, weighed anchor about the third watch, commanding the cavalry to embarque at the port, where the vessels lay ready to receive them, and follow him; which orders were too slowly executed. Cæsar himself arrived in a few hours on the British coast; but finding the hills and cliffs hanging over the sea covered with armed men, who from thence might, with their darts, easily prevent his landing, he lay

Idem ibid. Cæs. comment. 1. iv.

Lastly, that such of the Gauls as were desirous to be perfect masters of the learning of the Druids, used to pass over into Britain to study it there. How could Britain therefore, at that time, be so utterly unknown in Gaul, or only known to merchants, nay, and to them so little, that being called together by Cæsar from all parts, they could not give him any tolerable account of the people, of their customs, manners, laws, method of fighting, &c. nay, not even of their ports and harbours?
lay by till three in the afternoon, waiting for some of his ships, that were not yet come up, in order to look out for some other place, where he might land his troops with less danger. Upon their joining the fleet, he summoned the chief officers to a council of war; and having acquainted them with the intelligence he had received from Volusenus, and given them such orders as he thought proper for the occasion, he set sail, and arriving at a plain and open shore about eight miles farther, he there came to an anchor. The Britons, apprised of Cæsar’s design, sent their cavalry and chariots before, the rest of the army hastening after them, in order to oppose his landing. The main difficulty in getting to land proceeded from the largeness of the ships, which required a considerable depth of water; so that the Roman soldiers were obliged, loaded as they were with heavy armour, to leap into the sea, and at the same time to struggle with the waves, and encounter the enemy, who, having their hands disengaged, as they either stood on dry land, or waded a little way into the water, could boldly cast their darts, and drive back an enemy thus incumbered. This disadvantage so discouraged the Romans, as Cæsar himself owns, that they did not appear so cheerful, nor so eager to engage the enemy, as in their former contests on dry land; which being perceived by the general, he ordered his long ships or galleys to advance with their broad sides towards the shore, in order to force the Britons, with their flings, arrows and engines, to retire from the water-side. This had, in some degree, the desired effect; for the Britons, surprized at the make of the galleys, a sort of shipping they had never seen, and overwhelmed with showers of darts and arrows thence discharged upon them, began to give ground. But the Romans still betraying great backwardness to throw themselves into the water, the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, having first invoked the gods, cried out aloud, “Fellow soldiers, unless you will for sake your colours, and suffer the Roman eagle to fall into the hands of the enemy, follow me; for I am resolved to discharge my duty to the commonwealth and my general.” Having thus spoken, he leaped into the sea, and advanced with the eagle towards the enemy. Hereupon the soldiers in the same ship, encouraging each other not to suffer so great a disgrace as the loss of their ensign, followed his example; which those in the other ships perceiving, they too cast themselves boldly into the sea, and, pressing forward, began the fight, which proved very sharp on both sides, and, for some time, nowhere favourable to the Romans; for not being able either to keep
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keep their ranks, get firm footing, or, leaping out of several ships, follow their particular standards, they were put into great confusion by the Britons; who, being acquainted with the shallows, when they saw them coming in small numbers out of their ships, spurred their horses into the water, and attacked them incumbered and unprepared; which Caesar observing, he caused several boats to be manned, and sent them to the assistance of those, whom he saw most distressed.

By this means, the Romans, having at length gained firm footing, charged the enemy so briskly, that they put them to flight; but could not pursue them for want of horses, the cavalry not being yet arrived; which, Caesar says, was the only thing wanting to complete his wanted success. 

Upon this defeat, the Britons immediately sent embassadors, and with them Comius, whom they had committed to prison, to sue for peace. This treatment they endeavoured to excuse, by laying the blame on the multitude. Caesar, having upbraided them with their breach of faith, in making war upon him after they had sent embassadors to him into Gaul, desiring peace, promised to forgive them, on condition they delivered a certain number of hostages. Part of these they brought immediately, promising to return in a few days with the rest, who lived at some distance. Peace being thus concluded four days after Caesar’s landing in Britain, the British princes, having disbanded their men, and sent them back into their several countries, came to submit themselves and their states to Caesar. In the mean time the eighteen transports, that were conveying over the Roman cavalry, being overtaken by a violent storm, were driven back to the ports of Gaul. By the same storm, Caesar’s fleet, which lay in the road, was greatly damaged, several of them being dashed to pieces, and others, by the loss of their anchors, cables, and rigging, rendered wholly useless; which caused a great consternation in the army, for they wanted materials with which to refit them, in order to return to the continent, and provisions to support them any considerable time in the island, Caesar having all along intended to pass the winter in Gaul.

What added to the misfortune, the same night, it being then full moon, the tide rose so high, that the galleys, which had been drawn ashore, were filled with water. This caused a new panic, the Roman mariners being quite unacquainted with the tides. The British chiefs, who were assembled to perform their agreement with Caesar, perceiving his want of horse,
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Forse, ships, and provisions, and judging of the number of his men from the smallness of his camp, which was narrower than usual, because the legions had left their heavy baggage behind them, resolved to take arms again, in order to protract the war till winter, persuading themselves, that, if they could cut off the few Romans that were come over, or prevent their return, they would thereby deter others from invading Britain for the future. The plot being thus laid, they began to steal out of the camp by degrees, and privately to lift again their disbanded troops. Caesar knew nothing of their design; but nevertheless, suspecting an altercation from their delay in delivering their hostages after the loss of his shipping, resolved to prepare against all events. Accordingly he caused all the provisions, that could be found in the neighbouring country, to be brought into his camp, and gave orders, that those ships, which had been the least damaged by the storm, should be refitted with the materials of those, that had been shattered to pieces. He sent likewise to Gaul for what things were farther necessary; which were so well applied by the soldiers, who, on this occasion, laboured with uncommon diligence, that only twelve ships being left, the rest were soon in a condition to put to sea again. In the mean time the seventh legion being sent out to forage, while part of the soldiers, having quitted their arms as under no apprehension of danger, were employed in reaping the corn, and the rest in gathering it, and conveying it to the camp, the Britons, who had lain all night concealed in the neighbouring woods, not questioning but the Romans would come and forage in that place, the harvest being brought in every-where else, fell upon them unexpectedly; and having killed some of them, drove the rest into a small compass, and surrounded them with their horse and chariots in such manner, that not a single man would have escaped, had not the advanced guards, observing a greater dust than usual rising from that quarter, acquainted Caesar therewith; who, suspecting the Britons had begun hostilities anew, hastened to the assistance of the legion with the two cohorts, that were upon guard, ordering two others to supply their room, and all the rest to repair to their arms, and follow him with all expeditions. Upon his arrival, the Britons gave over the attack, and the Romans resumed their courage. However, Caesar, not thinking it advisable to engage the enemy, stood some time with his troops drawn up in battle-array, and then retreated to his camp. After this, the heavy rains, which continued several days successively, kept the Romans in their camp, and hindered the Britons from.
from attempting any thing against them. The latter however were not idle in the mean time; but having dispatched messengers into all parts of the island, to inform their countrymen how small an army the Romans had, how great a booty they might get, and what a favourable opportunity offered of freeing themselves for ever, by forcing the Roman camp, they drew together a great body of horse and foot, and boldly advanced to the Roman entrenchments. Upon their approach, Caesar drew up his legions in order of battle before the camp, and gave the Britons so warm a reception, that they immediately turned their backs, and fled. Caesar pursued them with great slaughter, till his men were out of breath, burnt several towns and villages in the neighbourhood, and then returned to his camp. The Britons, disheartened at the loss they had sustained, sent the same day embassadors to sue for peace; which Caesar readily granted, upon their promising to send him over into Gaul double the number of hostages he had required before. His want of horse, and the fear of exposing his fleet to another storm, if he stayed till the equinox, made him hasten his departure. The same night therefore, the wind proving favourable, he weighed anchor, and arrived safe in Gaul, whence he immediately wrote to the senate, acquainting them with his exploits in Britain; for which a supplication, or general thanksgiving, was decreed for twenty days.

The Britons, it seems, were not much awed by Caesar's arms; for of all the states, into which the island was then divided, two only sent him hostages. Provoked at this neglect or contempt, he resolved to make a new descent the following spring with a far more powerful fleet and army. With this view, before he left Gaul to return to Italy, where he used to pass part of the winter, he ordered his lieutenants to refit the old ships, and build as many new ones as they could. His orders were executed with such diligence, that, upon his return, he found six hundred ships, and twenty-eight galleys, ready to launch in a few days. Having therefore commended the application and diligence of his soldiers, and the supervisors, he commanded them to repair with the fleet to Portus Itius (C), while he marched with four legions, and eight hundred Chrest 55.

