The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

Vol. XII.
THE HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE,

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq;

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1. "The Turks" refers to the Ottoman Empire, which overthrew the Byzantine Empire around 1453, leading to the fall of Constantinople. This event marked the end of the Byzantine Empire and significantly altered the political landscape of the East. The fall of Constantinople also had far-reaching consequences for the Greek culture and the spread of Islam in Europe. The Ottoman conquests in the East continued to expand, influencing the politics and culture of the region for centuries to come.
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THE HISTORY
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. LXV.

Elevation of Timour, or Tamerlane, to the Throne of Samarcand.—His Conquests in Persia, Georgia, Tartary, Russia, India, Syria, and Anatolia.—His Turkish War.—Defeat and Captivity of Bajazet.—Death of Timour.—Civil War of the Sons of Bajazet.—Restoration of the Turkish Monarchy by Mahomet the First.—Siege of Constantinople by Amurath the Second.

The conquest and monarchy of the world was the first object of the ambition of Timour. To live in the memory and esteem of future ages was the second with of his magnanimous spirit. All the civil and military transactions of his reign were diligently recorded in the journals
journeys of his secretaries: the authentic narrative was revived by the persons best informed of each particular transaction; and it is believed in the empire and family of Timour, that the monarch himself composed the commentaries of his life, and the institutions of his government. But these cares were intellectual for the preservation of his fame, and these precious memorials in the Mogul or Persian language were concealed from the world, or at least from the knowledge of Eu-

These journals were communicated to Shereefeddin, or Shereefeddin Ali, a native of Yezd, who composed in the Persian language a history of Timour Beg, which has been translated into French by M. Petis de la Croix (Paris, 1722, in 4 vols. 12mo), and has always been my faithful guide. His geography and chronology are wonderfully accurate; and he may be trusted for public facts, though he servilely praises the virtue and fortune of the hero. Timour's attention to procure intelligence from his own and foreign countries, may be seen in the Institutions, p. 215, 217, 249, 311.

These Commentaries are yet unknown in Europe; but Mr. White gives some hope that they may be imported and translated by his friend Major Davy, who had read in the East this "minute and faithful narrative of an interesting and eventful period."

I am ignorant whether the original institution, in the Turkish or Mogul language, be still extant. The Persian version, with an English translation and most valuable index, was published (Oxford, 1783, in 4to) by the joint labours of Major Davy, and Mr. White the Arabic professor. This work has been since translated from the Persian into French (Paris, 1787) by M. Langle, a learned Orientalist, who has added the life of Timour, and many curious notes.

4 Shaw Album, the Persian Mogul, reads, values, but cannot imitate, the institutions of his great ancestor. The English translator relies on their internal evidence; but if any suspicions should arise of fraud and fiction, they will not be dispelled by Major Davy's letter. The Orientals have never cultivated the art of criticism; the paraphrase of a prince, let's honourable perhaps, is not less pleasing than that of a vulgar knave: nor can it be deemed incredible, that a Persian, not to sell honour, should renounce the credit, to raise the value and price, of the work.
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The nations which he vanquished exercised a base and impotent revenge; and ignorance has long repeated the tale of calumny, which had disfigured the birth and character, the person, and even the name, of Tamerlane. Yet his real merit would be enhanced, rather than debated, by the elevation of a peasant to the throne of Asia; nor can his lameness be a theme of reproach, unless he had the weakness to blush at a natural, or perhaps an honourable, infirmity.

In the eyes of the Moguls, who held the indescribable succession of the house of Zingis, he was doubtless a rebel subject; yet he sprang from the noble tribe of Berlafs: his fifth ancestor, Carushar Nevian, had been the vizir of Zagatai, in his new realm of Transoxiana; and in the ascent of some generations, the branch of Timour is confounded, at least by the females, with the Imperial

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5 The original of the tale is found in the following work, which is much esteemed for its florid elegance of style: *Abmedis Arabifhah* (Ahmed Ebn Arabfah) *Vita et Rerum gestarum Timuri*. *Arabice et Latin.* Edidit Samuell Henricus Manger. *Franquere,* 1767, 2 tom. in 40.

This Syrian author is ever a malicious, and often an ignorant, enemy: the very titles of his chapters are injurious; as how the wicked, as how the impious, as how the viper, &c. The copious article of Timur, in Bibliothèque Orientale, is of a mixed nature; as d'Herbelot indifferently draws his materials (p. 877—888.) from Khondemir, Ebn Schoum, and the Lebtarikh.

6 Demir, or Timour, signifies, in the Turkish language, Iron; and Beg is the appellation of a lord or prince. By the change of a letter or accent, it is changed into Lenc, or lame; and a European corruption confounds the two words in the name of Tamerlane.

7 After relating some false and foolish tales of Timour Len, Arabfah is compelled to speak truth, and to own him for a kinman of Zingis, per mulieres (as he peevishly adds) *laqueos Satanæ* (pars i. c. 1. p. 25.). The testimony of Abulghazi Khan (P. ii. c. 5. P. v. c. 4.) is clear, unquestionable, and decisive.
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He was born forty miles to the south of Samarcand, in the village of Selsar, in the fruitful territory of Cuth, of which his fathers were the hereditary chiefs, as well as of a toman of ten thousand horse. His birth was cast on one of those periods of anarchy which announce the fall of the Attilian dynasties, and open a new field to adventurism. The khans of Ztagatai were extinct; the emirs adjured to independence; and their domestic feuds could only be suspended by the conquest and tyranny of the khans of Kaffgar, who, with an army of Getes or Calmucks, invaded the Turanian kingdom. From the twelfth year of his age, Timour had entered the field of action; in the twenty-fifth, he flowed forth as the deliverer of his country; and the eyes and

According to one of the pedigrees, the fourth ancestor of Zingis, and the ninth of Timour, were brothers; and they agreed, that the posterity of the older should succeed to the dignity of khan, and that the descendants of the younger should fill the office of their ministers and general. This tradition was at least convenient to justify the steps of Timour's ambition (Institutions, p. 24, 25. from the MS. fragments of Timour's history).

See the preface of Shereefel-Din, and Abulfeiz's Geography (Ch. xiii. &c. Descriptive, p. 60, 61.), in the third volume of Humait's Minor Greek Geographers.

See his nativity in Dr. Hyde (Synagoga Dissertat. tom. ii. p. 466.), as it was cast by the zor o, 37 of his grandchild Ulugh Beg. He was born A. D. 1357, April 9, 11. 57 P. M. In 56, I know not whether they can prove the great conjunction of the planets from whence, like other conquerors and philosophers, Timour derived the name of Salah Khan, or master of the conjunctions (Biblioth. Orient. p. 278.)

In the Institutions of Timour, the name of the khan of Kaffgar is given Ztagatai, or Kafh, a large province of Persia, containing large towns and cities (Abulfeiz xvi. P. 102, 103.). But in the Ta'rikh-e Amuri, or Chronicle of the Amurs, in the Chronicle of Timour, and in many manuscripts, this province was called Kaffgar, Kafhgar, and Keshgar; and the two first were thought to be intended in the Cronica Serbice Strument, and another, of
wishes of the people were turned towards an hero who suffered in their cause. The chiefs of the law and of the army had pledged their salvation to support him with their lives and fortunes; but in the hour of danger they were silent and afraid; and, after waiting seven days on the hills of Samarcand, he retreated to the desert with only sixty horsemen. The fugitives were overtaken by a thousand Getes, whom he repulsed with incredible slaughter, and his enemies were forced to exclaim, "Timour is a wonderful man: fortune and the "divine favour are with him." But in this bloody action his own followers were reduced to ten, a number which was soon diminished by the desertion of three Carizmians. He wandered in the desert with his wife, seven companions, and four horses; and sixty-two days was he plunged in a loathsome dungeon, from whence he escaped by his own courage, and the remorse of the oppressor. After swimming the broad and rapid stream of the Jihoon, or Oxus, he led, during some months, the life of a vagrant and outlaw, on the borders of the adjacent states. But his fame shone brighter in adversity; he learned to distinguish the friends of his person, the associates of his fortune, and to apply the various characters of men for their advantage, and above all for his own. On his return to his native country, Timour was successively joined by the parties of his confederates, who anxiously fought him in the desert; nor can I refuse to describe, in his pathetic simplicity, one of their fortunate encounters. He presented himself as a guide to three chiefs, who were at the head of seventy horse. "When their eyes fell B 3 " upon
“upon me,” says Timour, “they were overwhelmed with joy; and they alighted from their horses; and they came and kneeled; and they killed my stirrup. I also came down from my horse, and took each of them in my arms. And I put my turban on the head of the first chief; and my girdle, rich in jewels and wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of the second; and the third, I clothed in my own coat. And they wept, and I wept also; and the hour of prayer was arrived, and we prayed. And we mounted our horses, and came to my dwelling; and I collected my people, and made a feast.” His trunfy bands were soon encircled by the bravest of the tribes; he led them against a superior foe; and after some vicissitudes of war, the Genes were finally driven from the kingdom of Transoxiana. He had done much for his own glory; but much remained to be done, much art to be exerted, and some blood to be spilt, before he could teach his equals to obey him as their master. The birth and power of emir Houssein compelled him to accept a vicious and unworthy colleague, whose sister was the best beloved of his wives. Their union was short and jealous; but the policy of Timour, in their frequent quarrels, exposed his rival to the reproach of injustice and perfidy: and, after a small defeat, Houssein was slain by some fagacious friends, who presumed, for the last time, to disobey the commands of their lord. At the age of thirty-four†, and in a general

† The a book of Shereeddin is employed on the private life of the hero; and he himself, or his secretary (Institutions, p. 377), enlarged
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general diet or couroultai, he was invested with Imperial command, but he affected to revere the house of Zingis; and while the emir Timour reigned over Zagatai and the East, a nominal khan served as a private officer in the armies of his servant. A fertile kingdom, five hundred miles in length and in breadth, might have satisfied the ambition of a subject; but Timour aspired to the dominion of the world; and before his death, the crown of Zagatai was one of the twenty-seven crowns which he had placed on his head. Without expatiating on the victories of thirty-five campaigns; without describing the lines of march, which he repeatedly traced over the continent of Asia; I shall briefly represent his conquests in, I. Persia, II. Tartary, and, III. India, and from thence proceed to the more interesting narrative of his Ottoman war.

I. For every war, a motive of safety or revenge, of honour or zeal, of right or convenience, may be readily found in the jurisprudence of conquerors. No sooner had Timour re-united to the patrimony of Zagatai the dependent countries of Carizme and Candahar, than he turned his eyes towards the kingdoms of Iran or Persia. From the Oxus to the Tigris, that extensive country was left without a lawful sovereign since the death of Abou-said, the lait of the descendants of the great

His conquests, A. D. 1370—
1400. I. Of Persia, A. D. 1380—
1393.

enlarges with pleasure on the thirteen designs and enterprises which most truly constitute his personal merit. It even shines through the dark colouring of Arabshah, P. i. c. 1—12.

13 The conquests of Persia, Tartary, and India, are represented in the iii and iv books of Sherefeddin, and by Arabshah, c. 13—55. Consult the excellent Indexes to the Institutions.
 Holacou. Peace and justice had been banished from the land above forty years; and the Mogul invader might seem to listen to the cries of an oppressed people. Their petty tyrants might have opposed him with confederate arms: they separately stood, and successively fell; and the difference of their fate was only marked by the promptitude of submission or the obstinacy of resistance. Ibrahim, prince of Shirwan or Albania, kissed the footstool of the Imperial throne. His peace-offerings of silks, horses and jewels, were composed, according to the Tartar fashion, each article of nine pieces; but a critical spectator observed, that there were only eight slaves. "I myself am the ninth," replied Ibrahim, who was prepared for the remark; and his flattery was rewarded by the smile of Timour 14. Shah Manfour, prince of Fars, or the proper Persia, was one of the least powerful, but most dangerous, of his enemies. In a battle under the walls of Shiraz, he broke, with three or four thousand soldiers, the coal or main-body of thirty thousand horse, where the emperor fought in person. No more than fourteen or fifteen guards remained near the standard of Timour: he stood firm as a rock, and received on his helmet two weighty strokes of a fowmetar 15: the Moguls rallied; the head of Manfour was thrown...
at his feet, and he declared his esteem of the valour of a foe, by extirpating all the males of so intrepid a race. From Shiraz, his troops advanced to the Persian gulf; and the richness and weakness of Ormuz were displayed in an annual tribute of six hundred thousand dinars of gold. Bagdad was no longer the city of peace, the seat of the caliphs; but the noblest conquest of Houlacou could not be overlooked by his ambitious successor. The whole course of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the mouth to the sources of those rivers, was reduced to his obedience: he entered Edessa; and the Turkmans of the black sheep were chastised for the sacrilegious pillage of a caravan of Mecca. In the mountains of Georgia, the native Christians still braved the law and the sword of Mahomet; by three expeditions he obtained the merit of the gazie, or holy war; and the prince of Teflis became his proflyte and friend.

II. A just retaliation might be urged for the invasion of Turkestan, or the eastern Tartary. The dignity of Timour could not endure the

16 The history of Ormuz is not unlike that of Tyre. The old city, on the continent, was destroyed by the Tartars, and renewed in a neighbouring island without fresh water or vegetation. The kings of Ormuz, rich in the Indian trade and the pearl fishery, possesed large territories both in Persia and Arabia; but they were at first the tributaries of the sultans of Kerman, and at last were delivered (A. D. 1505) by the Portuguese tyrants from the tyranny of their own vizirs (Marco Polo, l. i. c. 15, 16, fol. 7, 8. Abulfeda Geograph. tabul. xi. p. 261, 262. an original Chronicle of Ormuz, in Texeira, or Stevens' History of Persia, p. 376-416. and the Itineraries inserted in the 1st volume of Ramusio, of Ludovico Barbara (1523), fol. 167. of Andrea Cordali (1517), fol. 202; 203, and of Odoardo Barbella (in 1516), fol. 315-318.).
impunity of the Getes: he passed the Sihoon, subdued the kingdom of Cashgar, and marched seven times into the heart of their country. His most dilatory camp was two months journey, or four hundred and eighty leagues to the north-east of Samarcand; and his emirs, who traversed the river Irtish, engraven in the forests of Siberia a rude memorial of their exploits. The conquest of Kipzak, or the western Tartary”, was founded on the double motive of aiding the distressed, and chastising the ungrateful. Toctamish, a fugitive prince, was entertained and protected in his court: the ambassadors of Aurufs Khan were dismissed with an haughty denial, and followed on the same day by the armies of Zagatai; and their success established Toctamish in the Mogul empire of the north. But after a reign of ten years, the new khan forgot the merits and the strength of his benefactor; the base usurper, as he deemed him, of the sacred rights of the house of Zingis. Through the gates of Derbend, he entered Persia at the head of ninety thousand horse: with the innumerable forces of Kipzak, Bulgaria, Circassia, and Russia, he passed the Sihoon, burnt the palaces of Timour, and compelled him, amidst the winter snows, to contend for Samarcand and his life. After a mild expostulation and a glorious victory, the emperor resolved on revenge: and by the east, and the west, of the Caspian, and the Volga, he twice invaded Kipzak.

11 Ambition had travelled into Kipzak, and acquired a singular knowledge of the geography, cities, and revolutions, of that northern region (P. 110, 45-47).
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with such mighty powers, that thirteen miles were measured from his right to his left wing. In a march of five months, they rarely beheld the footsteps of man; and their daily subsistence was often trusted to the fortune of the chase. At length the armies encountered each other; but the treachery of the standard-bearer, who, in the heat of action, reversed the Imperial standard of Kipzak, determined the victory of the Zaghatais; and Toctamish (I speak the language of the Institutions) gave the tribe of Toufhi to the wind of defolation. He fled to the Christian duke of Lithuania; again returned to the banks of the Volga; and, after fifteen battles with a domestic rival, at last perished in the wilds of Siberia. The pursuit of a flying enemy carried Timour into the tributary provinces of Russia: a duke of the reigning family was made prisoner amidst the ruins of his capital; and Yeletz, by the pride and ignorance of the Orientals, might easily be confounded with the genuine metropolis of the nation. Moscowl trembled at the approach of the Tartar, and the resistance would have been feeble, since the hopes of the Russians were placed in a miraculous image of the Virgin, to whose protection they ascribed the casual and voluntary retreat of the conqueror. Ambition and prudence recalled him to the south, the desolate country was exhausted, and the Mogul soldiers were enriched with an immense spoil of precious

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18 Institutions of Timour, p. 123, 125. Mr. White, the editor, beallows some animadversion on the superficial account of Sherefeddiein (ii. iii. c. 12, 13, 14.), who was ignorant of the designs of Timour, and the true springs of action.
furs, of linen of "Avicenn", and of ingots of gold and silver". On the banks of the Don, or Tanais, he received an humble deputation from the consuls and merchants of Egypt, Venice, Genoa, Catalonia, and Bilkay, who occupied the commerce and city of Tanais, or Azoph, at the mouth of the river. They offered their gifts, admired his magnificence, and trusted his royal word. But the peaceful visit of an emir, who explored the flate of the magazines and harbour, was speedily followed by the destructive presence of the Tartars. The city was reduced to ashes, the Moslems were pillaged and dispossessed; but all the Christians, who had not fled to their ships, were condemned either to death or slavery. Revenge prompted him to burn the cities of Serai and Atrakhan, the monuments of rising civilization;

19 The furs of Russia are more creditable than the ingots. But the linen of Antioch has never been famous; and Antioch was in ruins. I suspect that it was once manufacture of Europe, which the Hanse merchants had imported by the way of Novgorod.

20. M. de la Caze (Histoire de Russie, tom. ii. p. 247. Vie de Timour, p. 54-57, 1824, the French version of the Institutes) has established the fact; and added, I think, the true limit of Timour's empire. His dominions stretched from Persia, and a large part of Hindostan, to the boundaries of the Moslem, which was, which six years before this, had been invaded and conquered by the Tartars, clipped the arms of a more formidable foe.

21. The city of Amurath, mentioned in Burckhardt, i. 420, 421, was in 1424, when the city had been rebuilt (Ramat.

22. TheTurk, Timour, is mentioned by Shereeddin (l. iii. c. 52.) and Belzoni (noted by the author of an Italian chronicle, Ammir. zilch., in Chron. Turco, in Muratori, iv. 178, p. 234) He had two sons, the one of whom brothers, one of whom had been named Timour, and the other had built at Azoph
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and his vanity proclaimed, that he had penetrated to the region of perpetual daylight a strange phenomenon, which authorised his Mahometan doctors to dispense with the obligation of evening prayer 23.

III. When Timour first proposed to his princes and emirs the invasion of India or Hindoostan 24, he was answered by a murmur of discontent: “The rivers! and the mountains and deserts! and the soldiers clad in armour! and the elephants, destroyers of men!” But the displeasure of the emperor was more dreadful than all these terrors; and his superior reason was convinced, that an enterprise of such tremendous aspect was false and easy in the execution. He was informed by his spies of the weakness and anarchy of Hindoostan: the Soubahs of the provinces had erected the standard of rebellion; and the perpetual infancy of sultan Mahmood was despised even in the hamam of Delhi. The Mogul army moved in three great divisions: and Timour observes with pleasure, that the ninety-two squadrons of a thousand horse most fortunately corresponded with the ninety-two names or epithets of the prophet Mahomet. Between the Jihoon and the Indus, they crossed one of the ridges of

23 Shereefedlin only says (L. iii. c. 15.), that the rays of the setting, and those of the rising sun, were formerly separated by any interval; a problem which may be solved in the latitude of Moscow (the 56th degree), with the aid of the Aurora Borealis, and a long summer twilight. But a day of forty days (D’Herbelot, p. 482.) would rigorously confine us within the polar circle.

24 For the Indian war, i.e. the Institutions (p. 130—139), the fourth book of Shereefedlin, and the History of Periander, (in Dow, vol. ii. p. 1—20.), which throws a general light on the affairs of Hindostan.
mountains, which are styled by the Arabian geographers the stony girdles of the earth. The highland robbers were subdued or extirpated; but great numbers of men and horses perished in the snow; the emperor himself was let down a precipice on a portable scaffold, the ropes were one hundred and fifty cubits in length; and, before he could reach the bottom, this dangerous operation was five times repeated. Timour crossed the Indus at the ordinary passage of Attok; and successively traversed, in the foot-steps of Alexander, the Punjab, or five rivers, that fall into the master-stream. From Attok to Delhi, the high road measures no more than six hundred miles; but the two conquerors deviated to the south-east; and the motive of Timour was to join his grandson, who had achieved by his command the conquest of Moutan. On the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, on the edge of the desert, the Macedonian hero halted and wept: the Mogul entered the desert, reduced the fortress of Batnir, and stood in arms before the gates of Delhi, a great and flourishing city, which had subsisted three centuries under the dominion of the Mahometan kings. The siege, more especially of the castle, might have been a work of time; but he tempted, by the appearance of weakness, the sultan Mahmood and his vizir to descend into the plain, with ten thousand cuirassiers.

25. The rivers of the Punjab, the five eastern branches of the Indus, have been laid down for the first time with truth and accuracy in Major Rennef’s incomparable map of Hindostan. In his Critical Memoir, he illustrates with judgment and learning the marches of Alexander and Timour.
cuirassiers, forty thousand of his foot-guards, and one hundred and twenty elephants, whose tails are said to have been armed with sharp and poisoned daggers. Against these monsters, or rather against the imagination of his troops, he condescended to use some extraordinary precautions of fire and a ditch, of iron spikes and a rampart of bucklers; but the event taught the Moguls to smile at their own fears; and, as soon as these unwieldy animals were routed, the inferior species (the men of India) disappeared from the field. Timour made his triumphal entry into the capital of Hindostan; and admired, with a view to imitate, the architecture of the lately mosch; but the order and licence of a general pillage and massacre polluted the festival of his victory. He resolved to purify his soldiers in the blood of the idolaters, or GentooS, who still surpass, in the proportion of ten to one, the numbers of the Moslems. In this pious design, he advanced one hundred miles to the north-east of Delhi, passed the Ganges, fought several battles by land and water, and penetrated to the famous rock of Coupele, the statue of the cow, that seems to discharge the mighty river, whose source is far distant among the mountains of Thibet. His return

26 The two great rivers, the Ganges and Burmanpooter, rise in Thibet, from the opposite ridges of the same hills, separate from each other to the distance of 1200 miles, and, after a winding course of 2000 miles, again meet in one point near the gulf of Bengal. Yet so capricious is Fate, that the Burmanpooter is a late discovery, while his brother Ganges has been the theme of ancient and modern story. Coupele, the scene of Timour's last victory,
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His war against Sultan Bajazet, A.D. 1402, Sept. 1.

return was along the skirts of the northern hills; nor could this rapid campaign of one year justify the strange foresight of his emirs, that their children in a warm climate would degenerate into a race of Hindoos.

It was on the banks of the Ganges that Timour was informed, by his speedy messengers, of the disturbances which had arisen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia, of the revolt of the Christians, and the ambitious designs of the sultan Bajazet. His vigour of mind and body was not impaired by sixty-three years, and innumerable fatigues; and, after enjoying some tranquil months in the palace of Samarcand, he proclaimed a new expedition of seven years into the western countries of Asia. To the soldiers who had served in the Indian war, he granted the choice of remaining at home, or following their prince; but the troops of all the provinces and kingdoms of Persia were commanded to assemble at Ispahan, and wait the arrival of the imperial standard. It was first directed against the Christians of Georgia, who were strong only in their rocks, their castles, and the winter feelings, but these obstacles were overcome by the zeal and perseverance of Timour: the rebels submitted to the tribute or the Koran; and if both religions shrank of their martyrs, that name is more fully due to the Christian

victors, than to those who fled 1398 miles from Calcutta; and, in 1476, a larger camp. (Rennell's M. I 59. 239.)

17 See ibid. chap. 11, sec. 11. 11. 111. to the end of the 111. book, and Sketches in 1771 of 1204, to the capture of Timour into Syria.

prisoners,
prisoners, who were offered the choice of abjuration or death. On his descent from the hills, the emperor gave audience to the first ambassadors of Bajazet, and opened the hostile correspondence of complaints and menaces; which fermented two years before the final explosion. Between two jealous and haughty neighbours, the motives of quarrel will seldom be wanting. The Mogul and Ottoman conquests now touched each other in the neighbourhood of Erzerum, and the Euphrates; nor had the doubtful limit been ascertained by time and treaty. Each of these ambitious monarchs might accuse his rival of violating his territory; of threatening his vassals; and protecting his rebels; and, by the name of rebels, each understood the fugitive princes, whose kingdoms he had usurped, and whose life or liberty he implacably pursued. The resemblance of character was still more dangerous than the opposition of interest; and in their victorious career, Timour was impatient of an equal, and Bajazet was ignorant of a superior. The first epistle 28 of the Mogul emperor must have provoked, instead of reconciling the Turkish sultan; whose family and nation he affected to despise 29.

28 We have three copies of these hostile epistles in the Institutions (p. 147.), in Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 14.), and in Arabishah (tom. ii. c. 19. p. 183—201.); which agree with each other in the spirit and substance rather than in the style. It is probable, that they have been translated, with various latitude, from the Turkish original into the Arabic and Persian tongues.

29 The Mogul emir distinguishes himself and his countrymen by the name of Turk, and stigmatizes the race and nation of Bajazet with the less honourable epithet of Turchan. Yet if
Doest thou not know, that the greatest part of Asia is subject to our arms and our laws? that our invincible forces extend from one sea to the other? that the potentates of the earth form a line before our gate? and that we have compelled fortune herself to watch over the prosperity of our empire? What is the foundation of thy insolence and folly? Thou hast fought some battles in the woods of Anatolia; contemptible trophies! Thou hast obtained some victories over the Christians of Europe; thy sword was blessed by the apostle of God; and thy obedience to the precept of the Koran, in waging war against the infidels, is the sole consideration that prevents us from destroying thy country, the frontier and bulwark of the Moslem world. Be wise in time; reflect; repent; and avert the thunder of our vengeance, which is yet suspended over thy head. Thou art no more than a pismire; why wilt thou seek to provoke the elephants? Alas, they will trample thee under their feet." In his replies, Bajazet poured forth the indignation of a soul which was deeply flung by such unusual contempt. After retorting the balest reproaches on the thief and rebel of the desert, the Ottoman recapitulates his boasted victories in Iran, Touran, and the ladies; and labours to prove, that Timour had never triumphed unless by his own ferocity and the vice of his foes. "Thy armies are innumerable; so they are; but what are the arrows of the
"the flying Tartar against the scymetars and battle-axes of my firm and invincible Janizaries? "I will guard the princes who have implored my protection: seek them in my tents. The cities of Arzingan and Erzeroum are mine, and unless the tribute be duly paid, I will demand the arrears under the walls of Tauris and Sultania." The ungovernable rage of the sultan at length betrayed him to an insult of a more domestic kind. "If I fly from thy arms," said he, "may my wives be thrice divorced from my bed: but if thou haft not courage to meet me in the field, mayest thou again receive thy wives after they have thrice endured the embraces of a stranger." Any violation by word or deed of the secrecy of the Haram is an unpardonable offence among the Turkish nations; and the political quarrel of the two monarchs was embittered by private and personal resentment. Yet in his first expedition, Timour was satisfied with the siege and destruction of Siwas or Sebaste, a strong city on the borders of Anatolia; and he revenged the indiscretion of the Ottoman, on a

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"According to the Koran (c. ii. p. 27. and Sale's Discourse, p. 134.), a Musulman who had thrice divorced his wife (who had thrice repeated the words of a divorce), could not take her again, till after she had been married to, and repudiated by, another husband: an ignominious transaction, which it is needless to aggravate by supposing, that the first husband must see her enjoyed by a second before his face (Rycaut's state of the Ottoman Empire, i. ii. c. 21.).

The common delicacy of the Orientals, in never speaking of their women, is ascribed in a much higher degree by Arabshah to the Turkish nations; and it is remarkable enough that Chalcondyles (i. ii. p. 55.) had some knowledge of the prejudice, and the insult.
garrison of four thousand Armenians, who were buried alive for the brave and faithful discharge of their duty. As a Muslim he seemed to respect the pious occupation of Bajazet, who was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople: and after this salutary lesson, the Mogul conqueror checked his pursuit, and turned aside to the invasion of Syria and Egypt. In these transactions, the Ottoman prince, by the Orientals, and even by Timour, is styled the Kaifir of Room, the Caesar of the Romans: a title which, by a small anticipation, might be given to a monarch who possessed the provinces, and threatened the city, of the successors of Constantine.

The military republic of the Mamalukes still reigned in Egypt and Syria: but the dynasty of the Turks was overthrown by that of the Circassians; and their favourite Barkok, from a slave and a prisoner, was raised and restored to the throne. In the midst of rebellion and discord, he braved the menaces, corresponded with the enemies, and detained the ambassadors, of the Mogul, who patiently expected his decease, to revenge the crimes of the father on the feeble reign of his son Farage. The Syrian emirs were

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22 For the style of the Mamils, see the Institutions (p. 131. 137.), and for the Persians, the Brehier-Bay, Oriental (p. 332.): but I do not find that the title of Caesar has been applied by the Arabsians, or styled by the Ottomans themselves.

23 See the reasons of Barkok and Parnace, in M. de Guignes (Chap. iv. p. 221.), who, from the Arabic texts of Aboulmahmoud, Ibn Schermach, and Anabbi, has added some facts to our common stock of knowledge.

24 For these recent and domestic transactions, Arabiah, though a part of it, is a credible, witness (tom. i. c. 64—68).
were assembled at Aleppo to repel the invasion: they confided in the fame and discipline of the Mamalukes, in the temper of their swords and lances of the purest steel of Damascus, in the strength of their walled cities, and in the populousness of sixty thousand villages: and instead of sustaining a siege, they threw open their gates, and arrayed their forces in the plain. But these forces were not cemented by virtue and union; and some powerful emirs had been seduced to desert or betray their more loyal companions. Timour's front was covered with a line of Indian elephants, whose turrets were filled with archers and Greek fire: the rapid evolutions of his cavalry compleated the dismay and disorder; the Syrian crowds fell back on each other; many thousands were stifled or slaughtered in the entrance of the great street; the Moguls entered with the fugitives; and, after a short defence, the citadel, the impregnable citadel of Aleppo, was surrendered by cowardice or treachery. Among the suppliants and captives, Timour distinguished the doctors of the law, whom he invited to the dangerous honour of a personal conference 35. The Mogul prince was a zealous Musulman; but his Persian schools had taught him to revere the memory of Ali and Hofain; and he had imbibed

35 These interesting conversations appear to have been copied by Arabshah (tom. i. c. 68. p. 625—645.) from the calhi and historian Ebn Schounah, a principal actor. Yet how could he be alive twenty-five years afterwards (d'Herbelot, p. 792.)?
THE DECLINE AND FALL

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a deep prejudice against the Syrians, as the enemies of the son of the daughter of the apostle of God.

To these doctors he proposed a captious question, which the casuists of Bochara, Samarcand, and Herat, were incapable of resolving. "Who are the true martyrs, of those who are slain on my side, or on that of my enemies?" But he was silenced, or satisfied by the dexterity of one of the cadhis of Aleppo, who replied, in the words of Mahomet himself, that the motive, not the ensign, constitutes the martyr; and that the Moslems of either party, who fight only for the glory of God, may deserve that sacred appellation.

The true succession of the caliphs was a controversy of a still more delicate nature, and the frankness of a doctor, too honest for his situation, provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Ye are as false as those of Damascus: Moawiyah was an usurper, Yezid a tyrant, and Ali alone is the lawful successor of the prophet." A prudent explanation restored his tranquillity; and he passed to a more familiar topic of conversation.

"What is your age?" said he to the cadhi. "Fifty years."—"It would be the age of my eldest son: you see me here (continued "Timour) a poor, lame, decrepit mortal. Yet by my arm has the Almighty been pleased to subdue the kingdoms of Iran, Touran, and the Indies. I am not a man of blood; and God is my witness, that in all my wars I have never been the aggressor, and that my enemies have always been the authors of their own calamity." During this peaceful conversation, the
the streets of Aleppo streamed with blood, and
re-echoed with the cries of mothers and children,
with the shrieks of violated virgins. The rich
plunder that was abandoned to his soldiers might
stimulate their avarice; but their cruelty was
enforced by the peremptory command of pro-
ducing an adequate number of heads, which,
according to his custom, were curiously piled in
columns and pyramids: the Moguls celebrated
the feast of victory, while the surviving Moslems
passed the night in tears and in chains. I shall not
dwell on the march of the destroyer from Aleppo
to Damascus, where he was rudely encountered,
and almost overthrown, by the armies of Egypt.
A retrograde motion was imputed to his distress
and despair: one of his nephews deserted to the
enemy; and Syria rejoiced in the tale of his
defeat, when the sultan was driven by the revolt
of the Mamalukes to escape with precipitation
and shame to his palace of Cairo. Abandoned by
their prince, the inhabitants of Damascus still
defended their walls; and Timour consented to
raise the siege, if they would adorn his retreat
with a gift or ransom; each article of nine pieces.
But no sooner had he introduced himself into the
city, under colour of a truce, than he per-
fidiously violated the treaty; imposed a contribu-
tion of ten millions of gold; and animated his
troops to chastise the posterity of those Syrians
who had executed, or approved, the murder of
the grandson of Mahomet. A family which had
given honourable burial to the head of Hosein,
and a colony of artificers whom he sent to labour at Samarcand, were alone reserved in the general massacre; and, after a period of seven centuries, Damascus was reduced to ashes, because a Tartar was moved by religious zeal to avenge the blood of an Arab. The losses and fatigues of the campaign obliged Timour to renounce the conquest of Palestine and Egypt; but in his return to the Euphrates, he delivered Aleippo to the flames; and justified his pious motive by the pardon and reward of two thousand sectaries of Ali, who were desirous to visit the tomb of his son. I have expatiated on the personal anecdotes which mark the character of the Mogul hero; but I shall briefly mention, that he erected on the ruins of Bagdad a pyramid of ninety thousand heads; again visited Georgia; encamped on the banks of Araxes; and proclaimed his resolution of marching against the Ottoman emperor. Conscious of the importance of the war, he collected his forces from every province: eight hundred thousand men were enrolled on his military list.

36 The marches and occupations of Timour between the Syrian and Ottoman wars, are represented by Shereefeddin (l. v. c. 29-43.) and Amirsiah (tom. ii. c. 15-18.)

37 This number of 220,000 was extraced by Arabish, or rather by Ibn Sharragh, (ex ratione Timuri,) on the faith of a Cambrian officer (tom. i. c. 68. p. 617.) and it is remarkable enough, that a Greek historian, (Phocaera, l. i. c. 29.) add no more than 20,000 men. Bagdad reckons 168,000; another Latin contemporary, (Ibn. Tahtibain, apud. Mutanabbi, tom. xix. p. 300.) 140,000; and the summa sum of 1,68,000 is attested by a German soldier, who was present at the battle of Amida (Loc. cit.) and Chalcedon, (ibid. p. 82.) Timour, in his instructions, has not deigned to calculate his troops, his labours, or his revenues.
but the splendid commands of five, and ten, thousand horse, may be rather expressive of the rank and pension of the chiefs, than of the genuine number of effective soldiers. In the pillage of Syria, the Moguls had acquired immense riches: but the delivery of their pay and arrears for seven years, more firmly attached them to the Imperial standard.

During this diversion of the Mogul arms, Bajazet had two years to collect his forces for a more serious encounter. They consisted of four hundred thousand horse and foot, whose merit and fidelity were of an unequal complexion. We may discriminate the Janizaries who have been gradually raised to an establishment of forty thousand men; a national cavalry, the Spahis of modern times; twenty thousand cuirassiers of Europe, clad in black and impenetrable armour; the troops of Anatolia, whose princes had taken refuge in the camp of Timour, and a colony of Tartars, whom he had driven from Kipzak, and to whom Bajazet had assigned a settlement in the plains of Adrianople. The fearless confidence of the sultan urged him to meet his antagonist; and, as if he had chosen that spot for revenge, he displayed his banners near the ruins of the unfortu-

38 A wide latitude of non-effectives was allowed by the Great Mogul for his own pride and the benefit of his officers. Bernier's patron was Penge-Hazari, commander of 5000 horse; of which he maintained no more than 500 (Voyages, tom. i. p. 288, 289).

39 Timour himself fixes at 400,000 men the Ottoman army (Institutions, p. 153), which is reduced to 150,000 by Phranza (I. i. c. 29.), and swelled by the German soldier to 1,400,000. It is evident, that the Moguls were the more numerous.
nate Suvas. In the mean while, Timour moved from the Araxes through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia: his boldness was secured by the wisest precautions; his speed was guided by order and discipline; and the woods, the mountains, and the rivers, were diligently explored by the flying squadrons, who marked his road and preceded his standard. Firm in his plan of fighting in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, he avoided their camp; dextrously inclined to the left; occupied Caesarea; traversed the salt desert and the river Halys; and invested Angora: while the sultan, immovable and ignorant in his post, compared the Tartar's swiftness to the crawling of a snail: he returned on the wings of indignation to the relief of Angora; and as both generals were alike impatient for action, the plains round that city were the scene of a memorable battle, which has immortalised the glory of Timour and the fame of Bajazet. For this signal victory, the Mogul emperor was indebted to himself, to the genius of the moment, and the discipline of thirty years. He had improved the tactics, without violating the manners, of his nation, whose force still consisted in the missile weapons, and rapid evolutions, of a numerous

4 It may not be useless to mark the distances between Angora and the neighbouring cities, by the journeys of the caravans, each of twenty or twenty-five miles: to Smyrna xx. to Kiotabia x. to Boula x. to Caesarea viii. to Sinope x. to Nicomedia ix. to Constantinople xi. or xii. (See Tournefort, Voyage au Levant, tom. ii. lettre xii.)

41 See the Syllabus of Tactics in the Institutions, which the Latin editors have illustrated with elaborate plans (p. 573-507.) cavalry.
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cavalry. From a single troop to a great army, the mode of attack was the same: a foremost line first advanced to the charge, and was supported in a just order by the squadrons of the great vanguard. The general's eye watched over the field, and at his command the front and rear of the right and left wings successively moved forwards in their several divisions, and in a direct or oblique line: the enemy was pressed by eighteen or twenty attacks; and each attack afforded a chance of victory. If they all proved fruitless or unsuccessful, the occasion was worthy of the emperor himself, who gave the signal of advancing to the standard and main body, which he led in person. But in the battle of Angora, the main body itself was supported, on the flanks and in the rear, by the bravest squadrons of the reserve, commanded by the sons and grandsons of Timour. The conqueror of Hindostan oftentimes shewed a line of elephants, the trophies, rather than the instruments, of victory: the use of the Greek fire was familiar to the Moguls and Ottomans: but had they borrowed from Europe the recent invention of gunpowder and cannon, the artificial thunder, in the hands of either nation, must have turned the fortune of the day. In that day,

42 The sultan himself (says Timour) must then put the foot of courage into the stirrup of patience. A Tartar metaphor, which is lost in the English, but preserved in the French, version of the Institutes (p. 156, 157.).

43 The Greek fire, on Timour's side, is attested by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 47.); but Voltaire's strange suspicion, that some cannon, inscribed with strange characters, must have been sent by that monarch to Dehli, is refuted by the universal silence of contemporaries.

Bajazet
Bajazet displayed the qualities of a soldier and a chief; but his genius sunk under a stronger ascendant; and from various motives, the greatest part of his troops failed him in the decisive moment. His rigour and avarice had provoked a mutiny among the Turks; and even his son Soliman too hastily withdrew from the field. The forces of Anatolia, loyal in their revolt, were drawn away to the banners of their lawful princes. His Tartar allies had been tempted by the letters and emissaries of Timou; who reproached their ignoble servitude under the slaves of their fathers; and offered to their hopes the dominion of their new, or the liberty of their ancient country. In the right wing of Bajazet, the cuirassiers of Europe charged, with faithful hearts and irresistible arms; but these men of iron were soon broken by an artful flight and headlong pursuit; and the Janizaries, alone, without cavalry or missile weapons, were encompassed by the circle of the Mogul hunters. Their valour was at length oppressed by heat, thirst, and the weight of numbers; and the unfortunate sultan, afflicted with the gout in his hands and feet, was transported from the field on the fleetest of his horses. He was pursued and taken by the titular khan of Zagatai; and after his capture, and the defeat of the Ottoman powers, the kingdom of Anatolia

44 Timou has disapproved this fact and important narration with the Turans, which is unanswerably proved by the joint evidence of the Arabian (com. i. p. 351. p. 351. Birkett (Annot. London. p. 351.), and Pavilion Hist. (Shahistan. 4th d. 1151. p. 882.).

submitted
submitted to the conqueror, who planted his standard at Kiotahia, and dispersed on all sides the ministers of rapine and destruction. Mirza Mehemmed Sultan, the eldest and best beloved of his grandsons, was dispatched to Bourfa with thirty thousand horse; and such was his youthful ardour, that he arrived with only four thousand at the gates of the capital, after performing in five days a march of two hundred and thirty miles. Yet fear is still more rapid in its course; and Soliman, the son of Bajazet, had already passed over to Europe with the royal treasure. The spoil, however, of the palace and city was immense: the inhabitants had escaped; but the buildings, for the most part of wood, were reduced to ashes. From Bourfa, the grandson of Timour advanced to Nice, even yet a fair and flourishing city; and the Mogul squadrons were only stopped by the waves of the Propontis. The same success attended the other mirzas and emirs in their excursions: and Smyrna, defended by the zeal and courage of the Rhodian knights, alone deserved the presence of the emperor himself. After an obstinate defence, the place was taken by storm; all that breathed was put to the sword; and the heads of the Christian heroes were launched from the engines, on board of two carracks, or great ships of Europe, that rode at anchor in the harbour. The Moslems of Asia rejoiced in their deliverance from a dangerous and domestic foe, and a parallel was drawn between the two rivals, by observing that Timour, in fourteen days, had reduced
reduced a fortress which had sustained seven years the siege, or at least the blockade, of Bajazet.

The iron cage in which Bajazet was imprisoned by Tamerlane, so long and so often repeated as a moral lesson, is now rejected as a fable by the modern writers, who sneer at the vulgar credulity. They appeal with confidence to the Persian history of Sherefeddin Ali, which has been given to our curiosity in a French version, and from which I shall collect and abridge a more specious narrative of this memorable transaction.

No sooner was Timour informed that the captive Ottoman was at the door of his tent, than he graciously stepped forwards to receive him, seated him by his side, and mingled with just reproaches a soothing pity for his rank and misfortune. "Alas!" said the emperor, "the decree of fate is now accomplished by your own fault: it is the web which you have woven, the thorns of the tree which yourself have planted. I wished to spare, and even to assist, the champion of the Moslems: you braved our threats; you despised our friendship; you forced us to enter your kingdom with our invincible armies. Behold the event. Had you vanquished, I am

45 For the war of Anatolia or Roum, I add some hints in the Institutions, to the copious narratives of Sherefeddin (I. v. c. 44-65.) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 29-35.). On this part only of Timour's history, it is lawful to quote the Turks (Cantemir, p. 53-55. Annal. Leureclav, p. 320-322.) and the Greeks (Phitanza, l. i. c. 29. Ducas, c. 15-17. Chacoondules, l. i. i.)

46 The refutation of Voltaire (Essai sur l'Histoire Generale, c. 88.) is ready on this, as on every occasion, to reject a popular tale, and to diminish the magnitude of vice and virtue; and on most occasions his incredulity is reasonable.
not ignorant of the fate which you reserved for myself and my troops. But I disdain to retaliate: your life and honour are secure; and I shall express my gratitude to God by my clemency to man." The royal captive shewed some signs of repentance, accepted the humiliation of a robe of honour, and embraced with tears his son Moula, who, at his request, was sought and found among the captives of the field. The Ottoman princes were lodged in a splendid pavilion; and the respect of the guards could be surpassed only by their vigilance. On the arrival of the haram from Boulia, Timour restored the queen Despina and her daughter to their father and husband; but he piously required, that the Servian princes, who had hitherto been indulged in the profession of Christianity, should embrace without delay the religion of the prophet. In the feast of victory, to which Bajazet was invited, the Mogul emperor placed a crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand, with a solemn assurance of restoring him with an increase of glory to the throne of his ancestors. But the effect of this promise was disappointed by the sultan's untimely death: amidst the care of the most skilful physicians, he expired of an apoplexy at Akbahr, the Antioch of Pididia, about nine months after his defeat. The victor dropped a tear over his grave; his body, with royal pomp, was conveyed to the mausoleum which he had erected at Boulia; and his son Moula, after receiving a rich present of gold and jewels, of horses and arms, was invested
vested by a patent in red ink with the kingdom of
Anatolia.

Such is the portrait of a generous conqueror, which has been extracted from his own memo-
rials, and dedicated to his son and grandson, nineteen years after his decease 47; and, at a time
when the truth was remembered by thousands, a manifest falsehood would have implied a satire on
his real conduct. Weighty indeed is this evi-
dence, adopted by all the Persian histories 48; yet
flattery, more especially in the East, is base and
audacious; and the harsh and ignominious treat-
ment of Bajazet is attested by a chain of witnesses,
some of whom shall be produced in the order of
their time and country. 1. The reader has not
forgotten the garrison of French, whom the mar-
shal Boucicaut left behind him for the defence
of Constantinople. They were on the spot to
receive the earliest and most faithful intelli-
gence of the overthrow of their great adversary;
and it is more than probable, that some of them
accompanied the Greek embassy to the camp of
Tamerlane. From their account, the hardships
of the prison and death of Bajazet are affirmed by
the marshal's servant and historian, within the

47 See the history of Sherfuddin (l. v. c. 49, 52, 57, 59, 60.).
This work was finished at Sultanz, in the year 1414, and dedicated to
Jahan Ibrahim, the son of Sharrukh, the son of Timour, who reigned
in Faristan in his father's lifetime.