They attack the Roman camp; but are repulsed with great slaughter.

Caesar returns to Gaul.

(C) Cluverius, and Somner in his dissertation de Portu Icicio, will have Bologne to be the Portus Itius mentioned by Caesar; others look for the Portus Itius at Calais, or in that neighbourhood.
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hundred horse, into the county of Treves, to prevent a rebellion there; which he had no sooner done, than he hastened to the above-mentioned port, and leaving Labienus there with three legions, and two thousand horse, to secure it, to provide corn, and to send him intelligence from time to time of what might happen on the continent, he embarked with five legions, and two thousand horse, and weighing anchor about sun-set, arrived with his whole fleet the next day by noon on the British coast, where he landed, without opposition, in the same place, which he had found so convenient the year before. The Britons had assembled in vast multitudes to oppose his landing, as he afterwards understood from the prisoners; but being terrified at the sight of so numerous a fleet, amounting, with the vessels which several perfons had provided for their own use, to eight hundred and upwards, they had left the shore, and retired to the hills. Caesar, being informed, after landing his troops, where the Britons were lodged, left ten cohorts, and three hundred horse, to secure the fleet, and with the rest marched in quest of the enemy, whom he found posted on the other side of a river, about twelve miles from the place where he had landed (D). Their design was to oppose his passage; but, notwithstanding the advantage of the ground, they were obliged, by the Roman cavalry, to quit their post, and retire to a wood, whereof all the avenues were blocked up with huge trees cut down for that purpose. Out of this place, which seemed to have been fortified in some former war, they never ventured but in small parties. But, notwithstanding their utmost efforts to prevent the Romans from entering it, the soldiers of the seventh legion, having cast themselves into a testudo, and thrown up a mount against their works, obliged them to abandon their asylum, and save themselves by flight; but

...hood. Horsey observes, that Caesar calls the passage from Porus to Britain the shortest and easiet, being about thirty miles. Now, by an accurate survey, the distance at Calais from land to land is twenty-six English miles, or twenty-eight and a half Roman.

(D) This river is supposed to be the Stour, the Thames being too distant; so that the battle was fought on the banks of that river, to the north of the town. Horsey is of opinion, that the strong place, to which the Britons retreated after their defeat, must have been Durovernum, now Canterbury, distant twelve miles from the place where Caesar landed (2).

but the day being far spent, Caesar, who was quite unacquainted with the country, thought it more advisable to return, and fortify his camp, than to pursue the fugitives. 1

Early next morning, Caesar dispatched both his horse and foot, divided into three bodies, in pursuit of the enemy; but when he was already come in sight of their rear, he was acquainted by some horsemen from Q. Atrius, that, by a dreadful storm, which had happened the night before, most of his ships were dashed to pieces, or driven ashore. Upon this intelligence, he hastened back to the sea-side, where he was an eye-witness of the misfortune, which he had heard from the messengers; for forty ships were entirely lost, and the rest so damaged, that they could not be refitted without great trouble and labour. However, having, without loss of time, set all the carpenters in the fleet and army to work, he sent over to Gaul for others, ordering at the same time Labienus to build as many ships as he could with the legions that were there. To prevent the like misfortune for the future, he resolved upon a very difficult undertaking, which was, to draw all his ships ashore, and enclose them within the fortifications of his camp. This stupendous work being completed in ten days, the soldiers labouring the whole time, night and day without intermission, and the camp being strongly fortified, Caesar, leaving the same guard as before to defend it, marched with the rest of his forces to the place, whence he had returned from pursuing the enemy. Upon his arrival, he found their numbers greatly increased, under the conduct of Cassibelen, king of the Trinobantes, whose territories lay about eighty miles from the sea. He had formerly made war on his neighbours; but, upon the arrival of the Romans, they had all unanimously committed the whole management of the war to him, as the most proper person to head them at so important a conjuncture. While Cassibelen the Romans were on their march, they were attacked by the British horse and chariots, whom they repulsed with great slaughter, and drove into the woods; but pursuing them too eagerly, they lost some of their own men. Not long after, the Britons made a sudden sally out of the woods, and fell upon the advanced guard, while the Romans were busied in fortifying their camp. Caesar immediately detached two cohorts to their assistance; but the enemy, while the Romans stood amazed at their new way of fighting, boldly broke through the two cohorts, and returned again without the loss of a man. Quintus Laberius Durus, a tribune, was slain in this

\[ X \times 3 \]

1 Cf. comment, l. v.
this action; but some fresh cohorts coming to the relief of the Britons, the Romans were, in the end, put to flight. The next day they kept on the hills, at a considerable distance from the Roman camp, till about noon; when three legions being detached by Cæsar, with all the cavalry, under the command of C. Trebonius, to forage, they fell upon the foragers with great fury; but meeting with a vigorous resist- ance, they betook themselves to Flight; and being pursued by the Roman cavalry so clofe, that they had not time to rally, to make a stand, or to get down from their chariots, according to their custom, great numbers of them were cut to pieces. Upon this overthrow, the auxiliary troops, that had come from all parts, abandoning Cassibelen, returned to their respective countries; nor did the Britons ever after engage Cæsar with their united forces.

After this victory, Cæsar marched towards the Thames, with a design to cross that river, and enter the territories of Cassibelen; but when he came to the only place where the river could, though not without great difficulty, be forded, he saw the enemy’s forces drawn up in a considerable body on the opposite bank, which was fortified with sharp stakes. They had likewise driven many stakes of the same kind so deep into the bottom of the river, that their tops were covered with the water. Though Cæsar had intelligence of this from the prisoners and deserters, yet he ordered the cavalry to ride in, and the legions to follow; which they did with such resolution and intrepidity, that, though the foot were up to the chin in water, the enemy, not able to sustain their assault, abandoned the bank, and fled (E). Cassibelen, now despairing of success by a battle, disbanded the greatest part of his forces, retaining only about four thousand chariots, to observe the

(E) Polyænus tells us, that Cæsar, on this occasion, made use of the following stratagem: he caused an elephant, covered with iron, having a wooden tower on his back full of men, to be driven into the river; which unusual sight struck such terror into the Britons, that they abandoned the opposite shore (3). The stakes are just above Walton in Surry; and the meadow facing them is called Coway. They are even now to be seen at low-water; and one of them was lately pulled out of the Thames, but with great difficulty. They are of oak, and, tho’ they have been so long in the water, are as hard as brazil, and as black as jet. At Shepperton, they have several knife-handles made of them (4).

(3) Polyæn. lib. i. viii. (4) Tindal, in not. ad Rapin.
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the motions of the Romans. With these he kept at some distance in the woods, or in such places as were scarce accessible to the Romans, carrying off the cattle and corn from those countries through which the Romans were to march. As he was well acquainted with the roads and by-ways, if the Roman cavalry ventured a little too far to lay the country waste, he detached part of his chariots to attack them; which they could not engage without great disadvantage. This prevented the Romans from making excursions, as they would have otherwise done, and obliged Cæsar not to suffer his horse to go farther to burn and plunder the country, than the legions were able to follow them. In the meantime the Trinobantes sent embassadors to Cæsar, promising to submit to him, and at the same time entreating him to protect Mandubratius against the oppression of Caffibelane, and send him to them for their king and governor. Mandubratius, called by Eutropius and Bede, Androgeus, was the son of Imanuentius, king of the Trinobantes; but, upon the death of his father, who was slain by Caffibelane, to avoid the like fate, he had fled to Cæsar, who had granted him his protection. Cæsar readily complied with the request of the Trinobantes, enjoining them to send him forty hostages, and corn for his army; which they did accordingly. The example of the Trinobantes, whose submission secured them from being plundered by the Roman soldiers, was soon followed by other states; viz. the Cenomagni, Segontiaci, Anaclites, Bibroci, and Cotti (F), who, 

\[ X \times 4 \]

(F) Lipius, instead of Cenomagni, reads Iceni, Cangi (5), the names of two nations mentioned elsewhere by Cæsar. The Iceni inhabited Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire; and the Cangi the country lying on the Irish sea; for when Ostorius led his army against them, he approached the sea, says Tacitus (6), that faces the island of Ireland. Camden agrees with Lipius in changing the first part of Cenomagni into Iceni; but as for the latter, he reads Regni, who were the inhabitants of Suffex and Surry, and consequently more likely to follow the example of the Trinobantes, who inhabited Hertfordshire, Essex, and Middlesex, than the Cangi, who lived at a greater distance. The Segontiaci are placed by some in Berkshire, by others in Hampshire (7). The city of Seguntium, mentioned by Antoninus, stood on the coast of North Wales, over-against the island of Anglesey, as appears from the itinerary; but we cannot think the

(5) Lip. in Tacit. 1. xii. c. 32. (6) Idem ibid. (7) Thom. Savil. in epist. 13. ad Cam.
by their embassadors, submitted to Cæsar. From these he had intelligence, that the town of Cassibelan, suppos'd to be Verulamium, now St. Albans, well fortified with woods and marshes, whether the country people had retir'd with their cattle, was but a little way from his camp. Thither therefore he march'd with his legions; and though he found the place strongly fortified both by nature and art, he order'd it to be storm'd at two different places; which was done with such resolution, that the Britons, not able to sustaine the fury of the assault, fled out at one of the avenues of the wood; for this town was only a thick wood, surround'd with a ditch, and fortify'd with a rampart. Many of the Britons were overtaken as they attempted to make their escape, and cut in pieces. Here Cæsar found great store of cattle.

To repair, in some degree, this loss, and divert Cæsar from pursuivg his conquests, Cassibelan, by his messengers, perfus'd four petty princes of Kent, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagus, and Segonax, whom Cæsar styles kings, to raise what forces they could, and attack the camp, where the ships were laid up; but the Romans, having made a sally, repuls'd them with great slaughter, took Cingetorix prisoner, and return'd, without any loss, to their trenches. Upon the news of this defeat, Cassibelan, considering the many losses he had sustaine'd, how his country was laid waste, and, above all, that several states had already submit'ted to the conqueror, resolv'd to follow their example; and accordingly sent embassadors to treat of a surrender, who were introduc't by Comius of Attrebatum or Arras. As the summer was already far spent, Cæsar, who was determined to winter in Gaul, to prevent sudden insurrections there, readily hearken'd to their proposals; so that a treaty was soon concluded upon the following conditions; viz. that the Britons should pay an annual tribute to the people of Rome; that Cassibelan should leave Mandubratius in the quiet possession of his dominions, and not molest the Trinobantes; and that he should deliver a certain

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h Cæsar. comment. I. v. c. 21.

the inhabitants of that city to be the Seguntiaci mentioned in this place, it being altogether improbable, that they should have submit'ted by their embassadors to Cæsar, while he was still at so great a distance from their country. The Anaclites and Bibroci are placed by most of our antiquaries in Berkshire, the former about Henley, and the latter about Bray. The Cerni are suppos'd to have inhabit'd some part of Hertfordshire, perhaps the hundred of Caithow.
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certain number of hostages. These Cæsar no sooner received,
than he marched back to the sea-side, where he caufed, his
fleet, which he found, refitted, to be launched. As he had a
great number of captives, and some of his ships had been lost
in the storm, he refolved to transport his army at two voyages.
But most of those vessels, which were sent back from Gaul
after they had landed the soldiers, that were first carried over,
and of the thirty, that Labienus had taken care to build, being
driven back by contrary winds, Cæsar, after having long expec-
ted them in vain, left the winter should prevent his voyage,
the equinox being near at hand, crowded his soldiers clofer
than he deigned, and putting to sea about the second watch
of the night, reached the continent with his whole fleet by
break of day 1.

Such is the account Cæsar himself gives us of his two fa-
mous expeditions into Britain; but other authors have spoken
more doubtfully of his victories here. Dion Cassius writes,
that the Britons utterly routed the Roman infantry; but were
afterwards put in disorder by the cavalry. Horace and Tibul-
lus, in several places of their works, speak of the Britons as
a nation not yet conquered k. Tacitus tells us, that Cæsar
rather threw the Romans the way to Britain, than put them
in possession of it 1; and Lucan more plainly, that he turned
his back to the Britons, and fled. Be that as it will, upon his
return to Rome, he offered to Venus, as Pliny tells us, a
breast-plate enriched with Britifh pearls, as a trophy of his
conquests in this ifland.

After the departure of Julius Cæsar, the Romans were
diverted, for the space of twenty years, by their domestic
brows, and civil wars, from attempting any thing against Bri-
tain. During this time, the tribute was not paid, nor perhaps
required; so that the Britons continued no less free
from the Roman yoke, than they had been before the arrival
of Cæsar. But Augustus, having at length put an end to the
civil wars, and firmly established himself in the possession of
the empire, resolved to force the Britons, that is, those who
inhabited the most southern part of the ifland, to perform the
agreement they had made with his uncle Julius. With this
view he advanced as far as Gaul; but was, by a revolt in
Pannonia, diverted from putting his design in execution. A-
bout seven years after, he entered Gaul with the fame refo-
lution; but the unsettled state of that province made him
readily

1 Idem ibid. c. 23—25.
1 Horat. epod. viii. & odar.
1 Tacit. vit. Agricol.
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readily hearken to the proposals of the embassadors sent by the Britons to sue for peace; which was granted them, no doubt, upon their promising to stand to their agreement with his pre-decessor Julius. But they neglected, it seems, to perform their promise; for the year ensuing Augustus resumed the resol-ution of passing over into Britain; but was a new prevented, by the revolt of the Cantabrians in Spain. However, some of the Britifh princes took care to cultivate his friendship with presents; which were laid up in the capitol. Cuno- beline, who is said to have succeeded Tenuantius, the suc-essor of Cassibelan, maintained a correspondence with Rome, and even caused coins to be stamped, after the manner of the Romans, some of which are still to be seen, and among the rest one with the word Tafc on the reverse, signifying, ac- cording to our antiquaries, tribute; whence they conclude, that this money was designed for the payment of the tribute; for tho' brafs and iron rings of a certain weight served, as Caesar informs us, for their current coin, yet the Romans ex-acted the tribute in gold or silver; and of the latter metal is the coin we are here speaking of (G). Thus Britain, by de-grees, became well known to the Romans, even in Augustus's time. That prince however, satisfied with the small tribute that was yearly sent him from Britain, forbore any further at- tempts upon the island, either thinking the friendship or en-mity of the Britons of no moment to the Romans, as Strabo insinuates, or being, out of a state maxim, resolved to set bounds to the empire, left it should grow too great and unwieldy.

TIBERIUS,

m Strabo, i. iv.  n Idem, i. ii.  o Tacit. in vit. Agric. Julian. in Cæs.

(G) On this medal is represented Apollo playing on the lyre, the name of Cunobeline being engraved round it. Alford ob-serves, that the Gauls and Britons worshipped Apollo, under the name of Belus or Belinus; and thence he derives the name of Cunobeline. On the reverse is engraved the figure of a woman, with the words Tafia and Novane. Tafia signifies in the Brit-ish tongue, according to Powel, a tribute-peny, probably from the Latin word taxatio, the letter X not being used by the Britons. By the woman is, in all likelihood, represented Britain; and as for the word Novane, Alford conjectures it to be the name of some town, perhaps the metropolis of the Novantes or Trinobantes (8).

(8) Alford, annal. ad ann. 1. Camden, numif. n. 7.
Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus, being more inclined to contract than enlarge the bounds of the empire, followed the example of Augustus, and never entertained the least thought of conquering Britain; but, satisfied with the respect the British princes shewed him in sending back some of Germanicus's soldiers, who had been shipwrecked on their coasts, and with their paying the usual customs for such commodities as they brought into Gaul, suffered them to enjoy their liberties, and live according to their own laws. These customs the Roman officers collected in a precarious manner, fearing to provoke the Britons, as Strabo tells us. Caligula, the successor of Tiberius, having passed the Alps with a design to plunder Gaul, as he had already done Italy, received there under his protection Adminius, called by our writers Guiderius, the son of Cunobeline, who had been banished by his father. Hereupon he wrote boasting letters to Rome, ordering the messengers to drive their chariots into the forum, and to the very curia, and strictly enjoining them not to deliver their letters but in the temple of Mars, and in a full senate, as if the whole island had submitted to him. Soon after, no doubt at the instigation of Adminius, he marched his forces to the seaside; but being informed there, that the Britons were ready to receive him, his courage cooled, and, instead of pursuing his design, he ordered his soldiers to fill their helmets and lapps with cockle-shells, which he called the spoils of the conquered ocean. Having, by such marks of folly and madness, exposed himself to the derision both of the Gauls and Britons, he wrote to the senate, defying them to decree him a triumph. But they being averse to comply with his demand, he resolved to caufe them all to be murdered; but was murdered himself, before he could put his barbarous design in execution.