48 After the peril of Khondemir, Elbn Schoumeh, &c. the
learned d'Herbelot (Biblioth. Orientale, p. 382.) may affirm, that
this tale is as uncertain in the most authentic histories; but his
decree of the whole testimony of Arabiah, leaves some room to help
up his history.

distance
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distance of seven years. The name of Poggius the Italian is deservedly famous among the revivers of learning in the fifteenth century. His elegant dialogue on the vicissitudes of fortune was composed in his fiftieth year, twenty-eight years after the Turkish victory of Tamerlane; whom he celebrates as not inferior to the illustrious Barbarians of antiquity. Of his exploits and discipline Poggius was informed by several ocular witnesses; nor does he forget an example so apposite to his theme as the Ottoman monarch, whom the Scythian confined like a wild beast in an iron cage, and exhibited a spectacle to Asia. I might add the authority of two Italian chronicles, perhaps of an earlier date, which would prove at least that the same story, whether false or true, was imported into Europe.

49 Et fut lui-meme (Bojazet) pris, et mené en prison, en laquelle mourut de dure mort ! Memoires de Boucicault, P. i. c. 37. These memoirs were composed while the marshal was still governor of Genoa, from whence he was expelled in the year 1409. by a popular insurrection (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 473). The reader will find a satisfactory account of the life and writings of Poggius, in the Poggiana, an entertaining work of M. Lenfant, and in the Bibliotheca Latina medii et infiniæÆtatis of Fabricius (tom. v. p. 305—308.). Poggius was born in the year 1380, and died in 1459.

50 The dialogue de Varietate Fortunae (of which a complete and elegant edition has been published at Paris in 1725, in 4to), was composed a short time before the death of pope Martin V. (p. 5.), and consequently about the end of the year 1450.

51 See a splendid and eloquent encomium of Tamerlane, p. 36—79. iple eum novi (says Poggius) qui fuer ejs castris . . . Regem vivum cepit et caerque in modum fere inclufum per omnem Asiam circumtulit egregium admirandumque spectaculum fortunœ.
with the first tidings of the revolution. At the time when Poggius flourished at Rome, Ahmed Ibn Arabshah composed at Damascus the florid and malevolent history of Timour, for which he had collected materials in his journeys over Turkey and Tartary. Without any possible correspondence between the Latin and the Arabian writer, they agree in the fact of the iron cage; and their agreement is a striking proof of their common veracity. Ahmed Arabshah likewise relates another outrage, which Bajazet endured, of a more domestic and tender nature. His indiscreet mention of women and divorces was deeply resented by the jealous Tartar: in the feast of victory, the wine was served by female cupbearers, and the sultan beheld his own concubines and wives confounded among the slaves, and exposed without a veil to the eyes of intemperance. To escape a similar indignity, it is said, that his successors, except in a single instance, have abstained from legitimate nuptials; and the Ottoman practice and belief, at least in the sixteenth century, is attested by the observing Bufbequius, ambassador from the court of Vienna.


Bufbequius in Legatione Turcicâ, epist. i. p. 52. Yet his respectable authority is somewhat shaken by the subsequent marriages of Amurath II. with a Servian, and of Mahomet II. with an Asiatic princess (Cantemir, p. 83. 93.).
to the great Soliman. 4. Such is the separation of language, that the testimony of a Greek is not less independent than that of a Latin or an Arab. I suppress the names of Chalcondyles and Ducas, who flourished in a later period, and who speak in a less positive tone; but more attention is due to George Phranza 56, protovestiari of the last emperors, and who was born a year before the battle of Angora. Twenty-two years after that event, he was sent ambassador to Amurath the second; and the historian might converse with some veteran Janizaries, who had been made prisoners with the sultan, and had themselves seen him in his iron cage. 5. The last evidence, in every sense, is that of the Turkish annals, which have been consulted or transcribed by Leunclavius, Pocock, and Cantemir 57. They unanimously deplore the captivity of the iron cage; and some credit may be allowed to national historians, who cannot stigmatize the Tartar without uncovering the shame of their king and country.

From these opposite premises, a fair and moderate conclusion may be deduced. I am satisfied that Sherefeddin Ali has faithfully described the first ostentatious interview, in which the conqueror, whose spirits were harmonised by success, affected the character of generosity. But his mind was insensibly alienated by the unfeaborable arrogance of Bajazet; the complaints of his ene-

56 See the testimony of George Phranza (i. i. c. 29.), and his life in Hanckius de Script. Byzant. P. i. c. 40.). Chalcondyles and Ducas speak in general terms of Bajazet's claims.
mies, the Anatolian princes, were just and vehement; and Timour betrayed a design of leading his royal captive in triumph to Samarcand. An attempt to facilitate his escape, by digging a mine under the tent, provoked the Mogul emperor to impose a harsher restraint; and in his perpetual marches, an iron cage on a waggon might be invented, not as a wanton insult, but as a rigorous precaution. Timour had read in some fabulous history a similar treatment of one of his predecessors, a king of Persia; and Bajazet was condemned to represent the person, and expiate the guilt, of the Roman Cæsar. But the strength of his mind and body fainted under the trial, and his premature death might, without injustice, be ascribed to the severity of Timour. He warred not with the dead; a tear and a sepulchre were all that he could bestow on a captive who was delivered from his power; and if Moula, the son of Bajazet, was permitted to reign over the ruins of Bursa, the greatest part of the province of Anatolia had been restored by the conqueror to their lawful sovereigns.

From the Irisih and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damaticus and the Archipelago, Asia was in the hand of Timour; his armies were invincible, his ambition was bound-
Iefs, and his zeal might aspire to conquer and convert the Christian kingdoms of the West, which already trembled at his name. He touched the utmost verge of the land; but an insuperable, though narrow, sea, rolled between the two continents of Europe and Asia; and the lord of so many _tomas_, or myriads, of horse, was not master of a single galley. The two passages of the Bosporus and Hellespont, of Constantinople and Gallipoli, were possessed, the one by the Christians, the other by the Turks. On this great occasion, they forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmness in the common cause: the double straits were guarded with ships and fortifications; and they separately withheld the transports which Timour demanded of either nation, under the pretence of attacking their enemy. At the same time, they soothed his pride with tributary gifts and supplicant embassies, and prudently tempted him to retreat with the honours of victory. Soliman, the son of Bajazet, implored his clemency for his father and himself; accepted, by a red patent, the investiture of the kingdom of Romania, which he already held by the sword; and reiterated his ardent wish, of calling himself in person at the feet of the king of the world. The Greek

_59_ Arabili (tom. ii. c. 25.) describes, like a curious traveller, the straits of Gallipoli and Constantinople. To acquire a just idea of these events, I have compared the narratives and prejudices of the Moguls, Turks, Greeks, and Arabs. The Spanish ambassador mentions this hostile union of the Christians and Ottomans (Vie de Timour, p. 96.).

D 3 emperor
emperor 62 (either John or Manuel) submitted to pay the same tribute which he had stipulated with the Turkish sultan, and ratified the treaty by an oath of allegiance, from which he could absolve his conscience so soon as the Mogul arms had retired from Anatolia. But the fears and fancy of nations ascribed to the ambitious Timurans a new design of vast and romantic comp. se; a design of subduing Egypt and Africa, marching from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, entering Europe by the Streights of Gibraltar, and, after imposing his yoke on the kingdoms of Christendom, of returning home by the deserts of Russia and Tartary. This remote, and perhaps imaginary, danger was averted by the submission of the sultan of Egypt: the honours of the prayer and the coin, attested at Cairo the supremacy of Timour; and a rare gift of a giraffe, or camelopard, and nine ostiches, represented at Samarcand the tribute of the African world. Our imagination is not less astonished by the portrait of a Mogul, who, in his camp before Smyrna, meditates and almost accomplishes the invasion of the Chinese empire 64.

Timur was urged to this enterprise by national honour and religious zeal. The torrents which he had shed of Musulman blood could be expiated only by an equal destruction of the in-

62 Since the name of Cæsar had been transferred to the sultans of Roum, the Greek princes of Constantinople (Sherfeddin, l. v. c. 24.) were confounded with the Christian lords of Gallipoli, Thebaldonia, &c. under the title of Tekker, which is derived by corruption from the genitive tekker (Cantemir, p. 51.).

64 See Sherfeddin, l. v. c. 4., who marks, in a just itinerary, the road to China, which Arabihah (tom. ii. c. 33.) paints in vague and rhetorical colours.
fidelis; and as he now stood at the gates of paradise, he might best secure his glorious entrance by demolishing the idols of China, founding mosques in every city, and establishing the profession of faith in one God, and his prophet Mahomet. The recent expulsion of the house of Zingis was an insult on the Mogul name; and the disorders of the empire afforded the fairest opportunity for revenge. The illustrious Hongvou, founder of the dynasty of Ming, died four years before the battle of Angora; and his grandson, a weak and unfortunate youth, was burnt in his palace, after a million of Chinese had perished in the civil war. Before he evacuated Anatolia, Timour dispatched beyond the Sihoon a numerous army, or rather colony, of his old and new subjects, to open the road, to subdue the Pagan Calmucks and Mungals, and to found cities and magazines in the desert; and, by the diligence of his lieutenant, he soon received a perfect map and description of the unknown regions, from the source of the Irifh to the wall of China. During these preparations, the emperor achieved the final conquest of Georgia; passed the winter on the banks of the Araxes; appeased the troubles of Persia; and slowly returned to his capital, after a campaign of four years and nine months.

On the throne of Samarcand, he displayed, in a short repose, his magnificence and power; listened to the complaints of the people; distributed a just measure of rewards and punishments; employed his riches in the architecture of palaces and temples; and gave audience to the ambassadors of Egypt, Arabia, India, Tartary, Russia, and Spain, the last of whom presented a suit of tapestry which eclipsed the pencil of the Oriental artists. The marriage of six of the emperor’s grandsons was esteemed an act of religion, as well as of paternal tendernesses; and the pomp of the ancient caliphs was revived in their nuptials. They were celebrated in the gardens of Carighul, decorated with innumerable tents and pavilions, which displayed the luxury of a great city and the spoils of a victorious camp. Whole forests were cut down to supply fuel for the kitchens; the plain was spread with pyramids of meat, and vales of every liquor, to which thousands of guests were courteously invited; the orders of the flute, and the nations of the earth, were marshalled at the royal banquet; nor were the ambassadors of Europe (say the haughty Persian) excluded from the feast; since even the affords, the smallest of fish, find their place in the ocean. The public joy

63 For the return, triumph, and death of Timour, see Shereefedin (I. vi. c. 1-10) and Arabulish (tom. ii. c. 35-47).
64 Shereefedin (I. vi. c. 24.) mentions the ambassadors of one of the most potent sovereigns of Europe. We know that it was Henry III. king of Castile, and the curious relation of his two embassies is still extant (Mariana, Hist. Hisp. I. xix. c. 11. tom.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

joy was testified by illuminations and masquerades; the trades of Samarcand passed in review; and every trade was emulous to execute some quaint device, some marvellous pageant, with the materials of their peculiar art. After the marriage-contracts had been ratified by the cadhis, the bridegrooms and their brides retired to the nuptial chambers; nine times, according to the Asiatic fashion, they were dressed and undressed; and at each change of apparel, pearls and rubies were showered on their heads, and contemnuously abandoned to their attendants. A general indulgence was proclaimed: every law was relaxed, every pleasure was allowed; the people was free, the sovereign was idle; and the historian of Timour may remark, that, after devoting fifty years to the attainment of empire, the only happy period of his life were the two months in which he ceased to exercise his power. But he was soon awakened to the cares of government and war. The standard was unfurled for the invasion of China: the emirs made their report of two hundred thousand, the select and veteran soldiers of Iran and Touran: their baggage and provisions were transported by five hundred great waggons, and an immense train of horses and camels; and the troops might prepare for a long absence, since more than six months were employed in the tran-

rom. ii. p. 329, 330. Avertissement à l'Hist. de Timur Bca, p. 28—33.). There appears likewise to have been some correspondence between the Mogul emperor, and the court of Charles VII. king of France (Histoire de France, par Velley et Villaret, tom. xii. p. 336.).

quil
His death on the road to China, A. D. 1405, April 1.

Character and merits of Timour.

quip journey of a caravan from Samarcand to Pekin. Neither age, nor the severity of the winter, could retard the impatience of Timour; he mounted on horseback, passed the Sihoon on the ice, marched seventy-six parasangs, three hundred miles, from his capital, and pitched his last camp in the neighbourhood of Otrar, where he was expected by the angel of death. Fatigue, and the indiscreet use of iced water, accelerated the progress of his fever; and the conqueror of Asia expired in the seventieth year of his age, thirty-five years after he had ascended the throne of Zagatai. His designs were lost; his armies were disbanded; China was saved, and fourteen years after his decease, the most powerful of his children sent an embassy of friendship and commerce to the court of Pekin.

The fame of Timour has pervaded the East and West; his posterity is still invested with the Imperial title; and the admiration of his subjects, who revered him almost as a deity, may be justified in some degree by the praise or confession of his bitterest enemies. Although he was lame of an hand and foot, his form and stature were not unworthy of his rank; and his vigorous health, so essential to himself and to the world,

65 See the translation of the Persian account of their embassy, a curious and original piece (in the 4th part of the Relations de Tartary). They presented the emperor of China with an old book which Timour had formerly read. It was in the year 1419, that they departed from the court of Herat, to which place they returned in 1422 from Pekin.

66 From Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 96. The bright or ffer colours are borrowed from Shereddehin, d'Herbelot, and the Institutions.
was corroborated by temperance and exercise. In his familiar discourse he was grave and modest, and if he was ignorant of the Arabic language, he spoke with fluency and elegance the Persian and Turkish idioms. It was his delight to converse with the learned on topics of history and science; and the amusement of his leisure hours was the game of chess, which he improved or corrupted with new refinements. In his religion, he was a zealous, though not perhaps an orthodox, Musulman; but his fond understanding may tempt us to believe, that a superfluous reverence for omens and prophecies, for saints and astrologers, was only affected as an instrument of policy. In the government of a vast empire, he stood alone and absolute, without a rebel to oppose his power, a favourite to seduce his affections, or a minister to mislead his judgment. It was his firmest maxim, that whatever might be the consequence, the word of the prince should never be disputed or recalled; but his foes have maliciously observed, that the commands of anger and destruction were more strictly executed than those of beneficence and favour. His sons and grandsons, of whom Timour left six-and-thirty at his decease, were his first and

67 His new system was multiplied from 36 pieces and 64 squares, to 56 pieces and 110 or 116 squares. But, except in his court, the old game has been thought sufficiently elaborate. The Mogul emperor was rather pleased than hurt, with the victory of a subject: a chess-player will feel the value of this encomium!

68 See Shereefeddin, i. v. c. 15. 25. Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 96. p. 201. 593.) reproves the impertinence of Timour and the Moguls, who almost preferred to the Koran, the Tairaa, or Law of Zingis (cui Deus maledicat); nor will he believe that Sharokh had abolished the life and authority of that Pagan code.
most submissive subjects; and whenever they deviated from their duty, they were corrected, according to the laws of Zingis, with the ballot-ade, and afterwards referred to honour and command. Perhaps his heart was not devoid of the social virtues; perhaps he was not incapable of loving his friends and pardoning his enemies; but the rules of morality are founded on the public interest, and it may be sufficient to applaud the wisdom of a monarch, for the liberality by which he is not impoverished, and for the justice by which he is strengthened and enriched. To maintain the harmony of authority and obedience, to chastise the proud, to protect the weak, to reward the deserving, to banish vice and idleness from his dominions, to secure the traveller and merchant, to retrain the depredations of the foiled, to cherish the labours of the husbandman, to encourage industry and learning, and, by an equal and moderate allotment, to increase the revenue, without increasing the taxes, are indeed the duties of a prince; but, in the discharge of these duties, he finds an ample and immediate recompence. Timour might boast, that, at his ascension to the throne, Asia was the prey of anarchy and rapine, whilst under his prosperous monarchy a child, naked and unmanned, might carry a purse of gold from the Kau to the Well. Such was his conscience of merit, that from this reformation he derived an excuse for his victories, and a title to universal dominion. The four following observations will serve to appreciate his claim to the public gratitude, and perhaps we shall conclude, that the Mogul emperor was
rather the scourge than the benefactor of mankind. 1. If some partial disorders, some local oppressions, were healed by the sword of Timour, the remedy was far more pernicious than the disease. By their rapine, cruelty, and discord, the petty tyrants of Persia might afflict their subjects; but whole nations were crushed under the footsteps of the reformer. The ground which had been occupied by flourishing cities, was often marked by his abominable trophies, by columns, or pyramids, of human heads. Afracan, Carizme, Delhi, Ispahan, Bagdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Bursa, Smyrna, and a thousand others, were sacked, or burnt, or utterly destroyed, in his presence, and by his troops; and perhaps his conscience would have been startled, if a priest or philosopher had dared to number the millions of victims whom he had sacrificed to the establishment of peace and order 69. 2. His most destructive wars were rather inroads than conquests. He invaded Turkestan, Kipzak, Russia, Hindoostan, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia, without a hope or a desire of preserving those distant provinces. From thence he departed, laden with spoil; but he left behind him neither troops to awe the contumacious, nor magistrates to protect the obedient, natives. When he had broken

69 Besides the bloody passages of this narrative, I must refer to an anticipation in the sixth volume of the Decline and Fall, which, in a single note (p. 96, Note 24.), accumulates near 300,000 heads of the monuments of his cruelty. Except in Rowe's play on the fifth of November, I did not expect to hear of Timour's amiable moderation (White's preface, p. 7.). Yet I can excite a generous enthusiasm in the reader, and still more in the editor, of the
the fabric of their ancient government, he abandoned them to the evils which his invasion had aggravated or caused; nor were these evils compensated by any present or possible benefits. 3. The kingdoms of Tranfoxiana and Persia were the proper field which he laboured to cultivate and adorn, as the perpetual inheritance of his family. But his peaceful labours were often interrupted, and sometimes blasted, by the absence of the conqueror. While he triumphed on the Volga or the Ganges, his servants, and even his sons, forgot their master and their duty. The public and private injuries were poorly redressed by the tardy rigour of enquiry and punishment; and we must be content to praise the Institutions of Timour, as the specious idea of a perfect monarchy. 4. Whatsoever might be the blessings of his administration, they evaporated with his life. To reign, rather than to govern, was the ambition of his children and grandchildren; the enemies of each other and of the people. A fragment of the empire was upheld with some glory by Sharokh his youngest son; but after his decease, the scene was again involved in darkness and blood; and before the end of a century, Tranfoxiana and Persia were trampled by the Uzbeks from the north, and the Turkmans of the black and white sheep. The race of Timour would have been extinct, if an hero, his descendant in the fifth degree, had not

79 Consult the 1st Chapters of Shereefoddin and Ardashah, and M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iv. l. xvi.) Peter's History of Nadir Shah, p. 1-52. The story of Timour's descendants is imperfectly told; and the second and third parts of Shereefoddin are unknown.
fled before the Uzbek arms to the conquest of Hindostan. His successors (the great Moguls) extended their way from the mountains of Cashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurungzebe, their empire has been dissolved; their treasures of Delhi have been rifled by a Persian robber; and the richest of their kingdoms is now possessed by a company of Christian merchants, of a remote island in the Northern ocean.

Far different was the fate of the Ottoman monarchy. The mafly trunk was bent to the ground, but no sooner did the hurricane pass away, than it again rose with fresh vigour and more lively vegetation. When Timour, in every sense, had evacuated Anatolia, he left the cities without a palace, a treasure, or a king. The open country was overspread with hords of shepherds and robbers of Tartar or Turkman origin; the recent conquests of Bajazet were restored to the emirs, one of whom, in base revenge, demolished his sepulchre; and his five sons were eager, by civil discord, to consume the remnant of their patrimony. I shall enumerate their names in the order of their age and actions. 1. It is doubtful, whether I relate the story of the true Mustapha, or of an impostor, who personated that loft

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1 Shah Alhum, the present Mogul, is in the fourteenth degree from Timour by M却没有 Shah, his third son. See the 1st volume of Dow's History of Hindostan.

24 The civil wars, from the death of Bajazet to that of Mustapha, are related, according to the Turks, by Demetrius Comnenus (p. 58—82.). Of the Greeks, Chalcondyles (l. iv. and v.), Phrantza (l. i. c. 30—32.), and Ducas (c. 18—27.), the last is the most copious and best informed.
prince. He fought by his father's side in the battle of Angora: but when the captive sultan was permitted to enquire for his children, Moufa alone could be found; and the Turkish historians, the slaves of the triumphant faction, are persuaded that his brother was confounded among the slain. If Mustapha escaped from that disastrous field, he was concealed twelve years from his friends and enemies; till he emerged in Theffaly, and was hailed by a numerous party, as the son and successor of Bajazet. His first defeat would have been his last, had not the true, or false, Mustapha been saved by the Greeks, and restored, after the decease of his brother Mahomet, to liberty and empire. A degenerate mind seemed to argue his spurious birth; and if, on the throne of Adrianople, he was adored as the Ottoman sultan; his flight, his fetters, and an ignominious gibbet, delivered the impostor to popular contempt. A similar character and claim was asserted by several rival pretenders; thirty persons are said to have suffered under the name of Mustapha; and these frequent executions may perhaps infinuate, that the Turkish court was not perfectly secure of the death of the lawful prince. 2. After his father's captivity, Isâ, reign'd for some time in the neighbourhood of Angora, Sinope, and the Black Sea; and his ambassadors were dismissed from the presence of Timour with fair promises and honourable gifts. But their master was soon deprived of his province and life, by a jealous bro-

71 Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 26. whose testimony on this occasion is weighty and valuable. The existence of Isâ (unknown to the Turks) is likewise confirmed by Shereefeddin (1. v. c. 27).
ther, the sovereign of Amasia; and the final event suggested a pious allusion, that the law of Moses and Jesus, of Isai and Moufa, had been abrogated by the greater Mahomet. 3. Soliman is not numbered in the lists of the Turkish emperors: yet he checked the victorious progress of the Moguls; and after their departure, united for a while the thrones of Adrianople and Bourfa. In war he was brave, active, and fortunate: his courage was softened by clemency; but it was likewise inflamed by presumption, and corrupted by intemperance and idleness. He relaxed the nerves of discipline, in a government where either the subject or the sovereign must continually tremble: his vices alienated the chiefs of the army and the law; and his daily drunkenness, so contemptible in a prince and a man, was doubly odious in a disciple of the prophet. In the slumber of intoxication, he was surprized by his brother Moufa; and as he fled from Adrianople towards the Byzantine capital, Soliman was overtaken and slain in a bath, after a reign of seven years and ten months. 4. The investiture of Moufa degraded him as the slave of the Moguls: his tributary kingdom of Anatolia was confined within a narrow limit, nor could his broken militia and empty treasury contend with the hardy and veteran bands of the sovereign of Romania. Moufa fled in disguise from the palace of Bourfa; traversed the Propontis in an open boat; wandered over the Walachian and Servian hills; and after some vain attempts, ascended the throne of Adrianople, so recently stained with the blood of Soliman.
In a reign of three years and a half, his troops were victorious against the Christians of Hungary and the Morea; but Moula was ruined by his timorous disposition and unfeasible clemency. After resigning the sovereignty of Anatolia, he fell a victim to the perfidy of his ministers, and the superior ascendant of his brother Mahomet.

5. The final victory of Mahomet was the just recompense of his prudence and moderation. Before his father's captivity, the royal youth had been entrusted with the government of Amasia, thirty days journey from Constantinople, and the Turkish frontier against the Christians of Trebizond and Georgia. The castle, in Asiatic warfare, was esteemed impregnable; and the city of Amasia, which is equally divided by the river Iris, rises on either side in the form of an amphitheatre, and represents on a smaller scale the image of Bagdad. In his rapid career, Timour appears to have overlooked this obscure and contentious angle of Anatolia; and Mahomet, without provoking the conqueror, maintained his silent independence, and chafed from the province the last stragglers of the Tartar host. He relieved himself from the dangerous neighbourhood of Ia; but in the contests of their more powerful brethren, his firm neutrality was respected; till, after the triumph of Moula, he stood forth the heir and avenger of the unfortunate Soliman.

Mahomet obtained Anatolia by treaty, and Romania by arms; and the soldier who presented him


with
with the head of Moufa, was rewarded as the benefactor of his king and country. The eight years of his sole and peaceful reign were usefully employed in banishing the vices of civil discord, and restoring on a firmer basis the fabric of the Ottoman monarchy. His last care was the choice of two vizirs, Bajazet and Ibrahim 75, who might guide the youth of his son Amurath; and such was their union and prudence, that they concealed above forty days the emperor's death, till the arrival of his successor in the palace of Boursa. A new war was kindled in Europe by the prince, or impostor, Mustapha; the first vizir lost his army and his head; but the more fortunate Ibrahim, whose name and family are still revered, extinguished the last pretender to the throne of Bajazet, and closed the scene of domestic hostility.

In these conflicts, the wisest Turks, and indeed the body of the nation, were strongly attached to the unity of the empire; and Romania and Anatolia, so often torn asunder by private ambition, were animated by a strong and invincible tendency of cohesion. Their efforts might have instructed the Christian powers; and had they occupied with a confederate fleet, the streights of Gallipoli, the Ottomans, at least in Europe, must have been speedily annihilated. But the schism of the West, and the factions and wars of France and England, diverted the Latins from this generous enterprise:

75 The virtues of Ibrahim are praised by a contemporary Greek (Ducas, c. 25.). His descendants are the sole nobles in Turkey: they content themselves with the administration of his pious foundations, are excused from public offices, and receive two annual visits from the sultan (Cantemir, p. 76).
they enjoyed the present respite, without a thought of futurity; and were often tempted by a momentary interest to serve the common enemy of their religion. A colony of Genoese \(^76\), which had been planted at Phocæa \(^77\) on the Ionian coast, was enriched by the lucrative monopoly of alum \(^78\); and their tranquillity, under the Turkish empire, was secured by the annual payment of tribute. In the last civil war of the Ottomans, the Genoese governor, Adorno, a bold and ambitious youth, embraced the party of Amurath; and undertook with seven stout galleys to transport him from Asia to Europe. The sultan and five hundred guards embarked on board the admiral's ship; which was manned by eight hundred of the bravest Franks. His life and liberty were in their hands; nor can we, without reluctance, applaud the fidelity of Adorno, who, in the midst of the passage, knelt before him, and gratefully accepted a discharge of his arrears of tribute.

\(^75\) See Pachymer (I. v. 29.), Nicephorus Gregoras (I. ii. c. 1.), Sherfieldin (I. v. c. 57), and Ducis (c. 25). The last of these, a curious and careful observer, is entitled, from his birth and station, to particular credit in all that concerns Ionia and the islands. Among the nations that related to New Phocæa, he mentions the English (\(^69\)\(^v\)); an early evidence of Mediterranean trade.

\(^76\) For the spirit of navigation, and freedom of ancient Phocæa, of either of the Phocæans, consult the 6th book of Herodotus; and the Geographical Index of his last and learned French translator, M. Laricher (Comm. vii. p. 299.).

\(^77\) Phocæa is not enumerated by Pliny (Hist. Nat. xxxv. 52.) among the places productive of alum; he reckons Egypt as the first, and for the second the isle of Mithra, where alum mines are described by Tranquilli (tom. i. letter iv.), a traveller and a naturalist. After the fall of Phocæa, the Genoese, in 1419, found that useful mineral in the isle of Lhyna (Ib. a. I. Bouchaud, ad Ducam, c. 25.).

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They landed in sight of Mustapha and Gallipoli; two thousand Italians, armed with lances and battle-axes, attended Amurath to the conquest of Adrianople; and this venal service was soon repaid by the ruin of the commerce and colony of Phocæa.

If Timour had generously marched at the request, and to the relief, of the Greek emperor, he might be entitled to the praise and gratitude of the Christians 79. But a Musulman, who carried into Georgia the sword of persecution, and respected the holy warfare of Bajazet, was not disposed to pity or succour the idolaters of Europe. The Tartar followed the impulse of ambition; and the deliverance of Constantinople was the accidental consequence. When Manuel abdicated the government, it was his prayer, rather than his hope, that the ruin of the church and state might be delayed beyond his unhappy days; and after his return from a western pilgrimage, he expected every hour the news of the sad catastrophe. On a sudden he was astonished and rejoiced by the intelligence of the retreat, the overthrow, and the captivity of the Ottoman. Manuel 80 im-

79 The writer who has the most abused this fabulous generosity, is our ingenious Sir William Temple (his works, vol. iii p. 349, 350. Sixavo edition), that lover of exotic virtue. After the conquest of Russia, &c, and the passage of the Danube, his Tartar hero relieves, visits, admires, and refutes the city of Constantinople. His flattering pen deviates in every line from the truth of history; yet his pleasing fictions are more excusable than the grossest errors of Cantemir.

80 For the reigns of Manuel and John, of Mahomet I. and Amurath II. see the Othman history of Cantemir (p. 70—95.), and the three Greeks, Chalcondyles, Phlanza, and Ducas, who is still superior to his rivals.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

Chapter LXV.

Mediately failed from Modon in the Morea; ascended the throne of Constantinople; and dismissed his blind competitor to an easy exile in the isle of Lesbos. The ambassadors of the son of Bajazet were soon introduced to his presence; but their pride was fallen, their tone was modest; they were awed by the just apprehension, left the Greeks should open to the Moguls the gates of Europe. Soliman saluted the emperor by the name of father; solicited at his hands the government or gift of Romania; and promised to deserve his favour by inviolable friend-ship, and the restitution of Thessalonica, with the most important places along the Strymon, the Propontis, and the Black Sea. The alliance of Soliman exposed the emperor to the enmity and revenge of Moula: the Turks appeared in arms before the gates of Constantinopie; but they were repulsed by sea and land; and unless the city was guarded by some foreign mercenaries, the Greeks must have wondered at their own triumph. But, instead of prolonging the division of the Ottoman powers, the policy or passion of Manuel was tempted to affix the most formidable of the sons of Bajazet. He concluded a treaty with Mahomet, whose progress was checked by the insuperable barrier of Gallipoli: the sultan and his troops were transported over the Bosporus; he was hospitably entertained in the capital; and his successful folly was the first step to the conquest of Romania. The ruin was suspended by the prudence and moderation of the conqueror; he faithfully discharged his own obligations.
of the obligations and those of Soliman, respected the laws of gratitude and peace; and left the emperor guardian of his two younger sons, in the vain hope of saving them from the jealous cruelty of their brother Amurath. But the execution of his last testament would have offended the national honour and religion: and the divan unanimously pronounced, that the royal youths should never be abandoned to the custody and education of a Christian dog. On this refusal, the Byzantine councils were divided: but the age and caution of Manuel yielded to the presumption of his son John; and they unsheathed a dangerous weapon of revenge, by dismissing the true or false Mustapha, who had long been detained as a captive and hostage, and for whose maintenance they received an annual pension of three hundred thousand aipers. At the door of his prison, Mustapha subscribed to every proposal; and the keys of Gallipoli, or rather of Europe, were stipulated as the price of his deliverance. But no sooner was he seated on the throne of Romania, than he dismissed the Greek ambassadors with a smile of contempt, declaring, in a pious tone, that, at the day of judgment, he would rather answer for the violation of an oath, than for the surrender of a Muslim city into the hands of the infidels. The emperor was at once the enemy of the two rivals; from whom he had sustained,

81 The Turkish aper (from the Greek ἀπήρ) is, or was, a piece of white or silver money, at present much debated, but which was formerly equivalent to the 54th part, at least, of a Venetian ducat or tlig; and the 300,000 aipers, a princely allowance or royal tribute, may be computed at 2500 l. florins (Laur. Moreau, Pandol. Turc. p. 406—408.).
and to whom he had offered, an injury; and the victory of Amurath was followed, in the ensuing spring, by the siege of Constantinople 82.

The religious merit of subduing the city of the Caesars, attracted from Asia a crowd of volunteers, who aspired to the crown of martyrdom: their military ardour was inflamed by the promise of rich spoils and beautiful females; and the sultan's ambition was consecrated by the presence and prediction of Seid Bechar, a descendant of the prophet 83, who arrived in the camp, on a mule, with a venerable train of five hundred disciples. But he might blush, if a fanatic could blush, at the failure of his assurances. The strength of the walls repulsed an army of two hundred thousand Turks: their assaults were repelled by the fallies of the Greeks and their foreign mercenaries; the old resources of defence were opposed to the new engines of attack; and the enthusiasm of the dervish, who was snatched to heaven in visionary converse with Mahomet, was answered by the credulity of the Christians, who beheld the Virgin Mary, in a violet garment, walking on the rampart and animating their courage 84. After a siege of two months, Amurath was recalled to Bassador by a domellic revolt,

82 For the siege of Constantinople in 1422, see the particular and contemporary narrative of John Cananus, published by Leo Allatius, at the end of his edition of Acropolita (p. 138-195).
83 Cananus, p. 80. Cananus, who describes Seid Bechar without naming him, supposes that the friend of Mahomet affirmed in his amans the privilege of a prophet, and that the fans of the Greek muses were promoted to the lint and his disciples.
84 For this miraculous appearance, Cananus appeals to the Mufulman faint; but who will bear testimony for Seid Bechar?
which had been kindled by Greek treachery, and
was soon extinguished by the death of a guiltless
brother. While he led his Janizaries to new
conquests in Europe and Asia, the Byzantine
empire was indulged in a fervile and precarious
respite of thirty years. Manuel sunk into the grave;
and John Palæologus was permitted to reign, for an
annual tribute of three hundred thousand aspers,
and the dereliction of almost all that he held beyond
the suburbs of Constantinople.

In the establishment and restoration of the
Turkish empire, the first merit must doubtless be
assigned to the personal qualities of the sultans;
since, in human life, the most important scenes
will depend on the character of a single actor.
By some shades of wisdom and virtue, they may
be discriminated from each other; but, except
in a single instance, a period of nine reigns and
two hundred and sixty-five years is occupied,
from the elevation of Othman to the death of
Soliman, by a rare series of warlike and active
princes, who impressed their subjects with obe-
dience and their enemies with terror. Instead of
the slothful luxury of the seraglio, the heirs of
royalty were educated in the council and the field:
from early youth they were entrusted by their
fathers with the command of provinces and
armies; and this manly institution, which was
often productive of civil war, must have essentially
contributed to the discipline and vigour of the
monarchy. The Ottomans cannot style them-

selves, like the Arabian caliphs, the descendants
or successors of the apostle of God; and the
kindred
kindred which they claim with the Tartar khans of the house of Zingis, appears to be founded in flattery rather than in truth. Their origin is obscure; but their sacred and indefeasible right, which no time can erase and no violence can infringe, was soon and unalterably implanted in the minds of their subjects. A weak or vicious sultan may be deposed and strangled; but his inheritance devolves to an infant or an idiot: nor has the most daring rebel presumed to ascend the throne of his lawful sovereign. While the transient dynasties of Asia have been continually subverted by a crafty vizir in the palace or a victorious general in the camp, the Ottoman succession has been confirmed by the practice of five centuries, and is now incorporated with the vital principle of the Turkish nation.

To the spirit and constitution of that nation, a strong and singular influence may however be ascribed. The primitive subjects of Othman were the four hundred families of wandering Turkmans, who had followed his ancestors from the Oxus to the Sangar; and the plains of Anatolia are still covered with the white and black tents of their Muslim brethren. But this original drop was
dissolved in the mafs of voluntary and vanquished subjects, who, under the name of Turks, are united by the common ties of religion, language, and manners. In the cities, from Erzeroum to Belgrade, that national appellation is common to all the Moslems, the first and most honourable inhabitants; but they have abandoned, at least in Romania, the villages, and the cultivation of the land, to the Christian peasants. In the vigorous age of the Ottoman government, the Turks were themselves excluded from all civil and military honours; and a servile class, an artificial people, was raised by the discipline of education to obey, to conquer, and to command. From the time of Orchan and the first Amurath, the sultans were persuaded that a government of the sword must be renewed in each generation with new soldiers; and that such soldiers must be sought, not in effeminate Asia, but among the hardy and warlike natives of Europe. The provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Servia, became the perpetual seminary of the Turkish army; and when the royal fifth of the captives was diminished by conquest, an inhuman tax, of the fifth child, or of every fifth year, was rigorously levied on the Christian families. At the age of twelve or fourteen years, the most robust youths were torn from their parents; their names were enrolled in a book; and from that moment they were clothed, taught, and main-

87 Chalcondyles (I. v.) and Ducass (c. 23.) exhibit the rude linemants of the Ottoman policy, and the transmutation of Christian children into Turkish soldiers.
tained, for the public service. According to the
promise of their appearance, they were selected
for the royal schools of Bursa, Pera, and Adrian-
ople, entrusted to the care of the bashaws, or
dispersed in the houses of the Anatolian pasha
try. It was the first care of their masters to instruc
t them in the Turkish language; their bodies were
exercised by every labour that could fortify their
strength; they learned to wrestle, to leap, to run,
to shoot with the bow, and afterwards with the
musket; till they were drafted into the chambers
and companies of the Janizaries, and severely
trained in the military or monastic discipline of
the order. The youths most conspicuous for
birth, talents, and beauty, were admitted into
the inferior class of Agiamaglans, or the more
liberal rank of Ichoglans, of whom the former were
attached to the palace, and the latter to the person
of the prince. In four successive schools, under
the rod of the white eunuchs, the arts of horsemanship and of darteing the javelin were their daily
exercise, while those of a more studious cast ap-
plied themselves to the study of the Koran, and
the knowledge of the Arabic and Persian tongues.
As they advanced in seniority and merit, they
were gradually dismissed to military, civil, and
even ecclesiastical employments: the longer their
stay, the higher was their expectation; till, at a
mature period, they were admitted into the num-
ber of the forty agas, who stood before the sultan,
and were promoted by his choice to the govern-
ment of provinces and the first honours of the
empire.
Such a mode of institution was admirably adapted to the form and spirit of a despotic monarchy. The ministers and generals were, in the strictest sense, the slaves of the emperor, to whose bounty they were indebted for their instruction and support. When they left the seraglio, and suffered their beards to grow as the symbol of enfranchisement, they found themselves in an important office, without faction or friendship, without parents and without heirs, dependent on the hand which had raised them from the dust, and which, on the slightest displeasure, could break in pieces these statues of glass, as they are aptly termed by the Turkish proverb. In the slow and painful steps of education, their character and talents were unfolded to a discerning eye: the man, naked and alone, was reduced to the standard of his personal merit; and, if the sovereign had wisdom to choose, he possessed a pure and boundless liberty of choice. The Ottoman candidates were trained by the virtues of abasement to those of action; by the habits of submission to those of command. A similar spirit was diffused among the troops; and their silence and sobriety, their patience and modesty, have

65 This sketch of the Turkish education and discipline, is chiefly borrowed from Ricaut's State of the Ottoman empire, the Stato Militare del' Imperio Ottomanno of Count Marchi (in Haya. 1732, in folio), and a Description of the Seraglio, approved by Mr. Greaves himself, a curious traveller, and inserted in the second volume of his works.

66 From the series of exv vizirs till the siege of Vienna (Marchi, p. 75.), their place may be valued at three years and a half purchase.
extorted the reluctant praise of their Christian enemies?70. Nor can the victory appear doubtful, if we compare the discipline and exercise of the Janizaries with the pride of birth, the independence of chivalry, the ignorance of the new levies, the mutinous temper of the veterans, and the vices of intemperance and disorder, which so long contaminated the armies of Europe.

The only hope of salvation for the Greek empire and the adjacent kingdoms, would have been some more powerful weapon, some discovery in the art of war, that should give them a decisive superiority over their Turkish foes. Such a weapon was in their hands; such a discovery had been made in the critical moment of their fate. The chymists of China or Europe had found, by casual or elaborate experiments, that a mixture of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal, produces, with a spark of fire, a tremendous explosion. It was soon observed, that if the expansive force were compressed in a strong tube, a ball of stone or iron might be expelled with irresistible and destructive velocity. "The precise era of the invention and application of gunpowder is involved in doubtful traditions and equivocal language; yet we may clearly discern, that it was known before the middle of the fourteenth century; and that before the end of the same, the use of artillery in battles and sieges, by sea and land, was familiar

87 See the entertaining and judicious letters of Bufonius.
87 The 18 and 19 volumes of Dr. Watson's Chemical Essays, contain two valuable discourses on the discovery and composition of gunpowder.
to the states of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and England. The priority of nations is of small account; none could derive any exclusive benefit from their previous or superior knowledge; and in the common improvement they stood on the same level of relative power and military science. Nor was it possible to circumscribe the secret within the pale of the church; it was disclosed to the Turks by the treachery of apostates and the selfish policy of rivals; and the sultans had sense to adopt, and wealth to reward, the talents of a Christian engineer. The Genoese, who transported Amurath into Europe, must be accused as his preceptors; and it was probably by their hands that his cannon was cast and directed at the siege of Constantinople. The first attempt was indeed unsuccessful; but in the general warfare of the age, the advantage was on their side, who were most commonly the assailants; for a while the proportion of the attack and defence was suspended; and this thundering

42 On this subject, modern testimonies cannot be trusted. The original passages are collected by Ducange (Gloff. Latin. tom. i. p. 675. Benivardus). But in the early doubtful twilight, the name, found, fire, and effect, that seem to express our artillery, may be fairly interpreted of the old engines and the Greek fire. For the English cannon at Crecy, the authority of John Villani (Chron. l. xii. c. 65.), must be weighed against the silence of Froissard. Yet Muratori (Antiquit. Italiae mediæ et recentiores. Dissert. xxvi. p. 514, 515.) has produced a decisive passage from Petrarch (de Remediis utriusque Fortunæ Dialog.), who, before the year 1344, execrates this terrestrial thunder, super rara, non communis.

93 The Turkish cannon, which Ducas (c. 30.) first introduces before Belgrade (A. D. 1416), is mentioned by Chalcondyles (l. c. p. 113.) in 1422, at the siege of Constantinople.
artillery was pointed against the walls and towers which had been erected only to resist the less potent engines of antiquity. By the Venetians, the use of gunpowder was communicated without reproach to the sultans of Egypt and Persia, their allies against the Ottoman power; the secret was soon propagated to the extremities of Asia; and the advantage of the European was confined to his easy victories over the savages of the new world.

If we contrast the rapid progress of this mischievous discovery with the slow and laborious advances of reason, science, and the arts of peace, a philosopher, according to his temper, will laugh or weep at the folly of mankind.
Applications of the Eastern Emperors to the Popes.—
Visits to the West, of John the First, Manuel, and
John the Second, Paleologus.—Union of the Greek
and Latin Churches, promoted by the Council of
Basil, and concluded at Ferrara and Florence.—
State of Literature at Constantinople.—Its Re-
vival in Italy by the Greek Fugitives.—Curiosity
and Emulation of the Latins.

IN the four last centuries of the Greek emperors,
their friendly or hostile aspect towards the pope
and the Latins, may be observed as the thermo-
meter of their prosperity or distress; as the scale of
the rise and fall of the Barbarian dynasties. When
the Turks of the house of Seljuk pervaded Asia
and threatened Constantinople, we have seen at
the council of Placentia, the suppliant ambassadors
of Alexius, imploring the protection of the com-
mon father of the Christians. No sooner had the
arms of the French pilgrims removed the sultan
from Nice to Iconium, than the Greek princes re-
sumed, or avowed, their genuine hatred and con-
tempt for the schismatics of the West, which pre-
cipitated the first downfall of their empire. The
date of the Mogul invasion is marked in the soft
and charitable language of John Vataces. After
the recovery of Constantinople, the throne of the

C H A P. LXVI.

Embassy of the younger Androni-
cus to pope Be-
nedict XII; A. D.
1339.
first Palæologus was encompassed by foreign and domestic enemies; as long as the sword of Charles was suspended over his head, he baseley courted the favour of the Roman pontiff; and sacrificed to the present danger, his faith, his virtue, and the affection of his subjects. On the decease of Michael, the prince and people asserted the independence of the church and the purity of their creed: the elder Andronicus neither feared nor loved the Latins; in his last distress, pride was the safeguard of superstition, nor could he decently retract in his age the firm and orthodox declarations of his youth. His grandson, the younger Andronicus, was less a slave in his temper and situation; and the conquest of Bithynia by the Turks, admonished him to seek a temporal and spiritual alliance with the western princes. After a separation and silence of fifty years, a secret agent, the monk Barlaam, was dispatched to pope Benedict the twelfth; and his artful instructions appear to have been drawn by the master-hand of the great domestic*. "Molt holy father," was he commissioned to say, "the emperor is not less definious than yourself of an union between the two churches: but in this delicate transaction, he is obliged to respect his own dignity and the prejudices of his subjects. The ways of

* This curious instruction was transcribed (I believe) from the Vatican archives, by Odoricus Raynaldis, in his continuation of the Annales of Baronius (Roma, 1646-1677, in 16 volumes in folio). I have contented myself with the abbe Hesqui (Hist. Ecclesiastique, tom. xx. p. 1-8.), whose abstracts I have always found to be clear, accurate, and impartial.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

"union are two-fold; force, and persuasion. Of force, the inefficacy has been already tried; since the Latins have subdued the empire, without subduing the minds, of the Greeks. The method of persuasion, though slow, is sure and permanent. A deputation of thirty or forty of our doctors would probably agree with those of the Vatican, in the love of truth and the unity of belief: but on their return, what would be the use, the recompense of such agreement? the scorn of their brethren, and the reproaches of a blind and obstinate nation. Yet that nation is accustomed to reverence the general councils, which have fixed the articles of our faith; and if they reprobate the decrees of Lyons, it is because the Eastern churches were neither heard nor represented in that arbitrary meeting. For this salutary end, it will be expedient, and even necessary, that a well-chosen legate should be sent into Greece, to convene the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; and, with their aid, to prepare a free and universal synod. But at this moment," continued the subtle agent, "the empire is assaulted and endangered by the Turks, who have occupied four of the greatest cities in Anatolia. The Christian inhabitants have expressed a wish of returning to their allegiance and religion; but the forces and revenues of the emperor are insufficient for their deliverance: and the Roman legate must be accompanied, or preceded, by an army of Franks, to expel the infidels, and open a way to the holy sepulchre." If the suspicious
suspicious Latins should require some pledge, some previous effect of the sincerity of the Greeks, the answers of Barlaam were perspicuous and rational.

1. A general synod can alone consummate the union of the churches; nor can such a synod be held till the three Oriental patriarchs, and a great number of bishops, are enfranchised from the Mahometan yoke. 2. The Greeks are alienated by a long series of oppression and injury: they must be reconciled by some act of brotherly love, some effectual succour, which may fortify the authority and arguments of the emperor, and the friends of the union. 3. If some difference of faith or ceremonies should be found incurable, the Greeks however are the disciples of Christ, and the Turks are the common enemies of the Christian name. The Armenians, Cyprians, and Rhodiens, are equally attacked; and it will become the piety of the French princes to draw their swords in the general defence of religion. 4. Should the subjects of Andronicus be treated as the worst of felons, of heretics, of pagans, a judicious policy may yet infringe the powers of the West to embrace an useful ally, to uphold a linking empire, to guard the confines of Europe; and rather to join the Greeks against the Turks, than to expect the union of the Turkish arms with the troops and treasures of captive Greece. The reasons, the offers, and the demands, of Andronicus, were owed with solicitude and studied insinuence. The heirs of France and Naples declined the danger and glory of a crusade; the pope received
to call a new synod to determine old articles of faith: and his regard for the obsolete claims of the Latin emperor and clergy, engaged him to use an offensive superscription: "To the moderate" recter 2 of the Greeks, and the persons who "style themselves the patriarchs of the Eastern churches." For such an embassy, a time and character less propitious could not easily have been found. Benedict the twelfth 3 was a dull peasant, perplexed with scruples, and immered in sloth and wine: his pride might enrich with a third crown the papal tiara, but he was alike unfit for the regal and the pastoral office.

After the decease of Andronicus, while the Greeks were distracted by intestine war, they could not presume to agitate a general union of the Christians. But as soon as Cantacuzene had subdued and pardoned his enemies, he was anxious to justify, or at least to extenuate, the introduction of the Turks into Europe, and the nuptials of his daughter with a Mahometan prince.

2 The ambiguity of this title is happy or ingenious; and moderate, as synonymous to recter, gubernator, is a word of chivalry, and even cleronomia, Latinity, which may be found, not in the Glossary of Ducange, but in the Thesaurus of Robert Stephens.

3 The false epitite (line titulus) of Petrarch, exposes the dangers of the title, and the incapacity of the prince. Hac inter, vino madidus, ego gravissimo populo, rure pertinus, jam jure potius, dormienti jam fomento percepis, atque (utnam facies) nut . . . Deo quanto haud inficius patrio terrae, interretiatreto, quicumque maliis plicaturum ascendit. This latter engages his biographer to weigh the virtues and vices of Benedict XII, which have been exaggerated by Guelphs and Ghibelines, by Papists and Protestants (see Mémoires pour la Vie de Petrarch, tom. i. p. 259. ii. rot xv. p. 13—16.). He gave occasion to the saying, Bibamus papaliter.

Negotiation of Cantacuzene with Clement VI. A. D. 1348.
Two officers of State, with a Latin interpreter, were sent in his name to the Roman court, which was transplanted to Avignon, on the banks of the Rhone, during a period of seventy years; they represented the hard necessity which had urged him to embrace the alliance of the miscreants, and pronounced by his command the specious and edifying sounds of union and crusade. Pope Clement the sixth, the successor of Benedict, received them with hospitality and honour, acknowledged the innocence of their sovereign, excused his distress, applauded his magnanimity, and displayed a clear knowledge of the state and revolutions of the Greek empire, which he had imbibed from the honest accounts of a Savoyard lady, an attendant of the empress Anne. If Clement was ill-endowed with the virtues of a priest, he possessed however the spirit and magnificence of a prince, whose liberal hand distributed benefices and kingdoms with equal facility. Under his reign, Avignon was the seat of pomp and pleasure: in his youth he had surpassed the licentiousness of a baron; and the palace, nay, the bed-chamber of the pope, was adorned, or pol-

4 See the original lives of Clement VI. in Muratori (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. III. P. ii. p. 516—59.), Matteo Velluti (Chron. Lat. c. 43. in Muratori, tom. v. p. 125.), who flatters him, molto cavator, pector religioso; Fremy II. de Fremin ton. xx. p. 126.), and the Vie de Petrarque (tom. ii. p. 4—43.). The abbé de Sade treats him with the most indulgence, but he is a great man as well as a priest.

5 Her name (most probably corrupted) was Zumpet. She had accompanied, and bore a Grandede with her mother at Constantinople, where her presence, piety, and piety, detected the plagues of the Greeks themselves (Cambruczen. II. c. 42.).
luted, by the visits of his female favourites. The
wars of France and England were adverse to the
holy enterprise; but his vanity was amused by
the splendid idea; and the Greek ambassadors
returned with two Latin bishops, the ministers of
the pontiff. On their arrival at Constantinople,
the emperor and the nuncios admired each other's
piety and eloquence: and their frequent confer-
ences were filled with mutual praises and pro-
mises, by which both parties were amused, and
neither could be deceived. "I am delighted,"
said the devout Cantacuzene, "with the project
of our holy war, which must redound to my
personal glory, as well as to the public benefit
of Christendom. My dominions will give a
free passage to the armies of France: my troops,
my gallies, my treasures, shall be consecrated
to the common cause; and happy would be
my fate, could I deserve and obtain the crown
of martyrdom. Words are insufficient to ex-
press the ardour with which I figh for the re-
union of the scattered members of Christ. If
my death could avail, I would gladly present
my sword and my neck: if the spiritual phoenix
could arise from my ashes, I would erect the
pile and kindle the flame with my own hands." Yet
the Greek emperor presumed to observe, that
the articles of faith which divided the two
churches had been introduced by the pride and
precipitation of the Latins: he disclaimed the fer-
vile and arbitrary steps of the first Palaeologus;
and firmly declared, that he would never submit
his conscience, unless to the decrees of a free and
universa
universal synod. "The situation of the times," continued he, "will not allow the pope and my-"self to meet either at Rome or Constantinople; "but some maritime city may be chosen on the "verge of the two empires, to unite the bishops, "and to instruct the faithful, of the East and "West." The nuncios seemed content with the proposition; and Cantacuzene affects to deplore the failure of his hopes, which were soon overthrown by the death of Clement, and the different temper of his successor. His own life was prolonged, but it was prolonged in a cloister; and, except by his prayers, the humble monk was incapable of directing the counsels of his pupil or the state.

Yet of all the Byzantine princes, that pupil, John Palæologus, was the best disposed to embrace, to believe, and to obey, the shepherd of the West. His mother, Anne of Savoy, was baptized in the bosom of the Latin church; her marriage with Andronicus imposed a change of name, of apparel, and of worship; but her heart was full faithful to her country and religion; she had formed the infancy of her son, and he governed the emperor, after his mind, or at least his stature, was enlarged to the first man. In the first year of his deliverance and restoration, the Turks were still masters of the Hellespont; the son of Cantacuzene was present at Adrianople; and Palæologus could depose neither or inherit.
nor on his people. By his mother's advice, and in the hope of foreign aid, he abjured the rights both of the church and state; and the act of slavery, subscribed in purple ink, and sealed with the golden bull, was privately intrusted to an Italian agent. The first article of the treaty is an oath of fidelity and obedience to Innocent the sixth and his successors, the supreme pontiffs of the Roman and Catholic church. The emperor promises to entertain with due reverence their legates and nuncios; to assign a palace for their residence and a temple for their worship; and to deliver his second son Manuel as the hostage of his faith. For these conditions, he requires a prompt succour of fifteen galleys, with five hundred men at arms, and a thousand archers, to serve against his Christian and Musulman enemies. Palaeologus engages to impose on his clergy and people the same spiritual yoke; but as the resistance of the Greeks might be justly foreseen, he adopts the two effectual methods of corruption and education. The legate was empowered to distribute the vacant benefices among the ecclesiastics who should subscribe the creed of the Vatican; three schools were instituted to instruct the youth of Constantinople in the language and doctrine of the Latins; and the name of Andronicus, the heir of the empire, was enrolled as the first student. Should he fail in the measures of persuasion or force, Palaeologus declares himself

7 See this ignominious treaty in Fleury (Hist. Eccles. p. 157—158), from Raynaldus, who drew it from the Vatican archives. It was not worth the trouble of a pious forgery.
unworthy to reign; transferred to the pope all regal and paternal authority; and invests Innocent with full power to regulate the family, the government, and the marriage, of his son and successor. But this treaty was neither executed nor published: the Roman gallies were as vain and imaginary as the submission of the Greeks; and it was only by the secrecy, that their sovereign escaped the dishonour, of this fruitless humiliation.

The tempest of the Turkish arms soon burst on his head; and, after the loss of Adrianople and Romania, he was inclosed in his capital, the vessel of the haughty Amurath, with the miserable hope of being the last devoured by the savage. In this abject state, Palaeologus embraced the resolution of embarking for Venice, and calling himself at the feet of the pope; he was the first of the Byzantine princes who had ever visited the unknown regions of the West, yet in them alone he could seek consolation or relief; and with less violation of his dignity he might appear in the sacred college than at the Ottoman Porte. After a long absence, the Roman pontiffs were returning from Avignon to the banks of the Tiber; Urban the fifth, of a mild and virtuous character, encouraged or allowed the pilgrimage of the Greek prince; and, within the same year,
enjoyed the glory of receiving in the Vatican the two Imperial shadows, who represented the majesty of Constantine and Charlemagne. In this suppliant visit, the emperor of Constantinople, whose vanity was lost in his distress, gave more than could be expected of empty sounds and formal submissions. A previous trial was imposed; and in the presence of four cardinals, he acknowledged, as a true catholic, the supremacy of the pope, and the double procession of the Holy Ghost. After this purification, he was introduced to a public audience in the church of St. Peter; Urban, in the midst of the cardinals, was seated on his throne; the Greek monarch, after three genuflexions, devoutly kissed the feet, the hands, and at length the mouth, of the holy father, who celebrated high mass in his presence, allowed him to lead the bridle of his mule, and treated him with a sumptuous banquet in the Vatican. The entertainment of Palæologus was friendly and honourable; yet some difference was observed between the emperors of the East and West; nor could the former be entitled to the rare privilege of chanting the gospel in the rank of a deacon. In favour of his proselyte, Urban

9 Paullo minus quam si fuerit Imperator Romanorum. Yet his title of Imperator Graecorum was no longer disputed (Vit. Urban V. p. 623.).

10 It was confined to the successors of Charlemagne, and to them only on Christmas day. On all other festivals, these Imperial deacons were content to serve the pope, as he said mass, with the book and the corporal. Yet the abbé de Sade generously thinks, that the merits of Charles IV. might have entitled him, though not on the proper day (A.D. 1368, November 1.), to the whole privilege. He seems to affix a just value on the privilege and the man (Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 715.).
strove to rekindle the zeal of the French king, and the other powers of the West; but he found them cold in the general cauld, and active only in their domestic quarrels. The last hope of the emperor was in an English mercenary, John Hawkwood 11, or Acuto, who with a band of adventurers, the white brotherhood, had ravaged Italy from the Alps to Calabria; told his services to the hostile states; and incurred a just excommunication by shooting his arrows against the papal residence. A special licence was granted to negotiate with the outlaw, but the forces, or the spirit, of Hawkwood were unequal to the enterprise; and it was for the advantage perhaps of Palaeologus to be disappointed of a succour, that must have been costly, that could not be effectual, and which might have been dangerous 12. The disconsolate Greek 13 prepared for his return,

11 Through some Italian chroniclers, the etymology of Luc de la Manche (Matteo Villani, lib. xvi. c. 71. in Muratori, tom. xvi. p. 746.), suggests the English word Hawkwood, the true name of our adventurer. Compare (Thomas Walsingham, Hist. Angl. in p. 233., after Seldenius, Camb. hisp. p. 174.). After a thousand twenty victories, and one defeat, he died, in 1324. General of the French, and was buried with such honours as the rep. She has not paid to Paris to Petrarch (Muratori, Ann. d'P., lib. xi. p. 211.—216.)

12 The name of English (by birth or service) event well from France into Italy after the peace of Bologna in 1328. Yet the explanation of Mortimer (Arnold, tov. xvi. p. 305.) is rather true than false. 13 Grammatically not quite clear; compare (Pier Antonio FilOMPIanny, De rebus et hominibus Teutonicis, quos habeva, lib. v. p. 32.)
but even his return was impeded by a most ignominious obstacle. On his arrival at Venice, he had borrowed large sums at exorbitant usury; but his coffers were empty, his creditors were impatient, and his person was detained as the best security for the payment. His eldest son Andronicus, the regent of Constantinople, was repeatedly urged to exhaust every resource; and, even by stripping the churches, to extricate his father from captivity and disgrace. But the unnatural youth was insensible of the disgrace, and secretly pleased with the captivity of the emperor; the state was poor, the clergy was obstinate; nor could some religious scruple be wanting to excuse the guilt of his indifference and delay. Such undutiful neglect was severely reproved by the piety of his brother Manuel, who instantly sold or mortgaged all that he possessed, embarked for Venice, relieved his father, and pledged his own freedom to be responsible for the debt. On his return to Constantinople, the parent and king distinguished his two sons with suitable rewards; but the faith and manners of the flothful Palaeologus had not been improved by his Roman pilgrimage; and his apostasy or conversion, devoid of any spiritual or temporal effects, was speedily forgotten by the Greeks and Latins 46.

Thirty years after the return of Palaeologus, his son and successor, Manuel, from a similar motive, but on a larger scale, again visited the

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46 His return in 1370, and the coronation of Manuel, Sept. 25, 1373 (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 241.), leaves some intermediate space for the conspiracy and punishment of Andronicus.
countries of the West. In a preceding chapter I have related his treaty with Bajazet, the violation of that treaty, the siege or blockade of Constantinople, and the French succour under the command of the gallant Boucicault. By his ambassadors, Manuel had solicited the Latin powers; but it was thought that the presence of a distressed monarch would draw tears and supplies from the hardest Barbarians; and the marshal who advised the journey, prepared the reception, of the Byzantine prince. The land was occupied by the Turks; but the navigation of Venice was safe and open: Italy received him as the first, or, at least, as the second of the Christian princes; Manuel was pitied as the champion and confessor of the faith; and the dignity of his behaviour prevented that pity from sinking into contempt. From Venice he proceeded to Padua and Pavia; and even the duke of Milan, a secret ally of Bajazet, gave him safe and honourable conduct to the verge of his dominions. On the confines of France, the royal officers undertook the care of his peripat, journey, and expenses; and two

13 Memoria de Boucicault, P. i. c. 55, 56.
15 His journey into the west of Europe is slightly, and I believe reluctantly, noticed by Chalcondyles (i. ii. c. 44—50.) and Duca (c. 14.).
17 Marsili, Anna di Italia, t. ii. xii. p. 425. John Galeazzo was the first and most powerful duke of Milan. His connection with Bajazet is attested by Frengiford; and he contributed to save and deliver the French captives at Naples.
18 For the reception of Manuel at Paris, see Spournus (Anna, Hist. tom. ii. p. 198, 209. A.D. 1262, No. 5), who quotes Juvencus de Umbris, the monk of St. Denis, and Viollet (Hist. de France, tom. xii. p. 570—72.), who quotes Nobody, according to the last tradition of the French writers.
thousand of the richest citizens, in arms and on horseback, came forth to meet him as far as Charenton, in the neighbourhood of the capital. At the gates of Paris, he was saluted by the chancellor and the parliament; and Charles the sixth, attended by his princes and nobles, welcomed his brother with a cordial embrace. The successor of Constantine was clothed in a robe of white silk, and mounted on a milk-white steed; a circumstance, in the French ceremonial, of singular importance: the white colour is considered as the symbol of sovereignty; and, in a late visit, the German emperor, after an haughty demand and a peevish refusal, had been reduced to content himself with a black courtier. Manuel was lodged in the Louvre; a succession of feasts and balls, the pleasures of the banquet and the chase, were ingeniously varied by the politeness of the French, to display their magnificence and amuse his grief: he was indulged in the liberty of his chapel; and the doctors of the Sorbonne were astonished, and possibly scandalised, by the language, the rites, and the vestments, of his Greek clergy. But the slightest glance on the state of the kingdom, must teach him to despair of any effectual assistance. The unfortunate Charles, though he enjoyed some lucid intervals, continually relapsed into furious or stupid insanity: the reins of government were alternately seized by his brother and uncle, the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, whose factious competition prepared the miseries of civil war. The former was a gay youth, dissolvd in luxury and
love; the latter was the father of John count of Nevers, who had lately been ransomed from Turkish captivity; and, if the sable's son was ardent to revenge his defeat, the more prudent Burgundy was content with the cost and peril of the first experiment. When Manuel had satiated the curiosity, and perhaps fatigued the patience, of the French, he resolved on a visit to the adjacent island. In his progress from Dover, he was entertained at Canterbury with due reverence by the prior and monks of St. Auldin; and, on Blackheath, king Henry the fourth, with the English court, saluted the Greek hero (I copy our old historian), who, during many days, was lodged and treated in London as emperor of the East. But the state of England was still more adverse to the design of the holy war. In the same year, the hereditary sovereign had been deposed and murdered; the reigning prince was a successful usurper, whose ambition was punished by jealousy and remorse; nor could Henry of Lancaster after withdraw his person or forces from the defence of a throne incalculably shaken by conspiracy and rebellion. He pitied, he prayed, he feared, the emperor of Constantinople; but if the English monarch assumed the cross, it was...
only to appease his people, and perhaps his conscience, by the merit or semblance of this pious intention. Satisfied, however, with gifts and honours, Manuel returned to Paris; and, after a residence of two years in the West, shaped his course through Germany and Italy, embarked at Venice, and patiently expected, in the Morea, the moment of his ruin or deliverance. Yet he had escaped the ignominious necessity of offering his religion to public or private sale. The Latin church was distracted by the great schism: the kings, the nations, the universities, of Europe, were divided in their obedience between the popes of Rome and Avignon; and the emperor, anxious to conciliate the friendship of both parties, abstained from any correspondence with the indigent and unpopular rivals. His journey coincided with the year of the jubilee; but he passed through Italy without desiring, or deserving, the plenary indulgence which abolished the guilt or penance of the sins of the faithful. The Roman pope was offended by this neglect; accused him of irreverence to an image of Christ; and exhorted the princes of Italy to reject and abandon the obstinate schismatic 21.

During the period of the crusades, the Greeks beheld with astonishment and terror the perpetual

20 Shakespeare begins and ends the play of Henry IV. with that prince's vow of a crusade, and his belief that he should die in Jerusalem.

21 This fact is preserved in the Historia Politica, A. D. 1391—1478, published by Martin Crusius (Turco Graecia, p. 1—43.). The image of Christ, which the Greek emperor refused to worship, was probably a work of sculpture.
stream of emigration that flowed, and continued to flow, from the unknown climates of the West. The visits of their last emperors removed the veil of separation, and they disclosed to their eyes the powerful nations of Europe, whom they no longer presumed to brand with the name of Barbarians. The observations of Manuel, and his more inquisitive followers, have been preserved by a Byzantine historian of the times: his scattered ideas I shall collect and abridge; and it may be amusing, perhaps instructive, to contemplate the rude pictures of Germany, France, and England, whose ancient and modern state are so familiar to our minds. 1. Germany (says the Greek Chalcondyles) is of ample latitude from Vienna to the Ocean; and it stretches (a strange geography) from Prague in Bohemia to the river Tartessus, and the Pyrenean mountains. The soil, except in figs and olives, is sufficiently fruitful; the air is salubrious; the bodies of the natives are

11 The Greek and Turkish history of Laonicus Chalcondyles ends with the winter of 1463, and the abrupt conclusion seems to mark, that he laid down his pen in the same year. We know that he was an Athenian, and that some contemporaries of the same name contributed to the revival of the Greek language in Italy. But in his numerous digressions, the modest historian has never introduced himself; and his editor Lounchavius, as well as Fabricius (Biblioth. Graec. tom. vi. p. 474.), items ignorant of his life and character. For his descriptions of Germany, France, and England, see l. ii. p. 16, 37, 44—59.

13 I shall not animadvert on the geographical errors of Chalcondyles. In this instance, he perhaps followed, and multiplied, Herodotus (i. ii. c. 33.), whose text may be explained (Herodiote de Larcher, tom. ii. p. 219, 220.), of whose ignorance may be excused. Had these modern Greeks never read Strabo, or any of their better geographers? 

15 robust
robust and healthy; and these cold regions are seldom visited with the calamities of pestilence, or earthquakes. After the Scythians or Tartars, the Germans are the most numerous of nations; they are brave and patient, and were they united under a single head, their force would be irresistible. By the gift of the pope, they have acquired the privilege of chusing the Roman emperor; nor is any people more devoutly attached to the faith and obedience of the Latin patriarch. The greatest part of the country is divided among the princes and prelates; but Strasburgh, Cologne, Hamburg, and more than two hundred free cities, are governed by wise and equal laws, according to the will, and for the advantage, of the whole community. The use of duels, or single combats on foot, prevails among them in peace and war; their industry excels in all the mechanic arts, and the Germans may boast of the invention of gunpowder and cannon, which is now diffused over the greatest part of the world. II. The kingdom of France is spread above fifteen or twenty days journey from Germany to Spain, and from the Alps to the British Ocean; containing many flourishing cities, and among these Paris, the seat of the king, which surpasses the rest in riches and luxury. Many princes and lords alternately wait in his

of France;
palace, and acknowledge him as their sovereign. The most powerful are the Dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy, of whom the latterpossesses the wealthy province of Flanders, whose harbours are frequented by the ships and merchants of our own and the more remote seas. The French are an ancient and opulent people; and their language and manners, though somewhat different, are not dissimilar from those of the Italians. Vain of the Imperial dignity of Charlemagne, of their victories over the Saracens, and of the exploits of their heroes, Oliver and Rowland; they esteem themselves the first of the western nations: but this foolish arrogance has been recently humbled by the unfortunate events of their wars against the English, the inhabitants of the British island. III. Brittany, in the ocean, and opposite to the shores of Flanders, may be considered either as one, or as three islands; but the whole is united by a common interest, by the same manners, and by a similar government. The measure of its circumference is five thousand furlongs: the land is overspread with towns and villages; though destitute of wine, and not abounding in fruit trees, it is fertile in wheat and barley; in honey and wool; and much cloth is manufactured by the inhabitants. In populous-
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ness and power, in riches and luxury, London, the metropolis of the isle, may claim a pre-eminence over all the cities of the West. It is situate on the Thames, a broad and rapid river, which at the distance of thirty miles falls into the Gallic Sea; and the daily flow and ebb of the tide, affords a safe entrance and departure to the vessels of commerce. The king is the head of a powerful and turbulent aristocracy; his principal vassals hold their estates by a free and unalterable tenure; and the laws define the limits of his authority and their obedience. The kingdom has been often afflicted by foreign conquest and domestic sedition; but the natives are bold and hardy, renowned in arms and victorious in war. The form of their shields or targets is derived from the Italians, that of their swords from the Greeks; the use of the long bow is the peculiar and decisive advantage of the English. Their language bears no affinity to the idioms of the continent; in the habits of domestic life, they are not easily distinguished from their neighbours of France; but the most singular circumstance of their manners is their disregard of conjugal honour and of female chastity. In their mutual visits, as the first act of hospitality, the guest is welcomed in the embraces of their wives and daughters: among friends they are lent and borrowed without shame; nor are the islanders offended at this strange custom.

London, . . . . Ο η πο του φέροντα ατά τοκούντα τε τι κατ φέροντα τε το τοκούντα οικετείς εκόμις εκαίνει τοις θατείς γλυμναρείς η πελορικά τους αναστήθη. Even since the time of Fitzstephen (the 13th century), London appears to have maintained this pre-eminence of wealth and magnitude; and her gradual increase has, at least, kept pace with the general improvement of Europe.

merce,
merce, and its inevitable consequences.

Informed as we are of the customs of old England, and assured of the virtue of our mothers, we may smile at the credulity, or resent the injustice, of the Greek, who must have confounded a modest salute with a criminal embrace. But his credulity and injustice may teach an important lesson; to distrust the accounts of foreign and remote nations, and to suspend our belief of every tale that deviates from the laws of nature and the character of man.

After his return, and the victory of Timour, Manuel reigned many years in prosperity and peace. As long as the sons of Bajazet solicited his friendship and spared his dominions, he was satisfied with the national religion; and his leisure was employed in composing twenty theological dialogues for its defence. The appearance of the Byzantine ambassadors at the council of Constance announces the restoration of the

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27 If the double sense of the word ἀευς (of the, and in utero gener) be equivocal, the context and pious honor of Chalcondyles can leave no doubt of his meaning: see Dimaka (p. 49).

28 Eraismus (Hist. Perus. Andicium) has a pretty passage on the English fashion of killing strangers on their arrival and departure, from whence, however, he draws no scandalous inferences.

29 Perhaps we may apply this remark to the community of Greeks among the Turks, as it is suggested by Cicer and Dion (Hist. Calv., B. xii. t. xxx. p. 1897), with Reina's judicious annotation. The history of Chalcondyles, in certain respects, is a parallel to what historians, in proportion as we have studied the manners of the people, estimate ours.

30 See Luttrell, Hist. du Cerf.le de Constance, tom. ii. p. 596; and for the ecclesiastical history of the times, the Annales of Speyer, the Introductio of Dupin, tom. xiv. and xxvii. and xxviii. volumes of the History, or rather the continuation, of Fleury.
Turkish power, as well as of the Latin church; the conquest of the sultans, Mahomet and Amurath, reconciled the emperor to the Vatican; and the siege of Constantinople almost tempted him to acquiesce in the double procession of the Holy Ghost. When Martin the first ascended without a rival the chair of St. Peter, a friendly intercourse of letters and embassies was revived between the East and West. Ambition on one side, and discord on the other, disturbed the same decent language of charity and peace: the artful Greek expressed a desire of marrying his six sons to Italian princesses; and the Roman, not less avaricious, dispatched the daughter of the marquis of Montferrat, with a company of noble virgins, to soften by their charms the obstinacy of the schismatics. Yet under this mask of zeal, a discerning eye will perceive that all was hollow and insincere in the court and church of Constantinople. According to the vicissitudes of danger and repose, the emperor advanced or retreated; alternately instructed and disavowed his ministers; and escaped from an importunate pressure by urging the duty of inquiry, the obligation of collecting the tithes of his patriarchs and bishops, and the impossibility of convening them at a time when the Turkish arms were at the gates of his capital. From a review of the public transactions it will appear, that the Greeks insisted on three successive measures, a succour, a council, and a final re-union, while the Latins eluded the second, and only promised the first, as a consequent and voluntary reward of the third. But
we have an opportunity of unfolding the most secret intentions of Manuel as he explained them in a private conversation without artifice or disguise. In his declining age, the emperor had associated John Palæologus, the second of the name, and the eldest of his sons, on whom he devolved the greatest part of the authority and weight of government. One day, in the presence only of the historian Phranza, his favourite chamberlain, he opened to his colleague and successor the true principle of his negotiations with the pope. "Our last resource," said Manuel, "against the Turks is their fear of our union with the Latins, of the warlike nations of the West, who may arm for our relief and for their destruction. As often as you are threatened by the miscreants, present this danger before their eyes. Propose a council; consult on the means; but ever delay and avoid the convocation of an assembly, which cannot tend either to our spiritual or temporal emolument."

"Imprimis vero hanc Phranzen tibi commendó, qui ministeri mihi sollicit et diligent (Phranzes, l. ii. c. 1.). Yet the emperor John was cold, and he preferred the service of the despots of Paleopolitians."

"The
"The Latins are proud; the Greeks are obstinate; neither party will recede or retract; and the attempt of a perfect union will confirm the schism, alienate the churches, and leave us, without hope or defence, at the mercy of the Barbarians." Impatient of this salutary lesson, the royal youth arose from his seat, and departed in silence; and the wise monarch (continues Phranza), casting his eyes on me, thus resumed his discourse: "My son deems himself a great and heroic prince; but, alas! our miserable age does not afford scope for heroism or greatness. His daring spirit might have suited the happier times of our ancestors; but the present state requires not an emperor, but a cautious steward of the last relics of our fortunes. Well do I remember the lofty expectations which he built on our alliance with Mustapha; and much do I fear, that his rash courage will urge the ruin of our house, and that even religion may precipitate our downfall." Yet the experience and authority of Manuel preserved the peace and eluded the council; till, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and in the habit of a monk, he terminated his career, dividing his precious moveables among his children and the poor, his physicians and his favourite servants. Of his six sons, Andronico, the second was invested with the principality of Thessalonica, and died of a leprosy soon after the sale of that city to the Venetians and its final conquest by the Turks. Some fortunate incidents
had restored Peloponnesus, or the Morea, to the empire; and in his more prosperous days, Manuel had fortified the narrow isthmus of six miles with a stone wall and one hundred and fifty-three towers. The wall was overthrown by the first blow of the Ottomans: the fertile peninsula might have been sufficient for the four younger brothers, Theodore and Constantine, Demetrius and Thomas; but they walked in domestic content the remains of their strength; and the last successful of the rivals were reduced to a life of dependence in the Byzantine palace.

The chief of the sons of Manuel, John Palæologus the second, was acknowledged, after his father's death, as the sole emperor of the Greeks. He immediately proceeded to repudiate his wife, and to contract a new marriage with the princess of Trebizond: beauty was in his eyes the first qualification of an empress; and the clergy had yielded to his firm assurance, that unless he might be indulged in a divorce, he would retire to a cloister, and leave the throne to his brother Constantine. The first, and in truth the only, victory of Palæologus was over a Jew, who, after a long and learned dispute, he converted to

34 The exact measure of the Hexamilion, from six to sea, was 5742 yards or 2642, or as Greek feet (ch. xxi. 1, i.e. 58.), which would produce a Greek mile, did it contain that at 1563 hexametricals, which is aligned by d'Aubray as still in use in Turkey. For no other measure is recorded for the breadth of the Isthmus, See the Travels of Span, Webster, and Charon.

35 The first objection of the Jews was on the death of Christ: if it was voluntary, Christ was a traitor, and the emperor partook of his guilt. Ptolemaeus, in the exception of the virgin, the wife of the prophet,Acts (c. xx. 24. 12, a whole chapter).
the Christian faith; and this momentous conquest is carefully recorded in the history of the times. But he soon resumed the design of uniting the East and West; and regardless of his father's advice, listened, as it should seem with sincerity, to the proposal of meeting the pope in a general council beyond the Adriatic. This dangerous project was encouraged by Martin the fifth, and coldly entertained by his successor Eugenius, till, after a tedious negotiation, the emperor received a summons from a Latin assembly of a new character, the independent prelates of Basil, who styled themselves the representatives and judges of the Catholic church.

The Roman pontiff had fought and conquered in the cause of ecclesiastical freedom; but the victorious clergy were soon exposed to the tyranny of their deliverer; and his sacred character was invulnerable to those arms which they found so keen and effectual against the civil magistrate. Their great charter, the right of election, was annihilated by appeals, evaded by trusts or commendams, disapponted by reversionary grants, and superseeded by previous and arbitrary reservations. A public auction was instituted in the court of Rome: the cardinals and favourites were enriched with the spoils of nations; and every country might complain that the most important and valuable benefices were accumulated on the

36 In the tratté delle Materie Beneficiarie of Fr. Paolo (in the fifth volume of the first and best edition of his works), the papal system is deeply staded and freely described. Should Rome and her religion be annihilated, this golden volume may still survive, a philosophical history, and a faithful warning.
heads of aliens and absentees. During their residence at Avignon, the ambition of the popes subsided in the meaner passions of avarice and luxury; they rigorously imposed on the clergy the tributes of first-fruits and tenths; but they freely tolerated the impunity of vice, disorder, and corruption. These manifold scandals were aggravated by the great schism of the West, which continued above fifty years. In the furious conflicts of Rome and Avignon, the vices of the rivals were mutually exposed; and their precarious situation degraded their authority, relaxed their discipline, and multiplied their wants and exactions. To heal the wounds, and restore the monarchy, of the church, the synods of Pisa and Constance were successively convened; but these great assemblies, conscious of their strength, resolved to vindicate the privileges of the Christian aristocracy. From a personal sentence against two pontiffs, whom they rejected, and a third, their acknowledged sovereign, whom they deposed, the fathers of Constance proceeded to examine the nature and limits of the Roman supremacy; nor did they separate till

Pope John XXII, (in 1334) left behind him, at Avignon, eight millions of gold francs, and the value of seven millions more in plate and jewels. See the Chronicle of John Viliani (in his works in Mascard's Collection, tom. xiii. p. 765.), whose letter is cited the source from the papal treasurers. A treasure of such magnitude, during the whole century is enormous, and

A. le Bocq et J. Coste, which, Mr. Lebouthier, has given a fair history of the synods of Pisa, Constance, and Bari, in six volumes in 8vo.; but the text is the most bulky and imperfect, except in the account of the sessions of Bari, pia.

they
they had established the authority, above the pope, of a general council. It was enacted, that, for the government and reformation of the church, such assemblies should be held at regular intervals; and that each synod, before its dissolution, should appoint the time and place of the subsequent meeting. By the influence of the court of Rome, the next convocation at Sienna was easily eluded; but the bold and vigorous proceedings of the council of Basel had almost been fatal to the reigning pontiff, Eugenius the fourth. A just suspicion of his design prompted the fathers to hasten the promulgation of their first decree, that the representatives of the church-militant on earth were invested with a divine and spiritual jurisdiction over all Christians, without excepting the pope; and that a general council could not be dissolved, prorogued, or transferred, unless by their free deliberation and consent. On the notice that Eugenius had terminated a bull for that purpose, they ventured to summon, to admonish, to threaten, to confine, the contumacious successor of St. Peter. After many delays, to allow time for repentance, they finally declared, that, unless he submitted within the term of sixty days, he was suspended from the exercise of all temporal and ecclesiastical authority.

19 The original acts or minutes of the council of Basel, are preserved in the public library, in twelve volumes in folio. Basel was a free city, conveniently situate on the Rhine, and guarded by the arms of the neighbouring and confederate Swits. In 1459, the university was founded by pope Pius II. (Eleazer Sylvius), who had been legate to the council. But what is a council, or an university, to the professors of Groben and the Studens at Erlaun?
authority. And to mark their jurisdiction over the prince as well as the priest, they assumed the government of Avignon, annulled the alienation of the sacred patrimony, and protected Rome from the imposition of new taxes. Their boldness was justified, not only by the general opinion of the clergy, but by the support and power of the first monarchs of Christendom; the emperor Sigismund declared himself the servant and protector of the synod; Germany and France adhered to their cause; the duke of Milan was the enemy of Eugene; and he was driven from the Vatican by an insurrection of the Roman people. Rejected at the same time by his temporal and spiritual subjects, submission was his only choice: by a most humiliating bull, the pope repealed his own acts, and ratified those of the council; incorporated his legates and cardinals with that venerable body; and seemed to resign himself to the decrees of the supreme legislature. Their fame pervaded the countries of the East; and it was in their presence that Sigismund received the ambassadors of the Turkish sultan, who laid at his feet twelve large wigs, filled with robes of silk and pieces of gold. The fathers of Basil aspired to the glory of reducing the Greeks, as well as the Bohemians, within the pale of the Church; and their deputies invited the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople to unite with an assembly which permitted the concordance of the Western nations. Palaeologus was not averse to

Negociations with the Greeks, A.D. 1444-1453.

42 The Turkish sultan, as related by Creutz, is related with some difficulty by the Sacred Synod, A.D. 1433, No. 25, Sin. 1, p. 829.
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chap. 16. 

The proposal; and his ambassadors were introduced with due honours into the Catholic Senate. But the choice of the place appeared to be an insuperable obstacle, since he refused to pass the Alps, or the sea of Sicily, and positively required that the synod should be adjourned to some convenient city in Italy, or at least on the Danube. The other articles of this treaty were more readily stipulated; it was agreed to defray the travelling expenses of the emperor, with a train of seven hundred persons 44, to remit an immediate sum of eight thousand ducats 45 for the accommodation of the Greek clergy; and in his absence to grant a supply of ten thousand ducats, with three hundred archers and some galleys, for the protection of Constantinople. The city of Avignon advanced the funds for the preliminary expenses; and the embarkation was prepared at Marseilles with some difficulty and delay.

In his distress, the friendship of Paleologus was disputed by the ecclesiastical powers of the West; but the dextrous activity of a monarch prevailed over the slow debates and inflexible temper of a republic. The decrees of Bajaz continually tended to circumvent the deflation of

44 Syropalus, p. 19. In this 15, the Greeks appear to have exceeded the real numbers of the clergy, not only which of them attended the emperor and patriarch, but which he not clearly proved by the great ecclesiasth. For 7 articles, which they entered in the negotiation of the pope (p. 9), were more than they could sign or want.

45 I use indifferently the words, drach and stater, which denote their names, the former from the drachma Morus, the latter from the regnum of France. Their gold pieces, the first that were coined in Italy, perhaps in the Latin world, may be equal in weight and value to one-third of the English guinea.
the pope, and to erect a supreme and perpetual tribunal in the church. Eugenius was impatient of the yoke; and the union of the Greeks might afford a decent pretence for translating a rebellious synod from the Rhine to the Po. The independence of the fathers was lost if they passed the Alps; Savoy or Avignon, to which they acceded with reluctance, were described at Constantinople as situate far beyond the pillars of Hercules; the emperor and his clergy were apprehensive of the dangers of a long navigation; they were offended by an haughty declaration, that after suppressing the new heresy of the Bohemians, the council would soon eradicate the old heresy of the Greeks. On the side of Eugenius, all was sanguine, and yielding, and respectful; and he invited the Byzantine monarch to heal by his presence the schism of the Latin, as well as of the Rutenier, church. Ferrara, near the coast of the Adriatic, was proposed for their amicable interview; and with some indulgence of fury and theft, a (susceptitious) decree was procured, which transferred the synod, with its own contents, to that Italian city. Nine galleys were equipped for this service at Venice, and in the

43 At the end of the Latin version of Phryzian, we read a long Greek epistle of the determination of Hagia Sophia, Trebizond, who advises the emperor to proceed to the north. He treats with contempt the rebellion of Halicarnassus, the Barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had conspired to transport the chair of St. Peter from the Alps to the Rhine, in 1244, and to place a flag on the

44 Eugenius, pp. 125—126) acted on his own inclination, and that of his counsellors, and the Bohem deputies, who executed the same business, could neither deny nor alter an act of the council.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

97

[In the image, the text is scrambled and difficult to read.]

...the Roman admiral was commissioned to burn, sink, and destroy; and these priestly squadrons might have encountered each other in the same seas where Athens and Sparta had formerly contended for the pre-eminence of glory. Assailed by the importunity of the factions who were ready to fight for the possession of his person, Palæologus hesitated before he left his palace and country on a perilous experiment. His father's advice still dwelt on his memory: and reason must suggest, that since the Latins were divided among themselves, they could never unite in a foreign cause. Sigismund diffused the unfeasable adventure; his advice was impartial, since he adhered to the council; and it was enforced by the strange belief, that the German Cæsar would nominate a Greek his heir and successor in the empire of the West.

Even the Turkish sultan was a counsellor whom it might be unsafe to trust, but whom it was dangerous to offend. Amurath was unskilled in the disputes, but he was apprehensive of the union, of the Christians. From his own treasures, he offered to relieve the wants of the Byzantine court; yet he declared with seeming magnanimity,

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45 Condolmieri, the pope's nephew and admiral, expressly declared, " Si eximia qui saca et Pappa in adsumor in loco in altera et in aedem et in aedem et in aedem. The naval orders of the synod were less peremptory, and, till the hostile squadrons appeared, both parties tried to conceal their quarrel from the Greeks.

46 Syriopus mentions the hopes of Palæologus (p. 36.), and the last advice of Sigismond (p. 57.). At Corfu, the Greek emperor was informed of his friend's death; had he known it sooner, he would have returned home (p. 79.).
that Constantinople should be secure and inviolate, in the absence of her sovereign. The resolution of Palæologus was decided by the most splendid gifts and the most specious promises: he wished to escape for a while from a scene of danger and distress; and after dismissing with an ambiguous answer the messengers of the council, he declared his intention of embarking in the Roman galleys. The age of the patriarch Joseph was more susceptible of fear than of hope; he trembled at the perils of the sea, and expressed his apprehension, that his feeble voice, with thirty perhaps of his orthodox brethren, would be oppressed in a foreign land by the power and numbers of a Latin synod. He yielded to the royal mandate, to the flattering assurance, that he would be heard as the oracle of nations, and to the secret wish of learning from his brother of the West, to deliver the church from the yoke of kings. The five cross-bearers or dignitaries of St. Sophia were bound to attend his person; and one of these, the great ecclesiarch or preacher, Sylvester Syropulus, has composed

47 Phranzes himself, though from different motives, was of the advice of Amurath (I. ii. c. 13.). Utinam ne synodus sita unquam fruilet, si tantas offensores et detrimenta paritura erat. This Turkish embassy is likewise mentioned by Syropulus (p. 58.) and Amurath kept his word. He might threaten (p. 125, 219.), but he never attacked the city.

48 The reader will smile at the simplicity with which he imparted these hopes to his favourites: τας εγνατίας τις εξωτικης σκοτως οληϊς και εξετασε την Πατακτην ορθοδοξην και την αποκτησε σαυη εξετασα το εκεινο το επιτηδειον (p. 92.). Yet it would have been difficult for him to have practised the lenities of Gregory VII.

49 The Christian name of Sylvester is borrowed from the Latin calendar. In modern Greek, ευσταθίος, as a diminutive, is added to the
composed a free and curious history of the false union. Of the clergy that reluctantly obeyed the summons of the emperor and the patriarch, submission was the first duty, and patience the most useful virtue. In a chosen list of twenty bishops, we discover the metropolitan titles of Heraclea and Cyzicus, Nice and Nicomedia, Ephesus and Trebizond, and the personal merit of Mark and Beftas, who, in the confidence of their learning and eloquence, were promoted to the episcopal rank. Some monks and philosophers were named to display the science and sanctity of the Greek church: and the service of the choir was performed by a select band of singers and musicians. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, appeared by their genuine or fictitious deputies; the primate of Russia represented a national church, and the Greeks might contend with the Latins in the extent of their spiritual empire. The precious vases of St. Sophia were exposed to the winds and waves, that the patriarch might officiate with becoming splendour; whatever gold the end of words: nor can any reasoning of Creyghton, the editor, excuse his changing into Syropulus (Σγυρος, σφύς) the Syropulus of his own manuscript, whose name is inscribed with his own hand in the acts of the council of Florence. Why might not the author be of Syrian extraction? From the conclusion of the history, I should fix the date to the year 1444, four years after the synod, when the great ecclesiarch had abdicated his office (lactio xii. p. 330–350.). His passions were cooled by time and retirement, and, although Syropulus is often partial, he is never immoderate.

51 Vera historia unionis non erat inter Gracos et Latinos (Hagae Comitis, 1660, in folio), was first published with a loose and florid version, by Robert Creyghton, chaplain to Charles II. in his exile. The zeal of the editor has prefixed a polemic title, for the beginning of the original is wanting. Syropulus may be ranked with the best of the Byzantine writers for the merit of his narration, and even of his style: but he is excluded from the orthodox collections of the councils.
the emperor could procure, was expended in the
magnificent ornaments of his bed and chariot 1; and
while they affected to maintain the prosperity of
their ancient fortune, they quarrelled for the
division of fifteen thousand ducats, the first alms
of the Roman pontiff. After the necessary pre-
parations, John Palæologus, with a numerous
train, accompanied by his brother Demetrius, and
the most respectable persons of the church and
state, embarked in eight vessels with sails and
oars, which steered through the Turkish freights
of Gallipoli to the Archipelago, the Morea, and
the Adriatic Gulf 2.

After a tedious and troublesome navigation of
seventy-seven days, this religious squadron cast
anchor before Venice; and their reception pro-
claimed the joy and magnificence of that power-
ful republic. In the command of the world, the
modest Augustus had never claimed such honours
from his subjects as were paid to his feeble
successor by an independent state. Seated on the
poop, on a lofty throne, he received the visit, or,
in the Greek style, the adoration, of the doge
and senators 3. They failed in the Bucentaur,
which

13 Synopus (p. 13.) simply expresses his intention: 1' άρισ
tοστός η λαός, μερίδιον, παντικός έκμεταλλέυεται; and the Latin
of Gregory may afford a specimen of his florid paraphrase. Ut

3 Although I cannot stop to quote Syropulus for every fact, I will
observe that the navigation of the Greeks from Constantinople to
Venice and Ferrara is contained in the it[br]ation (p. 67—100.),
and that the historian has the uncommon talent of placing each scene
before the reader's eye.

34 At the time of the synod, Philander was in Peloponnesus; but
he received from the despot Demetrius, a faithful account of
which was accompanied by twelve stately galleys; the sea was overspread with innumerable gondolas of pomp and pleasure; the air refounded with music and acclamations; the mariners, and even the vessels, were dressed in silk and gold; and in all the emblems and pageants, the Roman eagles were blended with the lions of St. Mark. The triumphal procession, ascending the great canal, passed under the bridge of the Rialto: and the eastern strangers gazed with admiration on the palaces, the churches, and the populousness of a city, that seems to float on the bosom of the waves. They sighed to behold the spoils and trophies with which it had been decorated after the sack of Constantinople. After an hospitable entertainment of fifteen days, Palæologus pursuèd his journey by land and water from Venice to Ferrara; and on this occasion, the pride of the Vatican was tempered by policy to indulge the ancient dignity of the emperor of the East. He made his entry on a black horse; but a milk-white steed, whose trappings were embroidered with golden eagles, was led before him; and the canopy was borne over his head by the princes of Este, the sons or kinsmen of Nicholas, marquis of the city, and a sovereign

the honourable reception of the emperor and patriarch both at Venice and Ferrara (Dux . . . sedentem Imperatorem adorat), which are more slightly mentioned by the Latins (l. ii. c. 14, 15, 16.).

55 The astonishment of a Greek prince and a French ambassadour (Memoires de Philippe de Comines, l. vii. c. 18.) at the sight of Venice, abundantly prove, that in the xvth century it was the first and most splendid of the Christian cities. For the spoils of Constantinople at Venice, see Syropulus (p. 87.).