The Britons may be said to have continued hitherto free from the Roman yoke; but in the reign of Claudius, the successor of Caligula, great part of the island was brought under subjection to Rome, and the rest by degrees under the succeeding emperors. Dion Cassius gives us a distinct account of the invasion by Claudius, the occasion of which he thus relates: Cunobeline being dead, his two sons, Togodumnus and Caractacus, reigned; but whether jointly or separately, whether with equal or subordinate power, we are no where told. In their reign, one Bericus, (who he was, is not known)

7 Tacit. annal. 1. ii. 8 Strabo, 1. iv. 9 Suet. in Calig. Dio. 1. lix.
known) being driven out of the island for attempting to raise a sedition, fled, with those of his party, to Claudius; and being highly provoked against his countrymen, precluded the emperor to invade Britain. On the other hand, the Britons, refraining the emperor’s receiving the fugitives, and his refusing to deliver them up when demanded, forbad all commerce with the Romans. A war being therefore resolved on, Claudius ordered Plautius, then praetor in Gaul, to transport those legions he had with him into Britain, and begin the expedition. The soldiers, unwilling to make war, as they said, out of the compass of the world, refused to follow their general, or obey his commands; but being at length brought back to a sense of their duty, in the manner we have related elsewhere, they embarqued cheerfully, and put to sea from three ports, in order to land in three different places. They were driven back by contrary winds, which greatly disheartened them; but returning their courage upon the appearing of a meteor shooting from the east, and directing, as they imagined, their course, they put to sea again, and landed in Britain without opposition, the inhabitants, who had been informed of the mutiny in the Roman army, and did not expect so sudden an alteration, having delayed to draw together, in order to oppose them. Hearing therefore they were landed, they kept in small bodies behind their marshes, and in their woods, in order to spin out the time till winter; which they imagined Plautius, after the example of Julius Caesar, would pass in Gaul. But the Roman general, having, with great difficulty, first found out Caractacus, and afterwards Togodumnus, and defeated them both, reduced part of the Dobuni, who were then subject to the Catieuchlani; and leaving a garrison to keep them in awe, he marched to a river, where the Britons lay carelessly encamped, imagining the Romans could not pass it without a bridge. But the German soldiers, accustomed to swim the strongest currents in their armour, having passed the river, and, pursuant to their orders, fallen only upon the horses that drew the chariots, in which the main strength of the Britons consisted, Vespasian, and his brother Sabinus, sent over with a body of troops to support them, easily put the enemy to flight, their chariots being rendered unserviceable, and cut great numbers of them in pieces. The Britons however, not yet disheartened, engaged the Romans the next day so vigorously, that the victory, for a considerable time, inclined to neither side; but at length the Romans, encouraged by the
the example of Caius Sidius Geta, charged the Britons fiercely, that they were forced, after a most obstinate resistance, to betake themselves to flight. The conduct of Geta in this action was so remarkable, that triumphal honours were decreed him, though he had never been conful. This battle is supposed to have been fought on the banks of the Severn. From hence the Britons retired to the mouth of the Thames, and, being acquainted with the flats and shallows, drew the Romans, who followed them, into great danger. But the Germans having croosed the river by swimming, and the others on a bridge somewhat higher, the Britons were surrounded on all sides, and great numbers of them put to the sword. Many of the Romans, pursuing the fugitives with too much eagerness, fell into the marshes, and were lost. In one of these battles, Togodumnus was killed, whose death was so far from disheartening the Britons, that they betrayed greater eagerness than ever to oppose the Romans, and revenge it. Hereupon Plautius, not thinking it advisable to penetrate farther into the country, put garrisons into the places he had taken, and wrote to the emperor, who had ordered him to do so, if anything extraordinary should happen, acquainting him with the progress he had already made, and the dangers he apprehended from a further pursuit of his conquests. Claudius, who aspired at the honour of a triumph, not being satisfied with the triumphal ornaments decreed him by the senate, no sooner received this letter, than he set out from Rome; and embarking at Ostia, failed to Marsileys, whence he pursued his journey by land to Gefforiacum, now Bologna, where he again embarked, and, landing safe in Britain, joined his lieutenant Plautius, who lay encamped on the banks of the Thames. Upon his arrival, the whole army passed the river, and falling upon the Britons, gave them a total overthrow. After this victory, he advanced to Camulodunum, the royal seat of Cunobline, which he took, and, without any considerable opposition, reduced some of the neighbouring states. For these exploits, he was several times by his soldiers saluted imperator, contrary to the received custom of the Romans, which allowed no general to assume that title more than once in the same war. Part of Britain being thus subdued, Claudius disarmed the inhabitants, and appointed Plautius to govern them, ordering him at the same time to subdue thosetho, who remained yet unconquered. To such as had submitted, he generously forgave the confiscation of their estates; which obliged them to such a degree, that they erected

Dio, l. lx. p. 679—680.  
Suet. in Claud, c. 11.

erected a temple to him, and paid him divine honours. The emperor, after having stayed in Britain but sixteen days, set out from thence on his return to Rome, having sent thither his two sons-in-law, Pompeius and Silanus, before him with the news of his victories. Upon his arrival in the city, he was honoured with a triumph, and the surname of Britannicus; which was given both to him and his son: the officers, who had attended him in this expedition, were distinguished with triumphal ornaments (H): annual sports were decreed by the senate; and two triumphal arches, one to be erected at Rome, and the other at Geslroricum, whence he had passed over into Britain. On the top of the imperial palace was fixed a naval crown, implying the conquest of the British ocean. In short, the same honours were decreed to Claudius, who had conquered but a very small part of the island, as had been decreed to other conquerors, after they had reduced whole kingdoms * (I).

* Dio, & Suet. ibid.

(H) The inferior officers were rewarded with other valuable presents, as appears from an antient inscription still to be seen at Turin, wherein mention is made of the presents, with which Claudius rewarded one C. Gavius, who, it seems, had distinguished himself in the British war. The inscription is as follows:

"C. Gavius L. F.
  Stel. Silvano
   Primipili Leg. VIII. Aug.
   Tribuno coh. II. vigilum
   Tribuno coh. XIII. Urban.
   Tribuno coh. XI. Prator.
   Donis Donato A. D. Claudio
   Bello Britannico
   Torquibus, Armillis, Phaleris,
   Corona Aurea
   Patrono Colon.

(I) And yet Suetonius writes, that he became master of part of Britain without bloodshed; which is confirmed by the following antient inscription, copied by Mr. Wright from the Barbarini palace at Rome, and lately published by him in his travels:

"Ti. Claudio Cæs.
  Augusto.
   Pontifici Max. Tr. P. 1x.
   Cof. v. Imp. xvi. P. P.
   Senatus Popul. Q. R. Quod
   Reges Britanniæ Aboq.
   Ula Jaftura Domuerit
   Gentefque Barbaras
   Primus Indicio Subegerit.
Plautius, appointed by Claudius governor of Britain, pursued his conquests, after the emperor's departure, with such success, that, upon his return to Rome, he was honoured with an ovation, and met, without the gates, by the emperor himself, who, at his solemn entry, gave him the right hand. In this war, Vespasian likewise, afterwards emperor, and his son Titus, distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner. The former fought thirty battles with the Britons, subdued two powerful nations, and reduced above twenty towns, with the isle of Wight; for which exploits he received the triumphal ornaments, two sacerdotal dignities, and the consulship. As for Titus, he no less signalized his piety than his courage and valour; for seeing his father in a battle surrounded on all sides, and in imminent danger of his life, he broke through the enemy's ranks, and having rescued him, put the Britons to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter.