H 3
more powerful than himself. Palaeologus did not alight till he reached the bottom of the staircase: the pope advanced to the door of the apartment; refused his proffered genuflexion; and, after a paternal embrace, conducted the emperor to a seat on his left-hand. Nor would the patriarch descend from his galley, till a ceremony, almost equal, had been stipulated between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople. The latter was saluted by his brother with a kiss of union and charity: nor would any of the Greek ecclesiastics submit to kiss the feet of the Western primate. On the opening of the synod, the place of honour in the centre was claimed by the temporal and ecclesiastical chiefs; and it was only by alleging that his predecessors had not assisted in person at Nice or Chalcedon, that Eugenius could evade the ancient precedents of Constantine and Marcian. After much debate, it was agreed that the right and left sides of the church should be occupied by the two nations: that the solitary chair of St. Peter should be raised the first of the Latin line; and that the throne of the Greek emperor, at the head of his clergy, should be equal and opposite to the second place, the vacant seat of the emperor of the West.

But

Nicholas III, of Fies, reigned forty-eight years (A.D. 1241—1248), and was lord of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, Pisa, Rome, and Comacchio. See his life in Muratori (Antiquit. Elenct., tom. vi. p. 115.—201).

The Latin vulgar was promised to laughter at the strange stories of the Greeks; and especially of those that ran against their thieves, and their heads; nor was the emperor distinguished except by the purple colour, and his diadem of brau with a jewel on the top (Histy
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

But as soon as festivity and form had given place to a more serious treaty, the Greeks were displeased with their journey, with themselves, and with the pope. The artful pencil of his emissaries had painted him in a prosperous state; at the head of the princes and prelates of Europe, obedient, at his voice, to believe and to arm. The thin appearance of the universal synod of Ferrara betrayed his weakness; and the Latins opened the first session with only five archbishops, eighteen bishops, and ten abbots, the greatest part of whom were the subjects or countrymen of the Italian pontiff. Except the duke of Burgundy, none of the potentates of the West condescended to appear in person, or by their ambassadors; nor was it possible to suppress the judicial acts of Basil against the dignity and person of Eugenius, which were finally concluded by a new election. Under these circumstances, a truce or delay was asked and granted, till Paleologus could expect from the consent of the Latins some temporal reward for an unpopular union; and, after the first session, the public proceedings were adjourned above six months. The emperor, with a chosen band of his favourites and Janizaries, fixed his summer residence at a pleasant spacious monastery, six miles from Ferrara; forgot, in the pleasures of the chase, the distress of the church and state; and persisted in destroying the game, without listening to the just complaints of the marquis or de Græcis Illustribus, p. 31. Yet another spectator confesses, that the Greek fashion was piu grave e piu degna than the Italian (Vespasiano, in Vit. Eugen. IV. in Muratori, tom. xxv. p. 261.).
the husbandman. In the mean while, his unfortunate Greeks were exposed to all the miseries of exile and poverty; for the support of each stranger, a monthly allowance was assigned of three or four gold florins; and although the entire sum did not amount to seven hundred florins, a long arrear was repeatedly incurred by the indigence or policy of the Roman court. They sighed for a speedy deliverance, but their escape was prevented by a triple chain: a passport from their superiors was required at the gates of Ferrara; the government of Venice had engaged to arrest and send back the fugitives; and inevitable punishment awaited them at Constantinople; excommunication, fines, and a sentence, which did not respect the sacerdotal dignity, that they should be stripped naked and publicly whipped. It was only by the alternative of hunger or dispute that the Greeks could be persuaded to

53 For the emperor's hunting, see Syropulus (p. 143, 144, 191). The pope had sent him eleven miserable horses; but he bought a strong and swift horse that came from Russia. The name of Janizaries may be preserved; but the name, rather than the institution, had passed from the Ottoman, to the Byzantine, court, and is often used in the last age of the empire.

59 The Greeks obtained, with much difficulty, that instead of provisions, money should be distributed, four florins per month to the person of honourable rank, and three florins to their servants, with an addition of thirty more to the emperor, twenty-five to the patriarch, and twenty to the prince or capital Demiarchus. The payment of the first month amounted to 691 florins, a sum which will not allow us to reckon above 126 Greeks of every condition (Syropulus, p. 105, 108.). On the 26th October 1438, there was an arrest of four mouths; in April 1439, of three, and of five and a half in July, at the time of the union (p. 192, 223, 271.).

62 Syropulus (p. 141, 142, 204, 271.) deplores the imprisonment of the Greeks, and the tyranny of the emperor and patriarch.
open the first conference; and they yielded with extreme reluctance to attend from Ferrara to Florence the rear of a flying synod. This new translation was urged by inevitable necessity: the city was visited by the plague; the fidelity of the marquis might be suspected; the mercenary troops of the duke of Milan were at the gates; and as they occupied Romagna, it was not without difficulty and danger that the pope, the emperor, and the bishops, explored their way through the unfrequented paths of the Apennine.

Yet all these obstacles were surmounted by time and policy. The violence of the fathers of Basil rather promoted than injured the cause of Eugenius: the nations of Europe abhorred the schism, and disowned the election, of Felix the fifth, who was successively a duke of Savoy, an hermit, and a pope; and the great princes were gradually reclaimed by his competitor to a favourable neutrality and a firm attachment. The legates, with some respectable members, deserted to the Roman army, which insensibly rose in numbers and reputation: the council of Basil was reduced to thirty-nine bishops, and three hundred of the inferior clergy; while the Latins of Florence

61 The wars of Italy are most clearly represented in the xiii\textsuperscript{th} volume of the Annals of Muratori. The schismatic Greek, Syropulus (p. 145.), appears to have exaggerated the fear and disorder of the pope in his retreat from Ferrara to Florence, which is proved by the acts to have been somewhat more decent and deliberate.

62 Syropulus is pleased to reckon seven hundred prelates in the council of Basil. The error is manifest, and perhaps voluntary.
Florence could produce the subscriptions of the pope himself, eight cardinals, two patriarchs, eight archbishops, fifty-two bishops, and forty-five abbots, or chiefs of religious orders. After the labour of nine months, and the debates of twenty-five sessions, they attained the advantage and glory of the re-union of the Greeks. Four principal questions had been agitated between the two churches: 1. The use of unleavened bread in the communion of Christ's body. 2. The nature of purgatory. 3. The supremacy of the pope. And, 4. The single or double procession of the Holy Ghost. The cause of either nation was managed by ten theological champions: the Latins were supported by the inexhaustible eloquence of cardinal Julian; and Mark of Ephesus and Belarion of Nice were the bold and able leaders of the Greek forces. We may bellow some praise on the progress of human reason, by observing, that the first of these questions was now treated as an immaterial rite, which might innocently vary with the fashion of the age and country. With regard to the second, both parties were agreed in the belief of an intermediate state of purgation for the venial sins of the faithful; and whether their souls were purified by elemental fire was a doubtful point, which in a few years might be conveniently settled on the spot by the disputants. The claims of supremacy appeared of a more

That extraordinary number could not be supplied by the clergy of every degree who were present at the council, nor by all the absent bishops of the West, who, expressly or secretly, might adhere to its decrees.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

weighty and substantial kind; yet by the Orientals the Roman bishop had ever been respected as the first of the five patriarchs; nor did they scruple to admit, that his jurisdiction should be exercised agreeable to the holy canons; a vague allowance, which might be defined or eluded by occasional convenience. The procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone, or from the Father and the Son, was an article of faith which had sunk much deeper into the minds of men; and in the sessions of Ferrara and Florence, the Latin edition of filioque was subdivided into two questions, whether it were legal, and whether it were orthodox. Perhaps it may not be necessary to boast on this subject of my own impartial indifference; but I must think that the Greeks were strongly supported by the prohibition of the council of Chalcedon, against adding any article whatsoever to the creed of Nice, or rather of Constantinople 63. In earthly affairs, it is not easy to conceive how an assembly of legislators can bind their successors invested with powers equal to their own. But the dictates of inspiration must be true and unchangeable; nor should a private bishop, or a provincial synod, have presumed to innovate against the judgment of the Catholic church. On the substance of the doctrine, the controversy was equal and endless: reason is confounded by the procession of a deity; 

63 The Greeks, who disliked the union, were unwilling to fall from this strong fortress (p. 173, 193, 195, 202. of Syropul.). The flame of the Latins was aggravated by their producing an old MS. of the second council of Nice, with filioque in the Nicene creed: a palpable forgery! (p. 173.)

the
the gospel, which lay on the altar, was silent; the various texts of the fathers might be corrupted by fraud or entangled by sophistry; and the Greeks were ignorant of the characters and writings of the Latin saints 64. Of this at least we may be sure, that neither side could be convinced by the arguments of their opponents. Prejudice may be enlightened by reason, and a superficial glance may be rectified by a clear and more perfect view of an object adapted to our faculties. But the bishops and monks had been taught from their infancy to repeat a form of mysterious words; their national and personal honour depended on the repetition of the same sounds; and their narrow minds were hardened and inflamed by the acrimony of a public dispute.

While they were lost in a cloud of dust and darkness, the pope and emperor were desirous of a seeming union, which could alone accomplish the purposes of their interview; and the obstinacy of public dispute was softened by the arts of private and personal negociation. The patriarch Joseph had sunk under the weight of age and infirmities; his dying voice breathed the counsels of charity and concord, and his vacant benefice might tempt the hopes of the ambitious clergy. The ready and active obedience of the archbishops of Russia and Nice, of Isidore and Bessarion, was prompted and recompensed by their speedy promotion to the dignity of cardinals. Bessarion, in the first de-

64 Ὁ Αἰκατερίνης ο Βραχίαντος (said an eminent Greek) ἢ τε ἡ ἐπιτάφια Αἰκατερίνη ἡ Ἐκκλήσια ἡ Ρωμαϊκή Ταυροκτόνα Χαριτιόρρητος ἡ Διονύσιος (Suidopulus, p. 109.). See the perplexity of the Greeks (p. 117, 118, 252, 253, 273.).
bates, had stood forth the most strenuous and eloquent champion of the Greek church; and if the apostate, the bastard, was reprobated by his country 65, he appears in ecclesiastical story a rare example of a patriot who was recommended to court-favour by loud opposition and well-timed compliance. With the aid of his two spiritual coadjutors, the emperor applied his arguments to the general situation and personal characters of the bishops, and each was successively moved by authority and example. Their revenues were in the hands of the Turks, their persons in those of the Latins: an episcopal treasure, three robes and forty ducats, was soon exhausted 66: the hopes of their return still depended on the ships of Venice and the alms of Rome; and such was their indigence, that their arrears, the payment of a debt, would be accepted as a favour, and might operate as a bribe 67. The danger and relief of Constantinople might excuse some prudent and pious dissimulation; and it was insinuated, that the obstinate heretics who should refuse the consent of the

65 See the polite altercation of Mark and Bessarion in Syropulus (p. 257); who never dishonours the vices of his own party, and fairly praises the virtues of the Latins.

66 For the poverty of the Greek bishops, see a remarkable passage of Ducas (c. 31.). One had polished, for his whole property, three old gowns, &c. By teaching one-and-twenty years in his monastery, Bessarion himself had collected forty gold florins; but of these, the archbishop had expended twenty-eight in his voyage from Peloponnesus, and the remainder at Constantinople (Syropulus, p. 127.).

67 Syropulus denies that the Greeks received any money before they had subscribed the act of union (p. 283.): yet he relates some suspicious circumstances; and their bribery and corruption are positively affirmed by the historian Ducas.
East and West, would be abandoned in a hostile land to the revenge or justice of the Roman pontiff". In the first private assembly of the Greeks, the formulary of union was approved by twenty-four, and rejected by twelve, members: but the five cross-bearers of St. Sophia, who aspired to represent the patriarch, were disqualified by ancient discipline; and their right of voting was transferred to an obsequious train of monks, grammarians, and profane laymen. The will of the monarch produced a false and servile unanimity, and no more than two patriots had courage to speak their own sentiments and those of their country. Demetrius, the emperor's brother, retired to Venice, that he might not be witness of the union; and Mark of Ephesus, mistaking perhaps his pride for his conscience, disclaimed all communion with the Latin heretics, and avowed himself the champion and confessor of the orthodox creed. In the treaty between the two nations, several forms of consent were proposed, such as might satisfy the Latins, without dishonouring the Greeks: and they weighed the scruples of words and syllables, till the theological balance trembled with a slight preponderance in favour of the Vatican. It was agreed (I must intreat the attention of the reader), that the Holy Ghost pro-

6 The Greeks must pitiously express their own fears of exile and perpetual slavery (Syncope, p. 176.): and they were strongly moved by the emperor's threats (p. 265.).

60 I hasten another popular and orthodox protestor, a favorite bound, who bitterly my quiet on the foot cloth of the emperor's throne, but was flung most furiously while the act of union was ending, vainly roaring incensed by the loathing of the ladies of the imperial house (Syncope, p. 265, 266.).
ceeds from the Father and the Son, as from one principle and one substance; that he proceeds by the Son, being of the same nature and substance, and that he proceeds from the Father and the Son, by inspiration and production. It is less difficult to understand the articles of the preliminary treaty; that the pope should defray all the expenses of the Greeks in their return home; that he should annually maintain two galleys and three hundred soldiers for the defence of Constantinople; that all the ships which transported pilgrims to Jerusalem, should be obliged to touch at that port; that as often as they were required, the pope should furnish ten galleys for a year, or twenty for six months; and that he should powerfully solicit the princes of Europe, if the emperor had occasion for land-forces.

The same year, and almost the same day, were marked by the deposition of Eugenius at Basil; and, at Florence, by his re-union of the Greeks and Latins. In the former synod (which he styled indeed an assembly of demons), the pope was branded with the guilt of simony, perjury, tyranny, heresy, and schifin, and declared to be incorrigible in his vices, unworthy of any title, and incapable of holding any ecclesiastical office. In the latter he was revered as the true and holy vicar of Christ, who, after a separation of six hundred years, had reconciled the Catholics of the East

Eugenius deposited at Basil, A. D. 1438, June 25.


72 From the original Lives of the Popes, in Muratori's Collection (tom. iii. P. ii. tom. xxv.), the manners of Eugenius IV. appear to have been decent, and even exemplary. His situation, exposed to the world and to his enemies, was a restraint, and is a pledge.
and West, in one fold, and under one shepherd. The act of union was subscribed by the pope, the emperor, and the principal members of both churches; even by those who, like Syropulus,* had been deprived of the right of voting. Two copies might have sufficed for the East and West; but Eugenius was not satisfied, unless four authentic and similar transcripts were signed and attested as the monuments of his victory. On a memorable day, the sixth of July, the successors of St. Peter and Constantine ascended their thrones; the two nations assembled in the cathedral of Florence; their representatives, cardinal Julian and Bessarion archbishop of Nice, appeared in the pulpit, and, after reading in their respective tongues the act of union, they mutually embraced in the name and the presence of their applauding brethren. The pope and his ministers then officiated according to the Roman liturgy; the creed was chanted with the addition of filioque; the acquiescence of the Greeks was poorly excused by their ignorance of the harmonious, but inartifi-
ulate, founds; and the more scrupulous Latins refused any public celebration of the Byzantine rite. Yet the emperor and his clergy were not totally unmindful of national honour. The treaty was ratified by their consent: it was tacitly agreed that no innovation should be attempted in their creed or ceremonies; they spared, and secretly respected, the generous firmness of Mark of Ephesus; and, on the decease of the patriarch, they refused to elect his successor, except in the cathedral of St. Sophia. In the distribution of public and private rewards, the liberal pontiff exceeded their hopes and his promises: the Greeks, with less pomp and pride, returned by the same road of Ferrara and Venice; and their reception at Constantinople was such as will be described in the following chapter. The success of the first trial encouraged Eugenius to repeat the same edifying scenes; and the deputies of the Armenians, the Maronites, the Jacobites of Syria and Egypt, the Nestorians and the Ethiopians, were successively introduced, to kiss the feet of the Roman pontiff, and to announce the obedience and the orthodoxy of the East. These Oriental embassies, unknown in the countries which they presumed to represent, diffused over the West the fame of Euge-

73 'Ἡμιν δὲ ὡς αὐτοῖς ὕδατις φώνα (Syropul. p. 297.)
74 In their return, the Greeks conversed at Bologna with the ambassadors of England; and after some questions and answers, these impartial strangers laughed at the pretended union of Florence (Syropul. p. 307.).
75 So nugatory, or rather so fabulous, are these reunions of the Nestorians, Jacobites, &c. that I have turned over, without success, the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Alfemnnus, a faithful slave of the Vatican.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

C H A P. LXVI.

Final peace of the church, A. D. 1449.

State of the Greek language at Constantinople, A. D. 1453.

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State of the Greek language at Constantinople, A. D. 1453.

nius: and a clamour was artfully propagated against the remnant of a schism in Switzerland and Savoy, which alone impeded the harmony of the Christian world. The vigour of opposition was succeeded by the latitude of despair: the council of Basil was silently dissolved; and Felix, renouncing the tiara, again withdrew to the devout or delicious hermitage of Ripaille. A general peace was secured by mutual acts of oblivion and indemnity: all ideas of reformation subsided; the popes continued to exercise and abuse their ecclesiastical despotism; nor has Rome been since disturbed by the mischiefs of a contested election.

The journeys of three emperors were unavailing for their temporal, or perhaps their spiritual, salvation; but they were productive of a beneficial consequence; the revival of the Greek learning in Italy, from whence it was propagated to the last nations of the West and North. In their lowest servitude and depression, the subjects of the Byzant-

56 Ripaille is situate near Thonon in Savoy, on the southern side of the lake of Geneva. It is now a Carthusian abbey; and Mr. Addison (Travel into Italy, vol. ii. p. 147, 148. of Bailliere's edition of his works) has celebrated the place and the founder. Aeneas Sylvius, to the fathers of Basil, attributed the austere life of the ducal hermit; but the French and Italian prove his most unfortunately untrue the popular opinion of his luxury.

77 In this account of the councils of Basil, Ferrara, and Florence, I have consulted the original acts, which fill the xvith and xviith tomes of the edition of Venice, and are电路 by the perspicuous, though partial, history of Augustin Patricius, an Italian of the xvth century. They are digested and abridged by Dupin (Bibliotheque Eccle. tom. xii.), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii.); and the respect of the Gallican church for the adverse parties confines their members to an awkward moderation.
tine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity; of a musical and prolific language, that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. Since the barriers of the monarchy, and even of the capital, had been trampled under foot, the various Barbarians had doubtless corrupted the form and substance of the national dialect; and ample glossaries have been composed, to interpret a multitude of words of Arabic, Turkish, Slavonian, Latin, or French origin. But a purer idiom was spoken in the court and taught in the college; and the flourishing state of the language is described, and perhaps embellished, by a learned Italian, who, by a long residence and noble marriage, was naturalized at Constantinople about thirty years before the Turkish conquest. "The vulgar speech," says Phileph-

73 In the first attempt, Meursius collected 3600 Graeco-barbarous words, to which, in a second edition, he subjoined 1800 more; yet what plenteous gleanings did he leave to Portius, Ducange, Fabrott, the Bollandists, &c. (Fabric. Bibl. Græc. tom. x. p. 101, &c.) Some Persian words may be found in Xenophon, and some Latin ones in Plutarch; and such is the inevitable effect of war and commerce: but the form and substance of the language were not affected by this flight alloy.

79 The life of Francis Philephus, a sophist, proud, restless, and rapacious, has been diligently composed by Lancelot (Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 691—751.) and Tira-bochi (Italia della Letteratura Italiana, tom. vii. p. 282—294.), for the most part from his own letters. His elaborate writings, and those of his contemporaries, are forgotten: but their familiar epistles still describe the men and the times.

80 He married, and had perhaps debauched, the daughter of John, and the grand-daughter of Manuel Chylioloras. She was young, beautiful, and wealthy; and her noble family was allied to the Doria of Genoa and the emperors of Constantinople.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. LXXVI.

phasis", "has been depraved by the people, and "infected by the multitude of strangers and mer-
"chants, who every day flock to the city and "mingle with the inhabitants. It is from the "disciple of such a school that the Latin lan-
"guage received the versions of Aristotle and "Plato; so obscure in sense, and in spirit so "poor. But the Greeks who have escaped the "contagion, are those whom we follow; and they "alone are worthy of our imitation. In familiar "discourse, they still speak the tongue of Aris-
"tophanes and Euripides, of the historians and phi-
"losophers of Athens; and the style of their "writings is still more elaborate and correct. "The persons who, by their birth and offices, are "attached to the Byzantine court, are those who "maintain, with the least alloy, the ancient "standard of elegance and purity; and the na-
"tive graces of language most conspicuously shine "among the noble matrons, who are excluded "from all intercourse with foreigners. With "foreigners do I say? They live retired and fe-
"questered from the eyes of their fellow-citizens. "Seldom are they seen in the streets; and when "they leave their houses, it is in the dusk of

"Gross iquintur
in locum sermonum et \('\end{quote}
evening, on visits to the churches and their nearest kindred. On these occasions, they are on horseback, covered with a veil, and encompassed by their parents, their husbands, or their servants.

Among the Greeks, a numerous and opulent clergy was dedicated to the service of religion: their monks and bishops have ever been distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their manners; nor were they diverted, like the Latin priests, by the pursuits and pleasures of a secular, and even military, life. After a large deduction for the time and talents that were lost in the devotion, the laziness, and the discord, of the church and cloyster, the more inquisitive and ambitious minds would explore the sacred and profane erudition of their native language. The ecclesiastics presided over the education of youth; the schools of philosophy and eloquence were perpetuated till the fall of the empire; and it may be affirmed, that more books and more knowledge were included within the walls of Constantinople than could be dispersed over the extensive countries of the West. But an important distinction has been already noticed: the Greeks were stationary or retrograde, while the Latins were advancing with a rapid and progressive motion. The nations were excited by the spirit of independence and emulation.

3. Philelphus, absurdly enough, derives this Greek or Oriental jealousy from the manners of ancient Rome.

tion; and even the little world of the Italian states contained more people and industry than the decreasing circle of the Byzantine empire. In Europe, the lower ranks of society were relieved from the yoke of feudal servitude; and freedom is the first step to curiosity and knowledge. The use, however rude and corrupt, of the Latin tongue had been preferred by superstition, the universities, from Bologna to Oxford, were peopled with thousands of scholars; and their misguided ardour might be directed to more liberal and manly studies. In the resurrection of science, Italy was the first that cast away her shroud; and the eloquent Petrarch, by his lessons and his example, may justly be applauded as the first harbinger of day. A purer style of composition, a more generous and rational strain of sentiment, flowed from the study and imitation of the writers of ancient Rome; and the disciples of Cicero and Virgil approached, with reverence and love, the sanctuary of their Grecian masters. In the sack of Constantinople, the French, and even the Venetians, had despised and destroyed the works of Lysippus and Homer: the monuments of art may be annihilated by a single blow; but the immortal mind is renewed and multiplied by the copies of the pen; and such copies it was the am-

24 At the end of the xvth century, there existed in Europe about fifty universities, and of these the foundation of ten or twelve is prior to the year 1000. They were crowded in proportion to their scarcity. Bologna contained 10,000 students, chiefly of the civil law. In the year 1250 the number at Oxford had decreased from 30,000 to 6,000 souls. (Henry's History of Great Britain, vol. iv. p. 273.) Yet even this decrease is much superior to the present list of the members of the university.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Of those writers who professedly treat of the restoration of the Greek learning in Italy, the two principal are Hodius, Dr. Humphrey Hody (de Greecis Illustribus, Linguae Graecae Literarumque Humaniorum Initatoribus; Londini, 1742, in large octavo), and Tiraboschi (Storia della Letteratura Italiana, tom. v. p. 364—377. tom. vii p. 112—143.). The Oxford professor is a laborious scholar, but the librarian of Modena enjoys the superiority of a modern and national historian.

The arms of the Turks undoubtedly pressed the flight of the muses; yet we may tremble at the thought, that Greece might have been overwhelmed, with her schools and libraries, before Europe had emerged from the deluge of barbarism; that the seeds of science might have been scattered by the winds, before the Italian foil was prepared for their cultivation.

The most learned Italians of the fifteenth century have confessed and applauded the restoration of Greek literature, after a long oblivion of many hundred years. Yet in that country, and beyond the Alps, some names are quoted; some profound scholars, who in the darker ages were honourably distinguished by their knowledge of the Greek tongue; and national vanity has been loud in the praise of such rare examples of erudition. Without scrutinizing the merit of individuals, truth must observe that their science is without a cause, and without an effect; that it was easy for them to satisfy themselves and their more ignorant contemporaries; and that the idiom, which they had so marvellously acquired, was transcribed in few manuscripts, and was not taught in any university of the West. In a corner
of Italy, it faintly existed as the popular, or at least as the ecclesiastical, dialect. The first impression of the Doric and Ionic colonies has never been completely erased: the Calabrian churches were long attached to the throne of Constantinople; and the monks of St. Basil pursued their studies in mount Athos and the schools of the East. Calabria was the native country of Barlaam, who has already appeared as a sectary and an ambassador; and Barlaam was the first who revived, beyond the Alps, the memory, or at least the writings, of Homer. He is described, by Petrarch and Boccace, as a man of a diminutive stature, though truly great in the measure of learning and genius; of a piercing discernment, though of a slow and painful eloquence. For many ages (as they affirm) Greece had not produced his equal in the knowledge of history, grammar, and philosophy; and his merit was celebrated in the attestations of the princes and doctors of Constantinople. One of these attestations is still extant, and the emperor Cantacuzene, the protector of his adheraries, is forced to allow that Euclid, Aristotle, and Plato,

86 In Calabria quae olim magna Graecia diecebatur, coloniis Graecia repeeta, remanit quaedam linguae veteris cognitio (Hodius, p. 2). If it were eradicated by the Romans, it was revived and perpetuated by the monks of St. Basil, who possessed seven convents at Ruffano alone (Giammona, Libra di Napoli, tom. i. p. 82.)

87 L. Barbius (says Petrarch, the French and Germans) vix, non dicam libros sed nomem Homeri audierunt. Perhaps, in that respect, the xiii century was less happy than the age of Charlemagne.

88 See the character of Barlaam, in Boccace de Genealog. Deorum, l. xv. c. 6.
were familiar to that profound and subtle logician. In the court of Avignon, he formed an intimate connection with Petrarch, the first of the Latin scholars; and the desire of mutual instruction was the principle of their literary commerce. The Tuscan applied himself with eager curiosity and assiduous diligence to the study of the Greek language; and in a laborious struggle with the dryness and difficulty of the first rudiments, he began to reach the sense, and to feel the spirit, of poets and philosophers, whose minds were congenial to his own. But he was soon deprived of the society and lessons of this useful assistant: Barlaam relinquished his fruitless embassy; and, on his return to Greece, he rashly provoked the swarms of fanatic monks, by attempting to subliterate the light of reason to that of their navel. After a separation of three years, the two friends again met in the court of Naples; but the generous pupil renounced the fairest occasion of improvement; and by his recommendation Barlaam was finally settled in a small bishopric of his native Calabria. The manifold avocations of Petrarch, love and friendship, his

89 Cantacuzen, I. ii. c. 36.
90 For the connection of Petrarch and Barlaam, and the two interviews at Avignon in 1339, and at Naples in 1342, see the excellent Memoires sur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 406—410. tom. ii. p. 75—77.
91 The bishopric to which Barlaam retired, was the old Lorri, in the middle ages Sca Cynacea, and by corruption Hieracium, Gerace (Diff. Chorographica Italias mediæ ævi, p. 512.). The dives opus of the Norman times soon lapsed into poverty, since even the church was poor: yet the town still contains 3000 inhabitants (Swinburne, p. 540.).
various correspondence and frequent journeys, the Roman laurel, and his elaborate compositions in prose and verse, in Latin and Italian, diverted him from a foreign idiom; and as he advanced in life, the attainment of the Greek language was the object of his wishes, rather than of his hopes. When he was about fifty years of age, a Byzantine ambassador, his friend, and a master of both tongues, presented him with a copy of Homer; and the answer of Petrarch is at once expressive of his eloquence, gratitude, and regret. After celebrating the generosity of the donor, and the value of a gift more precious in his estimation than gold or rubies, he thus proceeds:

"Your present of the genuine and original text of the divine poet, the fountain of all invention, is worthy of yourself and of me: you have fulfilled your promise, and satisfied my desires. Yet your liberality is still imperfect: with Homer you should have given me yourself; a guide, who could lead me into the fields of light, and disclose to my wondering eyes the precious miracles of the Iliad and Odyssey. But, alas! Homer is dumb, or I am deaf: nor is it in my power to enjoy the beauty which I possess. I have feasted him by the side of Plato, the prince of poets near the prince of philosophers; and I gloried in the sight of my illustrious guests. Of their immortal writings, whatever had been translated into the Latin idiom, I had already acquired; but if there be no profit, there is some pleasure, in beholding their venerable Greeks in their proper and national habit. I am delighted with the aspect of

"Homer,"
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

"Homer; and as often as I embrace the silent
volume, I exclaim with a sigh, Illustrious bard!
with what pleasure should I listen to thy song,
if my sense of hearing were not obstructed and
lost by the death of one friend, and in the
much lamented absence of another. Nor do I
yet despair; and the example of Cato suggests
some comfort and hope, since it was in the last
period of age that he attained the knowledge of
the Greek letters."

The prize which eluded the efforts of Petrarch,
was obtained by the fortune and industry of his
friend Boccace, the father of the Tuscan prose.
That popular writer, who derives his reputation
from the Decameron, an hundred novels of
pleasantry and love, may aspire to the more se-
rious praise of restoring in Italy the study of
the Greek language. In the year one thousand three
hundred and sixty, a disciple of Barlaam, whose
name was Leo, or Leontius Pilatus, was detained
in his way to Avignon by the advice and hos-
pitality of Boccace, who lodged the stranger in

92 I will transcribe a passage from this epistle of Petrarch (Fa-
mil. ix. 2.) Donati Homerus non in alienum sermonem violento
alveo derivatum, sed ex ipsis Graeci eloquiis scatebris, et qualis divino
illii profuxit ingenio . . . Sine tua voce Homerus tuus apud me
mutus, immo vero ego apud illum furtus sum. Gaudeo tamen vel
adipsectu folo, ac sepe illum amplexus atque suspirans dico, O magne
vir, &c.

93 For the life and writings of Boccace, who was born in 1313,
and died in 1375, Fabricius (Bibl. Lat. mediæ Œuv. tom. i.
p. 248, &c.) and Tiraboschi (tom. v. p. 83, 439—451.) may be
consulted. The editions, versions, imitations of his novels, are
innumerable. Yet he was ashamed to communicate that trifling, and
perhaps scandalous, work to Petrarch his respectable friend, in whose
letters and memoirs he conspicuously appears.
his house, prevailed on the republic of Florence to allow him an annual stipend, and devoted his leisure to the first Greek professor, who taught that language in the Western countries of Europe. The appearance of Leo might disconcert the most eager disciple; he was cloathed in the mantle of a philosopher, or a mendicant; his countenance was hideous; his face was overshadowed with black hair; his beard long and uncombed; his deportment rustic; his temper gloomy and inconstant; nor could he grace his discourse with the ornaments, or even the perspicuity, of Latin eloquence. But his mind was stored with a treasure of Greek learning: history and fable, philosophy and grammar, were alike at his command; and he read the poems of Homer in the schools of Florence. It was from his explanation that Boccace composed and transcribed a literal prose version of the Iliad and Odyssey, which satisfied the thirst of his friend Petrarch, and which perhaps, in the succeeding century, was clandestinely used by Laurentius Valla, the Latin interpreter. It was from his narratives that the same Boccace collected the materials for his treatise on the genealogy of the heathen gods, a work, in that age, of stupendous erudition, and which he ostentatiously sprinkled with Greek characters and passages, to excite the wonder and applause of his more ignorant readers. The first steps

54 Boccace adds an honest vanity: Oftentationis causa Graeca elationem affert ... jurid uter muen medum est hoc decus men poena ferteet uter Etruscos Graecos uti erinminibus. Nonne ego tali qui Leonhui Philum, &c. de Genealogia Deorum, l. xv. c. 7. a work which, though now forgotten, has run through thirteen or fourteen editions.)

of
of learning are flow and laborious; no more than ten votaries of Homer could be enumerated in all Italy; and neither Rome, nor Venice, nor Naples, could add a single name to this studious catalogue. But their numbers would have multiplied, their progress would have been accelerated, if the inconstant Leo, at the end of three years, had not relinquished an honourable and beneficial station. In his passage, Petrarch entertained him at Padua a short time; he enjoyed the scholar, but was justly offended with the gloomy and unfocial temper of the man. Discontented with the world and with himself, Leo depreciated his present enjoyments, while absent persons and objects were dear to his imagination. In Italy he was a Thessalian, in Greece a native of Calabria; in the company of the Latins he disdained their language, religion, and manner; no sooner was he landed at Constantinople, than he again sighed for the wealth of Venice and the elegance of Florence. His Italian friends were deaf to his importunity; he depended on their curiosity and indulgence, and embarked on a second voyage; but on his entrance into the Adriatic, the ship was affaided by a tempest, and the unfortunate teacher, who like Ulysses had fattened himself to the mast, was struck dead by a flash of lightning. The humane Petrarch dropt a tear on his disater; but he was most anxious to learn whether some copy of Euripides or Sophocles might not be saved from the hands of the mariners.

But

9 Leontius, or Leo Pilatus, is sufficiently made known by Holy (p. 2—11.), and the Abbé de Sade (Vie de Petruque, tom.
But the faint rudiments of Greek learning, which Petrarch had encouraged and Boccace had planted, soon withered and expired. The succeeding generation was content for a while with the improvement of Latin eloquence: nor was it before the end of the fourteenth century, that a new and perpetual flame was rekindled in Italy. Previous to his own journey, the emperor Manuel dispatched his envoys and orators to implore the compassion of the Western princes. Of these envoys, the most conspicuous, or the most learned, was Manuel Chrytoloras, of noble birth, and whose Roman ancestors are supposed to have migrated with the great Constantine. After visiting the courts of France and England, where he obtained some contributions and more promises, the envoy was invited to assume the office of a professor; and Florence had again the honour of this second invitation. By his knowledge, not only of the Greek, but of the Latin, tongue, Chrytoloras deserved the stipend, and surpassed the expectation of the republic: his school was frequented by a crowd of disciples of every rank.
and age; and one of these, in a general history, has described his motives and his success. "At that time," says Leonard Arelin, "I was a student of the civil law; but my soul was inflamed with the love of letters; and I bestowed some application on the sciences of logic and rhetoric. On the arrival of Manuel, I hesitated whether I should desert my legal studies, or relinquish this golden opportunity; and thus, in the ardour of youth, I communed with my own mind—Wilt thou be wanting to thyself and thy fortune? Wilt thou refuse to be introduced to a familiar converse with Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes? with those poets, philosophers, and orators, of whom such wonders are related, and who are celebrated by every age as the great masters of human science? Of professors and scholars in civil law, a sufficient supply will always be found in our universities; but a teacher, and such a teacher, of the Greek language, if he once be suffered to escape, may never afterwards be retrieved. Convinced by these reasons, I gave myself to Chrysoloras; and so strong was my passion, that the lessons which I had imbibed in the day were the constant subject of

98 The name of Arelinus has been assumed by five or six natives of Arezzo in Tuscany, of whom the most famous and the most worthless lived in the sixteenth century. Leonardus Brunus Arelinus, the disciple of Chrysoloras, was a linguist, an orator, and an historian, the secretary of four successive popes, and the chancellor of the republic of Florence, where he died A.D. 1444, at the age of seventy-five (Fabric. Biblioth. medii. Evi., tom. i. p. 190, &c. Tirabolchi, tom. vii. p. 33-39).
At the same time and place, the Latin classics were explained by John of Ravenna, the domestic pupil of Petrarch: the Italians, who illustrated their age and country, were formed in this double school; and Florence became the fruitful seminary of Greek and Roman erudition. The presence of the emperor recalled Chrysoloras from the college to the court; but he afterwards taught at Pavia and Rome with equal industry and applause. The remainder of his life, about fifteen years, was divided between Italy and Constantinople, between embassies and leisions. In the noble office of enlightening a foreign nation, the grammarian was not unmindful of a more sacred duty to his prince and country; and Emanuel Chrysoloras died at Constance on a public mission from the emperor to the council.

After his example, the restoration of the Greek letters in Italy was prosecuted by a series of emigrants, who were culturists of fortune, and endowed with learning, or at least with language.

69 See varp. Fico in Accad. Commentatio Raro in Tempore in Leva, p. 258. 70 See in this chapter, denuo, Petrarch, who loved the youth, even companions of the court; curiosity, retails temper, and proud learning; who did admire the letters and glory of a upper age (Memories in Petrarch, book i. p. 720–725).

From the terror or oppression of the Turkish arms, the natives of Thessalonica and Constantinople escaped to a land of freedom, curiosity, and wealth. The synod introduced into Florence the lights of the Greek church and the oracles of the Platonic philosophy: and the fugitives who adhered to the union, had the double merit of renouncing their country, not only for the Christian, but for the Catholic, cause. A patriot, who sacrifices his party and conscience to the allurements of favour, may be possessed however of the private and social virtues: he no longer hears the reproachful epithets of slave and apologist; and the consideration which he acquires among his new associates will restore in his own eyes the dignity of his character. The prudent conformity of Beffarian was rewarded with the Roman purple: he fixed his residence in Italy; and the Greek cardinal, the titular patriarch of Constantinople, was respected as the chief and protector of his nation: his abilities were exercised in the legations of Bologna, Venice, Germany, and France; and his election to the chair of St. Peter floated for a moment on the uncertain breath of a conclave. His ecclesiastical honours diffused a splendour and pre-eminence over his literary merit and service:

122 See in Hody the article of Beffarian (p. 136—177); Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and the rest of the Greeks whom I have named or omitted, are inserted in their proper chapters of his learned work. See likewise Tiraboschi, in the 12 and 24 parts of the 9th tome.

123 The cardinals knocked at his door, but his conclavist refused to interrupt the studies of Beffarian: "Nicholas," said he, "thy respect has cost thee an hat, and me the tiara."
his palace was a school; as often as the cardinal visited the Vatican, he was attended by a learned train of both nations\(^{124}\); of men applauded by themselves and the public; and whose writings, now overspread with dust, were popular and useful in their own times. I shall not attempt to enumerate the restorers of Grecian literature in the fifteenth century; and it may be sufficient to mention with gratitude the names of Theodore Gaza, of George of Trebizond, of John Argyropulus, and Demetrius Chalcocondyles, who taught their native language in the schools of Florence and Rome. Their labours were not inferior to those of Bessarion, whose purple they revered, and whose fortune was the secret object of their envy. But the lives of these grammarians were humble and obscure: they had declined the lucrative paths of the church; their dress and manners excluded them from the commerce of the world; and since they were confined to the merit, they might be content with the rewards, of learning. From this character, Janus Lascaris\(^{125}\) will deserve an exception. His eloquence, politeness, and Im-

\(^{124}\) Such as George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Argyropulus, Archimandritae of Thessalonica, Poggio, Pollutus, Niccolis Pertot, Valio, Campanus, Plotius, and Voss (says Hody, with the pleasing zeal of a librarian, in his very person (p. 158).\

\(^{125}\) He was born before the taking of Constantinople; but his honourable life was stretched far into the sixteenth century (A. D. 1535). Leo X. and Francis I. were his habitual patrons, under whose auspices he founded the Greek colleges of Rome and Paris (Hody, p. 247—275). He left poverty in France; but the counts de Vintimille, and their numerous branches, derive the name of Lascaris from a doubtful marriage in the sixteenth century with the daughter of a Greek emperor (Ducaire, Fam. Byzant. p. 224—236).
perial descent, recommended him to the French monarchs; and in the same cities he was alternately employed to teach and to negociate. Duty and interest prompted them to cultivate the study of the Latin language; and the most successful attained the faculty of writing and speaking with fluency and elegance in a foreign idiom. But they ever retained the inveterate vanity of their country: their praise, or at least their esteem, was reserved for the national writers, to whom they owed their fame and subsistence; and they sometimes betrayed their contempt in licentious criticism or satire on Virgil's poetry and the oratory of Tully. The superiority of these masters arose from the familiar use of a living language; and their first disciples were incapable of discerning how far they had degenerated from the knowledge, and even the practice, of their ancestors. A vicious pronunciation, which they introduced,
duced, was banished from the schools by the reason of the succeeding age. Of the power of the Greek accents they were ignorant: and those musical notes, which, from an Attic tongue, and to an Attic ear, must have been the secret soul of harmony, were to their eyes, as to our own, no more than mute and unmeaning marks; in prose superfluous, and troublesome in verse. The art of grammar they truly possessed: the valuable fragments of Apollonius and Herodian were transfigured into their lessons; and their treatises of syntax and etymology, though devoid of philo-

sophic spirit, are still useful to the Greek student. In the shipwreck of the Byzantine libraries, each fugitive seized a fragment of treasure, a copy of some author, who, without his industry, might have perished; the transcripts were multiplied by an affluous, and sometimes an elegant, pen; and the text was corrected and explained by their own comments, or those of the elder scholiasts. The text, though not the spirit, of the Greek classics, was interpreted to the Latin world: the beauties of little evaporate in a version; but the judgment of Theodore Gaza selected the more solid works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and their natural histories of animals and plants opened a rich fund of grammar and experimental science.

Yet the fleeting shadows of metaphysics were graced with more curiosity and ardour. After a
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Long oblivion, Plato was revived in Italy by a venerable Greek, who taught in the house of Cosimo of Medicis. While the synod of Florence was involved in theological debate, some beneficial consequences might flow from the study of his elegant philosophy; his style is the purest standard of the Attic dialect; and his sublime thoughts are sometimes adapted to familiar conversation, and sometimes adorned with the richest colours of poetry and eloquence. The dialogues of Plato are a dramatic picture of the life and death of a sage; and as often as he descends from the clouds, his moral system inculcates the love of truth, of our country, and of mankind. The precept and example of Socrates recommended a modest doubt and liberal inquiry: and if the Platonists, with blind devotion, adored the visions and errors of their divine master, their enthusiasm might correct the dry, dogmatic method of the Peripatetic school. So equal, yet so opposite, are the merits of Plato and Aristotle, that they may be balanced in endless controversy; but some spark of freedom may be produced by the collision of adverse servitude. The modern Greeks were divided between the two sects: with more fury than skill they fought under the banner of their leaders; and the field of battle was removed in their flight from Constantinople to Rome. But this philosophical debate soon degenerated into an

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153 George Gemistus Pletho, a various and voluminous writer, the master of Beliarion, and all the Platonists of the times. He visited Italy in his old age, and soon returned to end his days in Pergamon. See the curious Diatribe of Leo Allatius de Georgius, in Ovidius (Biblioth. Græc. tom. x. p. 739–756.).
angry and personal quarrel of grammarians; and Beliarion, though an advocate for Plato, protected the national honour, by interposing the advice and authority of a mediator. In the gardens of the Medici, the academical doctrine was enjoyed by the polite and learned: but their philosophic society was quickly dissolved; and if the writings of the Attic fage were perused in the closet, the more powerful Stagyrite continued to reign the oracle of the church and school 139.

I have fairly represented the literary merits of the Greeks; yet it must be confessed that they were seconded and surpassed by the ardour of the Latins. Italy was divided into many independent states; and at that time, it was the ambition of princes and republics to vie with each other in the encouragement and reward of literature. The fame of Nicholas the sixth 140 has not been adequate to his merits. 

139 The last of the Philo-stagyrism in Italy: illustrated by

140 See the Life of Nicholas (see below, p. 1483—1526).
He had been the friend of the most eminent scholars of the age: he became their patron; and such was the humility of his manners, that the change was scarcely discernible either to them or to himself. If he pressed the acceptance of a liberal gift, it was not as the measure of desert, but as the proof of benevolence; and when modest merit declined his bounty, “accept it,” would he say with a consciousness of his own worth; “you will not always have a Nicholas among ye.” The influence of the holy see pervaded Christendom; and he exerted that influence in the search, not of benefits, but of books. From the ruins of the Byzantine libraries, from the darkest monasteries of Germany and Britain, he collected the dusty manuscripts of the writers of antiquity; and wherever the original could not be removed, a faithful copy was transcribed and transmitted for his use. The Vatican, the old repository for bulls and legends, for superstition and forgery, was daily replenished with more precious furniture; and such was the industry of Nicholas, that in a reign of eight years, he formed a library of five thousand volumes. To his munificence, the Latin world was indebted for the versions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydidès, Herodotus, and Appian; of Strabo’s geography, of the Iliad, of the most valuable works of Plato and Aristotle, of Plotinus and Theophrastus, and of the fathers of the Greek church. The example of the Roman pontiff was preceded or imitated by a Florentine merchant, who governed the republic without arms and without
without a title. Cosmo of Medicis was a father of a line of princes, whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning: his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the service of mankind; he corresponded at once with Cairo and London: and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported in the same vessel. The genius and education of his grandson Lorenzo rendered him, not only a patron, but a judge and candidate, in the literary race. In his palace, distress was entitled to relief, and merit to reward: his leisure hours were delightfully spent in the Platonic academy: he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcocondyles and Angelo Politian; and his active missionary Janus Lascaris returned from the East with a treasure of two hundred manuscripts, four hundred of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe. The rest of Italy was animated by a similar spirit, and the progress of the nation repaid the liberality of her princes. The Latins held the exclusive property of their own literature: and these disciples of Greece were

112 See the literary history of Cosimo and Lorenzo of Medicis, in Thorbecke (com. vi. i. i. c. i.), who draws a due mixture of pride on the part of Amorion, king of Naples, the dukes of Milan, Ferrara, Udine, etc. The republic of Venice has deserved the least from the gratitude of scholars.

113 Thorbecke (tom iv. P. i. p. 103.), from the notice of Janus Lascaris to the Greek Anthology, printed at Florence 1824. Later, he was invited to present to the Greek Orphans, upon Ignatius, p. 240, in Athos. Lascaris wrote, Des Lascaris... in Italian importune. Milanese chronology Lascaris the Medecis in Graecian and repertory found, et quantus eruditis primum libris libris. It is remarkable enough, that the research was facilitated by Italian Rejaze, H.
soon capable of transmitting and improving the lessons which they had imbibed. After a short succession of foreign teachers, the tide of emigration subsided; but the language of Constantinople was spread beyond the Alps; and the natives of France, Germany, and England 114, imparted to their country the sacred fire which they had kindled in the schools of Florence and Rome 115. In the productions of the mind, as in those of the soil, the gifts of nature are excelled by industry and skill: the Greek authors, forgotten on the banks of the Tiber, have been illustrated on those of the Elbe and the Thames; and Beaffarion or Gaza might have envied the superior science of the Barbarians; the accuracy of Budæus, the taste of Erasmus, the copiousness of Stephens, the erudition of Scaliger, the discernment of Reiske, or of Bentley. On the side of the Latins, the discovery of printing was a casual advantage: but this useful art has been applied by Aldus, and his innumerable successors, to perpetuate and multiply the works of

114 The Greek language was introduced into the university of Oxford in the latter years of the 14th century, by Grocyn, Linacre, and Latimer, who had all studied at Florence under Demetrius Chalcenodochus. See Dr. Knight's curious Life of Erasmus. Although a true academical patriot, he is forced to acknowledge, that Erasmus learned Greek at Oxford, and taught it at Cambridge.

115 The jealous Italians were desirous of keeping a monopoly of Greek learning. When Aldus was about to publish the Greek iohalæs on Sophocles and Euripides, Cave (said they), cave hoc facias, ne te habiatus adjici domi maneat, et pauciores in Italian ventient (Dr. Knight, in his Life of Erasmus, p. 365. from Beatus Rhecanus).

antiquity.
antiquity. A single manuscript imported from Greece is revived in ten thousand copies; and each copy is fairer than the original. In this form, Homer and Plato would peruse with more satisfaction their own writings: and their scholiasts must resign the prize to the labours of our western editors.

Before the revival of classic literature, the Barbarians in Europe were immersed in ignorance; and their vulgar tongues were marked with the rudeness and poverty of their manners. The students of the more perfect idioms of Rome and Greece, were introduced to a new world of light and science; to the society of the free and polished nations of antiquity; and to a familiar converse with those immortal men who spoke the sublime language of eloquence and reason. Such an intercourse must tend to refine the taste, and to elevate the genius, of the moderns: and yet, from the first experiment, it might appear that the study of the ancients had given letters, rather than wings, to the human mind. However laudable, the spirit of imitation is of a servile cast; and the
first disciples of the Greeks and Romans were a colony of strangers in the midst of their age and country. The minute and laborious diligence which explored the antiquities of remote times, might have improved or adorned the present state of society: the critic and metaphysician were the slaves of Aristotle; the poets, historians, and orators, were proud to repeat the thoughts and words of the Augustan age; the works of nature were observed with the eyes of Pliny and Theophrastus; and some Pagan votaries professed a secret devotion to the gods of Homer and Plato. The Italians were oppressed by the strength and number of their ancient auxiliaries: the century after the deaths of Petrarch and Boccace was filled with a crowd of Latin imitators, who decently reposed on our shelves; but in that era of learning, it will not be easy to discern a real discovery of science, a work of invention or eloquence, in

I will select three singular examples of this classic enthusiasm. 1. At the tyne of Florence, Gemius Plauto said, in familiar conversation to George of Trebizond, that in a short time mankind would unanimously renounce the Gospels and the Roman for a religion similar to that of the Gentiles (Leo Al-"ius, adnud Fabulium, tom. x. p. 751.). 2. Paul II. perfected the Roman academy, which had been founded by Pomponius Laetus, and the principal members were accused of heresy, impiety, and paganism (Tirabolchi, tom. vi. P. 1. p. 81, 82.). 3. In the next century, some scholars and poets in France celebrated the success of Jonelle's tragedy of Cyparissus, by a teminal of Bacchus, and, as it is said, by the sacrifice of a goat (Bayle, Dict. encycl., Jonelle, Fontenelle, tom. vii. 56-61.). Yet the spirit of bigotry might often discern a serious impiety in the sportive play of silly and learning.
the popular language of the country"\(^{115}\). But as soon as it had been deeply saturated with the celestial dew, the soil was quickened into vegetation and life; the modern idioms were refined: the classics of Athens and Rome inspired a pure taste and a generous emulation; and in Italy, as afterwards in France and England, the pleasing reign of poetry and fiction was succeeded by the light of speculative and experimental philosophy. Genius may anticipate the season of maturity, but in the education of a people, as in that of an individual, memory must be exercised, before the powers of reason and fancy can be expanded; nor may the artist hope to equal or improve, till he has learned to imitate, the works of his predecessors.

\(^{115}\) The survivor of Boccaccio died in the year 1375; and we cannot place before 1480, the composition of the *Ninfante Maggiore* of Fieschi, and the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo (Flaubert, *tom. iv.* Pithiviers, p. 174—177).
THE respective merits of Rome and Constantinople are compared and celebrated by an eloquent Greek, the father of the Italian schools. The view of the ancient capitol, the seat of his ancestors, surpassed the most sanguine expectations of Emanuel Chrysoloræs; and he no longer blamed the exclamation of an old sophist, that Rome was the habituation, not of men, but of gods. Those gods, and those men, had long since vanished; but, to the eye of liberal enthusiasm, the majesty of ruin restored the image of her ancient prosperity. The monuments of the consuls and Caesars, of the martyrs and apostles, engaged on all sides the curiosity of the philosopher and the Christian; and he confessed, that in every age the arms and the religion of Rome were destined to reign over the earth.

1 The epistle of Emanuel Chrysoloræs to the emperor John Palæologus, will not offend the eye or ear of a classical student (ed. Colini de Antiquitatis C. P. p. 107—126.). The subscription suggests a chronological remark, that John Palæologus II. was associated in the empire before the year 1414, the date of Chrysoloræs's death. A still earlier date, at least 1408, is deduced from the age of his youngest son, Demetrius and Thomas, who were both Papyrgoi (Ducreux, Fam. Byzant. p. 244—247.).

While
While Chryfoloras admired the venerable beauties of the mother, he was not forgetful of his native country, her fairest daughter, her Imperial colony; and the Byzantine patriot expatiates with zeal and truth, on the eternal advantages of nature, and the more tranitory glories of art and dominion, which adorned, or had adorned, the city of Constanținople. Yet the perfection of the copy still redounds (as he modestly observes) to the honour of the original, and parents are delighted to be renewed, and even excelled, by the superior merit of their children. "Con-
"stanbul," says the orator, "is situate on a "commanding point, between Europe and Asia, "between the Archipelago and the Euroxine. By "her interposition, the two seas, and the two "continents, are united for the common benefit "of nations; and the gates of commerce may "be shut or opened at her command. The har-
bour, encompassed on all sides by the sea and "the continent, is the most secure and capacious "in the world. The walls and gates of Constan-
tinople may be compared with those of Baby-
lon: the towers are many; each tower is a solid "and lofty structure; and the second wall, the "outer fortification, would be sufficient for the "defence and dignity of an ordinary capital. A "broad and rapid stream may be introduced into "the cistern; and the artificial island may be "encompassed, like Athens, by land or water." Two
Two strong and natural causes are alleged for the perfection of the model of new Rome. The royal founder reigned over the most illustrious nations of the globe; and in the accomplishment of his designs, the power of the Romans was combined with the art and science of the Greeks. Other cities have been reared to maturity by accident and time; their beauties are mingled with disorder and deformity; and the inhabitants, unwilling to remove from their natal spot, are incapable of correcting the errors of their ancestors, and the original vices of situation or climate. But the free idea of Constantinople was formed and executed by a single mind; and the primitive model was improved by the obedient zeal of the subjects and successors of the first monarch. The adjacent isles were stored with an inexhaustible supply of marble; but the various materials were transported from the most remote shores of Europe and Asia; and the public and private buildings, the palaces, churches, aqueducts, cisterns, porticoes, columns, baths, and hippodromes, were adapted to the greatness of the capital of the East. The superfluity of wealth was spread along the shores of Europe and Asia; and the Byzantine territory, as far as the Euxine, the Hellespont, and the long wall, might be considered as a populous suburb and a perpetual garden. In this flattering picture, the past and the present, the times of prosperity and decay, are artfully con-

flaminople, cannot be applied to the situation of Athens, five miles from the sea, and not interfaced or surrounded by any navigable streams.
founded; but a flight and confusion escape from the orator, that his wretched country was the shadow and sepulchre of its former self. The works of ancient sculpture had been defaced by Christian zeal or Barbaric violence; the fairest structures were demolished; and the marbles of Paros or Numidia were burnt for lime, or applied to the meanest uses. Of many a statue, the place was marked by an empty pedestal; of many a column, the size was determined by a broken capital; the tombs of the emperors were scattered on the ground; the stroke of time was accelerated by storms and earthquakes; and the vacant space was adorned, by vulgar tradition, with fabulous monuments of gold and silver. From these wonders, which lived only in memory or belief, he distinguishes however the porphyry pillar, the column and colossus of Justinian, and the church, more especially the dome, of St. Sophia; the last conclusion, since it could not be described according to its merits, and after it no other object could deserve to be mentioned. But he forgets, that a century before, the trembling fabrics of the Colosseum and the church had been saved and repaired by the timely care of Andronicus the elder. Thirty years after the emperor had fortified St. Sophia with two new buttresses or pyra-
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mids, the eastern hemisphere suddenly gave way; and the images, the altars, and the sanctuary, were crushed by the falling ruin. The mischief indeed was speedily repaired; the rubbish was cleared by the incessant labour of every rank and age; and the poor remains of riches and industry were consecrated by the Greeks to the most stately and venerable temple of the East 4.

The last hope of the falling city and empire was placed in the harmony of the mother and daughter, in the maternal tenderness of Rome, and the filial obedience of Constantinople. In the synod of Florence, the Greeks and Latins had embraced, and subscribed, and promised; but these signs of friendship were pernicious or fruitless 5; and the baseless fabric of the union vanished like a dream 6. The emperor and his prelates returned home in the Venetian galleys; but as they touched at the Morea and the isles of

4 See the decay and repairs of St. Sophia, in Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 12. l. xvi. 2). The building was propped by Andronicus in 1317, the eastern hemisphere fell in 1545. The Greeks, in their pompous rhetoric, exalt the beauty and holiness of the church, an earthly heaven, the abode of angels, and of God himself, &c.

5 The genuine and original narrative of Syropulus (p. 312—351.) opens the schism from the first office of the Greeks at Venice, to the general opposition at Constantinople of the clergy and people.

6 On the schism of Constantinople, see Phranza (l. ii. c. 17.), Ioannes Chiselondyles (l. vi. p. 155, 156.), and Ducas (c. 51.); the last of whom writes with truth and freedom. Among the moderns we may distinguish the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 358, &c. 401. 430, &c.), and Spondanus (A. D. 1440—30.). The lente of the latter is drowned in prejudice and passion, as soon as Rome and religion were concerned.
Corfu and Lesbos, the subjects of the Latins complained that the pretended union would be an instrument of oppression. No sooner did they land on the Byzantine shore than they were saluted, or rather affrighted, with a general murmur of zeal and discontent. During their absence, above two years, the capital had been deprived of its civil and ecclesiastical rulers; fanaticism fermented in anarchy; the most furious monks reigned over the conscience of women and bigots; and the hatred of the Latin name was the first principle of nature and religion. Before his departure for Italy, the emperor had flattered the city with the assurance of a prompt relief and a powerful succour; and the clergy, confident in their orthodoxy and science, had promised themselves and their flocks an easy victory over the blind shepherds of the West. The double disappointment exasperated the Greeks; the conscience of the subscribing prelates was awakened; the hour of temptation was past; and they had more to dread from the public resentment, than they could hope from the favour of the emperor or the pope. Instead of justifying their conduct, they deplored their weakness, professed their contrition, and cast themselves on the mercy of God and of their brethren. To the reproachful question, what had been the event or use of their Italian synod? they answered with sobs and tears, "Alas! we have made a new faith; we have exchanged piety for impiety; we have betrayed the immaculate sacrifice; and we are become..."
Azymites." (The Azymites were those who celebrated the communion with unleavened bread; and I must retract or qualify the praise which I have bestowed on the growing philosophy of the times.) "Alas! we have been seduced by distress, by fraud, and by the hopes and fears of a transitory life. The hand that has signed the union should be cut off; and the tongue that has pronounced the Latin creed deserves to be torn from the root." The best proof of their repentance was an increase of zeal for the most trivial rites and the most incomprehensible doctrines; and an absolute separation from all, without excepting their prince, who preserved some regard for honour and consistency. After the decease of the patriarch Joseph, the archbishops of Heraclea and Trebizond had courage to refuse the vacant office; and cardinal Beftarion preferred the warm and comfortable shelter of the Vatican. The choice of the emperor and his clergy was confined to Metrophanes of Cyzicus; he was consecrated in St. Sophia, but the temple was vacant. The cross-bearers abdicated their service; the infection spread from the city to the villages; and Metrophanes discharged, without effect, some ecclesiastical thunders against a nation of schismatics. The eyes of the Greeks were directed to Mark of Ephesus, the champion of his country; and the sufferings of the holy confessor were repaid with a tribute of admiration and applause. His example and writings propagated the flame of religious discord; age and infirmity soon removed him from the world; but the gospel of Mark was not
not a law of forgiveness; and he requested with his dying breath, that none of the adherents of Rome might attend his obsequies or pray for his soul.

The schism was not confined to the narrow limits of the Byzantine empire. Secure under the Mameluke keftre, the three patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, assembled a numerous synod; disowned their representatives at Ferrara and Florence; condemned the creed and council of the Latins; and threatened the emperor of Constantinople with the cenfures of the Eastern church. Of the sectaries of the Greek communion, the Russians were the most powerful, ignorant, and superstitious. Their prieate, the cardinal Isidore, hastened from Florence to Moscow, to reduce the independent nation under the Roman yoke. But the Russian bishops had been educated at mount Athos; and the prince and people embraced the theology of their priests. They were scandalized by the title, the pomp, the Latin crois of the legate, the friend of those impious men who shaved their beards, and performed the divine office with gloves on their hands and rings on their fingers: Isidore was condemned by a synod; his person was imprisoned in a monastery; and it was with extreme difficulty,

* Isidore was metropolitan of Kiev, but the Greeks subject to Poland were accused that he had gone to Kow to Lebanon, and Damascus (Herberstein, in Religio, tom. ii. p. 127.). On the other hand, the Russions transferred their spiritual oblige to the archbishop, who became, in 1553, the patriarch of Moscow (Levadie, Hist. de Russie, tom. iii. p. 123. 190. from a Greek MS. at Paris, Iter et libri Arcuocopii Athen.}

that
that the cardinal could escape from the hands of a fierce and fanatic people. The Ruffian refused a passage to the missionaries of Rome who aspired to convert the Pagans beyond the Tanais; and their refusal was justified by the maxim, that the guilt of idolatry is less damnable than that of sedition. The errors of the Bohemians were excused by their abhorrence for the pope; and a deposition of the Greek clergy solicited the friendship of some zealous enthusiasts. While Eugenius triumphed in the union and orthodoxy of the Greeks, his party was converted to the walls, or rather to the palace, of Constantinople. The zeal of Pius IX. had been excited by interest; it was from party propagation; an attempt to violate the nation's belief might endanger his life; and croaaS, far could the priest rebels be objects of mercy and compassion. The Scour of...
his brother Demetrius, who in Italy had maintained a prudent and popular silence, was half unsheathed in the cause of religion; and Amurath, the Turkish sultan, was displeased and alarmed by the seeming friendship of the Greeks and Latins.

"Sultan Murad, or Amurath, lived forty-nine, and reigned thirty years, six months, and eight days. He was a just and valiant prince, of a great soul, patient of labours, learned, charitable, religious, a lover and encourager of the studious, and of all who excelled in any art or science; a good emperor, and a great general. No man obtained more or greater victories than Amurath: Belgrade alone withstood his attacks. Under his reign, the soldier was ever victorious, the citizen rich and secure. If he subdued any country, his first care was to build mosques and caravanseras, hospitals, and colleges. Every year he gave a thousand pieces of gold to the sons of the prophet; and sent two thousand five hundred to the religious persons of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem." This portrait is transcribed from the historian of the Othman empire; but the applause of a servile and superstitious people has been lavished on the worst of tyrants; and the virtues of a sultan are often the vices most useful to himself, or most agreeable to

1 See Cantemir, History of the Othman Empire, p. 94. Murad, or Murad, may be more correct; but I have preferred the popular name, to that of January, which is rarely incorrect in translating an Oriental, into the Roman, alphabet.
his subjects. A nation ignorant of the equal benefits of liberty and law, must be awed by the terrors of arbitrary power: the cruelty of a despot will assume the character of justice; his profusion, of liberality; his obstinacy, of firmness. If the most reasonable excuse be rejected, few acts of obedience will be found impossible; and guilt must tremble, where innocence cannot always be secure. The tranquillity of the people, and the discipline of the troops, were best maintained by perpetual action in the field; war was the trade of the Janizaries: and those who survived the peril, and divided the spoil, applauded the generous ambition of their sovereign. To propagate the true religion, was the duty of a faithful Musulman: the unbelievers were his enemies, and those of the prophet; and, in the hands of the Turks, the scymetar was the only instrument of conversion. Under these circumstances, however, the justice and moderation of Amurath are attested by his conduct, and acknowledged by the Christians themselves; who consider a prosperous reign and a peaceful death as the reward of his singular merits. In the vigour of his age and military power, he seldom engaged in a war till he was justified by a previous and adequate provocation: the victorious sultan was disarmed by submission; and in the observance of treaties, his word was inviolate and sacred. The Hungarians were commonly the aggressors; he was provoked by the

12 See Chalcondyles (i. vii. p. 186, 198.), Ducas (c. 33), and Marinus Bibliatus (in Vit. Scanderbeg, p. 145, 146.). In his good faith towards the question of Sixtus II., he was a lesson and example to his son Mahomet.
revolt of Scanderbeg; and the perfidious Carawanian was twice vanquished, and twice pardoned, by the Ottoman monarch. Before he invaded the Morea, Thebes had been surprized by the despot: in the conquest of Thessalonica, the grandson of Bajazet might dispute the recent purchase of the Venetians; and after the first siege of Constantinople, the sultan was never tempted, by the distress, the absence, or the injuries of Palæologus, to extinguish the dying light of the Byzantine empire.

But the most striking feature in the life and character of Amurath, is the double abdication of the Turkish throne; and, were not his motives debated by an alloy of superstition, we must praise the royal philosopher 13, who at the age of forty could discern the vanity of human greatness. Resigning the sceptre to his son, he retired to the pleasant residence of Magnesia; but he retired to the society of saints and hermits. It was not till the fourth century of the Hegira, that the religion of Mahomet had been corrupted by an institution so adverse to his genius; but in the age of the crusades, the various orders of Dervishes were multiplied by the example of the Christian, and even the Latin, monks 14. The lord of nations submitted to fall, and turn round in

13 Voltaire (Dictionnaire de Trévise, c. 89, p. 281, 284.) admits Amurath's fide, which he had followed the same path on a Christian prince: (Answer to a Question.) In his way, Voltaire was a better philosopher than

14 See Mem. sur les Derv. de E. de St. Réhabat, in d'Héric, Histoire des Califes. This text is in the Byrnes' edition from the 18th century. It is among the Turks that these orders particularly flourish.
endless rotation with the fanatics, who mistook the giddiness of the head for the illumination of the spirit. But he was soon awakened from this dream of enthusiasm, by the Hungarian invasion; and his obedient son was the foremost to urge the public danger and the wishes of the people. Under the banner of their veteran leader, the Janizaries fought and conquered; but he withdrew from the field of Varna, again to pray, to fast, and to turn round with his Magnesian brethren. These pious occupations were again interrupted by the danger of the state. A victorious army disdained the inexperience of their youthful ruler: the city of Adrianople was abandoned to rapine and slaughter; and the unanimous divan implored his presence to appease the tumult, and prevent the rebellion, of the Janizaries. At the well-known voice of their master, they trembled and obeyed; and the reluctant sultan was compelled to support his splendid servitude, till, at the end of four years, he was relieved by the angel of death. Age or disease, misfortune or caprice, have tempted several princes to descend from the throne; and they have had leisure to repent of their irretrievable step. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and solitude, has repeated his preference of a private life.

Rycaut (in the Present State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 242—268.) affords much information, which he drew from his personal conversation with the heads of the dervishes, most of whom ascribed their origin to the time of Orchan. He does not mention the Zeichin of Chalcedonies (I. viii. p. 246.), among whom Amurath retired; the Zeichin of that author are the descendants of Ilahein. After
THE DECLINE AND FALL

After the departure of his Greek brethren, Eugenius had not been unmindful of their temporal interest; and his tender regard for the Byzantine empire was animated by a just apprehension of the Turks, who approached, and might soon invade, the borders of Italy. But the spirit of the crusades had expired; and the coldness of the Franks was not less unreasonable than their headlong passion. In the eleventh century, a fanatic monk could precipitate Europe on Asia for the recovery of the holy sepulchre; but in the fifteenth, the mere pressing motives of religion and policy were insufficient to unite the Latins in the defence of Christendom. Germany was an inexhaustible store-house of men and arms; but that complex and languid body required the impulse of a vigorous hand; and Frederic the third was alike impotent in his personal character and his Imperial dignity. A long war had impaired the strength, without satiating the animosity, of France and England; but Philip, duke of Burgundy, was a vain and magnificent prince; and he enjoyed,

In the year 1377, Germany rebelled against the Holy Roman Empire. (Lerroux, L. d. Histoire des Barbares, t. v. p. 213.) In the time of Napoléon, the Rhine in 1874, the prince, probably, intended, with his relative quotas; and the emperor of Germany (who was a despotic grandee) instructed the United States government, with the two kingdoms. The united forces of France and England, with the aid of Burgundy, greatly exceeded those of the emperor. (Memorial de Philippe le Bel. Arch. de France.) All these formidable arms had, however, been compelled to conform to such rules and discipline, by the

In the year 1344, the French and English could not be animated by popular movements. (See Raini, Frederic, and the

without
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without danger or expense, the adventurous piety of his subjects, who failed, in a gallant fleet, from the coast of Flanders to the Hellespont. The maritime republics of Venice and Genoa were less remote from the scene of action; and their hostile fleets were associated under the standard of St. Peter. The kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, which covered as it were the interior pale of the Latin church, were the most nearly concerned to oppose the progress of the Turks. Arms were the patrimony of the Scythians and Sarmatians, and these nations might appear equal to the contest, could they point, against the common foe, those swords that were so wantonly drawn in bloody and domestic quarrels. But the same spirit was adverse to concord and obedience: a poor country and a limited monarch are incapable of maintaining a standing force; and the loose bodies of Polish and Hungarian horse were not armed with the sentiments and weapons which, on some occasions, have given irresistible weight to the French chivalry. Yet, on this side, the designs of the Roman pontiff, and the eloquence of cardinal Julian, his legate, were promoted by the circumstances of the times; by the union of the two crowns on the head of Ladislaus, a young and

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15 In the Hungarian crusade, Spondanus (Annal. Ecclef. A. D. 1443, 1444.) has been my leading guide. He has diligently read, and critically compared, the Greek and Turkish materials, the historians of Hungary, Poland, and the Welt. His narrative is perspicuous; and where he can be free from a religious bias, the judgment of Spondanus is not contemptible.

16 I have curtailed the harsh letter (Wladislaus) which most writers affix to his name, either in compliance with the Polish
and ambitious soldier; by the valour of an hero, whose name, the name of John Huniades, was already popular among the Christians, and formidable to the Turks. An endless treasure of pardons and indulgences was scattered by the legate; many private warriors of France and Germany enlisted under the holy banner; and the crusade derived some strength, or at least some reputation, from the new allies, both of Europe and Asia. A fugitive despot of Servia exaggerated the distress and ardour of the Christians beyond the Danube, who would unanimously rise to vindicate their religion and liberty. The Greek emperor, with a spirit unknown to his fathers, engaged to guard the Bosphorus, and to fly from Constantinople at the head of his national and mercenary troops. The sultan of Caramania announced the retreat of Amurath, and a powerful diversion in the heart of Anatolia; and if the fleets of the West could occupy at the same moment the straits of the Hellespont, the Ottoman monarchy would be diversified and deterred. Heaven and earth must rejoice in the vindication of the miscreants; and pronouncement, or to distinguish him from his rival the infant Ladislas of Austria. Their competition for the crown of Hungary is defended by Callimachus (i. i. ii. p. 417-486.), Bonfinius (Def. iii. l. iv.), Spadaeus, and Irland. The Greek historians, Phranzi, Chiosandyles, and Ducas, do not ascribe to their prince a very active part in this crusade, which he seems to have promoted by his wishes, and injured by his treas. Caramania (p. 97.) ascribes to his policy the original plan, and makes him the animating spirit to the king of Hungary. But the Hungarian powers are said to have informed the sultan of Caramania of the numbers of the knights of Rhodes and the situation and correspondence of the knights of Rhodes must connect them with the sultan of Caramania.
the legate, with prudent ambiguity, instilled the opinion of the invisible, perhaps the visible, aid, of the Son of God, and his divine Mother.

Of the Polish and Hungarian diets, a religious war was the unanimous cry; and Ladislaus, after passing the Danube, led an army of his confederate subjects as far as Sophia, the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom. In this expedition they obtained two signal victories, which were justly ascribed to the valour and conduct of Huniades. In the first, with a vanguard of ten thousand men, he surprised the Turkish camp; in the second, he vanquished and made prisoner the most renowned of their generals, who possessed the double advantage of ground and numbers. The approach of winter, and the natural and artificial obstacles of mount Hæmus, arrested the progress of the hero, who measured a narrow interval of six days march from the foot of the mountains to the hostile towers of Adrianople, and the friendly capital of the Greek empire. The retreat was undisturbed; and the entrance into Buda was at once a military and religious triumph. An ecclesiastical procession was followed by the king and his warriors on foot: he nicely balanced the merits and rewards of the two nations; and the pride of conquest was blended with the humble temper of Christianity. Thirteen bashaws, nine standards, and four thousand captives, were unquestionable trophies; and as all were willing to believe, and none were present to contradict, the crusaders multiplied, with unblushing confidence, the myriads of Turks whom they had left on the field of battle.
The most solid proof, and the most falarlatory consequence, of victory, was a deputation from the divan to solicit peace, to restore Servia, to ransom the prisoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontier. By this treaty, the rational objects of the war were obtained: the king, the despot, and Huniades himself, in the diet of Segedlin, were satisfied with public and private emolument; a truce of ten years was concluded; and the followers of Jesus and Mahomet, who swore on the Gospel and the Koran, attested the word of God as the guardian of truth and the avenger of perfidy.

In the place of the Gospel, the Turkish ministers had proposed to substitute the Eucharist, the real presence of the Catholic deity; but the Christians refused to profane their holy mysteries; and a superstitious confidence is less forcibly bound by the spiritual energy, than by the outward and visible symbols, of an oath.

During the whole transaction, the cardinal legate had observed a fallen silence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppose, the content of the king and people. But the diet was not dissolved before Julian was fortified by the welcome intelligence, that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that

22 In their letters to the emperor, Frederick III., the Hungarians say 50,000 Turks in one battle, but the model Julian reduces the slaughter to 6000, or even 2000 retailers (Annales Sylvii in Torn. p. 384. & apud Stephanum).  
23 See the origin of the Turkish war, and the first expedition of Edward III. in the vii. and viii. books of the Ist Part of Brennera, who, in his division and rules, etc., have tolerable stricts. Calmet. (l. ii. p. 477-478) is still more pure and authentic.
the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy, were masters of the Hellespont; and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty, of Ladislaus, impatiently waited for the return of his victorious army. "And is it thus," exclaimed the cardinal, "that you will desert their expectations and your own fortune? It is to them, to your God, and your fellow-Christians, that you have pledged your faith; and that prior obligation annihilates a rash and sacrilegious oath to the enemies of Christ. His vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff; without whose sanction you can neither promise nor perform. In his name I absolve your perjury and sanctify your arms: follow my footsteps in the paths of glory and salvation; and if still ye have scruples, devolve on my head the punishment and the sin." This mischievous cautery was seconded by his respectable character, and the levity of popular assemblies: war was resolved, on the same spot where peace had so lately been sworn; and, in the execution of the treaty, the Turks were assaulted by the Christians; to whom, with some reason, they might apply the epithet of infidels. The falsehood of Ladislaus to his word and oath, was palliated by the religion of the times: the most perfect, or at least the most pop-

24 I do not pretend to warrant the literal accuracy of Julins's speech, which is variously worded by Callimachus (I. iii. p. 525—527), Bonomius (Dec. iii. l. vi. p. 457, 458.), and other historians, who might indulge their own eloquence, while they represent one of the orators of the age. But they all agree in the advice and arguments for perjury, which in the field of controversy are fiercely attacked by the Protestants, and feebly defended by the Catholics. The latter are discouraged by the misfortune of Warna.
pular, excuse would have been the success of his arms and the deliverance of the Eastern church. But the same treaty which should have bound his conscience, had diminished his strength. On the proclamation of the peace, the French and German volunteers departed with indignant murmurs: the Poles were exhausted by distant warfare, and perhaps disgusted with foreign command; and their palatines accepted the first licence, and hastily retired to their provinces and castles. Even Hungary was divided by faction, or restrained by a laudable scruple; and the relics of the crusade that marched in the second expedition, were reduced to an inadequate force of twenty thousand men. A Walachian chief, who joined the royal standard with his vassals, presumed to remark that their numbers did not exceed the hunting retinue that sometimes attended the sultan; and the gift of two horses of matchless speed, might admonish Ladislaus of his secret foresight of the event. But the despot of Servia, after the restoration of his country and children, was tempted by the promise of new realms; and the inexperience of the king, the enthusiasm of the legate, and the martial presumption of Huniades himself, were persuaded that every obstacle must yield to the invincible virtue of the sword and the cross. After the passage of the Danube, two roads might lead to Constantinople and the Hellespont; the one direct, abrupt, and difficult, through the mountains of Haemus; the other more tedious and secure, over a level country, and along the shores of the Euxine; in which their flanke, according to
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to the Scythian discipline, might always be covered by a moveable fortification of wagons. The latter was judiciously preferred; the Catholics marched through the plains of Bulgaria, burning, with wanton cruelty, the churches and villages of the Christian natives; and their last station was at Warna, near the sea-shore; on which the defeat and death of Ladislaus have bestowed a memorable name. It was on this fatal spot, that, instead of finding a confederate fleet to second their operations, they were alarmed by the approach of Amurath himself, who had issued from his Magnesian solitude, and transported the forces of Asia to the defence of Europe. According to some writers, the Greek emperor had been awed, or seduced, to grant the passage of the Bosporus; and an indelible stain of corruption is fixed on the Genoese, or the pope's nephew, the Catholic admiral, whose mercenary connivance betrayed the guard of the Hellespont. From Adrianople, the sultan advanced by hasty marches, at the head of sixty thousand men; and when the cardinal, and Huniades, had taken a nearer survey of the numbers and order of the Turks, these ardent warriors proposed the tardy and impracticable

25 Warna, under the Grecian name of Odeffus, was a colony of the Milesians, which they denominated from the hero Ulysses (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 374. d'Anville, tom. i. p. 312.). According to Arrian's Periplo of the Euxine (p. 24, 25. in the 1st volume of Hudson's Geographers), it was situate 1740 itadia, or furlongs, from the mouth of the Danube, 2140 from Byzantium, and 360 to the north of a ridge or promontory of mount Haemus, which advances into the sea.
measure of a retreat. The king alone was resolved to conquer or die; and his resolution had almost been crowned with a glorious and salutary victory. The princes were opposite to each other in the centre; and the Beglerbegs, or generals of Anatolia and Romania, commanded on the right and left against the adverse divisions of the despot and Hunsides. The Turkish wings were broken on the first onset; but the advantage was fatal; and the rash victors, in the heat of the pursuit, were carried away far from the annoyance of the enemy or the support of their friends. When Amurath beheld the flight of his squadrons, he despaired of his fortune and that of the empire: a veteran Janizary seized his horse's bridle; and he had magnanimity to pardon and reward the soldier who dared to perceive the terror, and arrest the flight, of his sovereign. A copy of the treaty, the monument of Christian perfidy, had been displayed in the front of battle; and it is said, that the sultan in his distress, lifting his eyes and his hands to heaven, implored the protection of the God of truth; and called on the prophet Jesus himself to avenge the impious mockery of his name and religion. With inferior numbers and disordered ranks, the king of Hungary rushed forwards in the confidence of victory, till his career was stopped by the imperceptible phalanx of the Janizaries. If we may credit the Ottoman

Some Christian writers affirm, that he drew from his helmet the scimitar with which he had been sworn. The Mohammedans suppose, with more probability, an appeal to God and his prophet Jesus, which is taken from the annals of Constantinople: (i. iii. p. 316. Spondan. A. D. 1444, N. 2.)
annals, his horse was pierced by the javelin of Amurath; he fell among the spears of the infantry; and a Turkish soldier proclaimed with a loud voice, "Hungarians, behold the head of your king!" The death of Ladislaus was the signal of their defeat. On his return from an intemperate pursuit, Huniades deplored his error and the public loss: he strove to rescue the royal body, till he was overwhelmed by the tumultuous crowd of the victors and vanquished; and the last efforts of his courage and conduct were exerted to save the remnant of his Walachian cavalry. Ten thousand Christians were slain in the disauteur battle of Warna: the loss of the Turks, more considerable in numbers, bore a smaller proportion to their total strength; yet the philosophic sultan was not ashamed to confess, that his ruin must be the consequence of a second and similar victory. At his command a column was erected on the spot where Ladislaus had fallen; but the modest inscription, instead of accusing the rashness, recorded the valour, and bewailed the misfortune, of the Hungarian youth.

Before

17 A critic will always distrust these fuisse opus of a victorious general, so difficult for valour to obtain, so easy for flattery to invent (Cassius, p. 90, 91.). Callimachus (i. iii. p. 517) more simply and probably affirms, superveniuntibus Janizaris, telorum multitudine, non tantum conflagrati, quam obsoluius.

18 Besides some valuable hints from iussu Sylvius, which are diligently collected by Spinones, our best authorities are three historians of the xvth century, Philippus Callimachus (de Rebus a Viadislo Polonorum atque Hungarorum Rege gestis, libri iii. in Bel. Script. Renem Hungarorum, tom. i. p. 433—518.), Beninius (deed in l. v. p. 460—467.), and Chierecondi (L. viii. p. 152—179.). The two first were Italians, but they passed their lives in Poland and Hungary (Fabric. Biblior. Lat. iv. p. 409, et al.).
Before I lose sight of the field of Warna, I am tempted to pause on the character and story of two principal actors, the cardinal Julian and John Huniades. Julian Cæfarini was born of a noble family of Rome: his studies had embraced both the Latin and Greek learning, both the sciences of divinity and law; and his versatile genius was equally adapted to the schools, the camp, and the court. No sooner had he been invested with the Roman purple, than he was sent into Germany to arm the empire against the rebels and heretics of Bohemia. The spirit of persecution is unworthy of a Christian; the military profession ill becomes a priest; but the former is excused by the times; and the latter was ennobled by the courage of Julian, who stood dauntless and alone in the disgraceful flight of the German host. As the pope's legate, he opened the council of Basil; but the president soon appeared the most strenuous champion of ecclesiastical freedom; and an opposition of seven years was conducted by his ability and zeal. After promoting the strongest measures against the authority and person of Eugenius, some secret motive of interest or conscience engaged him to desert on a sudden the popular party.

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(CHAP. LXVII.)

The cardinal Julian.
The cardinal withdrew himself from Basil to Ferrara; and, in the debates of the Greeks and Latins, the two nations admired the dexterity of his arguments and the depth of his theological erudition. In his Hungarian embassy we have already seen the mischievous effects of his sophistry and eloquence, of which Julian himself was the first victim. The cardinal, who performed the duties of a priest and a soldier, was lost in the defeat of Warna. The circumstances of his death are variously related; but it is believed, that a weighty incumbrance of gold impeded his flight, and tempted the cruel avarice of some Christian fugitives.

From an humble, or at least a doubtful origin, the merit of John Huniades promoted him to the command of the Hungarian armies. His father was a Walachian, his mother a Greek; her unknown race might possibly ascend to the emperors of Constantinople; and the claims of the Walachians, with the surname of Corvinus, from the place of his nativity, might suggest a thin pretence for mingling his blood with the patricians of ancient Rome. In his youth he served in the wars of Italy; and was retained, with twelve horsemen, by the bishop of Zagrab: the valour of

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30 Syropus honourably praises the talents of an enemy (p. 117.): 

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31 See Bonfinius, decad iii. l. iv. p. 423. Could the Italian historian pronounce, or the king of Hungary hear, without a blush, the absurd flattery, which confounded the name of a Walachian village with the culhul, though glorious, epithet of a single branch of the Valachian family at Rome?
the white knight was soon conspicuous; he increased his fortunes by a noble and wealthy marriage; and in the defence of the Hungarian borders, he won in the same year three battles against the Turks. By his influence, Ladislaus of Poland obtained the crown of Hungary; and the important service was rewarded by the title and office of Vador of Transylvania. The first of Julian's crusades added two Turkish laurels on his brow; and in the public dillref the fatal errors of Warna were forgotten. During the absence and minority of Ladislaus of Austria, the titular king, Huniades was elected supreme captain and governor of Hungary; and if envy at first was silenced by terror, a reign of twelve years supposes the arts of policy as well as of war. Yet the idea of a consummate general is not delineated in his campaigns; the white knight fought with the hand rather than the head, as the chief of defunctory Barbarians, who attack without fear and fly without shame; and his military life is composed of a romantic alternative of victories and escapes. By the Turks, who employed his name to frighten their perverse children, he was corruptly denominating "famous Lain", or the Wicked: their hatred is the proof of their esteem; the kingdom which he guarded was inaccessible to their arms; and they felt him most daring and formidable, when they fondly believed the captain and his country

12 Philipp. J. Contino (Memorial, i. vi. c. 15.), from the tradition of the times, portrays him with high contempt; but under the whimsical name of "Chevalier Branco de Vilainge (Valheine). The Greek Chrestos did, and the Turkish Annals of Louciovius, presume to accuse his fidelity or valor, irrecoverably
irrecoverably lost. Instead of confining himself to a defensive war, four years after the defeat of Warna he again penetrated into the heart of Bulgaria; and in the plain of Coffova sustained, till the third day, the shock of the Ottoman army, four times more numerous than his own. As he fled alone through the woods of Walachia, the hero was surprised by two robbers; but while they disputed a gold chain that hung at his neck, he recovered his sword, flew the one, terrified the other, and, after new perils of captivity or death, consoled by his presence an afflicted kingdom. But the last and most glorious action of his life was the defence of Belgrade against the powers of Mahomet the second in person. After a siege of forty days, the Turks, who had already entered the town, were compelled to retreat; and the joyful nations celebrated Huniades and Belgrade as the bulwarks of Christendom. About a month after this great deliverance, the champion expired; and his most splendid epitaph is the regret of the Ottoman prince, who sighed that he could no longer hope for revenge against the single antagonist who had triumphed over his arms. On the first vacancy of the throne, Matthias Corvinus, a youth of eighteen years of age, was elected and crowned by the grateful Hungarians. His reign was prosperous and long: Matthias aspired to the glory of a conqueror and

33 See Bonfinius (decad iii. i. viii. p. 491.) and Pordonius (A. D. 1456, No. 1. 7.) Huniades shared the glory of the defence of Belgrade with Capitran, a Franciscan friar; and in their respective narratives, neither the saint nor the hero condescend to take notice of his rival's merit.
a saint; but his purest merit is the encouragement of learning; and the Latin orators and historians, who were invited from Italy by the son, have shed the lustre of their eloquence on the father's character 34.

In the list of heroes, John Huniades and Scanderbeg are commonly associated 35: and they are both entitled to our notice, since their occupation of the Ottoman arms delayed the ruin of the Greek empire. John Castriot, the father of Scanderbeg 36, was the hereditary prince of a small district of Epirus or Albania, between the mountains and the Adriatic sea. Unable to contend with the sultan's power, Castriot submitted to the hard conditions of peace and tribute: he deli-

34 See Bonfinius, decad iii. i. viii.—decad iv. i. viii. The observations of Spondanus on the life and character of Matthius Corvinus, are curious and critical (A.D. 1464. No. 1. 1475. No. 6. 1476, No. 14—16. 1490. No. 4, 5.). Italian fame was the object of his vanity. His actions are celebrated in the Epitome Rerum Hungaricarum (p. 342—412.) of Peter Ranzanius, a Sicilian. His wife and fictitious sayings are registered by Gaetius Marinos of Naomi (1558—568.) and we have a particular narrative of his wedding and coronation. These three traits are all contained in the 1st vol. of Bell's Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum.

35 They are ranked by Sir William Temple, in his pleasing Effigy on Heroic Virtue (works, vol. iii. p. 385.), among the true chiefs who have戴上, without wearing, a royal crown; Battianus, Narres, Gondive of Cordova, William first prince of Orange, Alexander duke of Parma, John Huniades, and George Castriot, or Scanderbeg.

36 I could wish for some simple, authentic memoirs of a friend of Scanderbeg, which would introduce me to the man, the time, and the place. In the old and national history of Matthias Banetius, a priest of Scodra (de Vita, Mortibus, et Rebus gestis Georgii Castrioti, &c. libri xii. pp. 367. Argentorat. 1537, in fol.), his gaudy and cumbersome robes are stuck with many false jewels. See likewise Chalcedonies, i. vii. p. 185. i. viii. p. 229.
vered his four sons as the pledges of his fidelity; and the Christian youths, after receiving the mark of circumcision, were instructed in the Mahometan religion, and trained in the arms and arts of Turkish policy. The three elder brothers were confounded in the crowd of slaves; and the poison to which their deaths are ascribed, cannot be verified or disproved by any positive evidence. Yet the suspicion is in a great measure removed by the kind and paternal treatment of George Castriot, the fourth brother, who, from his tender youth, displayed the strength and spirit of a soldier. The successive overthrow of a Tartar and two Persians, who carried a proud defiance to the Turkish court, recommended him to the favour of Amurath, and his Turkish appellation of Scanderbeg (Skender Beg), or the lord Alexander, is an indelible memorial of his glory and servitude. His father's principality was reduced into a province: but the loss was compensated by the rank and title of Sanjiak, a command of five thousand horse, and the prospect of the first dignities of the empire. He served with honour in the wars of Europe and Asia; and we may smile at the art or credulity of the historian, who supposes that in every encounter he spared the Christians, while he fell with a thundering arm on his Musulman foes. The glory of Huniades is without reproach; he fought in the defence of his religion and country; but the enemies who applaud the patriot, have branded his rival with the name of

37 His circumcision, education, &c. are marked by Marinus with brevity and restraint (II. 1. p. 6, 7).
traitor and apostate. In the eyes of the Christians, the rebellion of Scanderbeg is justified by his father's wrongs, the ambiguous death of his three brothers, his own degradation, and the slavery of his country; and they adore the generous, though tardy, zeal, with which he asserted the faith and independence of his ancestors. But he had imbibed from his ninth year the doctrines of the Koran; he was ignorant of the Gospel; the religion of a soldier is determined by authority and habit; nor is it easy to conceive what new illumination at the age of forty 33 could be poured into his soul. His motives would be less exposed to the suspicion of interest or revenge, had he broken his chain from the moment that he was sensible of its weight; but a long oblivion had surely impaired his original right; and every year of obedience and reward had cemented the mutual bond of the sultan and his subject. If Scanderbeg had long harboured the belief of Christianity and the intention of revolt, a worthy mind must condemn the base dissimulation, that could serve only to betray, that could promise only to be foreworn, that could actively join in the temporal and spiritual perdition of so many thousands of his unhappy brethren. Shall we praise a secret correspondence with Iuniades, while he

33 Since Scanderbeg died A. D. 1466, in the lxiii year of his age (Muhammad, L. xxx. p. 762.), he was born in 1403; since he was ten from his parents by the Turks, when he was seven (Muhammad, l. i. p. t. 6.), that event must have happened in 1412, nine years before the accession of Anurath II, who must have inherited, not acquired, the Albanian Ilve. Spandanus has remarked this inconsistency, A. D. 1431, N. 31. 1443, N. 14.

commanded
commanded the vanguard of the Turkish army? Shall we excuse the desertion of his standard, a treacherous desertion which abandoned the victory to the enemies of his benefactor? In the confusion of a defeat, the eye of Scanderbeg was fixed on the Reis Effendi or principal secretary: with a dagger at his breast, he extorted a firman or patent for the government of Albania; and the murder of the guiltless scribe and his train prevented the consequences of an immediate discovery. With some bold companions, to whom he had revealed his design, he escaped in the night, by rapid marches, from the field of battle to his paternal mountains. The gates of Croya were opened to the royal mandate: and no sooner did he command the fortresses, than George Castriot dropped the mask of dissimulation; abjured the prophet and the sultan, and proclaimed himself the avenger of his family and country. The names of religion and liberty provoked a general revolt: the Albanians, a martial race, were unanimous to live and die with their hereditary prince; and the Ottoman garrisons were indulged in the choice of martyrdom or baptism. In the assembly of the ilates of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkish war; and each of the allies engaged to furnish his respective proportion of men and money. From these contributions, from his patrimonial estate, and from the valuable salt-pits of Selina, he drew an annual revenue of two hundred thousand ducats 39; and the entire sum,

39 His revenue and forces are luckily given by Marinus (I. ii. p. 44.).
exempt from the demands of luxury, was strictly appropriated to the public use. His manners were popular; but his discipline was severe; and every superfluous vice was banished from his camp: his example strengthened his command; and under his conduct, the Albanians were invincible in their own opinion and that of their enemies. The bravest adventurers of France and Germany were allured by his fame and retained in his service; his standing militia consisted of eight thousand horse and seven thousand foot; the horses were small, the men were active: but he viewed with a discerning eye the difficulties and resources of the mountains; and, at the blaze of the beacons, the whole nation was distributed in the strongest posts. With such unequal arms, Scanderbeg resisted twenty-three years the powers of the Ottoman empire; and two conquerors, Amurath the second, and his greater son, were repeatedly baffled by a rebel, whom they pursued with seeming contempt and implacable resentment. At the head of sixty thousand horse and forty thousand Janizaries, Amurath entered Albania; he might ravage the open country, occupy the defended towns, convert the churches into mosques, circumsicle the Christian youths, and punish with death his adult and obstinate captives, but the conquests of the sultan were confined to the petty fortresses of Shetigrade; and the partition, invincible to his arms, was oppressed by a paltry artifice and a superfluous trickery.