Some years after, that is, in the ninth year of Claudius's reign, as we gather from Tacitus, P. O. Ostorius Scapula, being sent into Britain, fell unexpectedly upon the Britons, who had broken into the Roman conquests and having put great numbers of them to the sword, and dispersed the rest, to restrain them from making inroads for the future into the territories of the Romans, or their allies, he built several forts on the Severn, the Avon, and the Nen, reduced that part of the island, which lies south of these rivers, to a Roman province, and, for a further security, made Camulodunum a military colony. This the Iceni could not brook, and therefore, being joined by the neighbouring nations, they raised a considerable army, and encamped in an advantageous post, in order to prevent the Romans from penetrating farther into the island. However, Ostorius, advancing against them, after a most obstinate conflict, put them to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter. After this victory, he led his army into the country of the Catuvellaunii, probably the present counties of Shropshire and Cheshire; but being informed, as he approached the Irish sea, that the Brigantes were in arms, he marched with all speed against them; and having caused the chief authors of the disturbance to be put to death, and pardoned the rest, he soon restored that country to its former tranquility. After this, Ostorius made war upon the Silures, the inhabitants of South Wales, headed by Caractacus, a commander of great renown, whom nevertheless

nevertheless he defeated in a pitched battle, the particulars whereof we have related at length in our Roman history, to which we refer the reader. b. Caractacus, upon his defeat, fled for protection to Caratacus, queen of the Brigantes, who dreading the Roman arms, delivered him in bonds to the conqueror, by whom he was sent to Rome, with his wife, daughter, and brothers, and received there by the emperor in a kind of triumph. Claudius, moved with the speech which the captive prince made when brought before his tribunal, and admiring the constancy with which he bore his misfortunes, granted to him, to his wife, to his daughter, and brothers, both their lives and liberty. The Silures, notwithstanding the loss of their general, pursued the war with great vigour, and gained very considerable advantages over the Romans, related by us elsewhere; which so affected Offo-

And be by

Suetonius

Paulinus suc-

ceeds, Ver-

nianus, and re-

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Anglesey.

ners, that he died with grief. He was succeeded by A. Didius, who restrained the Silures making frequent and wide incursions into the Roman territories within more narrow bounds; but was not able to restore Caratacus, queen of the Brigantes, and an ally of Rome, to her kingdom. c. He defeated the Brigantes in a pitched battle; but afterwards, as he was stricken in years, he contented himself with acting only defensively, and restraining the enemy by his lieutenants. Veranius, who succeeded him in the reign of Nero, died in less than a year after his arrival in Britain, without performing anything worthy of notice. After him, Suetonius Paulinus governed Britain, who reduced the island of Anglesey, and defeated with great slaughter the Britons, who, under the conduct of queen Boudicea, had taken arms, and put incredible numbers of the Romans, and their allies, to the sword, as we have related at length in our Roman history, to which we refer the reader. d. Suetonius Paulinus was succeeded in the government of Britain by Petronius Turpilianus, and he by Trebellius Maximus. During their government, nothing remarkable happened; for, as they were both men of an indolent temper, and no ambition, they took care not to provoke the Britons by any acts of hostility, giving to this cowardly inaction the specious name of peace. In the mean time Nero dying, the Roman army was commanded, during the short reigns of Galba and Otho, only by tribunes, among whom Cælius bore the chief sway, who, by carefully avoiding to give the Britons any just cause of complaint, kept all things quiet.

b Ibid. p. 552, 152. c Ibid. p. 155. d Ibid. p. 156.

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quiet in the island. Vitellius, upon his accession to the empire, appointed Veclius Bolanus governor of Britain, who ruled with great gentleness, without either provoking the Britons, or being by them provoked. In the reign of Vespasian, who succeeded Vitellius, Petilius Cerealis was sent into Britain, to take upon him the command of the army there. Petilius, upon his arrival, attacked the Brigantes, the most numerous and powerful of all the British nations; and having defeated them in several encounters, some of which proved very bloody, he reduced great part of their country, and continued to ravage the rest. He was succeeded by Julius Frontinus, who not only maintained the conquests made by his predecessor, but fought himself with great success against the warlike nation of the Silures, whom he entirely reduced. Julius Frontinus being recalled, the celebrated Cneius Julius Agricola was sent to command in his room. But of the exploits of that renowned commander, we have spoken at length in our Roman history; and therefore, to avoid tedious repetitions, shall only add here, that having, in seven campaigns, reduced the whole island, he abandoned the more northern parts, and by raising forts, and planting garrisons, on the isthmus between the friths of Glota and Bodotria, now of Dunbriton and Edinburgh, he removed the Caledonians, as it were, into a separate island. Thus Agricola gave the finishing blow to the liberty of Britain, and reduced that part of the island, which lies south of the friths of Glota and Bodotria, to a Roman province. The loss of their liberty was, in some measure, counterbalanced by the politeness, that was introduced among them by the conquerors; for, by degrees, they assumed the customs and manners of the Romans, and forgetting their savage ways, applied themselves to the study of the liberal arts and sciences, which were no less esteemed and cultivated in Britain, than in any other province of the empire. But to return to Agricola: Domitian, who had succeeded his brother Titus in the empire, envying his general the great reputation he had gained by his conquests, recalled him, on pretence of preferring him to the government of Syria. After his departure, we have but short and broken accounts of what passed in this island, till the reign of the emperor Adrian. We do not even know who was Agricola's successor in the government of Britain. We


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only read in Suetonius, that Sallustius Lucullus was legate of Britain in the reign of Domitian; and that he was put to death by that prince, for suffering his name to be given to a fort of spears, which he had invented. In the reigns of the emperors Nerva, who succeeded Domitian, and Trajan who succeeded Nerva, some commotions happened in the island; but all we know of them is, that they were soon appeased, and the country restored to its former tranquillity, by the Roman troops quartered there; which, according to Josephus, amounted to four legions. In the reign of Adrian, the successor of Trajan, the Caledonians, having demolished some of the forts built by Agricola between the above-mentioned friths, made an irruption into the Roman province. Against them was dispatched by Adrian, in the first year of his reign, Julius Severus, a commander of great renown; but he being suddenly recalled, and employed against the Jews, then in rebellion, Priscus Licinius was sent over in his room (K), and followed soon after by the emperor in person; whose arrival struck the Caledonians with such terror, that abandoning the countries they had seized, they retired to the more northern parts of the island. Adrian, not thinking it worth his while to make war upon them, in order to keep them quiet, relinquished to them all the country between the Tine and the two friths; but at the same time, to restrain them from making incursions into the Roman province, he caused a wall to be built, extending from the Eden in Cumberland to the Tine in Northumberland, eighty miles in length. Having thus settled affairs in Britain, and reformed many abuses there,

b Suet. in Domit. i Joseph. apud Camden in Roman. Spartian. in Hadrian. c. 5. k Idem in Hadrian. p. 6.

(K) It appears from an antient inscription found near Adrian’s wall, that Licinius Priscus had been praetor of Cappadocia before he was sent into Britain, had commanded the fourth legion, and had been honoured with a military banner by the emperor Adrian in his Jewish expedition. The inscription is as follows:

“M. F. Cl. Prisco
icinio Italico Legato Augurorum
PR. PR. Provinc. Cappadociae
PR. PR. Prov. Britanniae
Leg. 1111 Galliciae Praef. Coh. 111 Lingonum
Vexillo Mill. ornato A Divo Hadiano
in Expeditione Judaica
Q. Caflius Domitius Palumbus.”
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there, he returned to Rome, where he was honoured with the title of Restorer of Britain; which was stamped on his coins (L).

To Adrian succeeded Antoninus Pius, in whose reign the Brigantes revolted; and the Caledonians, having in several places, broken down Adrian's rampart, began anew to ravage the Roman territories. Against them was sent Lollius Urbicus, Licinius Priscus, whom Adrian had appointed governor of Britain, being, in all likelihood, dead; for Antoninus, as Julius Capitolinus informs us¹, removed none of the governors whom Adrian had preferred. Lollius obliged the Brigantes to submit anew to the Roman yoke; and having driven back the northern barbarians, he confined them within narrower bounds than before, by a new wall, extending, as Camden and Brietius conjecture, from Bremenium, now Brampton in Cumberland, to the river Esk. For these achievements, Antoninus received the surname of Britannicus, though he had never seen Britain himself m (M). In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the successor of Antoninus Pius, new commotions

¹ Jul. Cap. in Antonin. c. 5.  
m Idem ibid.

(L) Some of these have reached our times, and, among the rest, one with the figure of Adrian, and three soldiers on the reverse, representing, as Camden conjectures, the three legions, of which the Roman army in Britain then consisted, viz. the legio secunda Augusta, the quartadecima Victrix, and vice versa Britannica. Under them is this inscription, “Exer. Britanniae.” Other coins of the same prince bear this inscription, “Rexitur Britannia.”

(M) Lollius Urbicus was sent into Britain, according to Alford, in the third year of Antoninus's reign, of the Christian era 142, and the same year he reduced the rebellious Brigantes, and built the wall, which we have mentioned in the text. This Alford proves from two of Antoninus's medals, coined by a decree of the senate, in that prince's third consulship, that is, as Alford shews, in the third year of his reign. On these medals he is styled Pater patriæ; and on the reverse is represented Britain, on one sitting on a globe, and on the other holding a spear, and resting on a shield. As Antoninus is not, on either of these medals, styled Britannicus, but on such only as were coined five years after, Alford conjectures from thence, that some signal victory was gained, about that time, over the revolted Britons or Caledonians, which procured him the title of Britannicus(9).

(9) Vide Alford. annal. ad ann. 142 & 147.
tions were raised in Britain; which obliged the emperor to fend thither Calpurnius Agricola, who, it seems, appeased them; for Fronto, the famous orator, as quoted by Eumenius, in a panegyric on the emperor Marcus Aurelius, says, among other things, that though, sitting in his palace at Rome, he had committed the management of the war to one of his generals, yet, like a pilot sitting at the stern, and guiding the helm, he deserved the honour of the whole expedition.

To Marcus Aurelius succeeded Commodus, in whose reign the Caledonians, having passed the wall, which parted them from the Romans, and cut in pieces the Roman general, and most of his army, committed every-where dreadful devastations without restraint, till Ulpianus Marcellus was sent against them, who, as he was a commander of great experience, and a strict observer of the military discipline, drove back the Caledonians with great slaughter, and restored the island to its former tranquility. The reputation he gained in this expedition was so great, that the emperor, thinking his own glory eclipsed by that of his general, resolved to put him to death; but, in the end, only removed him from his government.

For the great advantages gained by Ulpianus in Britain, Commodus assumed the title of imperator the sixth time.

That brave commander no sooner left Britain, than the army there began to mutiny, complaining chiefly of Perennis, the emperor’s favourite, who, governing with an absolute sway, sent only perons of the equestrian order to command the British army, whom the soldiers therefore refused to obey. The mutiny was carried so far, that the army sent deputies to Rome; fifteen hundred, says Dion Cassius, of their own body, to complain of Perennis. These the emperor met without the city; and being by them informed, that Perennis aspired at the empire, and had, with that view, cahined the bravest officers, and put his own creatures in their room, he delivered the traitor to the fury of the praetorian bands, which he then commanded, and must have no leis disoblged than he had done the British army; for he was by them, after a thousand outrages, torn in pieces, with his wife, his fitter, and his two sons. The downfall and death of this favourite are related by Herodian, in a quite different manner, as we have observed in our Roman history. In the mean time Helvius Pertinax, afterwards emperor, was sent into Britain, to bring back

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back the mutinous army there to a sense of their duty. Upon his arrival, the soldiery, not able to brook the tyrannical government of Commodus, offered him the sovereignty, but he, by rejecting their offer with indignation, and proceeding with too much severity against the mutineers, provoked them to such a degree, that one of the legions openly revolted; much blood was shed, and Pertinax himself left for dead among the slain. However, in spite of all obstacles, he brought the army at last to submit, and restored tranquillity to the province; but, as his severity had drawn upon him the ill-will and hatred of the soldiery, he was, some time after, recalled at his own request, Clodius Albinus being appointed governor of Britain in his room. Albinus, having, in a speech to the soldiery, upon a false report of the emperor's death, declared for the power of the senate against that of the emperor, was commanded by Commodus to resign the government of Britain to Junius Severus. But Commodus being soon after murdered, Pertinax, his successor, sent Albinus again into Britain, where he continued during the short reigns of Pertinax and Didius Julianus. As he had, by his generosity and largesse, gained the affections of the British army, he was, upon the death of Julianus, by them proclaimed emperor. To maintain his title against Severus, who had received the same honour from the army in Pannonia, he passed over into Gaul with his British troops; but being met by his rival in the neighbourhood of Lyons, his army was defeated, and he himself slain, as we have related at length in our Roman history. Severus, now master of the whole Roman empire, divided Britain into two governments, not thinking it perhaps advisable to trust one man with so great a command. The hither, or southern part of the island was given to Heracleitus, and the northern to Virius Lupus (N), who was so harrassed by the continual inroads of the Caledonians, that he was in the end obliged to

Y 3

1 Capitol. in Pertinacæ, c. 3. 2 Hist. univers. vol. xv, p. 106.

(N) The Caledonians, according to Herodian, had promised to refrain the Maeate from making incursions into the Roman territories; but they neglecting to perform this article of their agreement, Virius Lupus was obliged to apply to the Maeate themselves, and buy a peace of them at a great rate. From an antient inscription found at Ilkly in Yorkshire, by Ptolemy called Olinaca, it appears, that Virius Lupus restored that place. The inscription is as follows:

"Im"
to purchase a peace with money; which they maintained till the fifteenth year of Severus’s reign, when breaking anew into the Roman province, they committed every-where dreadful devastations. Virius Lupus, not thinking himself in a condition to withstand them, retired as they advanced, and in the mean time acquainted the emperor with the state of affairs, and the dangers that threatened the province, unless powerful and timely supplies were sent to make head against the barbarians. Hereupon Severus, resolved to put an end to the daily incursions of the enemy, by the entire conquest of the north, set out for Britain, at the head of a numerous army, accompanied by his two sons Caracalla and Geta. The Caledonians no sooner heard of his arrival, than they sent embassadors to him, offering to conclude a peace upon honourable terms. These the emperor detained, till he was ready to take the field, and then dismissed them, without granting them their request. As soon as the season was fit for action, he marched into their country, and putting all to fire and sword, advanced to the most distant and northern coasts of the island. Tho’ no battle was fought in this expedition, yet what by the enemy’s continual ambushes, what by the hardships and toils the soldiers underwent in cutting down woods, building bridges, draining marshes, &c. fifty thousand of them are said to have perished. The Caledonians however were, in the end, obliged to purchase a peace, by yielding to the Romans part of their country, and delivering up their arms. Having thus concluded a peace with the Caledonians, he returned to York, leaving to his son Caracalla the command of the army, and the finishing of the wall, which he had begun, according to the opinion, which to us seems most probable, on the isthmus between the friths of Forth and Clyde. Of this wall we have spoken above, and more at length in our Roman history. For this expedition, Severus was honoured by the senate with the title of Britannicus Maximus, and his two sons with that of Britannicus. The emperor being taken ill at York, the Caledonians were no sooner informed of his indisposition, than they took up arms with one accord; which provoked Severus

Univer. hist. vol. xv. p. 116, & seq.  

“Im. Severus
“Aug. et Antoninus
“Caes. Deltinatus refituerunt
“Curante Virio Lupo Leg.
“eorum PR. PR.
Chap. 13. The History of Britain.

Severus to such a degree, that he ordered his son Caracalla to enter their country anew with the whole army, and put all he met to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. But the emperor dying before his orders could be put in execution, his two sons, having concluded a shameful peace with the Caledonians, returned to Rome.

In the reigns of the twelve succeeding emperors, viz. Macrinus, Heliogabalus, Alexander, Maximinus, Pupienus, Gordian, Philip, Decius, Gallus, Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius, we are left almost quite in the dark as to the affairs of Britain; for all we know of them, while these princes ruled, is, that Britain still continued to be a Roman province; that, in the reign of Gordian III. it was governed by Nonnius Philippus (O); that, under Valerian and Gallienus, the Roman troops quartered in the north, to restrain the Caledonians, were commanded by one Desidienus Ælianus (P); that Britain,

* Dio, I. lxviii. p. 882.

(O) This we learn, notwithstanding the silence of the Roman historians, from an antient inscription found at a place, by the Romans called Castra Exploratorum, and by us Old Carlisle. It is a votive inscription for the health of the emperor, of his wife, and the whole imperial family, set up by the Roman horde quartered in Britain, under the command of Æmilius Crispinus, a native of Tuidrum in Africa. The words of the inscription are as follows:

" I. O. M."
" Pro Salute Imperatoris"
" M. Antoni. Gordiani P. F."
" Invicti Aug. et Sabinae Tur"
" iæ Tranquilæ conjugi ejus To-
" taque Domu Divin eorum Ala"
" Augg. Gordia ob Virtutem"
" Appellata posuit : cui praeef"
" Æmilius Crispinus Praef."
" Eqq. natus in Pro. Africa De"
" Tuidro sub cur. Nonni Phi-
" lippi Leg. Aug. Proproeto"
" Attico et Pretextato"
" Coëf.

In two other inscriptions found at Lanchester in the county of Durham, mention is made of Macillius Puius, and Cneius Lucilianus both proprators of Britain in the reign of the same emperor Gordian III.