Amurath

4. There were two Dobris, the upper and lower, the Bulgarian and Albanian: the former, 70 miles from Cir, 4 (1. i. p. 17.), was the.
Amurath retired with shame and loss from the walls of Croya, the castle and residence of the Castrions; the march, the siege, the retreat, were harassed by a vexatious, and almost invisible, adversary 41; and the disappointment might tend to embitter, perhaps to shorten, the last days of the sultan 42. In the fulness of conquest, Mahomet the second still felt at his bosom this domestic thorn: his lieutenants were permitted to negotiate a truce; and the Albanian prince may justly be praised as a firm and able champion of his national independence. The enthusiasm of chivalry and religion has ranked him with the names of Alexander and Pyrrhus; nor would they blush to acknowledge their intrepid countryman: but his narrow dominion, and slender powers, must leave him at an humble distance below the heroes of antiquity, who triumphed over the East and the Roman legions. His splendid achievements, the bashaws whom he encountered, the armies that he discomfited, and the three thousand Turks who were slain by his single hand, must be weighed in the scales of suspicious criticism. Against an illiterate enemy, and in the dark solitude of contiguous to the fortress of Svetigrade, whose inhabitants refused to drink from a well into which a dead dog had traiterously been cast (l. v. p. 139, 140.). We want a good map of Epirus.

41 Compare the Turkish narrative of Cantemir (p. 92.) with the pompous and prolix declamation in the viii, viii, and viii books of the Albanian priest, who has been copied by the tribe of strangers and moderns.

42 In honour of his hero, Barletius (l. vi. p. 188—192) kills the sultan, by disease indeed, under the walls of Croya. But this audacious fiction is disapproved by the Greeks and Turks, who agree in the time and manner of Amurath's death at Adrianople.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

Epirus, his partial biographers may safely indulge the latitude of romance: but their fictions are exposed by the light of Italian history; and they afford a strong presumption against their own truth, by a fabulous tale of his exploits, when he passed the Adriatic with eight hundred horse to the succour of the king of Naples 41. Without disparagement to his fame, they might have owned that he was finally oppressed by the Ottoman powers: in his extreme danger, he applied to pope Pius the second for a refuge in the ecclesiatical state; and his resources were almost exhausted, since Scanderbeg died a fugitive at Lissus on the Venetian territory 42. His sepulchre was soon violated by the Turkish conquerors; but the Janizaries, who wore his bones enchased in a bracelet, declared, by this superstitious amulet, their involuntary reverence for his valour. The instant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory; yet, had he balanced the consequences of submission and resistance, a patriot

41 See the marvels of his Calabrian expedition in the ixth and xth books of Marinus Barletius, which may be rectified by the testimony or silence of Muratori (Annales d'Italia, tom. xiii. p 291.), and his original authors (Joh. Simonetta de Rebis Francisci Sforze, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xxi. p. 728. et alios). The Albanian cavalry, under the name of Stradini, soon became famous in the wars of Italy (Memòires de Comynes, I. viii. c. 5.).

42 Spondinus, from the best evidence and the most rational criticism, has reduced the giant Scanderbeg to the human size (A.D. 1441, N° 20. 1453, N° 9. 1465, N° 12, 13. 1467, N° 1.). His own letter to the pope, and the testimony of Phanaze (i. iv. c. 28.), a refugee in the neighbouring isle of Crete, demonstrate his stature lofty, which is awkwardly concealed by Marinus Barletius (i. vii.).

perhaps
perhaps would have declined the unequal contest which must depend on the life and genius of one man. Scanderbeg might indeed be supported by the rational, though fallacious, hope, that the pope, the king of Naples, and the Venetian republic, would join in the defence of a free and Christian people, who guarded the sea-coast of the Adriatic, and the narrow passage from Greece to Italy. His infant son was saved from the national shipwreck; the Cæsariots were invested with a Neapolitan dukedom, and their blood continues to flow in the noblest families of the realm. A colony of Albanian fugitives obtained a settlement in Calabria, and they preserve at this day the language and manners of their ancestors.

In the long career of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I have reached at length the last reign of the princes of Constantinople, who so feebly sustained the name and majesty of the Cæsars. On the decease of John Palæologus, who survived about four years the Hungarian crusade, the royal family, by the death of Andronicus and the monastic profession of Isidore, was reduced to three princes, Constatine, Demetrius, and Thomas, the surviving sons of the

45 See the family of the Cæsariots, in Ducas and (Sum. Dalmatica, sec. xviii. p. 348—350.)
46 This colony of Albanian is mentioned by Mr. Swinburne (Travels into the Two Sicilies, vol. i. p. 350—354.)
47 The chronology of Pisanza is clear and authentic; but instead of four years and seven months, Spondanus (A.D. 1445, No. 7.) assigns seven or eight years to the reign of the last Constantine, which he deduces from a curious epistle of Eugenius IV. to the king of Ethiopia.
emperor Manuel. Of these the first and the last were far distant in the Morea: but Demetrius, who possessed the domain of Selybria, was in the suburbs, at the head of a party: his ambition was not chilled with the public distress; and his conspiracy with the Turks and the schismatics had already disturbed the peace of his country. The funeral of the late emperor was accelerated with singular and even suspicious haste; the claim of Demetrius to the vacant throne was justified by a trite and lamed sophism, that he was born in the purple, the eldest son of his father's reign. But the empress-mother, the senate and soldiers, the clergy and people, were unanimous in the cause of the lawful successor; and the despot Thomas, who, ignorant of the change, accidentally returned to the capital,asserted with becoming zeal the interest of his absent brother. An ambassador, the historian Phranza, was immediately dispatched to the court of Adrianople. Amurath received him with honour and dismissed him with gifts; but the gracious approbation of the Turkish sultan announced his supremacy, and the approaching downfall of the Eastern empire. By the hands of two illustrious deputies, the Imperial crown was placed at Sparta on the head of Constantine. In the spring he sailed from the Morea, eluded the encounter of a Turkish squadron, enjoyed the acclamations of his subjects, celebrated the festival of a new reign, and exalted by his donatives the treasure, or rather the indulgence, of the State. The emperor immediately resigned to his brothers the possession of
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The Morea; and the brittle friendship of the two princes, Demetrius and Thomas, was confirmed in their mother’s presence by the frail security of oaths and embraces. His next occupation was the choice of a comfort. A daughter of the doge of Venice had been proposed; but the Byzantine nobles objected the distance between an hereditary monarch and an elective magistrate; and in their subsequent distress, the chief of that powerful republic was not unmindful of the affront. Constantine afterwards hesitated between the royal families of Trebizond and Georgia; and the embassy of Phranza represents in his public and private life the last days of the Byzantine empire.

The pretorelliare, or great chamberlain, Phranza, failed from Constantinople as minister of a bridegroom; and the relics of wealth and luxury were applied to his pompous appearance. His numerous retinue consisted of nobles and guards, of physicians and monks; he was attended by a band of music; and the term of his costly embassy was protracted above two years. On his arrival in Georgia or Iberia, the natives from the towns and villages flocked around the strangers; and such was their simplicity, that they were delighted with the effects, without understanding the cause, of musical harmony. Among the crowd was an old man, above an hundred years of age, who had formerly been carried away a captive.

Phranza (l. iii. c. 1-6.) deserves credit and esteem.

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by the barbarians 49, and who amused his hearers with a tale of the wonders of India 59, from whence he had returned to Portugal by an unknown sea 51. From this hospitable land, Phranza proceeded to the court of Trebizond, where he was informed by the Greek prince of the recent decease of Amurath. Instead of rejoicing in the deliverance, the experienced statesman expressed his apprehension, that an ambitious youth would not long adhere to the sage and pacific system of his father. After the sultan's decease, his Christian wife Maria 53, the daughter of the Servian despot, had been honourably restored to her parents: on the fame of her beauty and merit, she was recommended by the ambassador as the most

49 Suppose him to have been captured in 1394, in Timour's first war in Georgia (Shereefdinin. 1. iii. c. 50.); he might follow his Turan master into Hindostan in 1398, and from thence sail to the spice islands.

51 The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and enjoyed the most perfect productions of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The animals were on a large scale; diagono seventy cubits, anta (the formica indica) nine inches long, sheep like elephants, elephants like sheep. Quidlibet audendi, &c.

53 He sailed in a country vessel from the spice island to one of the ports of the exterior India; inventique naveem gradem iter, qua in Portugalam et delatas. This passage, composed in 1477 (Phranza, 1. iii. c. 33.), twenty years before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, is fabulous or wonderful. But this new geography is fulfilled by the old and incompatible error which places the source of the Nile in India.

53 Cantemir (p. 33.), who titles her the daughter of Lazarus Ogli, and the Helen of the Servians, places her marriage with Amurath in the year 1424. It will not easily be believed, that in five and twenty years cohabitation, the sultan corpus ejus non transigit. After the taking of Constantinople, she fled to Mahomet II. (Phranza, 1. iii. c. 33.).

worry
worthy object of the Royal choice; and Phranza recapitulates and refutes the specious objections that might be raised against the proposal. The majesty of the purple would ennoble an unequal alliance; the bar of affinity might be removed by liberal alms and the dispensation of the church; the disgrace of Turkish nuptials had been repeatedly overlooked; and, though the fair Maria was near fifty years of age, she might yet hope to give an heir to the empire. Constantine listened to the advice, which was transmitted in the first ship that failed from Trebizond; but the factions of the court opposed his marriage; and it was finally prevented by the pious vow of the sultana, who ended her days in the monastic profession. Reduced to the first alternative, the choice of Phranza was decided in favour of a Georgian princess; and the vanity of her father was dazzled by the glorious alliance. Instead of demanding, according to the primitive and national custom, a price for his daughter, he offered a portion of fifty-six thousand, with an annual pension of five thousand ducats; and the services of the ambassador were repaid by an assurance, that as his son had been adopted in baptism by the emperor, the establishment of his daughter should be the peculiar care of the empress of Constantinople. On the return of Phranza, the treaty was ratified by the Greek monarch, who with his own hand impressed three vermilion crosses on the Golden bull, and assured the Georgian envoy, that in the

53 The classical reader will recollect the offers of Agamemnon (Iliad i. v. 144), and the general practice of antiquity.
spring his galleys should conduct the bride to her Imperial palace. But Constantine embraced his faithful servant, not with the cold approbation of a sovereign, but with the warm confidence of a friend, who, after a long absence, is impatient to pour his secrets into the bosom of his friend. "Since the death of my mother and of Catharina, who alone advised me without interest, or passion," I am surrounded," said the emperor, "by men whom I can neither love, nor trust, nor esteem. You are not a stranger to Lucas Notaras, the great admiral; obstinately attached to his own sentiments, he declares, both in " private and public, that his sentiments are the " absolute measure of my thoughts and actions. " The rest of the courtiers are swayed by their " personal or factional views; and how can I " consult the monks on questions of policy and " marriage? I have yet much employment for " your diligence and fidelity. In the spring you " shall engage one of my brothers to solicit the " succour of the Western powers; from the " Morea you shall fall to Cyprus on a particular " commission; and from thence proceed to George " to receive and conduct the future empress." " Your command," replied Paranza, "are in- " dispensable; but of this, great Sir," he added, "with a still more weight, to consider that if I am " entrusted by my Pope violently absent from my family, my
wife may be tempted either to seek another 
husband, or to throw herself into a monastery.”
After laughing at his apprehensions, the emperor
more gravely consoled him by the pleasing af-
fiance that this should be his last service abroad,
and that he defied for his son a wealthy and
noble heir; for himself, the important office
of great logothete, or principal minister of state.
The marriage was immediately stipulated; but
the office, however incompatible with his own,
had been usurped by the ambition of the admiral.
Some delay was requisite to negotiate a con-
sent and an equivalent; and the nomination of
Phranza was half declared, and half suppressed,
left it might be displeasing to an insolent and
powerful favourite. The winter was spent in the
preparations of his embassy; and Phranza had
resolved, that the youth his son should embrace
this opportunity of foreign travel, and be left,
on the appearance of danger, with his maternal
kindred of the Morea. Such were the private
and public designs, which were interrupted by a
Turkish war, and finally buried in the ruins of
the empire.
Reign and Character of Mahomet the Second.—Siege, Assault, and final Conquest, of Constantinople by the Turks.—Death of Constantine Palaeologus.—Servitude of the Greeks.—Extinction of the Roman Empire in the East.—Confirmation of Europe.—Conquests and Death of Mahomet the Second.

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

1 For the character of Mahomet II., it is dangerous to trust either the Turks or the Christians. The most moderate prince appears to be drawn by Pitraza (A. D. 352), whose description had cooled in age and familiarity, like Eudoxia Spondanus (A. D. 1241. N. 111), and the continuation of Flurius (in. viii. p. 540), the siege of Piaus Jovius (i. iii. p. 144—167), and the Dictaminde Foyo (tom. iii. p. 279—279).
presumed (it is said) to brand the prophet of Mecca as a robber and impostor. Yet the sultan persevered in a decent reverence for the doctrine and discipline of the Koran: his private indiscretion must have been sacred from the vulgar ear; and we should suspect the credulity of strangers and sectaries, so prone to believe that a mind which is hardened against truth, must be armed with superior contempt for absurdity and error. Under the tuition of the most skilful masters, Mahomet advanced with an early and rapid progress in the paths of knowledge; and besides his native tongue, it is affirmed that he spoke or understood five languages, the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldaean or Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek. The Persian might indeed contribute to his amusement, and the Arabic to his edification; and such studies are familiar to the Oriental youth. In the intercourse of the Greeks and Turks, a conqueror might wish to converse with the people over whom he was ambitious to reign: his own praisies in Latin poetry or

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

3 Quinque linguas prae ter suam noverat; Graecam, Latinam, Chaldæam, Persicam. The Latin translator of Phrenza has tropt the Arabic, which the Koran must recommend to every Arabian.

4 Philolphus, by a Latin ode, requested and obtained the liberty of his wife’s mother and sisters from the conqueror of Constantinople. It was delivered into the sultan’s hands by the envoys of the Duke of Milan. Philolphus himself was suspected of a design of retiring to Constantinople; yet the orator often sounded the trumpet of holy war (see his life by M. Lanecelot, in the Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 718. 724, &c.).

N 4
profe\textsuperscript{5} might find a passage to the royal ear; but
what use or merit could recommend to the statesman or the scholar the uncouth dialect of his Hebrew
slaves? The history and geography of the world
were familiar to his memory: the lives of the
heroes of the Fall, perhaps of the \textit{Welch}, excited
his emulation: his skill in astrology is excused by
the folly of the times, and supposes some rudimen-
tary of mathematical science; and a profane
tale for the arts is betrayed in his liberal invita-
tion and reward of the painters of Italy. \textsuperscript{7} But
the influence of religion and learning were em-
ployed without effect on his savage and licentious
nature. \textsuperscript{1} I will not transfer, nor do I firmly be-
lieve, the honors of his fourteen pages, whose
bellies were ripped open in search of a stolen
melon; or of the haughty slave, whose head he
fervored from her body, to convince the Janizaries
that their master was not the victim of love. His
fidelity is attested by the silence of the Turkish
kaiser, which accurs three, and three only, of the

\textsuperscript{5} Robert Vicari published in Verona, in 1713, his xii books
\textit{De Membris, in quibus haereditas, in opere constat}. By
his patron Simeon Dardel, prince of Korum, it had been
a gifted with a Latin epitaph to Mahomet II.

\textsuperscript{6} According to Barozzi, he unhesitatingly studied the lives and
annals of Alexander, Augustus, Constantine, and Theodoric. I
have not forgotten, that Paulini's lives were translated by
Lavalle into the French language in the fifteen hundred tede-
s; and Gisclard must have been for the benefit of his subject.
Yet this after-life of theirs is not well as of what.

\textsuperscript{7} In 1576, Gentle Bologn, whom he had invited from
Venice, was charged with treason and taken off cold, and a part
of 3000 ducats. With Vicari he left at the return of this
have properly behaved, to instruct the painter in the art and the
manner.
Ottoman line of the vice of drunkennes. But it cannot be denied that his passions were at once furious and inexorable; that in the palace, as in the field, a torrent of blood was spilt on the slightest provocation; and that the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonoured by his unnatural lust. In the Albanian war, he studied the lessons, and soon surpassed the example, of his father; and the conquest of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities, a vain and flattering account, is ascribed to his invincible sword. He was doubtless a soldier, and possibly a general; Constantinople has sealed his glory; but if we compare the means, the obstacles, and the achievements, Mahomet the second must blush to sustain a parallel with Alexander or Timour. Under his command, the Ottoman forces were always more numerous than their enemies; yet their progress was bounded by the Euphrates and the Adriatic; and his arms were checked by Hungarians and Scanderbys, by the Rhodian knights and by the Persian king.

In the reign of Amurat, he twice tasted of royalty, and twice descended from the throne: his tender age was incapable of opposing his father’s restoration, but never could he forgive the vizirs who had recommended that salutary measure. His nuptials were celebrated with the daughter of a Turkman emir; and after a festiva

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*These Imperial drunkennes were Soliman I., Selim II., and Amurat IV. (Cantemir, p. 61.): The tophis of Persia can produce a more regular intoxication; but in the later age, our European travellers were the withers and companions of their revels.
of two months, he departed from Adrianople with his bride to reside in the government of Magnesia. Before the end of six weeks, he was recalled by a sudden message from the divan, which announced the decease of Amman, and the mutinous spirit of the Janizaries. His speed and vigour commanded their obedience: he passed the Hellespont with a chosen guard; and at the distance of a mile from Adrianople, the vizirs and emirs, the imams and cadihis, the soldiers and the people, fell prostrate before the new sultan. They affected to weep, they affected to rejoice; he ascended the throne at the age of twenty-one years, and removed the cause of sedition by the death, the inevitable death, of his infant brothers*. The ambassadors of Europe and Asia soon appeared to congratulate his accession and solicit his friendship; and to all he spoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the solemn oaths and fair assurances with which he sealed the ratification of the treaty, and a rich domain on the banks of the Strymon was assigned for the annual payment of three hundred thousand alpers, the pension of an Ottoman prince, who was detained at his request in the Byzantine court. Yet the neighbours of Magnesia might tremble at the severity with which a youthful monarch reformed the pomp of his father's house—

* Crepini, one of their royal defenders, was slain by his own brother, and his father Ibrâhim, with the name of Constant, Othomane. The sultan Haçar-i-Hafiz, by his own edict in Austria, where he resided with his sister and German wife in his youth, converted with the orthodox sect of Schismatics; and only at the adjourn (see Crepini, p. 489.)
hold: the expences of luxury were applied to those of ambition, and an useless train of seven thousand falconers was either dismissed from his service, or enlisted in his troops. In the first summer of his reign, he visited with an army the Asiatic provinces; but after humbling the pride, Mahomet accepted the submission, of the Caramanian, that he might not be diverted by the smallest obstacle from the execution of his great design.

The Mahometan, and more especially the Turkish casualties, have pronounced that no promise can bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion; and that the sultan may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors. The justice and magnanimity of Amurath had scorned this immoral privilege; but his son, though the proudest of men, could stoop from ambition to the basest arts of dissimulation and deceit. Peace was on his lips, while war was in his heart: he incessantly sighed for the possession of Constantinople; and the Greeks, by their own indiscretion, afforded the first pretence of the fatal rupture. Instead of labouring to be forgotten,

[11] See the accession of Mahomet II. in Ducas (c. 33.), Pluranza (i. c. 33. i. iii. c. 2.), Chalcocundytes (l. vii. p. 195.), and Canemir (p. 66.).

[11] Before I enter on the siege of Constantinople I shall observe, that except the short hints of Canemir and Leundilavus, I have not been able to obtain any Turkish account of this conquest; such an account as we possess of the siege of Rhodes by Soliman II. (Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxvi. p. 723—769.). I must therefore depend on the Greeks, whose prejudices, in some degree, are imbited by their distresses. Our standard texts are those of Ducas (c. 34—42.), Pluranza (l. iii. c. 7—20.), Chalcocundytes.
gotten, their ambassadors purified his camp, to demand the payment, and even the increase, of their annual stipend: the garrison was importuned by their complaints, and the vizir, a secret friend of the Christians, was constrained to deliver the sentence of his brethren. "Ye foolish and miserable Romans," said Celli, "we know your devices; and ye are ignorant of your own danger! the tempestuous Amurath is no more; his throne is occupied by a young conqueror, whom no laws can bind, and no obstacles can resist: and if you escape from his hands, give praise to the divine clemency, which yet deports the philanthropy of your lives. Why do ye seek to affright us by wild and incredible imputations? Release the fugitive Cretan, crown him sultan of Romans, call the Hungarians from beyond the Danube, sum the nations of the West, and be assured that you will only pro-voke and precipitate your ruin." But, if the fears of the ambassadors were alarmed by the firm language of the vizir, they were soothed by conciliatory address:

"Blessed Chief! (History of Chalons, p. 185.)" Replied Celli, "If you wish me to become a sultan, that I may be the object of your hatred, the 16th of August, 1439, only brought me to the steps of the temple, and in the midst of the coryphaeum of the Christian church. Since yours may be added from an equal or a greater. Hence to Hungary, Rome, Turkestan, Spain, England, and finally, to pope Nicholas V. (Thrace, p. 122.) I mean to dispute in the year 1470 (T. 100, 110, 120, 130, 140, 150, 160, 170, 180, 190), will be surrounded by the multitude of dogs, which will consume me, I hope, in the year 1475, N. 3, 47. I have written it, not as a mere poet, but as a wise man.
the courteous audience and friendly speeches of
the Ottoman prince; and Mahomet assured them
that on his return to Adrianople he would redress
the grievances, and consult the true interest, of
the Greeks. No sooner had he repassed the Hel-
lefpont, than he issued a mandate to suppress their
penion, and to expel their officers from the banks
of the Strymon: in this measure he betrayed an
hostile mind; and the second order announced,
and in some degree commenced, the siege of Con-
stantinople. In the narrow pass of the Bosphorus,
an Asiatic fortress had formerly been raised by his
grandfather: in the opposite situation, on the Eu-
ropean side, he resolved to erect a more formidable
castle; and a thousand masons were commanded to
assemble in the spring on a spot named Aflomato-
ton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis.12
Persuasion is the resource of the feeble; and the
feeble can seldom persuade: the ambassadors of
the emperor attempted, without success, to divert
Mahomet from the execution of his design. They
represented that his grandfather had solicited the
permission of Manuel to build a castle on his own
territories; but that this double forbearance, which
would command the welcome, could only tend to violate the silence of the Romans, to in-
tercept the Latins who resided in the Black Sea, and
perhaps to annihilate the Christian or the

12 The situation of the fortress, and the topography of the
Bosphorus, are best described from the maps (de Caulon
Thrace, I. ii. c. 15), by moments (Voyage dans l'Empire, 3
vol. 2, p. 124), and others (Voyage dans l'Empire, 3
vol. 2, p. 124). I must regret the want of an exact reference
to a number of these works. The reader may turn back to vol. III. ch. 17,
of this History.
city. "I form no enterprise," replied the perfidious sultan, "against the city; but the empire of Constantinople is measured by her walls. Have you forgotten the distress to which my father was reduced when you formed a league with the Hungarians: when they invaded our country by land, and the Hellespont was occupied by the French galleys? Amurath was compelled to force the passage of the Bosporus; and your strength was not equal to your malevolence. I was then a child at Adrianople; the Mothems trembled; and for a while the Gadeurs intimated our disgrace. But when my father had triumphed in the field of Warna, he vowed to erect a fort on the western shore, and that vow it is my duty to accomplish. Have ye the right, have ye the power, to control my actions on my own ground? For that ground is my own: as far as the shores of the Bosporus, Asia is inhabited by the Turks, and Europe is deflected by the Romans. Return, and inform your king that the present Ottoman is far different from his predecessors: that his resolutions surpass their wishes; and that he performs more than they could resolve. Return in safety—but the next who delivers a similar message may expect to be flayed alive." After this de-

\[11\] The approprious name which the Turks bestowed on the Bosphorus is expreiced Kābr (Gadeur) by Ducros, and Gadeur by Llanchamon and the moderns. The former term is derived by Ducange (Gage. Gram., term. i. p. 530.) from Kāba, in vulgar Greek, a tortoise, as denoting a retrograde motion from the earth. But, alas! Gadeur is no more than Gadeur, which was transferred from the Phœnicians to the Turks, and passed from the worshippers of fire to those of the cross (D. Th. en. Bonnet, Orient, p. 375.).
claration, Constantine, the first of the Greeks in spirit as in rank, had determined to unsheathe the sword, and to resist the approach and establishment of the Turks on the Bosporus. He was disarmed by the advice of his civil and ecclesiastical ministers, who recommended a system less generous, and even less prudent, than his own, to approve their patience and long-suffering, to brand the Ottoman with the name and guilt of an aggressor, and to depend on chance and time for their own safety, and the destruction of a fort which could not long be maintained in the neighbourhood of a great and populous city. Amidst hope and fear, the fears of the wise and the hopes of the credulous, the winter rolled away; the proper business of each man, and each hour, was postponed; and the Greeks shut their eyes against the impending danger, till the arrival of the spring and the sultan decided the assurance of their ruin.

Of a master who never forgives, the orders are seldom disobeyed. On the twenty-sixth of March, the appointed spot of Asonaton was covered with an active swarm of Turkish artificers; and the materials by sea and land were diligently transported from Europe and Asia. The lime had been burnt in Cataphrygia; the timber was cut down.

Phranza does justice to his master's sense and courage. Calliditatem hominis non ignorans Imperator prior armis movere constituit, et stigmae the folly of the cum facri tum profani proceres, which he had heard, amentes Ip e vana pauci. Ducas was not a privy-counsellor.

Instead of this clear and consistent account, the Turkish Annals (Camarin, p. 97.) revived the foolish tale of the ox's hide.
down in the woods of Hersonesus and Nicomedia; and the stones were dug from the Anatolian quarries. Each of the thousands of mons was affixed by two workmen; and a measure of two cubits was marked for their daily task. The fortress was built in a triangular form; each angle was flanked by a strong and maffy tower: one on the declivity of the hill, two along the sea-shore: a thickness of twenty-two feet was assigned for the walls, thirty for the towers; and the whole building was covered with a solid platform of lead.

Mahomet himself professed and directed the work with indefatigable ardour: his three vizirs claimed the honour of finishing their respective towers; the zeal of the cadhis emulated that of the Janizaries; the meanest labour was ennobled by the service of God and the sultan; and the diligence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of a despot, whose smile was the hope of fortune, and whose frown was the messenger of death. The Greek emperor beheld with terror the irresistible progress of the work; and vainly strive, by flattery and gifts, to allay an implacable foe, who fought, and secretly fomented, the slightest occasion of a quarrel. Such occasions must soon and inevitably be found. The ruins of flately churches, and even the marble columns which had been consecrated to St. Michael the archangel, hide, and Budo's bastions in the foundation of Carthage. Those animal veneries we are warned by an antichristian prejudice are far less commodious than the Christian ruins.

15 In the descriptions of this fortress, the old castle of Europe, Phantea does not correspond with Cithacordaics, whose description has been verified on the spot by his editor Leandrius.
were employed without scruple by the profane and rapacious Moslems; and some Christians, who presumed to oppose the removal, received from their hands the crown of martyrdom. Constantine had solicited a Turkish guard to protect the fields and harvests of his subjects: the guard was fixed; but their first order was to allow free pasture to the mules and horses of the camp, and to defend their brethren if they should be molested by the natives. The retinue of an Ottoman chief had left their horses to past the night among the ripe corn: the damage was felt; the insult was resented; and several of both nations were slain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet listened with joy to the complaint; and a detachment was commanded to exterminate the guilty village: the guilty had fled; but forty innocent and unsuspecting reapers were massacred by the soldiers. Till this provocation, Constantinople had been open to the visits of commerce and curiosity: on the first alarm, the gates were shut; but the emperor, still anxious for peace, released on the third day his Turkish captives; and expressed, in a last message, the firm resignation of a Christian and a soldier. "Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission, can secure peace, pursue," said he to Mahomet, "your impious warfare. My trust is in God alone: if it should please him to mollify your heart, I shall rejoice in the happy change; if he delivers

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

Vol. XII. O
"the city into your hands, I submit without a murmur to his holy will. But until the Judge of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty to live and die in the defence of my people." The sultan's answer was hostile and decisive: his fortifications were completed; and before his departure for Adrianople, he stationed a vigilant Aga and four hundred Janizaries, to levy a tribute of the ships of every nation that should pass within the reach of their cannon. A Venetian vessel, refusing obedience to the new lords of the Bosphorus, was flung with a single bullet. The master and thirty sailors escaped in the boat; but they were dragged in chains to the port: the chief was impaled; his companions were beheaded; and the historian Duran, beheld, at Demoticia, their bodies exposed to the wild beasts. The siege of Constantinople was deferred till the ensuing spring; but an Ottoman army marched into the Morea to divert the force of the brothers of Constantin. At this time of calamity, one of their princes, the dead Prince Thomas, was blessed or afflicted with the birth of a son; "the last heir," says the plaintive Phranza, "of the last spark of the Roman empire." 

The Greeks and the Turks passed an anxious and fleecy winter; the former were kept awake by their fears, the latter by their hopes; both by

13 Duran, L. 76. Phranza, L. 110, c. 5, who had failed in his vessel coming from the Venetians, died as a martyr.
14 Aufrère, et Phranza, et gentes, et Imperat forte filia, part. per Rambier (Thucydide, i. 29), et in c. 70. Thucydide was injured by his feelings.
the preparations of defence and attack; and the two emperors, who had the most to lose or to gain, were the most deeply affected by the national sentiment. In Mahomet, that sentiment was inflamed by the ardour of his youth and temper: he amused his leisure with building at Adrianople 20 the lofty palace of Jehan Numa (the watch-tower of the world); but his serious thoughts were irrevocably bent on the conquest of the city of Cæsar. At the dead of night, about the second watch, he started from his bed, and commanded the instant attendance of his prime vizir. The message, the hour, the prince, and his own situation, alarmed the guilty conscience of Calil Basha; who had possested the confidence, and advised the restoration, of Amurath. On the accession of the son, the vizir was confirmed in his office and the appearances of favour; but the veteran statesman was not insensible that he trod on a thin and slippery ice, which might break under his footsteps, and plunge him in the abyss. His friendship for the Christians, which might be innocent under the late reign, had stigmatized him with the name of Gabour Ortachi, or foster-brother of the infidels 21; and his avarice entertained a venal and treasonable correspondence, which was detected and punished after the con-

20 Cantemir, p. 97, 98. The sultan was either doubtful of his conquest, or ignorant of the superior merits of Conflantinople. A city or a kingdom may sometimes be ruined by the imperial fortune of their sovereign.

21 Σνταρέντοι, by the president Coufin, is translated per nonrider, most correetly indeed from the Latin version; but in his note, he overlooked the note by which Ismael Boillaud (ad Ducam, c. 35.) acknowledges and rectifies his own error.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. LXVIII.

clination of the war. On receiving the royal mandate, he embraced, perhaps for the last time, his wife and children; filled a cup with pieces of gold, hastened to the palace, adored the sultan, and offered, according to the Oriental custom, the slight tribute of his duty and gratitude. "It is not my wish," said Mahomet, "to resume my gifts, but rather to heap and multiply them on thy head. In my turn I ask a present far more valuable and important;—Constantinople." As soon as the vizir had recovered from his surprise, "the same God," said he, "who has already given thee so large a portion of the Roman empire, will not deny the remnant, and the capital. His providence, and thy power, allure thy success; and myself, with the rest of thy faithful slaves, will sacrifice our lives and fortunes." "Lala," (or preceptor), continued the sultan, "do you see this pillow? All the night, in my agitation, I have pulled it on one side and the other; I have risen from my bed, again have I lain down; yet sleep has not visited those weary eyes. Beware of the gold and silver of the Romans: in arms we

**Notes:**

11. The Oriental custom of never appearing without gifts before a sovereign is of superior, or of both antiquity, and items and is with the idea of sacrificing, as more ancient and universal: see examples of the Persian gift, Φ. Μ., Hist. Varr. I. i. c. 71.

12. The Lala of the Lahore Gazette (p. 44.), and the Tala of the Urdu. Dacca, c. 1744., are derived from the natural language of India, and it may be observed, that all such primitive words, where denote their parents, are the simple repetition of the former, composed of a热带 and dental consonant and an open syllable. The Scottish, Mechanick, &c. Language, t. n. i. p. 107. 'are
are superior; and with the aid of God, and the prayers of the prophet, we shall speedily become masters of Constantinople." To found the disposition of his soldiers, he often wandered through the streets alone, and in disguise: and it was fatal to discover the sultan, when he wished to escape from the vulgar eye. His hours were spent in delineating the plan of the hostile city: in debating with his generals and engineers, on what spot he should erect his batteries; on which side he should assault the walls; where he should spring the mines; to what place he should apply his scaling ladders: and the exercises of the day repeated and proved the lucubrations of the night.

Among the implements of destruction, he studied with peculiar care the recent and tremendous discovery of the Latins; and his artillery surpassed whatever had yet appeared in the world. A founder of cannon, a Dane or Hungarian, who had been almost starved in the Greek service, defected to the Moslems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkish sultan. Mahomet was satisfied with the answer to his first question, which he eagerly pressed on the artist. "Am I able to cast a cannon capable of throwing a ball or flone of sufficient size to batter the walls of Constantinople?" "I am not ignorant of their strength, but were they more solid than those of Babylon, I could oppose an engine of superior power: the position and management of that engine must be left to your engineers." On this assurance, a foundery was established at Adrianople: the metal was prepared; and at the end...
end of three months, Urban produced a piece of brass ordnance of stupendous, and almost incredible magnitude; a measure of twelve palms is assigned to the bore; and the stone bullet weighed above six hundred pounds. A vacant place before the new palace was chosen for the first experiment; but to prevent the sudden and mischievous effects of astonishment and fear, a proclamation was issued, that the cannon would be discharged the ensuing day. The explosion was felt or heard in a circuit of an hundred furlongs: the ball, by the force of gunpowder, was driven above a mile; and on the spot where it fell, it buried itself aathom deep in the ground. For the conveyance of this destructive engine, a frame or carriage of thirty wagons was linked together and drawn along by a team of sixty oxen: two hundred men on both sides were stationed to pole and support the rolling weight; two hundred and fifty workmen worked before to smooth the way and repair the bridges; and near two months were employed in a laborious journey of one hundred and fifty miles. A lively philosopher decides on this occasion the credulity of the Greeks, and observes, with much reason,
that we should always distrust the exaggerations of a vanquished people. He calculates, that a ball, even of two hundred pounds, would require a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of powder; and that the stroke would be feeble and impotent, since not a fiftieth part of the mass could be inflamed at the same moment. A stranger as I am to the art of destruction, I can discern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of metal; the quickness of the fire to the found, or even the consequence, of a single explosion. Yet I dare not reject the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporary writers; nor can it seem improbable, that the first artists, in their rude and ambitious efforts, should have transgressed the standard of moderation. A Turkish cannon, more enormous than that of Mahomet, still guards the entrance of the Dardanelles; and if the use be inconvenient, it has been found on a late trial that the effect was far from contemptible. A lone bullet of eleven hundred pounds weight was once discharged with three hundred and thirty pounds of powder; at the distance of six hundred yards it shivered into three rocky fragments, traversed the freight, and, leaving the waters in a foam, again rose and bounded against the opposite hill.

26 The Baron de Tott (tom. iii. p. 85—89.), who fortified the Dardanelles against the Russians, describes in a lively, and even comic, strain his own prowess, and the contestation of the Turks. But that adventurous traveller does not profess the art of gaining our confidence.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

While Mahomet threatened the capital of the East, the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the assistance of earth and heaven. But the invisible powers were deaf to his supplications; and Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople, while she derived at least some promise of supply from the jealous and temporal policy of the sultan of Egypt. Some states were too weak, and others too remote; by some the danger was considered as imaginary, by others as inevitable: the Western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels; and the Roman pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Instead of employing in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas the fifth had foretold their approaching ruin; and his honour was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy. Perhaps he was softened by the last extremity of their distress; but his compassion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Constantinople had fallen, before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could fail from their harbours. Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek islands affected a cold neutrality: the Genoese colony of Galatia negotiated a private treaty; and the sultan indulged them in the delusive hope, that by his clemency they might survive the ruin of the em-

27 Non audivit, indignum ducens, says the honest Antoninus; but as the Roman court was afterwards grieved and ashamed, we find the more courtly expression of Plutarch, in animo tuille pontifici juvere Graecos, and the positive assertion of Aeneas Sylvius, Scrutatum clafsum, &c. (Spold. A. D. 1453, No. 5.)
pried. A plebeian crowd, and some Byzantine nobles, safely withdrew from the danger of their country; and the avarice of the rich denied the emperor, and reserved for the Turks, the secret treasures which might have raised in their defence whole armies of mercenaries 28. The indigent and solitary prince prepared however to sustain his formidable adversary; but if his courage were equal to the peril, his strength was inadequate to the contest. In the beginning of the spring, the Turkish vanguard swept the towns and villages as far as the gates of Constantinople: submission was spared and protected; whatever presumed to resist was exterminated with fire and sword. The Greek places on the Black Sea, Mesembria, Acheloum, and Bizon, surrendered on the first summons; Selybria alone deserved the honours of a siege or blockade; and the bold inhabitants, while they were invested by land, launched their boats, pillaged the opposite coast of Cyzicus, and sold their captives in the public market. But on the approach of Mahomet himself all was silent and prostrate; he first halted at the distance of five miles; and from thence advancing in battle array, planted before the gate of St. Romanus the imperial standard; and on the sixth

28 Antonin. in Proem.—Epist. Cardinal. Isidor. apud Spondatum; and Dr. Johnson, in the tragedy of Irene, has happily seized this characteristic circumstance:

The groaning Greeks dig up the golden caverns,
The accumulated wealth of hoarding ages;  
That wealth which, granted to their weeping prince,  
Had rang’d embattled nations at their gates.
day of April, formed the memorable siege of Constantinople.

The troops of Asia and Europe extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the harbour; the Janizaries in the front were stationed before the sultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep entrenchment; and a subordinate army inclosed the suburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The inquisitive Philæphus, who resided in Greece about thirty years before the siege, is confident, that all the Turkish forces, of any name or value, could not exceed the number of sixty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; and he upbraids the pusillanimity of the nations, who had tamely yielded to a handful of Barbarians. Such indeed might be the regular establishment of the Capiçati, the troops of the Porte, who marched with the prince, and were paid from his royal treasury. But the bashaws, in their respective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia; many lands were held by a military tenure; many volunteers were attracted by the hope of spoil; and the sound of the holy trumpet invited a swarm of hungry and fearless fanatics, who might contribute at least to multiply the terrors, and in a direct attack to blun the forces, of the Genoese. The whole mass of the Turkish power is magnified by

[End of page 204]
Ducas, Chalcocondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to the amount of three or four hundred thousand men; but Phranza was a less remote and more accurate judge; and his precise definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand does not exceed the measure of experience and probability. The navy of the besiegers was less formidable: the Propontis was overbreed with three hundred and twenty sail; but of these no more than eighteen could be rated as galleys of war; and the far greater part must be degraded to the condition of store-ships and transports, which poured into the camp rich supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions. In her last decay, Constantinople was still peopled with more than an hundred thousand inhabitants; but these numbers are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity; and they mostly consisted of mechanics, of priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety. I can suppose, I could almost excuse, the reluctance of subjects to serve on a distant frontier, at the will of a tyrant; but the man who dares not expose his life in the defence of his children and his property has lost in society the first and most active energies of nature. By the emperor's command, a particular enquiry had been made through the streets and houses, how

of the

many

38 The observation of Philoppus is approved by Cuppinian in the year 1568 (de Celsibus, in Eplog. de Militia Turcici, p. 697). Mithili proves, that the effective armies of the Turks are much less numerous than they appear. In the army that besieged Constantinople, Leonardus Chier's reckons no more than 15,000 in 1571.
many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The lifts were intrusted to Phranza; and, after a diligent addition, he informed his master, with grief and surprise, that the national defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and seventy Romans. Between Constantine and his faithful minister, this comfortless secret was preserved; and a sufficient proportion of shields, cross-bows, and muskets, was distributed from the arsenal to the city bands. They derived some accession from a body of two thousand strangers, under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese; a liberal donative was advanced to these auxiliaries; and a princely recompence, the isle of Lemnos, was promised to the valor and victory of their chief. A strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbour: it was supported by some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchandize; and the ships of every Christian nation, that successively arrived from Candia and the Black Sea, were detained for the public service. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of sixteen, miles was defended by a scanty garrison of seven or eight thousand soldiers. Europe and Asia were open to the besiegers; but the strength and provisions of the

**V.** Figov, salens (Imp); tabellae extrimi non alque dolore ed modestia, nantique aperere et esse filius. Romulus numeros (Phranza, b. in a. 342). With such intelligence for national purposes, we cannot derive a more authentic record, not only of public facts, but of private councils.
Greeks must sustain a daily decrease; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign succour or supply.

The primitive Romans would have drawn their swords in the resolution of death or conquest. The primitive Christians might have embraced each other, and awaited in patience and charity the stroke of martyrdom. But the Greeks of Constantinople were animated only by the spirit of religion, and that spirit was productive only of animosity and discord. Before his death, the emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of an union with the Latins; nor was the idea revived, till the distress of his brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation 16. With the demand of temporal aid, his amabassadors were instructed to mingle the assurance of spiritual obedience: his neglect of the church was excused by the urgent cares of the state: and his orthodox wishes solicited the presence of a Roman legate. The Vatican had been too often deluded; yet the signs of repentance could not decently be overlooked; a legate was more easily granted than an army; and about six months before the final destruction, the cardinal Isidore of Russia appeared in that character with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The emperor saluted him as a friend and father, respectfully listened to his public and private ser-

16: In Sponianus, the narrative of the union is not only partial, but imperfect. The bishop of Paniers died in 1643, and the history of Ducas, which reproduces these verses (c. 56, 57,) with such truth and spirit, was not printed till the year 1649.
mons; and with the most oblique views of the clergy and laymen subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of Florence. On the twelfth of December, the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer; and the names of the two pontiffs were solemnly commemorated; the names of Nicholas the fifth, the vicar of Christ, and of the patriarch Gregory who had been driven into exile by rebellious people.

But the dress and language of the Latin priest who officiated at the altar, were an object of scandal; and it was observed with horror, that he consecrated a cake or wafer of unleavened bread, and poured cold water into the cup of the sacrament. A national historian acknowledges with a blush, that none of his countrymen, not the emperor himself, were sincere in this occasional conformity. Their hasty and unconditional submission was palliated by a promise of future revival; but the bell, or the word, of their excuse was the confession of their own perjury. When they were pressed by the reproaches of their honest brethren, "Have patience," they whispered, "have patience till God shall have delivered the city from the great dragon who seeks to devour us. You shall then perceive whether we are truly reconciled with the Anabaptists." But patience is not the attribute of

33 Pharanza, one of the conspirators, exclaimed, "I do not pretend to knowledge; I only know one thing, that those who speak in a familiar and familiar language are right."

Obstancy and fanaticism of the Greeks.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

nor can the arts of a court be adapted to the freedom and violence of popular enthusiasm. From the dome of St. Sophia, the inhabitants of either sex, and of every degree, rushed in crowds to the cell of the monk Gennadius 34, to consult the oracle of the church. The holy man was invisible; entranced, as it should seem, in deep meditation, or divine rapture; but he had exposed on the door of his cell, a speaking tablet; and they successively withdrew after reading these tremendous words: "O miserable Romans, why will ye abandon the truth; and why, instead of confiding in God, will ye put your trust in the Italians? In losing your faith, you will lose your city. Have mercy on me, O Lord! I protest in thy presence, that I am innocent of the crime. O miserable Romans, consider, pause, and repent. At the same moment that you renounce the religion of your fathers, by embracing impiety, you submit to a foreign servitude." According to the advice of Gennadius, the religious virgin, as pure as angels and as proud as demons, rejected the act of union, and abjured all communion with the present and future associates of the Latins; and their example was applauded and imitated by the greatest part

34 His primitive and secular name was George Scholarius, which he changed for that of Gennadius, either when he became a monk or a patriarch. His defence, at Florence, of the same union which he so furious was attacked at Constantinople, has tempted Leo Allatus (Distrib. de Georgis, in Fabre. Bibl. Græc. tom. x. p. 560—735.) to divide him into two men; but Renaudot (p. 343—383.) has refuted the identity of his person and the duplicity of his character.
of the clergy and people. From the monastery, the devout Greeks dispersed themselves in the taverns; drank confusion to the flaves of the pope; emptied their gialies in honour of the image of the holy Virgin; and besought her to defend against Mahomet, the city which she had formerly saved from Chosroes and the Chagan. In the double intoxication of zeal and wine, they valiantly exclaimed, "What occasion have we for succour, or union, or Latins? far from us be the worship of the Azymites!" During the winter that preceded the Turkish conquest, the nation was distracted by this epidemical frenzy; and the season of Lent, the approach of Easter, instead of breathing charity and love, served only to fortify the obstinacy and influence of the zealots. The confessors scrutinized and alarmed the conscience of their votaries, and a rigorous penance was imposed on those, who had received the communion from a priest, who had given an express or tacit consent to the union. His service at the altar propagated the infection to the mute and simple spectators of the ceremony: they forfeited, by the impure spectacle, the virtue of the sacreddotal character; nor was it lawful, even in danger of sudden death, to invoke the assistance of their prayers or abjuration. No sooner had the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the Latin sacrifice, than it was defiled as a Jewish synagogue, or an heathen temple, by the clergy and people; and a vast and gloomy silence prevailed in that venerable dome, which had so often smokèd with a cloud of incense, blazed with innumerable
numerable lights, and resounded with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving. The Latins were the most odious of heretics and infidels; and the first minister of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet, than the pope's tiara or a cardinal's hat. A sentiment so unworthy of Christians and patriots, was familiar and fatal to the Greeks: the emperor was deprived of the affection and support of his subjects; and their native cowardice was sanctified by resignation to the divine decree, or the visionary hope of a miraculous deliverance.