(P) This appears from the following inscription found in Northumberland:

" Pro
gain, revolting from Gallienus, declared for Posthumus, who
had usurped the sovereignty in Gaul; that of the thirty usur-
pers, or, as they are styled, tyrants, besides Posthumus, the
following were acknowledged in Britain, viz. Lollianus, Vic-
torianus, and Tetricus, of whom the last being overcome by
the emperor Aurelian, Britain submitted to the conqueror,
who sent hither Constantius, the father of "Constantine the
Great," to establish his authority in the island.
Aure-
lian was succeeded by Tacitus, and he, after a short reign of
about six months, by Probus, in whose time Bonoire, de-
cended of a Spanish family, but born in Britain, usurped
the sovereignty, and was acknowledged here, as well as in
Gaul and Spain; but being, after several battles, reduc-
ed by Probus to great straights, he chose rather to
strangle himself, than fall into the hands of the conqueror,
as we have related at length elsewhere.
Zosimus and
Zocharas tell us, that a governor, sent hither by Probus,
assumed the imperial purple; but was soon after killed by
Victorinus, upon whose recommendation he had been preferred
to the government of this island. Probus was, according
to Vopiscus, the first that allowed the Britons, Spaniards
and Gauls, to plant vines. The same emperor having, in an
engagement on the banks of the Rhine with the Burgundians
and Vandals, taken their king Igillus prisoner, with many oth-
ers of these two nations, he transplanted them into Britain.
In the beginning of Diocletian's reign, Carausius, a native of
Gaul, passing over into Britain, took upon him the title
of emperor, and was acknowledged by all the troops quarter-
ed here; nay, by a treaty concluded between him and Maxi-
mian, whom Diocletian had taken for his partner in the em-
pire, Britain was given up to Carausius, who governed it
with the title of emperor for the space of six or seven years;
but
but was in the end killed by Allectus, as was Allectus, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in Britain, in a pitched battle with Alclepiodotus, one of Constantius's officers. Upon his death, Britain was re-united to the empire, after it had been held about seven years by Carausius, and three by Allectus. Of these transactions the reader will find a particular and distinct account in our Roman history. The two emperors Dioclesian and Maximian having resigned the empire to Galerius and Constantius, the latter, to whole share fell the western provinces, soon after his accession to the empire, passed over into Britain, to make war, says Eumenius, on the Caledonians and Picts, whom he overcame; but not long after, died at York, where he had the satisfaction to see his son Constantine before he expired, and to appoint him his successor; so that Constantine began his reign in Britain, and, some time after, returned to this island, as we read in Eusebius, probably to put a stop to the daily incursions of the Caledonians. Of the new form of government, both civil and military, which he introduced here, we have spoken above. He likewise altered the division of Britain, which, by Severus, had been divided into two provinces only; but was by him divided into three, viz. Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Maxima Caesariensis, which last was afterwards subdivided into two parts, viz. Maxima Caesariensis, and Flavia Caesariensis. The removal of the imperial seat from Rome to Constantinople, which happened in the reign of Constantine, gave the northern nations an opportunity of making frequent irruptions into the Roman province, the emperor having carried with him, first into Gaul, and afterwards into the east, not only most of the Roman troops quartered in Britain, but likewise the flower of the British youth; whence he is cenfured by Zosimus, for neglecting the boundary of the empire on this side. Constantine divided the empire among his three sons, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius, of whom the latter, being in a short time possessed of the whole, sent into Britain the famous notary and informer Paulus, surnamed Catena, to bring from thence the tribunes, and other officers, who had sided with Magnentius. But of the enormous oppressions, extortions, and cruelties, practised on this occasion by that merciless man, we have spoken at length elsewhere.
about the latter end of his reign, committed the government of the western provinces to Julian, afterwards called the apostate, who, being informed, while he was in winter-quarters at Paris, that the Picts and Scots, about this time first distinguished in history by that name (Q.), had broken into the Roman province, and committed every-where dreadful ravages, dispatched his lieutenant Lupicinus, with some troops, against them. Lupicinus, embarking at Bologne, in the depth of winter, reached London in a few days; but he had scarce landed his troops, when he was recalled \textsuperscript{m}, the northern nations having perhaps appealed Julian by their submission. During the short reigns of Julian and Jovian, we find nothing in history concerning the affairs of Britain. But, under Valentinian I. the Picts, Scots, Attacots, Saxons, and other northern nations, invaded the Roman province at one and the same time; and having killed Nectaridus, count of the maritime tract, and Fullosfaudes, who is distinguished with the title of dux or duke, and probably commanded the land-forces, ravaged the country far and wide, and reduced the inhabitants to a most deplorable condition. News of this invasion being brought to Valentinian, while he was on his journey from Amiens to Treves, he immediately dispatched into Britain Severus, his comes domesticorum; but soon after recalled him, and sent Jovinus in his room; who having

\textsuperscript{m} Ammian, l. xx. p. 154.

(Q.) Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote towards the latter end of the fourth century, is the first historian that mentions the Scots. But St. Jerom, in his epistle against Ctesiphon the Pelagian, has given us a much more antient passage, which he translated out of Porphyry the Greek philosopher, who wrote an age before Ammianus. The passage is as follows: "Neither Britain, a province fertile in tyrants, nor the Scotih nations, nor the barbarous nations round about to the very ocean, did ever acknowledge Moses and the prophets." Scaliger, in his notes upon Propertius, and his animadversions on Eusebius, corrects the common editions of Seneca's satire upon Claudius, by reading, instead of the words Scuta Brigantes, Scoto Brigantes; but that correction is not countenanced by any manuscript copies; and besides, it is certain, that Claudius never made war upon the Scots, but kept in the southern parts of Britain. As for Dempster's reading Scoticas pruinas, instead of Scythicas, in the verfs of the poet Florus to the emperor Adrian, that correction is generally looked upon as altogether groundless (10).

\textsuperscript{(10) Vide Usher, antiqu. Brit. c. 16.}
having acquainted the emperor with the miserable condition to which the island was reduced, and the still greater evils with which it was threatened, Theodosius, father to the emperor Theodosius of that name, was thereupon chosen for this province, and trusted with the whole management of so troublesome a war.

Theodosius, upon his arrival in Britain, divided his forces into several parties; which, advancing against the enemy, who were roving up and down the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, recovered the booty and prisoners they had taken, and obliged them to abandon the province. The barbarians being thus repulsed, Theodosius entered Londinium, or London, in a kind of triumph, and reftored that, as well as several other cities, which had suffered greatly by the late invasions, to their former splendor. As the barbarians had retired beyond the friths of Glota and Bodotria, he built several castles on the isthmus between the two seas, in order to restrain them from breaking anew into the province. By this means, all the country between Adrian’s wall and the two friths, which had been, for some time, held by the Picts, was recovered. Of this tract Theodosius made a fifth province, to which the emperor gave the name Valentia, perhaps from his brother Valens. Theodosius, before he left the island, crush’d, in its very beginning, the revolt of one Valentine, or Valentinian, who, being banished into Britain, had prevailed upon some of the inhabitants to proclaim him emperor; but Theodosius, having got the usurper into his power, delivered him up to the civil magistrates. And now Britain being restored to its former tranquility, Theodosius returned to the emperor, by whom he was received with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem. In the joint reign of the succeeding princes Valentinian II. and Gratian, Maximus, who commanded in Britain, hearing, that Gratian usurps the sovereignty in Britain, had taken Theodosius the younger for his colleague in the empire, and highly affronted at the preference given to a person, in his opinion, so much beneath him in merit, resolved to assume the imperial purple, and put himself upon an equality with his rival. Accordingly, having gained over to his party the Roman legions quartered in Britain, he carried them, with the flower of the British youth, into Gaul. As these never returned to their native country, being either cut off with their leader, or settling elsewhere, the nation, thus bereft of its strength, became afterwards an easy prey to the Picts and Scots.

Ammian. 1. xxviii. p. 368.
The History of Britain. Book IV.

Scots. Over these two nations Maximus is said to have gained great advantages before his usurpation, nay, and to have driven the latter quite out of the island; but this is not agreeable to what we read in the more antient writers, as we have observed elsewhere. In the reign of Theodosius, the Scots and Picts were, it seems, kept in awe by Chrysanthius, the son of Mar- cian, bishop of Constantinople, who, being appointed governor of Britain, acquitted himself in that office with great reputation. Theodosius was succeeded by his two sons Arcadius and Honorius, the former ruling in the east, and the latter in the west. As Honorius was very young, the famous Stilicho, who had been appointed by Theodosius regent of the western empire during the minority of his son, is supposed to have sent over a legion into Britain, to defend it against the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons. Be that as it will, it is certain, that he secured Britain against the incursions of its antient enemies; for Claudian, in enumerating the great things performed by Stilicho before his first consulship, tells us, that he succoured Britain attacked by the neighbouring nations, namely by the Scots; that he put it in a condition not to fear their arrows, nor the efforts of the Picts; and that he secured the British coasts against the descents of the Saxons. He adds elsewhere, that the Saxons being overcome, the sea was quiet; that the Picts having lost their strength, Britain was delivered from her fears. About this time a proper officer was appointed to guard the coast against the attempts of the Saxons, with the title of comes limitis Saxonici (R). But, not

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(R) The learned Usher ascribes to Stilicho the establishing of a legion in Britain, to defend it against the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons (11). This Claudian seems to intinnuate, where he introduces Britain thus speaking in praise of that great general and minister:

"Me quoque vicinis perentem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scotuss Iternem
Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Tethys.
Illius efficiunt curis, ne bella timerem"

Scotica,

not long after, the empire being over-run by the Alans, the Vandals, and the Suevians, most of the Roman troops quartered in Britain were recalled, and the island left almost quite open to the attacks of the Scots and Picts. Hereupon the Britons, expecting no assistance from Honorius, resolved to set up an emperor of their own; and accordingly invested with that dignity one Mark, whom, though an officer of great credit among them, after a few days, they murdered, and placed Gratian, a native of Britain, in his room. Gratian, after a short reign of four months, underwent the same fate, and was succeeded by Constantine, a common soldier, who was chosen merely for the sake of his name, common to him with Constantine the Great. The new prince obliged the Scots and Picts to quit the Roman province, and retire beyond the two friths; which success inspiring him with a mighty opinion of his own merit and fortune, he formed a design of making himself master of the whole empire. With this view he passed over into Gaul, taking with him the few Roman forces that had been left here, and such of the Britons as were able to bear arms. Of the success that attended him at first in Gaul and Spain, and of his unhappy end, we have spoken at length in our Roman history, to which we refer the reader. The unhappy Britons, thus left to themselves after the departure of the Romans, and the flower of their youth, were more harassed than ever by the Scots, the Picts, and other northern nations, who, meeting with little or no opposition, broke into their country, and putting all to fire and sword, soon reduced them to a most miserable condition. In this state they continued from the year 407, when the usurper Constantine passed over into Gaul, to 410, when, after having often implored in vain the emperor's assistance, they withdrew their obedience to Rome, says Zosimus, and, being resolved to defend themselves with their own strength, withdrew their obedience to Rome.

The Britons withdrew their obedience to Rome.

Year after Year after

Christ 407

would Christ 410


Scotica, nec Pictum tremere, nec lintore toto
Propicierem dubiis venientem Saxona velis.

As Stilicho is supposed to have appointed troops to guard the coasts of Britain, and prevent the Saxons from making descents, so he may be likewise said to have appointed a proper officer to command them, with the title of "the count of the Saxon shore."
would no longer obey the laws of the empire. The emperor Honorius seemed to approve their conduct; for, by his letters, he permitted, and even advised, them to provide for their own safety; which was an implicit resigning the sovereignty of the island, and releasing the inhabitants from their allegiance to the empire. This renunciation was made, according to Bede, a little after the taking of Rome by Alaric, in the year of the city 1164, or rather 1163, for it is certain, that Rome was taken in 410. The Britons, now again a free people, seem to have at first fought with success against their ancient and irreconcilable enemies the Scots and the Picts; for Zosimus writes, that they delivered their cities from the insuls of an haughty enemy. But being in the end overpowered, they had recourse to the emperor, imploring his protection, and promising an entire and perpetual obedience to Rome, provided they were delivered from the tyranny and oppression of their merciless enemies. Honorius, touched with compassion, sent a legion to their relief; which, landing unexpectedly in Britain, cut in pieces great numbers of the Scots and Picts; and having obliged them to retire beyond the friths of Edinburgh and Dunbriton, they advised the natives to build a wall on the isthmus from sea to sea, and then returned to the continent, where their assent was wanted to repulse the barbarians, breaking from all quarters into the empire. The Britons, without loss of time, applied themselves to the building of the wall; but as it was done only with surf, the barbarians broke it down in several places, and pouring in upon the territories of the Britons like a torrent, committed more dreadful ravages than ever, destroying every thing with fire and sword. This happened, according to the learned Ufher, in 422, but, according to Alford, in 421 (S). The unhappy Britons, after many miseries and calamities, lent

(S) Alford produces a medal of the emperor Honorius, with this legend on the reverse, "Victoria Auggg." and hence concludes, that the slaughter of the Scots and Picts by the legion, which Honorius sent over, happened in the year of the Christian era 421, the twenty-seventh of Honorius's reign. The word Auggg, denotes, as he rightly observes, three emperors reigning at the same time. These were Honorius, Theodosius, and Constans.
fent deputies anew to the emperor; who, appearing before him with their garments rent, and dust on their heads, prevailed upon him to send new forces to their relief. These, hastening into Britain, fell upon the barbarians, not in the least apprized of their arrival, and made a dreadful havoc of them, while they were rolling up and down the island in quest of booty. This slaughter of the northern nations is placed by Ussher in 426, wherein he disagrees with Bede, who supposes it to have happened before the year 423, in which Honorius died. The Scots and Picts being thus driven beyond the above-mentioned friths, the Romans, who had no ambitious view in assisting the distressed Britons, but were come over merely out of compasion and good nature, told them plainly, that they were to expect no further assistance from the emperor; that the troops he had now sent were ordered back to the continent, to make head against the barbarians, who extended their ravages to all parts of the empire; and that they were therefore obliged to take their last farewel of Britain, and entirely abandon the island. After this declaration, Gallio of Ravenna, commander of the Roman troops, exhorted the Britons to defend themselves for the future, by fighting manfully for their country, their wives, their children, and, what ought to be dearer than life itself, their liberty, against an enemy no stronger than themselves, provided they would but lay aside their fears, and exert their antient courage and resolution. Not satisfied with encouraging them, that they might be the better able to withstand the attacks of the enemy, he advised them to build a wall, not of turf, but of stone, offering them the assistance of his soldiers, and his own direction in the work. Hereupon the Britons, jointly with the Romans, fell to work, and carried on their new wall with such diligence, that, tho’ eight foot in breadth, and twelve in height, it was soon finished. This wall flood, says Bede,

in the fame place where Severus had built his, that is, according to the moat probable opinion, as we have observed above,

on

\[\text{Gild. ibid. c. 14. p. 118.} \]
\[\text{Uss. ubi sup.} \]
\[\text{Bed. chron. p. 114.} \]
\[\text{Bed. hist. c. 12. p. 156.} \]

\[\text{flanus. Now, as Constantius was made emperor and died in the fame year 421, the victory ascribed to the three emperors must necessarily have been gained in that year (12).} \]

\[\text{(12) Vide Alford. annal. ad ann. 421.} \]
on the isthmus between the two friths of Glota and Bodotria. They likewise built towers at convenient distances on the east coast against the Saxons, and other barbarians, who, coming from Germany, made frequent descents on that side. The Roman commander, having thus secured the nation, employed the rest of the time he continued in the island, in instructing the natives in the art of war; which when he had done, leaving among them patterns of the weapons he had taught them to make; after many encouraging exhortations, he, with his Romans, took his last farewell of Britain, and telling the Britons, that they must expect their return no more, he crossed over to the continent. From this last departure of the Romans we may date the total desertion of Britain by them, and the final period of the Roman empire in this island. As to the year, in which Britain was thus finally abandoned, there is a great disagreement among chronologers, some placing the retreat of the Romans in 426, some in 435, or 437. According to Alford, Gallio returned to Gaul in 422, the twenty-eighth of Honorius’s reign. Bede, in his history, speaks of the departure of the Romans as happening in 431, but, in his chronicle, he seems to suppose it to have happened even before the year 423, and hence Alford places it in 422. The Britons fought, as we have seen, for many years against the Romans, in defence of their liberty; and it was not without a great deal of bloodshed that they submitted to the yoke. But being in the end pleased with their servitude, and become, as it were, one nation with their conquerors, who had continued among them for the space of four hundred years and upwards, they were no less unwilling to part with them, than they had been at first to receive them. This appears from the last message they sent to Aetius; but since it happened after the Romans had entirely abandoned the island, we shall refer the further relation of it to the following section.

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