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

15 Φαύκλεντα, κολυτεία, may be fairly translated a cardinal's hat. The difference of the Greek and Latin habits embittered the schism.

16 We are obliged to reduce the Greek miles to the smallest measure which is preserved in the walls of Rutilia, of 547 French toises, and of 104.5 to a degree. The six miles of Phranza do not exceed four English miles (d'Anville, Mesures Itinéraires, p. 61, 123, &c.).
ditch, or fell into the field; but they soon discovered, that in the proportion of their numbers, one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks: and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. Nor should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The nation was indeed pusillanimous and base; but the last Constantine deserves the name of an hero: his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honour of the Western chivalry. The incessant volleys of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, the sound, and the fire of their musketry and cannon. Their small arms discharged at the same time either five, or even ten, balls of lead, of the size of a walnut; and, according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, several breast-plates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot. But the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches, or covered with ruins. Each day added to the science of the Christians; but their inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful, either in size or number; and if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, lest the aged structure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion. The same destructive secret

*At illis distinctes nolint facti paravere contra hec: machinatione, quae tumen avare debuitur. Pulvis est nitid modica exigius; in medico; bombardie, si aderant incommodeitate loci primum*
secret had been revealed to the Moslems; by whom it was employed with the superior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet has been separately noticed; an important and visible object in the history of the times; but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude: the long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places; and of one of these it is ambiguously expressed, that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it discharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the power and activity of the sultan, we may discern the infancy of the new science. Under a master who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one day. The heated metal unfortunately burst; several workmen were destroyed; and the skill of an artist was admired who be thought himself of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

primum hostes offensere macerichus alveique testos non petant. Nam figurae magis erant, ne murus concurretur notis, qui dolendo. This passage of Leonardus Chaenici is curious and important.

According to Chalcocondyles and Phranza, the great cannon burst; an accident which, according to Ducas, was prevented by the artist's skill. It is evident that they do not speak of the same gun.

Near an hundred years after the siege of Constantinople, the French and English fleets in the Channel were proud of firing 390 shot in an engagement of two hours (Memoires de Martin du Bellay, t. x. in the Collection Generale, tom. xxii. p. 239).
The first random shots were productive of more found than effect: and it was by the advice of a Christian, that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the fa- lient angles of a bastion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impres- sion on the walls; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm, and to build a road to the assault 42. Innumerable fascines, and hogf- heads, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other; and such was the impetuosity of the throng, that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice, and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the besiegers; to clear away the rubbish, was the safety of the besieged; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines; but the soil was rocky; in every at- tempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers; nor had the art been yet in- vented of replenishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder, and blowing whole towers and cities into the air 44. A circumstance that dis- tinguishes

40 I have followed some editions (L. 95) with all striving to emulate the bloody and obtinate congruence of the abbe de Vercor, in his prolix decriptions of the siege of Rhodes, Malta, &c. But that agreeable historian had a turn for romance, and as he wrote to please the reader, he has adopted the same spirit of enthusiasm and chivalry.

41 The first theory of mines with gunpowder appears in 1489, in a MS. of George of Simna (Tiraboci), tom. vi. P. 11, p. 324.);
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

The siege of Constantinople, is the reunion of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the same walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers: this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls hides; incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a stair-case to the upper platform, and as high as the level of that platform, a scaling-ladder could be raised by pulleys to form a bridge and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance, some as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned: after a severe struggle, the Turks were repulsed from the breach and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted, that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigour and decisive success. Of this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justiniani, who passed the night on the spot, and urged

They were first practised at Sarzanelia, in 1487, but the honour and improvement in 1503 is ascribed to Peter of Navarre, who used them with success in the wars of Italy (Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, tom. ii. p. 93-97).
the labours which involved the safety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impatient sultan perceived, with astonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes; the ditch was cleared and restored, and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his design; and uttered a prostrate exclamation, that the word of the thirty-seven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe that such a work, in so short a time, could have been accomplished by the infidels.

The generosity of the Christian princes was cold and tardy; but in the first apprehension of a siege, Constantine had negotiated, in the isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indispensable supplies. As early as the beginning of April, five\(^2\) great ships equipped for merchandise and war, would have sailed from the harbour of Chios, had not the wind blown obliquely from the north\(^3\). One of these ships bore the Imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoese, and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with soldiers and mariners, for the service of

43 It is singular that the Greeks should not agree in the number of these little isles which, the isle of Phene, the isle of Patrazi and Leopantus, and the isle of Grecokonstantinoupolis, may be extended to the smaller, or, better, to larger, four. Where in giving one of these ships to Frederic III. contains the enlargements of the East and West.

44 In bold dashes of rather in glistening waves, of saltpetre and brandy, the Turk Constantine drove them at Chios with a south, and wears them to Constantinople with a north wind.
the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and, on the second day, a strong gale from the south, carried them through the Hellespont and the Propontis: but the city was already invested by sea and land; and the Turkish fleet, at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shore, in the form of a crescent, to intercept, or at least to repel, these bold auxiliaries. The reader who has present to his mind the geographical picture of Constantinople, will conceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued to advance with joyful shouts, and a full press both of sail and oars, against an hostile fleet of three hundred vessels; and the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succour. At the first view that event could not appear doubtful; the superiority of the Moslems was beyond all measure or account; and, in a calm, their numbers and valour must inevitably have prevailed. But their hastily and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the sultan: in the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged, that if God had given them the earth, he had left the sea to the infidels; and a series of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has

44 The perpetual decay and weakness of the Turkish navy, may be observed in Rycaut (state of the Ottoman Empire, p. 372-373), Thevenot (Voyages, p. 229-242.), and Font (Memoires, tom. iii.) ; the lait of whom is always solicitous to amuse and amaze his reader.
established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen gallyes of some force, the rest of their fleet consisted of open boats, rudely constructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops, and destitute of cannon; and, since courage arises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian squadron, five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was directed to sink or scatter the weak obstructions that impeded their passage: their artillery swept the waters: their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adversaries, who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators. In this conflict, the Imperial vessel, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese; but the Turks, in a distant and closer attack, were twice repulsed with considerable loss. Mahomet himself sat on horseback on the beach, to encourage their valor by his voice and presence, by the promise of reward, and by fear, more potent than the fear of the enemy. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body, seemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into

43 I need not tell you how I saw with my eyes the living picture which I mention (Chap. c. 71.) of the passions and gestures of the Admiral, in a naval engagement in the Gulf of Genoa.
the sea. His loud reproaches, and the clamours of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I must repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms from their own mouth, that they lost above twelve thousand men in the slaughter of the day. They fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and Asia, while the Christian squadron, triumphant and unhurt, steered along the Bosphorus, and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour. In the confidence of victory, they boasted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to their arms; but the admiral, or captain bashaw, found some consolation for a painful wound in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes: his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and under the despotism of the prince or people, misfortune is a sufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and services were annihiliated by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence, the captain bashaw was extended on the ground by four slaves, and received one hundred strokes with a golden rod⁴⁶: his death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of

⁴⁶ According to the exaggeration or corrupt text of Ducas (c. 38.), this golden bar was of the enormous and incredible weight of 500 libras, or pounds. Bouilland's reading of 500 drachms, or five pounds, is sufficient to exercise the arm of Mahomet, and bruise the back of his admiral.
the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their western allies. Amidst the deserts of Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crusades had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the Imperial city was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople: the more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Huniadze, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the sultan 43.

It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the secret of the divan; yet the Greeks are persuaded, that a resistance, so obstinate and surprising, had fatigued the perseverance of Mahomet. He began to meditate a retreat, and the siege would have been speedily raised if the ambition and jealousy of the second vizir had not opposed the perfidious advice of Calil Beshaw, who still maintained a secret correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land: but the harbour

43 Duclos, who confides himself ill informed of the affairs of Hungary, cites as a motive of repetition, a literal belief that Constantinople would be in term of the Turkish conquest. See Platanus (i. vii. c. 22.) and Spanos.
was inaccessible: an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller size, with several galleys and floops; and, instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval battle, and a second encounter in the open sea. In this perplexity, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosporus into the higher part of the harbour. The distance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets; and, as the road must be opened behind the suburb of Gallata, their free passage or total destruction must depend on the option of the Genoese. But these feehsh merchants were ambitious of the favour of being the last devoured; and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and solid planks; and to render them more slippery and smooth, they were anointed with the fat of sheep and oxen. Fourscore light galleys and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars, were disembarked on the Bosporus shore; arranged successively on rollers; and drawn forwards by the power of men and pulleys. Two guides or pilots were stationed at the helm, and the prow, of each vessel; the sails were unfurled to the winds; and the labour was cheered by long and acclamation. In the course of a single night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill,飞reared over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour.
harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation and confidence which it inspired: but the notorious, unquestionable, act was displayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens of the two nations 48. A similar stratagem had been repeatedly practiced by the ancients 49; the Ottoman gallies (I must again repeat) should be considered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the distance, the obstacles and the means, the boasted miracle 50 has perhaps been equalled by the industry of our own times 51. As soon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army; he constructed, in the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth and one hundred in length; it was formed of casks and hogheads; joined with rafters linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery, he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourcore gallies, with troops

4 The maximum tidelaw of the four Greeks is confirmed by Conder (p. 569) from the Turkish annals; but I could wish to correct the distance of ten miles, and to prolong the term of one night.

49 For instance, relates two examples of a similar transportation over the six miles of the Hellespont of Carth; the one fabulous, of Augustus after the battle of Actium; the other true, of Nicetas, a Greek general in the xst century. To these he might have added a bold capture of Hannibal, who introduced his vessels into the harbour of Tauropolis (Polybius, i. v. p. 749; Hist. Graec.);

5 A Greek of Chios, who had teased the Venetians in a similar undertaking (8th ed. A.D. 1558, N 37), might possibly be the author of Turgot's 1st letter.

51 I particularly speak of our own embarkation on the lake of Constance in the years 1776 and 1777, a great in the labour, to fruitions in the event.
and scaling-ladders, approached the most accessible side, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Christians has been accused for not destroying these unfinished works; but their fire, by a superior fire was controlled and silenced; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the vessels as well as the bridge of the sultan. His vigilance prevented their approach; their foremost galliots were sunk or taken; forty youths, the bravest of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly massacred at his command; nor could the emperor’s grief be assuaged by the just though cruel retaliation, of exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and sixty Muslim captives. After a siege of forty days, the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack: the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon: many breaches were opened; and near the gate of St. Romanus, four towers had been levelled with the ground. For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Constantine was compelled to despoil the churches with the promise of a fourfold restitution; and his sacrilege offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. A spirit of discord impaired the remnant of the Christian strength: the Genoese and Venetian auxiliaries affected the pre-eminence of their respective service; and Justiniani and the great duke, whose ambition was not extinguished by the common danger, accused each other of treachery and cowardice.
During the siege of Constantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been sometimes pronounced; and several embassies had passed between the camp and the city. The Greek emperor was humbled by adversity; and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish sultan was desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers; still more desirous of securing for his own use the Byzantine treasures; and he accomplished a sacred duty in presenting to the Gaziars, the choice of circumcision, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mahomet might have been satisfied with an annual sum of one hundred thousand ducats: but his ambition grasped the capital of the East: to the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration, or a safe departure: but after some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne, or a grave, under the walls of Constantinople. A sense of honour, and the fear of universal reproach, forbade Palaeologus to resign the city into the hands of the Ottomans; and he determined to abide the last extremities of war. Several days were employed by the sultan in the preparations of the assault; and a respite was granted by his favourite science of astrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of May, as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the twenty-seventh, he issued his final orders; assembled in his presence the military forces of the emperor, and Ducas differ in the time and circumstances of the requisition; and as it was neither glorious nor felicitous, the fidelity of the subject: he requited his prince even the thought of a murderer.
chiefs; and dispersed his heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty, and the motives, of the perilous enterprise. Fear is the first principle of a despotic government; and his menaces were expressed in the Oriental style, that the fugitives and defectors, had they the wings of a bird, should not escape from his inexorable justice. The greatest part of his bashaws and Janizaries were the offspring of Christian parents; but the glories of the Turkish name were perpetuated by successive adoption; and in the gradual change of individuals, the spirit of a legion, a regiment, or an aass, is kept alive by imitation and discipline. In this holy warfare, the Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with seven ablutions; and to abstain from food till the close of the ensuing day. A crowd of dervishes visited the tents,
to inflit the desire of martyrdom, and the assurance of spending an immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally trusted to the efficacy of temporal and visible rewards. A double pay was promised to the victorious troops; "The city and the buildings," said Mahomet, "are mine; but I resign to your valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty: be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces of my empire: the intrepid soldier who first ascends the walls of Constantinople, shall be rewarded with the garment of the fairest and most wealthy; and my gratitude shall accumulate his honours and fortunes above the measure of his own hopes." Such various and potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardour, regardless of life and impatient for action: the camp re-echoed with the Moillem shouts of, "God is God, there is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God"; and the sea and land, from Galata to the seven towers, were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.

Far different was the state of the Christians, who, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment, of their sins. The celestial image of the Virgin had been exposed in solemn procession: but their divine patrons was deaf to their intreaties; they accused the obstinacy of the emperor for refusing a

\[\text{Plurara quarrels with these Moillem acclamations, not for the name of God, but for that of the prophet: the pious zeal of Voltaire is excelled, and even excelled.}\]
timely surrender; anticipated the horrors of their fate; and sighed for the repose and security of Turkish servitude. The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Palæologus was the funeral oration of the Roman empire: he promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the gospel nor the church have proposed any conspicuous recompense to the heroes who fall in the service of their country. But the example of their prince, and the confinement of a siege, had armed these warriors with the courage of despair; and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor, and some faithful companions, entered the dome of St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosque; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reproled some moments in the palace, which

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55 I am afraid that this discourse was composed by Phranza himself; and it smells so grossly of the sermon and the confess, that I almost doubt whether it was pronounced by Constantine. Leonatus assigns him another speech, in which he addresses himself more respectfully to the Latin auxiliaries.
refounded with cries and lamentations; solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured; and mounted on horseback to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Caesars.

In the confusion of darkness an assailant may sometimes succeed; but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and astrological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian era. The preceding night had been strenuously employed: the troops, the cannon, and the falchions, were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which in many parts presented a smooth and level passage to the breach; and his fourscore gallicies almost touched with the prows and their scaling ladders, the left defensible walls of the harbour. Under pain of death, silence was enjoined: but the physical laws of motion and bound are not obedient to discipline or fear; each individual might sputter his voice and measure his footsteps; but the march and labour of thousands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of dissentant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At day-break, without the customary signal of the morning gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land; and

20. This argument, which devotion has sometimes extracted from duty, but not, is an improvement of the gospel - theme of the forgiveness of the trespasses of our debtors by Forty 490 times, than once to ask pardon of an intimate.
the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack. The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd who fought without order or command; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall: the most audacious to climb were instantly precipitated; and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Christians, was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence; the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain; they supported the footsteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successively led to the charge: their progress was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained, and improved their advantage; and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries arose fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The sultan himself on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valour: he was surrounded by ten thousand of

57 Besides the 10,000 guards, and the sailors and the marines, Ducas numbers in this general assault 250,000 Turks, both horse and foot.
his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the
decisive occasions; and the tide of battle was
directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His
numerous ministers of justice were posted behind
the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish; and
if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable
death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The
cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the
martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs;
and experience has proved, that the mechanical
operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation
of the blood and spirits, will act on the human
machine more forcibly than the eloquence of
reason and honour. From the lines, the gallies,
and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered
on all sides; and the camp and city, the Greeks,
and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke,
which could only be dispelled by the final de-
liverance or destruction of the Roman empire.
The single combats of the heroes of history or
fable, amuse our fancy and engage our affections:
the skillful evolutions of war may inform the mind,
and improve a necessary, though pernicious, sci-
ence. But in the uniform and odious pictures of a
general assault, all is blood, and horror, and confu-
sion; nor shall I strive, at the distance of three cen-
turies and a thousand miles, to delineate a scene, of
which there could be no spectators, and of which
the actors themselves were incapable of forming any
just or adequate idea.

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be
ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the
gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his
blood,
blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsels were the firmeft rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his flight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, "is flight; the danger is pressing; your presence "is necessary; and whither will you retire?"

"I will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by the fame road which God has opened to the "Turks;" and at these words he haftily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this pusillanimous act, he flained the honours of a military life; and the few days which he survived in Galata, or the isle of Chios, were em-bittered by his own and the public reproach. His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to flacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigour. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps an hundred, times superior to that of the Christians; the double walls were reduced by the cannon to an heap of ruins: in a circuit of several miles, some places must be found more easy of access, or more feebly guarded; and if the besiegers could penetrate in aingle point, the whole city was irrecoverably loft. The first

"In the severe cenfure of the flight of Justiniani, Phranza expresses his own feelings, and those of the public. For some private reasons, he is treated with more lenity and respect by Ducas; but the words of Leonardus Chienius express his strong and recent indignation, gloriae salutis suique oblitus. In the whole series of their Eastern policy, his countrymen, the Genoese, were always suspected, and often guilty."
who deserved the sultan's reward was Hassan the Janizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his scymetar in one hand and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification of the thirty Janizaries, who were emulous of his valour, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the summit; the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible: the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by ever-increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen, and finally lost. The nobles, who fought round his person, sustained till their last breath the honourable names of Palaeologus and Cantacuzene; his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?" and his last fear was that of fall-

9 Ducas kills him with two blows of Turkish soldiers; Chalcopondyles wounds him in the shoulder, and then tramples him in the gate. The grief of Phraates carrying him among the enemy, escapes from the picture in age of his death; but we may, without flattery, apply these noble lines of Dryden:

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

10 Spondanus (A. D. 1453, No. 10.), who has hopes of his salvation, wishes to absolve this demand from the guilt of suicide.
ing alive into the hands of the infidels. The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple: amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. After his death, resistance and order were no more: the Greeks fled towards the city; and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenan on the side of the harbour. In the first heat of the pursuit, about two thousand Christianis were put to the sword; but avarice soon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged, that they should immediately have given quarter if the valour of the emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Choisroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Manomet the second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors.

61 Leonardus Chienis very properly observes, that the Turks, had they known the emperor, would have laboured to save and secure a captive so acceptable to the sultan.
62 Cantemir, p. 96. The Christian ships in the mouth of the harbour, had flanked and retarded this naval attack.
63 Chalcocondyles most ably supposes, that Constantinople was sacked by the Alaties in revenge for the ancient calamities of Troy; and the grammarians of the xvth century are happy to melt down the uncouth appellation of Turks, into the more classical name of Troës.
The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid wing; yet such was the extent of Constantinople, that the more distant quarters might prolong some moments the happy ignorance of their ruin ⁶⁴. But in the general consternation, in the feelings of selfish or social anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the assault, a sleepless night and morning must have elapsed; nor can I believe that many Grecian ladies were awakened by the Janizaries from a found and tranquil slumber. On the assurance of the public calamity, the houses and convents were instantly deserted; and the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the streets, like an herd of timid animals; as if accumulated weakness could be productive of strength, or in the vain hope, that amid the crowd, each individual might be safe and invisible. From every part of the capital, they flew into the church of St. Sophia: in the space of an hour, the sanctuary, the choir, the nave, the upper and lower galleries, were filled with the multitude of fathers and husbands, of women and children, of priests, monks, and religious virgins: the doors were barred on the inside, and they sought protection from the sacred dome, which they had so lately abhorred as a profane and polluted edifice. Their confidence was founded on the prophecy of an enthusiast or impostor; that one day the Turks would enter Con-

⁶⁴ When Cyrus surprised Babylon during the celebration of a festival, to valt was the city, and so careless were the inhabitants, that much time elapsed before the distant quarters knew that they were captives (Herodotus, l. i. c. 191.), and Usher (Annul. p. 73.), who has quoted from the prophet Jeremiah a passage of similar import.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

At Constantinople, and pursue the Romans as far as the column of Constantine in the square before St. Sophia: but that this would be the term of their calamities: that an angel would descend from heaven, with a sword in his hand, and would deliver the empire, with that celestial weapon, to a poor man seated at the foot of the column. "Take this sword," would he say, "and avenge the people of the Lord." At these animating words, the Turks would instantly fly, and the victorious Romans would drive them from the West, and from all Anatolia, as far as the frontiers of Persia. It is on this occasion, that Ducas, with some fancy and much truth, upbraids the discord and obstinacy of the Greeks. "Had that angel appeared," exclaims the historian, "had he offered to exterminate your foes if you would consent to the union of the church, even then, in that fatal moment, you would have rejected your safety or have deceived your God.”

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

65 This lively description is extracted from Ducas (c. 39.), who two years afterwards was sent ambassador from the prince of Lesbos to the sultan (c. 44.). Till Lesbos was subdued in 1463 (Phranza l. iii. c. 27.), that island must have been full of the fugitives of Constantinople, who delighted to repeat, perhaps to adorn, the tale of their misery.
among themselves by a prior seizure, by personal strength, and by the authority of command. In the space of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The senators were linked with their slaves; the prelates, with the porters, of the church; and young men of a plebeian class, with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the sun and their nearest kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of society were confounded; the ties of nature were cut asunder; and the inexorable soldier was careless of the father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudest in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked bosoms, outstretched hands, and dishevelled hair: and we should piously believe that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of the haram to those of the monastery. Of these unfortunate Greeks, of these domestic animals, whole rings were rudely driven through the streets; and as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. At the same hour, a similar rapine was exercised in all the churches and monasteries, in all the palaces and habitations of the capital; nor could any palace, however sacred or sequestered, protect the persons or the property of the Greeks. Above sixty thousand of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and fleet; exchanged or sold according to the caprice or interest of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire.
empire. Among these we may notice some remarkable characters. The historian Phranza, first chamberlain and principal secretary, was involved with his family in the common lot. After suffering four months the hardships of slavery, he recovered his freedom; in the ensuing winter he ventured to Adrianople, and ransomed his wife from the mir bafhi or master of horse; but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been seized for the use of Mahomet himself. The daughter of Phranza died in the feraglio, perhaps a virgin: his son, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was stabbed by the hand of the royal lover 66. A deed thus inhuman, cannot surely be expiated by the taste and liberality with which he released a Grecian matron, and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philelpsus, who had chosen a wife in that noble family 67. The pride or cruelty of Mahomet would have been most sensibly gratified by the capture of a Roman legate; but the dexterity of cardinal Isidore eluded the search, and he escaped from Galata in a plebeian habit 68.

66 See Phranza, I. iii. c. 20, 21. His expressions are positive: Ameras fuâ manû jugulavit . . . volebat enim eo turpiter et nefari abuti. Me niferum et infelicem. Yet he could only learn from report, the bloody or impure scenes that were acted in the dark recesses of the feraglio.

67 See Tiraboschi (tom. vi. p. i. p. 290.) and Lancelot (Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 718.). I should be curious to learn how he could praise the public enemy, whom he so often reviles as the most corrupt and inhuman of tyrants.

68 The Commentaries of Pius II. suppose, that he craftily placed his cardinal's hat on the head of a corpse which was cut off and exposed in triumph, while the legate himself was bought and
The chain and entrance of the outward harbour was still occupied by the Italian ships of merchandise and war. They had signalized their valour in the siege; they embraced the moment of retreat, while the Turkish mariners were dissipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoisted sail, the beach was covered with a suppliant and lamentable crowd: but the means of transportation were scanty: the Venetians and Genoese selected their countrymen; and notwithstanding the fairest promises of the sultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated their houses, and embarked with their most precious effects.

In the fall and the sack of great cities, an historian is condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity: the same effects must be produced by the same passions; and when those passions may be indulged without control, small, alas! is the difference between civilized and savage man. Amidst the vague exclamations of bigotry and hatred, the Turks are not accused of a wanton or immoderate effusion of Christian blood: but according to their maxims (the maxims of antiquity), the lives of the vanquished were forfeited; and the legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the service, the tale, or the ransom, of his captives of both sexes. The

and delivered, as a captive of no value. The great Belgic Chronicle adorns his escape with new adventures, which he suppressed (f.55 Spandianus, A.D. 1453, No 15.) in his own letters, lest he should lose the merit and reward of suffering for Christ.

49. Spandianus expatiates with pleasure and applause on the rights of war, and the life of slavery, among the ancients and the Turks (de Legat Turcica, epist. iii. p. 161.).
wealth of Constantinople had been granted by the sultan to his victorious troops: and the rapine of an hour is more productive than the industry of years. But as no regular division was attempted of the spoil, the respective shares were not determined by merit; and the rewards of valour were stolen away by the followers of the camp, who had declined the toil and danger of the battle. The narrative of their depredations could not afford either amusement or instruction: the total amount, in the last poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats 70; and of this sum a small part was the property of the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of these foreigners, the stock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation: but the riches of the Greeks were displayed in the idle ostentation of palaces and wardrobes, or deeply buried in treasures of ingots and old coin, left it should be demanded at their hands for the defence of their country. The profanation and plunder of the monasteries and churches, excited the most tragic complaints. The dome of St. Sophia itself, the earthly heaven, the second firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God 71, was despoiled of the oblations of ages; and the gold and silver, 70 This sum is specified in a marginal note of Leunclavius (Chalcobondyles, i. viii. p. 211.), but in the distribution to Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Ancona, of 50, 20, 20, and 15,000 ducats, I suspect that a figure has been dropped. Even with the restitution, the foreign property would scarcely exceed one fourth.
71 See the enthusiastic praises and lamentations of Phranza (l. iii. c. 17.).
the pearls and jewels, the vases and sacredotal ornaments, were most wickedly converted to the service of mankind. After the divine images had been stripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvas, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, in the stables, or the kitchen, to the vilest uses. The example of sacrilege was imitated however from the Latin conquerors of Constantinople; and the treatment which Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, had sustained from the guilty Catholic, might be inflicted by the zealous Muslim on the monuments of idolatry. Perhaps, instead of joining the public clamour, a philosopher will observe, that in the decline of the arts, the workmanship could not be more valuable than the work, and that a fresh supply of visions and miracles would speedily be renewed by the craft of the priest and the credulity of the people. He will more seriously deplore the loss of the Byzantine libraries, which were destroyed or scattered in the general confusion: one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are said to have disappeared; ten volumes might be purchased for a single ducat; and the same ignominious price, too high perhaps for a shelf of theology, included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer, the noblest productions of the science and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleasure, that an inestimable portion of our classical treasures

72 See Duran (c. 43.), and an epistle, July 16th, 1453, from Leonis Quinquisi, to pope Nicholas V. (Hely de Græcis, p. 192, from a MS. in the Cotton library).
treasures was safely deposited in Italy; and that
the mechanics of a German town had invented
an art which derides the havoc of time and bar-
barism.

From the first hour of the memorable twenty-
inth of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in
Constantinople, till the eighth hour of the same
day; when the sultan himself passed in triumph
through the gate of St. Romanus. He was at-
tended by his vizirs, bashaws, and guards, each
of whom (says a Byzantine historian) was robust
as Hercules, dextrous as Apollo, and equal in
battle to any ten of the race of ordinary mor-
tals. The conqueror gazed with satisfaction and
wonder on the strange though splendid appear-
ance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from
the style of Oriental architecture. In the hippo-
drome, or amezidan, his eye was attracted by the
twisted column of the three serpents; and, as
a trial of his strength, he shattered with his iron
mace or battle-ax the under-jaw of one of these
monsters, which in the eye of the Turks were
the idols or talismans of the city. At the prin-
cipal door of St. Sophia, he alighted from his horse,
and entered the dome: and such was his jealous
regard for that monument of his glory, that on

73 The Julian Calendar, which reckons the days and hours from
midnight, was used at Constantinople. But Ducas seems to under-
stand the natural hours from sun-rise.

74 See the Turkish Annals, p. 329, and the Pandects of Leun-
clavius, p. 448.

75 I have had occasion (vol. iii. p. 22.) to mention this curious
relie of Graecian antiquity.

Observing
observing a zealous Muslim in the act of breaking the marble pavement, he admonished him with his scytemeter, that if the spoil and captives were granted to the soldiers, the public and private buildings had been reserved for the prince. By his command the metropolis of the Eastern church was transformed into a mosque: the rich and portable instruments of superstition had been removed; the crosiers were thrown down; and the walls, which were covered with images, and mosaics, were washed and purified, and restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the muezzin or crier, ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed the ezan, or public invitation in the name of God and his prophet; the imam preached; and Mahomet the second performed the namaz of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Caesars. From St. Sophia he proceeded to the august, but desolate mansion of an hundred successions of the great Constantine; but which in a few hours had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness, forced itself on his mind; and he repeated an elegant dulich of Persian poetry: "The spider has wove his web in the imperial palace; and the

76 We are obliged to Curtius (p. 102.) for the Turkish account of the conversion of St. Sophia, to bitterly deplored by Dacier and Ducis. It is amusing enough to observe, in what opposite lights the same object appears to a Muslim and a Christian eye. 
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Yet his mind was not satisfied, nor did the victory seem complete, till he was informed of the fate of Constantine; whether he had escaped or been made prisoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death: the body, under an heap of flain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes: The Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after exposing the bloody trophy, Mahomet bestowed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral. After his decease, Lucas Notaras, great duke, and first minister of the empire, was the most important prisoner. When he offered his person and his treasures at the foot of the throne, “And why,” said the indignant sultan, “did you not employ these treasures in the defence of your prince and country?” “They were yours,” answered the slave, “God had reserved them for your hands.” “If he reserved them for me,”

77 This distich, which Cantemir gives in the original, derives new beauties from the application. It was thus that Scipio repeated, in the fall of Carthage, the famous prophecy of Homer. The fine generous feeling carried the mind of the conqueror to the past or the future.

79 Phocion was the personal enemy of the great duke; nor could time, or death, or his own retreat to a monastery, extort a feeling of sympathy or forgiveness. Ducas is inclined to praise and pity the martyr; Chalco only is mute, but we are indebted to him for the rest of the Greek conspiracy.
replied the despot, "how have you presumed to
with-hold them so long by a fruitless and fatal
resistance?" The great duke alleged the ob-
\[...

...
their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eastern empire.

Constantinople had been left naked and desolate, without a prince or a people. But she could not be despoiled of the incomparable situation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Bursa and Adrianople, the ancient seats of the Ottomans, sunk into provincial towns; and Mahomet the second established his own residence, and that of his successors, on the same commanding spot which had been chosen by Constantine 30. The fortifications of Galata, which might afford a shelter to the Latins, were prudently destroyed; but the damage of the Turkish cannon was soon repaired; and before the month of August, great quantities of lime had been burnt for the restoration of the walls of the capital. As the entire property of the soil and buildings, whether public or private, or profane or sacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first separated a space of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the establishment of his seraglio or palace. It is here, in the bosom of luxury, that the grand signor (as he has been emphati-

30 For the restitution of Constantinople and the Turkish foundations, see Cantemir (p. 102—109.), Ducas (c. 42.), with Thvenot, Tournefort, and the rest of our modern travellers. From a gigantic picture of the greatness, population, &c. of Constantinople and the Ottoman empire (Abrégé de l'Histoire Ottomane, tom. i. p. 16—21.), we may learn, that in the year 1586, the Moslems were less numerous in the capital than the Christians, or even the Jews.
cally named by the Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Asia; but his person on the shores of the Bosphorus may not always be secure from the insults of an hostile navy. In the new character of a moitch, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and surrounded with groves and fountains, for the devotion and refreshment of the Muslems. The same model was imitated in the jami or royal mosques; and the first of these was built, by Mahomet himself, on the ruins of the church of the holy apostles and the tombs of the Greek emperors. On the third day after the conquest, the grave of Abou Ayub or Job, who had fallen in the first siege of the Arabs, was revealed in a vision; and it is before the sepulchre of the martyr, that the new sultans are girded with the sword of empire.\(^{71}\) Constantinople no longer appertains to the Roman historian; nor shall I enumeratate the civil and religious edifices that were profaned or erected by its Turkish masters: the population was speedily renewed; and before the end of September, five thousand families of Asia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mahomet was guarded by the numbers and fidelity of his Muslem subjects; but his rational policy aspired to collect

\(^{71}\) The sepulchral monument of Abou Ayub, is described and engraved in the Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman (Paris, 1787, in large folio); a work of his use, perhaps, than magnificence (loc. cit. p. 325, 326).
the remnant of the Greeks; and they returned in crowds as soon as they were assured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. In the election and investiture of a patriarch, the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and imitated. With a mixture of satisfaction and horror, they beheld the sultan on his throne; who delivered into the hands of Gennadius the crozier or pastoral staff, the symbol of his ecclesiastical office; who conducted the patriarch to the gate of the seraglio, presented him with an horse richly caparisoned, and directed the vizirs and bailiffs to lead him to the palace which had been allotted for his residence.

The churches of Constantinople were shared between the two religions: their limits were marked; and, till it was infringed by Selim, the grandson of Mahomet, the Greeks enjoyed above sixty years the benefit of this equal partition. Encouraged by the ministers of the divan, who wished to elude the fanaticism of the sultan, the Christian advocates presumed to allege that this division had been an act, not of generosity, but of justice;

82 Phranza (l. iii. c. 19.) relates the ceremony, which has possibly been adopted in the Greek reports to each other, and to the Latins. The fact is confirmed by Emanuel Malaxus, who wrote, in vulgar Greek, the history of the Patriarchs after the taking of Constantinople, in the Turco-Greek of Cruithus (i. v. p. 125-184.). But the most patient reader will not believe that Mahomet adopted the Catholic form, "Sanctis Timiras quae milii donavit imperium in patriam humae Romae deligit."

83 From the Turco-Greek of Cruithus, &c. Sponianus (A. D. 1453, N° 21. 1458, N° 16.) describes the family and domestic quarrels of the Greek church. The patriarch who succeeded Gennadius, threw himself in despair into a well.

R 3 not
not a concession, but a compact; and that if one half of the city had been taken by storm, the other moiety had surrendered on the faith of a sacred capitulation. The original grant had indeed been consumed by fire; but the loss was supplied by the testimony of three aged Janizaries who remembered the transaction; and their venal oaths are of more weight in the opinion of Cantemir, than the positive and unanimous consent of the history of the times 82.

The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Asia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms; but the final extinction of the two last dynasties 85 which have reigned in Constantinople, should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman Empire in the East. The despots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas 86, the two surviving brothers of the name of PALAEOLOGUS,

82 Cantemir (p. 101—105.) insists on the unanimous consent of the Turkish historians, ancient as well as modern, and argues, that they would not have violated the truth to diminish their national glory, since it is esteemed more honourable to take a city by force than by composition. But, 1. I doubt this consent, since he quotes no particular historian, and the Turkish Annals of Leuchtiavius affirm, without exception, that Mahomet took Constantinople per capita (p. 529.). 2. The same argument may be turned in favour of the Greeks of the times, who would not have forgotten this honourable and salutary treaty. Voltaire, as usual, pleads the Turks to the Christians.

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

86 In the worthless history of the disputes and misfortunes of the two brothers, Phaniza (c. 21—30.) is too partial on the side of Thomas; Ducas (c. 44, 45.) is too brief, and Chalcocondyles (I. viii, ix, x.) too diffuse and digressive.
were astonished by the death of the emperor Constantine, and the ruin of the monarchy. Hopeless of defence, they prepared, with the noble Greeks who adhered to their fortune, to seek a refuge in Italy, beyond the reach of the Ottoman thunder. Their first apprehensions were dispelled by the victorious sultan, who contented himself with a tribute of twelve thousand ducats; and while his ambition explored the continent and the islands in search of prey, he indulged the Morea in a respite of seven years. But this respite was a period of grief, discord, and misery. The hexamilion, the rampart of the Isthmus, so often raised and so often subverted, could not long be defended by three hundred Italian archers; the keys of Corinth were seized by the Turks: they returned from their summer excursions with a train of captives and spoil; and the complaints of the injured Greeks were heard with indifference and disdain. The Albanians, a vagrant tribe of shepherds and robbers, filled the peninsula with rape and murder; the two despots implored the dangerous and humiliating aid of a neighbouring bashaw; and when he had quelled the revolt, his lessons inculcated the rule of their future conduct. Neither the ties of blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly pledged in the communion and before the altar, nor the stronger pressure of necessity, could reconcile or suspend their domestic quarrels. They ravaged each other's patrimony with fire and sword: the alms and succours of the West were consumed in civil hostility; and their power was only exerted in savage and arbitrary executions.
tions. The distress and revenge of the weaker rival invoked their supreme lord; and, in the season of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared himself the friend of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irresistible force. When he had taken possession of Sparta, "You are too weak," said the sultan, "to control this turbulent province; I will take your daughter to my bed; and you shall pass the remainder of your life in security and honour." Demetrius sighed and obeyed; surrendered his daughter and his castles; followed to Adrianople his sovereign and son; and received for his own maintenance, and that of his followers, a city in Thrace, and the adjacent isles of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a companion of misfortune, the last of the Comnenian race, who, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coast of the Black Sea. In the progress of his Anatolian conquests, Mahomet invaded with a fleet and army the capital of David, who presumed to style himself emperor of Trebizond; and the negotiation was comprised in a short and peremptory qucstion, "Will you secure your life

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57 See the loss of conquest of Trebizond in Chalcedony! (p. 45, c. 27, and Ctesias (p. 107).)

58 Though Traversari (tom. iii. letter xv. p. 175) speaks of Trebizond as and populous city, Peylford, the latest and most accurate observer, can find 120,225 inhabitants (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. i. p. 75, and for the province, p. 33—34). Its prosperity and trade are greatly diminished by the furious quarrels of the sect of Monophysites, in one of which 1500 Latins were commonly en-listed (Monast. of Tr., tom. iii. p. 16, 17).
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and treasures by resigning your kingdom? or had you rather forfeit your kingdom, your treasures, and your life?" The feeble Comnenus was subdued by his own fears, and the example of a Muslim neighbour, the Prince of Sinope 89, who, on a similar summons, had yielded a fortified city with four hundred cannon and ten or twelve thousand soldiers. The capitulation of Trebizond was faithfully performed; and the emperor, with his family, was transported to a castle in Romania; but on a flight suspicion of corresponding with the Persian king, David, and the whole Comnenian race, were sacrificed to the jealousy or avarice of the conqueror. Nor could the name of father long protect the unfortunate Demetrius from exile and confiscation; his abject submission moved the pity and contempt of the sultan; his followers were transplanted to Constantinople; and his poverty was alleviated by a pension of fifty thousand aspers, till a monastic habit and a tardy death released Paleologus from an earthly matter. It is not easy to pronounce whether the servitude of Demetrius, or the exile of his brother Thomas 90, be the most inglorious. On the conquest of the

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

90 Spondanus (from Gobelin Comment. Pli II. i. v.) relates the arrival and reception of the deput Thomas at Rome (A.D. 1461, No 7.)

Morea,
Mora, the despot escaped to Corfu, and from thence to Italy, with some naked adherents: his name his sufferings, and the head of the apostle St. Andrew, entitled him to the hospitality of the Vatican; and his misery was prolonged by a pension of six thousand ducats from the pope and cardinals. His two sons, Andrew and Manuel, were educated in Italy; but the eldest, contemptible to his enemies and burdensome to his friends, was degraded by the baseness of his life and marriage. A title was his sole inheritance; and that inheritance he successively sold to the kings of France and Arragon. During this transient prosperity, Charles the eighth was ambitious of joining the empire of the East with the kingdom of Naples: in a public festival, he assumed the appellation and the purple of Augustus: the Greeks rejoiced, and the Ottoman already trembled at the approach of the French chivalry. Manuel Palæologus, the second son, was tempted to revile his native country: his return might be grateful, and could not be dangerous, to the Porte: he was maintained at

91 By an act dated A. D. 1494, Sept. 6, and lately transmitted from the archives of the Capitol to the royal library of Paris, the despot Andrew Palæologus, referring the Mora, and stipulating some private advantages, conveys to Charles VIII. King of France the empires of Constantinople and Trebizond (Spontons, A. D. 1491, No. 2). M. de Fonceamagne (Mem. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxi. p. 539—552) has belauded a dissertation on this national title, of which he had obtained a copy from Rome.

92 See Philippe de Comines (i. vii. c. 14), who reckons with pleasure the number of Greeks who were prepared to rise, 60 miles of an easy navigation, eighteen days journey from Valona to Constantinople, &c. On this occasion the Turkish empire was saved by the policy of Venice.
Constantinople in safety and ease; and an honourable train of Christians and Moslems attended him to the grave. If there be some animals of so generous a nature that they refuse to propagate in a domestic state, the last of the Imperial race must be ascribed to an inferior kind: he accepted from the sultan's liberality two beautiful females; and his surviving son was lost in the habit and religion of a Turkish slave.

The importance of Constantinople was felt and magnified in its loss: the pontificate of Nicholas the fifth, however peaceful and prosperous, was dishonoured by the fall of the Eastern empire; and the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or seemed to revive, the old enthusiasm of the crusades. In one of the most distant countries of the West, Philip duke of Burgundy entertained, at Lisie in Flanders, an Assembly of his nobles; and the pompous pageants of the feast were skilfully adapted to their fancy and feelings. In the midst of the banquet, a gigantic Saracen entered the hall, leading a fictitious elephant, with a cask on his back: a matron in a mourning robe, the symbol of religion, was seen to issue from the cask: she deplored her oppression, and accused the knaves of her champions: the principal herald of the golden fleece advanced, bear-

93 See the original feast in Olivier de la Marche (Memoires, P. i. c. 29, 30.), with the abstract and observations of M. de Ste. Palaye (Memoires sur la Chevalerie, tom. i. P. iii. p. 182-183.). The peacock and the pheasant were distinguished as royal birds.
ing on his fist a live pheasant, which, according to the rites of chivalry, he presented to the duke. At this extraordinary summons, Philip, a wife and aged prince, engaged his person and powers in the holy war against the Turks: his example was imitated by the barons and knights of the assembly; they swore to God, the Virgin, the ladies and the _pkvasons_; and their particular vows were not less extravagant than the general fanction of their oath. But the performance was made to depend on some future and foreign contingency; and, during twelve years, till the last hour of his life, the duke of Burgundy might be scrupulously, and perhaps sincerely, on the eve of his departure. Had every breast glowed with the same ardour; had the union of the Christians corresponded with their bravery; had every country, from Sweden to Naples, supplied a just proportion of cavalry and infantry, of men and money, it is indeed probable that Constantinople would have been delivered, and that the Turks might have been chased beyond the Hellespont or the Euphrates. But the secretary of the emperor, who composed every epistle, and attended every meeting, _Æneas Sylvius_, a statesman and

64 It was found by an actual enumeration, that Sweden, Gothland, and Finland, contained 886,000 fighting men, and consequently were far more populous than at present.

65 In the year 1454 Spandianus has given, from _Æneas Sylvius_, a view of the state of Europe, enriched with his own observations. That valuable annalist, and the Italian Muratori, will continue the series of events from the year 1453 to 1481, the end of Mahomet's life, and of this chapter.
orator, describes from his own experience the re-
pugnant state and spirit of Christendom. "It is a
" body," says he, " without an head; a republic
" without laws or magistrates. The pope and the
" emperor may shine as lofty titles, as splendid
" images; but they are unable to command, and
" none are willing to obey: every state has a se-
" parate prince, and every prince has a separate
" interest. What eloquence could unite so many
" discordant and hostile powers under the same
" standard? Could they be assembled in arms,
" who would dare to assume the office of ge-
" neral? What order could be maintained?
" what military discipline? Who would under-
take to feed such an enormous multitude?
" Who would understand their various languages,
" or direct their stranger and incompatible man-
" ners? What mortal could reconcile the Eng-
" lish with the French, Genoa with Arragon,
" the Germans with the natives of Hungary and
" Bohemia? If a small number enlisted in the
" holy war, they must be overthrown by the ini-
dels; if many, by their own weight and con-
fusion." Yet the same Æneas, when he was
raised to the papal throne, under the name of
Pius the second, devoted his life to the prosecu-
tion of the Turkish war. In the council of Man-
tua he excited some sparks of a false or feeble en-
thusiasm; but when the pontiff appeared at An-
cona to embark in person with the troops, en-
gagements vanished in excuses; a precise day was
adjourned to an indefinite term: and his effective
army consisted of some German pilgrims, whom he was obliged to disband with indulgences and alms. Regardless of futurity, his successors and the powers of Italy were involved in the schemes of present and domestic ambition; and the distance or proximity of each object determined, in their eyes, its apparent magnitude. A more enlarged view of their interest would have taught them to maintain a defensive and naval war against the common enemy; and the support of Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians, might have prevented the subsequent invasion of the kingdom of Naples. The siege and sack of Otranto by the Turks divulged a general consternation; and pope Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the form was invently dispelled by the death of Mahomet the second, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.\textsuperscript{96} His lofty genius aspired to the conquest of Italy: he was possessed of a strong city and a capacious harbour; and the same reign might have been decorated

\textsuperscript{96} Besides the two annals, the reader may consult Giannone (Italia Civile, t. v. iii. p. 443-455) for the Turkish invasion of the kingdom of Naples. For the reign and conquests of Mahomet II. I have occasionally used the Memorie Storiche de Monarchi Ottomani of Giovanni Sagredo (Venezia, 1677, in 4\textsuperscript{to}). In peace and war, the Turks have ever engaged the attention of the republic of Venice. All her dispatches and archives were open to a procurator of St. Mark, and Sagredo is not contemptible either in style or style. Yet he too utterly hates the infidels; he is ignorant of their language and manners; and his narrative, which allows only seventy pages to Mahomet II. (p. 69-142.), becomes more copious and authentic as he approaches the years 1649 and 1644, the term of the historic labours of John Sagredo, with
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with the trophies of the New and the Ancient Rome.

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

In the first ages of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, our eye is invariably fixed on the royal city, which had given laws to the fairest portion of the globe. We contemplate her fortunes, at first with administration, at length with pity, always with attention; and when that attention is diverted from the Capitol to the provinces they are considered as so many branches which have been successively severed from the Imperial trunk. The foundation of a second Rome on the shores of the Bosphorus, has compelled the historian to follow the successors of Constans; and our curiosity has been tempted to visit the most remote countries of Europe and Asia, to explore the causes and the authors of the long decay of the Byzantine monarchy. By the conquests of Justinian, we have been recalled to the banks of the Tyber, to the decay and of the ancient metropolis; but that decay was a change, or perhaps an operation of nature. Rome had
been already stripped of her trophies, her gods, and her Cæsars: nor was the Gothic dominion more inglorious and oppressive than the tyranny of the Greeks. In the eighth century of the Christian era, a religious quarrel, the worship of images, provoked the Romans to assert their independence: their bishop became the temporal, as well as the spiritual, father of a free people; and of the Western empire, which was restored by Charlemagne, the title and image still decorate the singular constitution of modern Germany. The name of Rome must yet command our involuntary respect: the climate (whatsoever may be its influence) was no longer the same: the purity of blood had been contaminated through a thousand channels; but the venerable aspect of her ruins, and the memory of past greatness, rekindled a spark of the national character. The darkness of the middle ages exhibits some scenes not unworthy of our notice. Nor shall I dismiss the present work till I have reviewed the state and revolutions of the Roman city, which acquiesced under the absolute dominion of the popes about the same time that Constantinople was enslaved by the Turkish arms.

1 The Abbé Dubos, who, with less genius than his predecessor Montesquieu, has ascertained and magnified the influence of climate, objects to himself the degeneracy of the Romans and Batavians. To the first of these examples he replies, 1. That the change is real than apparent, and that the modern Romans prudently conceal in themselves the virtues of their ancestors. 2. That the air, the soil, and the climate of Rome have suffered a great and visible alteration (Réflexions sur la Poësie et sur la Peinture, part. ii., tett. 16.).
In the beginning of the twelfth century, the era of the first crusade, Rome was revered by the Latins, as the metropolis of the world, as the throne of the pope and the emperor, who, from the eternal city, derived their title, their honours, and the right or exercise of temporal dominion. After so long an interruption, it may not be useless to repeat that the successors of Charlemagne and the Othos were chosen beyond the Rhine in a national diet; but that these princes were content with the humble names of kings of Germany and Italy, till they had passed the Alps and the Apennine, to seek their imperial crown on the banks of the Tyber. At some distance from the city, their approach was saluted by a long procession of the clergy and people with palms and crosses; and the terrific emblems of wolves and lions, of dragons and eagles, that flowed in the military banners, represented the departed legions and cohorts of the republic. The royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome was thrice reiterated, at the bridge, the gate, and on the stairs of the Vatican; and the distribution of a customary donative feebly imitated the magnificence of the first Caesars. In the Church of St. Peter, the

The reader has been so long absent from Rome, that I would advise him to recollect or review the sixteenth chapter, in the six hundred and this History.

The coronation of the German emperors at Rome, more especially in the sixteenth century, is best represented from the original monuments by Münster (Antiquit. Romae medii Aevi, tom. i., differt. A. p. 99, &c.), and Ceill (Monument. Domini. Romae, tom. ii., diff. 40, p. 264); the latter of whom I only know from the copious research of Schmidt (Hist. des Alemanns, tom. iii. p. 265-266."

THE DECLINE AND FALL
Coronation was performed by his successor: the voice of God was confounded with that of the people; and the public consent was declared in the acclamations of, "Long life and victory to our lord the pope! Long life and victory to our lord the emperor! Long life and victory to the Roman and Teutonic armies!" The names of Caesar and Augustus, the laws of Constantine and Justinian, the example of Charlemagne and Otho, established the supreme dominion of the emperors; their title and image was engraved on the papal coins; and their jurisdiction was marked by the sword of justice, which they delivered to the prefect of the city. But every Roman prejudice was awakened by the name, the language, and the manners, of a Barbarian lord. The Caesars of Saxony or Franconia were the chiefs of a feudal aristocracy; nor could they exercise the discipline of civil and military power, which alone secures the obedience of a difflent people, impatient of servitude, though perhaps incapable of freedom. Once, and once only, in his life, each emperor, with an army of Teutonic vassals, descended from the Alps. I have described the peaceful order of his entry and coronation; but that order was commonly dif

4 Exercitui Romano et Teutonicis! The latter was both seen and felt; but the former was no more than magni nominis umbra.

5 Muratori has given the series of the papal coins (Antiquitatum tom. ii. diff. xxvii. p. 548-549. He finds only two more early than the year 1025: sixty are for extant from Leo III. to Leo IX. with addition of the reigning emperor; none from G. Gregory VII. or Urban II.; but in those of Paschal II. he seems to have remembered the badge of dependence.

S 2 turbæd
turbed by the clamour and sedition of the Romans, who encountered their sovereign as a foreign invader: his departure was always speedy, and often shameful; and, in the absence of a long reign, his authority was infulted and his name was forgotten. The progress of independence in Germany and Italy undermined the foundations of the Imperial sovereignty, and the triumph of the popes was the deliverance of Rome.

Of her two sovereigns, the emperor had precariously reigned by the right of conquest; but the authority of the popes was founded on the soft, though more solid, basis of opinion and habit. The removal of a foreign influence restored and endeared the shepherd to his flock. Instead of the arbitrary or venal nomination of a German court, the vicar of Christ was freely chosen by the college of cardinals, most of whom were either natives or inhabitants of the city. The applause of the magistrates and people confirmed his election; and the ecclesiastical power that was obeyed in Sweden and Britain, had been ultimately derived from the suffrage of the Romans. The same suffrage gave a prince, as well as a pontiff, to the capital. It was universally believed, that Constantine had invested the popes with a temporal dominion of Rome; and the boldest civilians, the most profane sceptics, were satisfied with disputing the right of the emperor and the validity of his gift. The truth of the fact, the authenticity of his donation, was deeply rooted in the ignorance and tradition of four centuries; and the fabulous origin was lost in the real and permanent effects.
The name of Dominus or Lord was inscribed on the coin of the bishops: their title was acknowledged by acclamations and oaths of allegiance, and with the free, or reluctant, consent of the German Caesars, they had long exercised a supreme or subordinate jurisdiction over the city and patrimony of St. Peter. The reign of the popes, which gratified the prejudices, was not incompatible with the liberties of Rome; and a more critical inquiry would have revealed a still nobler source of their power; the gratitude of a nation, whom they had rescued from the heresy and oppression of the Greek tyrant. In an age of superstition, it should seem that the union of the royal and sacerdotal characters would mutually fortify each other; and that the keys of paradise would be the surest pledge of earthly obedience. The sanctity of the office might indeed be degraded by the personal vices of the man. But the scandals of the tenth century were obliterated by the austerer and more dangerous virtues of Gregory the seventh and his successors; and in the ambitious contests which they maintained for the rights of the church, their sufferings or their success must equally tend to increase the popular veneration. They sometimes wandered in poverty and exile, the victims of persecution; and the apostolic zeal with which they offered themselves to martyrdom, must engage the favour and sympathy of every Catholic breast. And sometimes, thundering from the Vatican, they created, judged, and deposed the kings of the world: nor could the proudest Roman be disgraced by submitting to a priest.
priest, whose feet were killed, and whose stirrup was held, by the successors of Charlemagne. Even the temporal interest of the city should have protected in peace and honour the residence of the popes; from whence a vain and lazy people derived the greatest part of their subsistence and riches. The fixed revenue of the popes was probably impaired: many of the old patrimonial estates, both in Italy and the provinces, had been invaded by sacrilegious hands; nor could the loss be compensated by the claim, rather than the possession, of the more ample gifts of Pepin and his descendants. But the Vatican and Capitol were nourished by the incessant and encroaching swarms of pilgrims and suppliants: the pale of Christianity was enlarged, and the pope and cardinals were overwhelmed by the judgment of ecclesiastical and secular causes. A new jurisprudence had established in the Latin church the right and practice of appeals; and, from the rich and well, the bishops and abbots were invited or flattered to solicit, to complain, to accuse, or to justify, before the threshold of

6 8. Dein. 6. 4. 

The city should have protected the residence of the popes.
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the apostles. A rare prodigy is once recorded, that two horses, belonging to the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, repassed the Alps, yet laden with gold and silver: but it was soon understood, that the successes, both of the pilgrims and clients, depended much less on the justice of their cause than on the value of their offering. The wealth and piety of these strangers were ostentatiously displayed; and their expences, sacred or profane, circulated in various channels for the emolument of the Romans.

Such powerful motives should have firmly attached the voluntary and pious obedience of the Roman people to their spiritual and temporal father. But the operation of prejudice and interest is often disturbed by the fallacies of ungodly passion. The Indian who falls the tree, that he may gather the fruit, and the Arab who plunders the caravans of commerce, are actuated by the same impulse of savage nature, which overlooks the future in the present, and relinquishes for momentary rapine the long and sure care of the most important blessings. And it was thus, that the shrine of St. Peter was profaned by the thoughtless Romans, who pillaged the offerings, and wounded the pilgrims, without

8 Gentemici . . . summarii non levatis furtim omnibus rubricis repartient invit. Narratae! quaedam hiicrum summa Romana actio? Et num Romanorum caput ad unum putaverim omnem criminus (Bernard de Commendatione, l. iii. c. 2 p. 437). The first words of the passage are obscure, and probably corrupt.

9 Q. and les sauvages de la Lomagne veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent l'arbre au pied et creusent le fruit. Voix le gouvernement despique (Élurit des Loux, l. iv. c. 13); and passion and ignorance are always despotic.
computing the number and value of similar visits, which they prevented by their inhospitable sacrilege. Even the influence of superstition is fluctuating and precarious: and the slave, whose reason is subdued, will often be delivered by his avarice or pride. A credulous devotion for the fables and oracles of the priesthood, most powerfully acts on the mind of a Barbarian: yet such a mind is the least capable of preferring imagination to sense, of sacrificing to a distant motive, to an invisible, perhaps an ideal, object, the appetites and interests of the present world. In the vigour of health and youth, his practice will perpetually contradict his belief; till the pressure of age, or sickness, or calamity, awakens his terrors, and compels him to satisfy the double debt of piety and remorse. I have already observed, that the modern times of religious indifference, are the most favourable to the peace and security of the clergy. Under the reign of superstition, they had much to hope from the ignorance, and much to fear from the violence, of mankind. The wealth, whose constant increase must have rendered them the sole proprietors of the earth, was alternately bestowed by the repentant father and plundered by the rapacious son: their persons were adored or violated; and the same idol, by the hands of the same votaries, was placed on the altar or trampled in the dust. In the feudal system of Europe, arms were the title of distinction and the measure of allegiance; and amidst their tumult, the still voice of law and reason was seldom heard or obeyed. The turbulent Romans disdained
dained the yoke, and insulted the impotence, of their bishop; nor would his education or character allow him to exercise, with decency or effect, the power of the sword. The motives of his election and the frailties of his life were exposed to their familiar observation; and proximity must diminish the reverence, which his name and his decrees impressed on a barbarous world. This difference has not escaped the notice of our philosophic historian: “Though the name and authority of the court of Rome were so terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were sunk in profound ignorance, and were entirely unacquainted with its character and conduct, the pope was so little revered at home, that his inveterate enemies surrounded the gates of Rome itself, and even controlled his government in that city; and the ambassadors, who, from a distant extremity of Europe, carried to him the humble, or rather abject, submissions of the greatest potentate of the age, found the utmost difficulty to make their way to him, and to throw themselves at his feet.”

Since

10 In a free conversation with his countryman Adrian IV. John of Salisbury accuses the avarice of the pope and clergy: Provincia- rum delipiunt spolia, ac si thefauros Cruel studiunet reparare. Sed refe cum eis agit Altissimus, quoniam et ipsi alii et sepe viliSSimus hominibus dati sunt in direptionem (de Nugis Curialium, l. vi. c. 24. p. 327.). In the next page, he blames the rashness and infidelity of the Romans, whom their bishops vainly strove to conciliate by gifts, instead of virtues. It is pity that this miscellaneous writer has not given us less morality and erudition, and more pictures of himself and the times.

11 Hume's History of England, vol. i. p. 419. The same writer has given us, from Fitz-Stephen, a singular act of cruelty perpetrated
Since the primitive times, the wealth of the popes was exposed to envy, their power to opposition, and their persons to violence. But the long hostility of the mitre and the crown encreased the numbers, and inflamed the passions, of their enemies. The deadly factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, so fatal to Italy, could never be embraced with truth or constancy by the Romans, the subjects and adversaries both of the bishop and emperor; but their support was solicited by both parties; and they alternately displayed in their banners the keys of St. Peter and the German eagle. Gregory the seventh, who may be adored or detested as the founder of the papal monarchy, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. Six-and-thirty of his successors, till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal contest with the Romans: their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the solemn rites of religion, were polluted with sedition and murder. A repetition of such capricious
precious brutality, without connection or design, would be tedious and disgusting; and I shall content myself with some events of the twelfth century, which represent the state of the popes and the city. On Holy Thursday, while Paschal officiated before the altar, he was interrupted by the clamours of the multitude, who imperiously demanded the confirmation of a favourite magistrate. His silence exasperated their fury: his pious refusal to mingle the affairs of earth and heaven was encountered with menaces and oaths, that he should be the cause and the witness of the public ruin. During the festival of Easter, while the bishop and the clergy, barefoot and in procession, visited the tombs of the martyrs, they were twice assaulted, at the bridge of St. Angelo, and before the Capitol, with volleys of stones and darts. The houses of his adherents were levelled with the ground: Paschal escaped with difficulty and danger; he levelled an army in the patrimony of St. Peter; and his last days were embittered by suffering and inflicting the calamities of civil war.

The scenes that followed the election of his successor Gelasius the second were still more scandalous to the church and city. Cencio Frangipani, a potent and factious baron, burnt into the my ordinary and excellent guide. He uses, and indeed quotes, with the freedom of a matter, his great Collection of the Italian Historians, in seven volumes; and as that treasure is in my library, I have thought it an amusement, if not a duty, to omit the originals.

14 I cannot refrain from transcribing the high-coloured words of Pandolphus Panormus (p. 384.) in the audaciously inquisitive parietum turb. My book is not a plagiarism, more delectus illegitimus, et ubi minus petulantibus taliones longa fulpit, re-
the assembly furious and in arms: the cardinals were stripped, beaten, and trampled under foot; and he seized, without pity or respect, the vicar of Christ by the throat. Gelasius was dragged by his hair along the ground, buffeted with blows, wounded with spurs, and bound with an iron chain in the house of his brutal tyrant. An insurrection of the people delivered their bishop: the rival families opposed the violence of the Frangipani; and Cencio, who sued for pardon, repented of the failure, rather than of the guilt, of his enterprise. Not many days had elapsed, when the pope was again assaulted at the altar. While his friends and enemies were engaged in a bloody contest he escaped in his sacred garments. In this unworthy flight, which excited the compassion of the Roman matrons, his attendants were scattered or unhorsed; and, in the fields behind the church of St. Peter, his successor was found alone and half-dead with fear and fatigue. Shaking the dust from his feet, the apostle withdrew from a city in which his dignity was insulted and his person was endangered; and the vanity of sacred ambition is revealed in the involuntary confession, that one emperor was more tolerable than twenty. These

examples
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Examples might suffice; but I cannot forget the sufferings of two pontiffs of the same age, the second and third of the name of Lucius. The former, as he ascended in battle-array to assault the Capitol, was struck on the temple by a stone, and expired in a few days. The latter was severely wounded in the persons of his servants. In a civil commotion, several of his priests had been made prisoners; and the inhuman Romans, reserving one as a guide for his brethren, put out their eyes, crowned them with ludicrous mitres, mounted them on asses with their faces to the tail, and extorted an oath, that, in this wretched condition, they should offer themselves as a lesson to the head of the church. Hope or fear, lazitude or remorse, the characters of the men, and the circumstances of the times, might sometimes obtain an interval of peace and obedience; and the pope was restored with joyful acclamations to the Lateran or Vatican, from whence he had been driven with threats and violence. But the root of mischief was deep and perennial; and a momentary calm was preceded and followed by such tempests as had almost sunk the bark of St. Peter. Rome continually presented the aspect of war and discord: the churches and palaces were fortified and assaulted by the factions and families; and, after giving peace to Europe, Calixtus the second alone had resolution and power to prohibit the use of private arms in the metropolis. Among the nations who revered the apostolic throne, the tumults of Rome provoked a general indignation; and, in a letter to his disciple Eugenius the third, St. Bernard, with the sharpness of his wit and zeal, has stigmatized the vices
vices of the rebellious people". "Who is ignorant," says the monk of Clairvaux, "of the vanity and arrogance of the Romans, a nation nurled in sedition, cruel, intractable, and scornful to obey, unless they are too feeble to resist. When they promise to serve, they aspire to reign; if they swear allegiance, they watch the opportunity of revolt; yet they vent their discontent in loud clamours if your doors, or your counsels, are shut against them. Dextrous in mischief, they have never learnt the science of doing good. Odious to earth and heaven, implious to God, sedulous among themselves, jealous of their neighbours, inhuman to strangers, they love no one, by no one are they beloved; and while they wish to inspire fear, they live in bale and continual apprehension. They will not submit; they know how to govern; faithless to their superiors, intolerable to their equals, ungrateful to their benefactors, and alike impudent in their demands and their refusals. Loath in promise, poor in execution: adulation and calumny, perfidy and treachery, are the familiar acts of their policy." Surely this dark portrait is not coloured by the pencil of Christian charity; yet the features, however harsh and
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ugly, express a lively resemblance of the Romans of the twelfth century.

The Jews had rejected the Christ when he appeared among them in a plebeian character; and the Romans might plead their ignorance of his vicar when he assumed the pomp and pride of a temporal sovereign. In the busy age of the cru-fades, some sparks of curiosity and reason were re-kindled in the Western world: the heresy of Bulgaria, the Paulician sect, was successfully trans-planted into the soil of Italy and France; the Gnostic visions were mingled with the simplicity of the gospel; and the enemies of the clergy reconciled their passions with their confidence, the desire of freedom with the profession of piety.

The trumpet of Roman liberty was first founded by Arnold of Brescia, whose promotion in the church was confined to the lowest rank, and who wore the monastic habit rather as a garb of poverty by resentment, and possibly repent of his haughty passion, &c. (Memoirs fur la Vie de Petronie, tom. i. p. 330.)

1 Balonius, in his index to the sixt volume of his Annals, has found a fair and easy excuse. He makes two heads of Roman Catholick and Subjunctio: the former he applies all the good, to the latter all the evil, that is told of the city.

15 The heresies of the ninth century may be found in Medeim (Instit. Hist. Eccles. p. 419-425), who entertains a warm his opinion of Arnold of Brescia. In the sixt volume, I have described the sect of the Paulicians, and followed their propagation from Armenia to France and Bulgaria, Italy and France.

20 The original picture of Arnold of Brescia, are drawn by Othoniello of Lindesia (Chron. i. v. c. 11. d. Gorn. Instrut. 1. i. c. 27. d. ii. c. 21.), and in the life of the same, a poem of Gauthier, who flourished A.D. 1280, in the monastery of Paris near Bari (Histoire Historiad. Lit. med., etc. sine anno 2044, tom. vi. p. 174. 175.) The last picture that relates to Arnold, is painted by Guthmann (de Rebus Helvetiaci, i. in. c. 5. p. 100.)
than as an uniform of obedience. His adversaries could not deny the wit and eloquence which they severely felt: they confessed with reluctance the specious purity of his morals; and his errors were recommended to the public by a mixture of important and beneficial truths. In his theological studies, he had been the disciple of the famous and unfortunate Abelard, who was likewise involved in the suspicion of heresy: but the lover of Eloisa was of a soft and flexible nature; and his ecclesiastic judges were edified and disarmed by the humility of his repentance. From this matter, Arnold most probably imbibed some metaphysical definitions of the Trinity, repugnant to the taste of the times: his ideas of baptism and the eucharist are loosely centred; but a political heresy was the source of his fame and misfortunes. He presumed to quote the declaration of Christ, that his kingdom is not of this world: he boldly maintained, that the sword and the sceptre were entrusted to the civil magistrate; that temporal honours and posessions were lawfully vested in secular persons; that the abbots, the bishops, and the pope himself, must renounce either their state or their salvation; and that after the loss of their revenues, the voluntary tithes and oblations of the faithful would suffice, not indeed for luxury and avarice, but for a frugal life in the exercise of spiritual labours. During a short time, the
preacher was revered as a patriot; and the discontent, or revolt, of Brescia against her bishop, was the first fruits of his dangerous lessons. But the favour of the people is less permanent than the resentment of the priest; and after the heresy of Arnold had been condemned by Innocent the second, in the general council of the Lateran, the magistrates themselves were urged by prejudice and fear to execute the sentence of the church. Italy could no longer afford a refuge; and the disciple of Abelard escaped beyond the Alps, till he found a safe and hospitable shelter in Zurich, now the first of the Swiss cantons. From a Roman station, a royal villa, a chapter of noble virgins, Zurich had gradually encreased to a free and flourishing city; where the appeals of the Milanese were sometimes tried by the Imperial commissaries. In an age less ripe for reformation, the praecursor of Zuinglius was heard with

--- Damnatus ab illo
Præfule, qui numeros vetitum contingere nostros
Nomen ab Innocent ducais laudabile vità.
We may applaud the dexterity and correctness of Ligurinus, who turns the unpoetical name of Innocent II. into a compliment.

A Roman inscription of Statio Turicensis has been found at Zurich (d`Anville, Notice de l`ancienne Gaule, p. 642–644.): but it is without sufficient warrant, that the city and canton have usurped, and even monopolised, the names of Tigmuin and Pagus Tigrinus.

Guilliman (de Rebus Helvetiis, l. iii. c. 5. p. 106.) recapitulates the donation (A.D. 833) of the emperor Lewis the Pious to his daughter the abbess Hildegardis, Curtum nottrum Turegum in ducatu Alamannice in pago Durgaugenfis, with villages, woods, meadows, waters, llaves, churches, &c. a noble gift. Charles the Bold gave the jus monetæ, the city was walled under Otho I., and the line of the bishop of Frifingen, Nobile Turegum multarum copiâ retum, is repeated with pleasure by the antiquaries of Zurich.

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applause.
applause: a brave and simple people imbibed and long retained the colour of his opinions; and his art, or merit, seduced the bishop of Constance, and even the pope's legate, who forgot, for his fake, the interest of their master and their order. Their tardy zeal was quickened by the fierce exhortations of St. Bernard; and the enemy of the church was driven by perfection to the desperate measure of erecting his standard in Rome itself, in the face of the successor of St. Peter.

Yet the courage of Arnold was not devoid of discretion; he was protected, and had perhaps been invited, by the nobles and people; and in the service of freedom, his eloquence thundered over the seven hills. Blending in the same discourse the texts of Livy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of gospel, and of civic, enthusiasm, he admonished the Romans, how strangely their patience and the vices of the clergy had degenerated from the primitive times of the church and the city. He exhorted them to assert the inalienable rights of men and Christian; to restore the laws and magistrates of the republic; to respect the name of the emperor; but to confine their shepherd to the spiritual government of his flock. Nor could his spiritual government elude the eye.
fure and control of the reformer; and the inferior clergy were taught by his lessons to resist the cardinals, who had usurped a despotic command over the twenty-eight regions or parishes of Rome.

The revolution was not accomplished without rapine and violence, the effusion of blood and the demolition of houses: the victorious faction was enriched with the spoils of the clergy and the adverse nobles. Arnold of Brekia enjoyed, or deplored, the effects of his mission: his reign continued above ten years, while two popes, Innocent the second and Anafasius the fourth, either trembled in the Vatican, or wandered as exiles in the adjacent cities. They were succeeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pontiff, Adrian the fourth, the only Englishman who has ascended the throne of St. Peter; and whose merit emerged from the mean condition of a monk, and almost a beggar, in the monastery of St. Albans. On the first provocation, of a cardinal killed or wounded in the streets, he cast an interdict on the guilty people; and, from Christmas to Easter, Rome was deprived of the real or imaginary comforts of religious worship. The Romans had despised their temporal prince; they submitted with grief and terror to the censures of their spiritual father; their guilt was expiated by penance, and the banishment of the fe-

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27 See Baronius (A. D. 1148, No 38, 39.) from the Vatican Mss. He loudly condemns Arnold (A. D. 1143, No 31.) as the father of the political heresies, whose influence then hurt him in France.

28 The English reader may consult the Biographia Britannica, Adrian IV., but our own writers have added nothing to the fame or merits of their countryman.
digious preacher was the price of their abolution. But the revenge of Adrian was yet unsatisfied, and the approaching coronation of Frederic Barbarossa was fatal to the bold reformer, who had offended, though not in an equal degree, the heads of the church and state. In their interview at Viterbo, the pope represented to the emperor the furious ungovernable spirit of the Romans: the insults, the injuries, the fears, to which his person and his clergy were continually exposed; and the pernicious tendency of the heresy of Arnold, which must subvert the principles of civil, as well as ecclesiastical, subordination. Frederic was convinced by these arguments, or tempted by the desire of the imperial crown; in the balance of ambition, the innocence or life of an individual is of small account; and their common enemy was sacrificed to a moment of political concord. After his retreat from Rome, Arnold had been protected by the viscounts of Campania, from whom he was extorted by the power of Caesar: the prefect of the city pronounced his sentence; the martyr of freedom was burnt alive in the presence of a careless and ungrateful people; and his ashes were cast into the Tyber, left the heretics should collect and worship the relics of their matter. The clergy triumphed in his death; with his ashes, his feet was dispersed; his memory still lived in the minds of the Romans. From his school they had probably derived a new article of

But the historian and poet already quoted, the last adventures of Arnold are related by the Biographer of Adrian IV. (Moratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii. P. 1. p. 441, 442.)
faith, that the metropolis of the Catholic church is exempt from the penalties of excommunication and interdict. Their bishops might argue, that the supreme jurisdiction, which they exercised over kings and nations, more specially embraced the city and diocese of the prince of the apostles. But they preached to the winds, and the same principle that weakened the effect, must temper the abuse, of the thunders of the Vatican.

The love of ancient freedom has encouraged a belief, that as early as the tenth century, in their first struggles against the Saxon Othos, the commonwealth was vindicated and restored by the senate and people of Rome; that two consuls were annually elected among the nobles, and that ten or twelve plebeian magistrates revived the name and office of the tribunes of the commons. But this venerable structure disappears before the light of criticism. In the darkness of the middle ages, the appellations of senators, of consuls, of the sons of consuls, may sometimes be discovered.

30 Ducange (Gloss. Latinitatis medie et infimae æraatis, Decarchones, tom. ii. p. 736.) gives me a quotation from Blondus (decad. ii. l. ii.): Duo consules ex nobilitate quotannis siebant, qui ad verulum consulfum exemplar fummu rerum precedent. And in Sigonius (de Regno Ital. i. vi. opp. tom. ii. p. 400.) I read of the consuls and tribunes of the xth century. Both Blondus, and even Sigonius, too freely copied the classic method of supplying from reason or fancy the deficiency of records.

31 In the panegyric of Berengarius (Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. P. i. p. 408.), a Roman is mentioned as consulibus natus in the beginning of the xth century. Muratori (differit. v.) discovers in the years 952 and 956, Gratianus in Dei nomine consul et dux, Georgius consul et dux; and in 1015, Romanus, brother of Gregory VIII., proudly, but vaguely, styleth himself consul et dux et omnium Romanorum senator.
They were bestowed by the emperors, or assumed by the most powerful citizens, to denote their rank, their honours, and perhaps the claim of a pure and patrician descent: but they float on the surface, without a series or a substance, the titles of men, not the orders of government; and it is only from the year of Christ one thousand one hundred and forty-four, that the establishment of the senate is dated, as a glorious era, in the acts of the city. A new constitution was hastily framed by private ambition or popular enthusiasm; nor could Rome, in the twelfth century, produce an antiquary to explain, or a legislator to restore, the harmony and proportions of the ancient model. The assembly of a free, of an armed, people, will ever speak in loud and weighty acclamation. But the regular distribution of the thirty-five tribes, the nice balance of the wealth and numbers of the centuries, the debates of the adverse orators, and the slow operation of votes

A.D. 1145. The tenth compiler on

...more serious views, is by any of the

...Germains, and many others, much

...very few of the same words.

A.D. 1145. The tenth compiler on

...time. At the request of some learned

...Naples, Avignon, Rome, Florence, or

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

\[1\] In and at Rome, the equestrian order was not ranked with knights and people as a third branch of the republic and the empire of Greece, who assumes the merit of the cit bullamut 1 P. H. N. m, xxxiii. 5. Beaumont, Relations Romanes, tom. i. p. 155 (i).
THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. LXIX.

The Capitol.

who insulted the vicar of Christ, have long respected the unarmed sanctity of a plebeian magistrate.

In the revolution of the twelfth century, which gave a new existence and æra to Rome, we may observe the real and important events that marked or confirmed her political independence. 1. The Capitoline hill, one of her seven eminences, is about four hundred yards in length, and two hundred in breadth. A flight of an hundred steps led to the summit of the Tarpeian rock; and far steeper was the ascent before the declivities had been smoothed and the precipices filled by the ruins of fallen edifices. From the earliest ages, the Capitol had been used as a temple in peace, a fortress in war: after the loss of the city, it maintained a siege against the victorious Gauls; and the sanctuary of empire was occupied, assaulted, and burnt, in the civil wars of Vitellius and Vespasian.

35 The republican plan of Arnold of Brescia is thus stated by Gunther:

Quin etiam titulos urbis renovare vertistis;
Nomine plebis secernere reorem equisque,
Jura tribunorum, fisciium separare senatum,
Et senio tellus mutabile reponere leges.
Lapis ruineus, et adhibe pendentia maris
Reddere primavera Capitis expedita nitor.

But of these reformation, none were no more than ideas, others no more than words.

36 After many disputes among the antiquaries of Rome, it seems determined, that the summit of the Capitoline hill next the river is truly the Moes Tarpeius, the Arx; and that on the other summit, the church and convent of Arauci, the barefoot friars of St. Francis, occupy the temple of Jupiter (Nardin, Roma Antica, p. c. 11—16.)

37 Tacit. Hist. iii. 69, 70.
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piter and his kindred deities had crumbled into dust; their place was supplied by monasteries and houses; and the solid walls, the long and shelving porticoes, were decayed or ruined by the lapse of time. It was the first act of the Romans, an act of Freedom, to restore the strength, though not the beauty, of the Capitol; to fortify the seat of their arms and counsels; and as often as they ascended the hill, the coldest minds must have glowed with the remembrance of their ancestors. II. The first Cæsars had been invested with the exclusive coinage of the gold and silver; to the senate they abandoned the bafer metal of bronze or copper 28: the emblems and legends were inscribed on a more ample field by the genius of flattery; and the prince was relieved from the care of celebrating his own virtues. The successors of Diocletian despised even the flattery of the senate: their royal officers at Rome, and in the provinces, assumed the sole direction of the mint; and the same prerogative was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy, and the long series of the Greek, the French, and the German dynasties. After an abdication of eight hundred years, the Roman senate asserted this honourable and lucrative privilege; which was tacitly renounced by the popes, from Paschal the second to the establishment of their residence beyond the Alps.

28 This partition of the noble and bafer metals between the emperor and senate, must however be adopted, not as a positive fact, but as the probable opinion of the best antiquaries (see the Science des Médailles of the Pere Joubert, tom. ii. p. 208—211. in the improved and scarce edition of the Baron de la Bâtie).
Some of these republican coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are shown in the cabinets of the curious. On one of them, a gold medal, Christ is depicted holding in his left hand a book with this inscription: "THE VOW OF THE " ROMAN SENATE AND PEOPLE: ROME THE " CAPITAL OF THE WORLD;" on the reverse, St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling senator in his cap and gown, with the name and arms of his family impressed on a shield. With the empire, the prefect of the city had declined to a municipal officer; yet he still exercised in the last appeal the civil and criminal jurisdiction; and a drawn sword, which he received from the successors of Otho, was the mode of his investiture and the emblem of his functions. The dignity was confined to the noble families of Rome; the choice of the people was ratified by the pope; but a triple oath of fidelity must have often embarrased the prefect in the conflict of adversity.

19 In his xxxvi. dissertation on the Antiquities of Italy (tom. ii. p. 579-379), M. Grégoire exhibits a list of the Roman coins, which bear the names of the popes of Eugenius, Innocent, Urban, Clement, Conon. During this period all the popes, with the exception of Boniface VIII., also assumed the right of coinage, which was taken from Hildebrand by Innocent VII., and restored to him by Clement VII., (Cart.).

duties. A servant, in whom they posseted but a third share, was distinguished by the independent Romans: in his place they elected a praefect; but this title, which Charlemagne had not disdained, was too lofty for a citizen or a subject; and, after the first fervour of rebellion, they consented without reluctance to the restoration of the praefect. About fifty years after this event, Innocent the third, the most ambitious, or at least the most fortunate, of the pontiffs, delivered the Romans and himself from this badge of foreign dominion: he invested the praefect with a banner instead of a sword, and absolved him from all dependence of oaths or service to the German emperors. In his place an ecclesiastic, a present or future cardinal was named by the pope to the civil government of Rome; but his jurisdiction has been reduced to a narrow compass; and in the days of freedom, the right or exercise was derived from the senate and people. IV. After the revival of the senate, the conscript fathers (if I may use the expression) were invested with the legislative and executive power; but their views seldom reached

41 The words of a contemporary writer (Pandulph. Pil. in Vit. Pasch. II. p. 357, 358.) describe the election and oath of the praefect in 1118, inconfultis patribus... lice praefectura... Laudis praefecturae... committitum applanum... juramentum populo in ambonem sublevant... confirmari cum in urbe praefectum putant.

42 Urbis praefectum ad ligiam fidelitatem recepit, et per manum quod illi donavit de praefectura cum publice inventivit, qui sique ad id tempus juramento fidelitatis imperator fuit obligatus tab eo praefecturae tenuit honorem (Gesta Innocent. III. in Marst. tom. vii. P. i. p. 487.)

reached beyond the present day; and that day was most frequently disturbed by violence and tumult. In its utmost plenitude, the order or assembly consisted of fifty-six senators, the most eminent of whom were distinguished by the title of counsellors; they were nominated, perhaps annually, by the people; and a previous choice of their electors, ten persons in each region, or parish, might afford a basis for a free and permanent constitution. The popes, who in this tempest submitted rather to bend than to break, confirmed by treaty the establishment and privileges of the senate, and expected from time, peace, and religion, the restoration of their government. The motives of public and private interest might sometimes draw from the Romans an occasional and temporary sacrifice of their claims; and they renewed their oath of allegiance to the successor of St. Peter and Constantine, the lawful head of the church and the republic.


45 Muratori (diflert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 785-788.) has published an original treaty: Concordia inter D. nostrum papam Clemens III. et senatores populi Romani super regalibus et aliis dignitatis urbis, &c. anno 445 senatis. The senate speaks, and speaks with authority: Reddimus ad praecon... I... Debimitus... Debitis prebentios... jurabilimns pacem et fidicitatem, &c. A chartula de Testamentis Tusculanis, dated in the 47th year of the latter, and confirmed decreto amplissimi ordinis senatus, acclamatione P. R. publice capitulio confidentis. It is there we find the difference of senators constitutius and single senators (Muratori, diflert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 787-789.)

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

46 Muratori (ditto, xlv. tom. iv. p. 64—92.) has fully explained this mode of government; and the Orationes Legatorum, which he has given at the end, is a treatise or sermon on the duties of these foreign magistrates.
tween the governor and the governed was sealed with oaths and inscriptions; and the duration of his power, the measure of his fipend, the nature of their mutual obligations, were defined with serupulous precision. They swore to obey him as their lawful superior; he pledged his faith to write the indifference of a stranger with the zeal of a patriot. At his choice, four or six knights and civilians, his affidors in arms and justice, attended the Pledge, who maintained at his own expense a decent retinue of servants and horses: his wife, his son, his brother, who might bias the affections of the judge, were left behind; during the exercise of his office he was not permitted to purchase land, to contract an alliance, or even to accept an invitation in the indulgence of a cabinet; nor could he honourably depart until he had satisfied the complaints that might be urged against his government.

It was unusual at the middle of the thirteenth century, that the Romans called from Bologna the honor of pre-eminence, whose fame and merit have been erased from oblivion by the pen of an English chronicler. Amongst many other difficulties of the
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...had engaged him to refuse the honour of their choice: the statutes of Rome were suspended, and his office prolonged to the term of three years. By the guilty and licentious he was accused as cruel; by the clergy he was suspected as partial; but the friends of peace and order applauded the firm and upright magistrate by whom those blessings were restored. No criminals were so powerful as to brave, so obscure as to elude, the justice of the senator. By his sentence two nobles of the Annibaldi family were executed on a gibbet; and he inexorably demolished, in the city and neighbourhood, one hundred and forty towers, the strong shelters of rapine and mischief. The bishop, as a simple bishop, was compelled to reside in his diocese; and the standard of Brancalone was displayed in the field with terror and effect. His services were repaid by the ingratitude of a people unworthy of the happiness which they enjoyed. By the public robbers, whom he had provoked for their sake, the Romans were excited to depose and imprison their benefactor; nor would his life have been spared, if Bologna had not professed a pledge for his safety. Before his departure, the prudent senator had required the exchange of thirty hostages of the noblest families of Rome; on the news of his danger, and at the prayer of his wife, they were more strictly guarded; and Bologna, in the cause of honour, fulfilled the threats of a papal interdict. This generous reliance allowed the Romans to compare the present with the past; and Brancalone was conducted from the prison to
the Capitol amidst the acclamations of a repentant people. The remainder of his government was firm and fortunate; and as soon as envy was appeased by death, his head, enclosed in a precious vafe, was deposited on a lofty column of marble.

The impotence of reason and virtue recommended in Italy a more effectual choice: instead of a private citizen, to whom they yielded a voluntary and precarious obedience, the Romans elected for their senator some prince of independent power, who could defend them from their enemies and themselves. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the most ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted at the same time the kingdom of Naples from the pope, and the office of senator from the Roman people. As he passed through the city, in his road to victory, he received their oath of allegiance, lodged in the Roman palace, and smoothed in a short visit the harsh features of his despotic character. Yet even Charles was exposed to the inconstancy of the people, who faluted with the same acclamations


The election of Charles of Anjou to the office of perpetual senator of Rome, is mentioned by the historians in the sixth volume of the collection of Munitani, by Nicholas de Jullia (p. 592), the monk of Pader (p. 744), Sallus Malapina (ib. t. ii. c. 9. p. 368), and Riccardio Malapina (c. 177. p. 995).
the passage of his rival, the unfortunate Conradin; and a powerful avenger, who reigned in the Capitol, alarmed the fears and jealousy of the popes. The absolute term of his life was superseded by a renewal every third year; and the enmity of Nicholas the third obliged the Sicilian king to abdicate the government of Rome. In his bull, a perpetual law, the imperious pontiff affirms the truth, validity, and use, of the donation of Constantine, not less essential to the peace of the city than to the independence of the church; establishes the annual election of the senator; and formally disqualifies all emperors, kings, princes, and persons of an eminent and conspicuous rank. This prohibitory clause was repealed in his own behalf by Martin the fourth, who humbly solicited the suffrage of the Romans. In the presence, and by the authority, of the people, two electors conferred, not on the pope, but on the noble and faithful Martin, the dignity of senator, and the supreme administration of the republic, to hold during his natural life, and to exercise at pleasure by himself or his deputies. About fifty years afterwards, the same title was granted to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and the liberty of Rome was acknowledged by her

Pope Martin IV. A.D. 1268.
The emperor Lewis of Bavaria.

1 The high-sounding bull of Nicholas III. which sounds his temporal sovereignty on the donation of Constantine, is still extant; and as it has been imbued by Benedict VIII. in the year of the Decretals, it must be received by the Catholics, or at least by the Papists, as a fixed and perpetual law.

2 I am indebted to Henry (Hist. Ecclef. tom. xviii. p. 366) for an extract of this Roman act, which he has taken from the Ecclesiastical Annals of Odericus Vitalius, A.D. 1561, No. 4.

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two sovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolis.

In the first moments of rebellion, when Arnold of Brescia had inflamed their minds against the church, the Romans artfully laboured to conciliate the favour of the empire, and to recommend their merit and services in the cause of Caesar. The style of their ambassadors to Conrad the third and Frederic the first, is a mixture of flattery and pride, the tradition and the ignorance of their own history. After some complaint of his silence and neglect, they exhort the former of these princes to pass the Alps, and assume from their hands the Imperial crown. "We beseech your majesty, not to disdain the humility of your sons and vassals, not to listen to the accusations of our common enemies; who calumniate the senate as hostile to your throne, who sow the seeds of discord, that they may reap the harvest of destruction. The pope and the Sicilian are united in an impious league to oppose our liberty and your coronation. With the blessing of God, our zeal and courage has hitherto defeated their attempts. Of their powerful and factional adherents, more especially the Frangipani, we have taken by assault the houses and turrets; some of these are occupied".

These letters and speeches are preserved by Otha bishop of restaurants Faber, lib. iv. cap. 1. et lib. vii. cap. 1. p. 186, 187, perhaps the abbot of Fossanova; he was son of the old emperor of Atalanta, his mother, Adrana, was daughter of the emperor Henry IV. and he was half brother and uncle to Conrad III., and Frederic I. He has left, in seven books, a Chronicle of the Times; in two, the Goda Frederici I., the last of which is inserted in the chronology of Milanesi's historians.
occupied by our troops, and some are levelled with the ground. The Milvian bridge, which they had broken, is restored and fortified for your safe passage; and your army may enter the city without being annoyed from the castle of St. Angelo. All that we have done, and all that we design, is for your honour and service, in the loyal hope, that you will speedily appear in person, to vindicate those rights which have been invaded by the clergy, to revive the dignity of the empire, and to usurp the fame and glory of your predecessors. May you fix your residence in Rome, the capital of the world; give laws to Italy, and the Teutonic kingdom; and imitate the example of Constantine and Justinian 4, who, by the vigour of the senate and people, obtained the sceptre of the earth 55." But these splendid and fallacious wishes were not cherished by Conrad the Franconian, whose eyes were fixed on the Holy Land, and who died without visiting Rome soon after his return from the Holy Land.

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

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54 We desire (say the ignorant Romans) to restore the empire in eam statum, quo fuit tenepta Constantini et Justiniani, qui totum orbem vigore senatus et populi Romani tuis tenuere manibus.

55 Otho Frising, de Gestis Frederici I. i. c, 28, p. 652-664.
free and florid oration: "Incline your ear to the
queen of cities; approach with a peaceful and
friendly mind the precincts of Rome, which
has cast away the yoke of the clergy, and is
impatient to crown her legitimate emperor.
Under your auspicious influence, may the pri-
mitive times be restored. Affect the prerog-
atives of the eternal city, and reduce under
her monarchy, the insolence of the world.
You are not ignorant, that, in former ages,
by the wisdom of the Senate, by the valour and
discipline of the equestrian order, she extended
her victorious arms to the East and West,
beyond the Alps, and over the islands of the
Ocean. By our sins, in the absence of our
princes, the noble institution of the Senate has
funk in oblivion: and with our prudence, our
strength has likewise decreased. We have re-
vived the Senate, and the equestrian order; the
counsels of the one, the arms of the other, will
be devoted to your person and the service of
the empire. Do you not hear the language of
the Roman matron? You were a rover, I have
adopted you as a citizen, a Transalpine stranger.
I have elected you for my soveret'm8, and
given you my oath, and all that is mine. From
the first and most sacred duty, i.e. to bear and
defend, that you will shed your blood for
the republic; that you will maintain in peace
and justice, the laws of the city and the charters
of your predecessors; and that you will reward

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"with"
"with five thousand pounds of silver the faithful senator who shall proclaim your titles in the Capitol. With the name, assume the character, "of Augustus." The flowers of Latin rhetoric were not yet exhausted; but Frederic, impatient of their vanity, interrupted the orators in the high tone of royalty and conquest. "Famous indeed have been the fortitude and wisdom of the ancient Romans: but your speech is not seasoned with wisdom, and I could wish that fortitude were conspicuous in your actions. Like all sublunary things, Rome has felt the vicissitudes of time and fortune. Your noblest families were translated to the East, to the royal city of Constantin; and the remains of your strength and freedom have long since been exhausted by the Greeks and Franks. Are you desirous of beholding the ancient glory of Rome, the gravity of the senate, the spirit of the knights, the discipline of the camp, the valour of the legions? you will find them in the German republic. It is not empire, naked and alone, the ornaments and virtues of empire have likewise migrated beyond the Alps to a more deserving people": they will be employed in your defence, but they claim your obedience. You pretend that myself or my predecessors have been invited by the Romans: you mistake the word, they were not invited; they were implored. From its foreign and
THE DECLINE AND FALL

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"domestic tyrants, the city was rescued by Charlemagne and Otho, whose ashes repose in our country: and their dominion was the price of your deliverance. Under that dominion your ancestors lived and died. I claim by the right of inheritance and possession, and who shall dare to extort you from my hands? Is the hand of the Franks and Germans enfeebled by age? Am I vanquished? Am I a captive? Am I not encompassed with the banners of a potent and invincible army? You impose conditions on your master; you require oaths; if the conditions are just, an oath is superfluous; if unjust, it is criminal. Can you doubt my equity? It is extended to the meanest of my subjects. Will not my sword be unsheathed in the defence of the Capitol? By that sword the northern kingdom of Denmark has been reflected to the Roman empire. You prescribe the measure and the objects of my bounty, which flows in a copious but a voluntary stream. All will be given to patient merit; all will be denied to rude importunity." Neither the emperor nor the senate could maintain these lofty pretensions of dominion and liberty. United with the pope, and suspicious of the Romans, Frederic continued his march to the Vatican: his coronation was disturbed by a fully from the

Otho of Fringen, who barely understood the language of the court and district Germany, and of the Franks in the xiiith century to the reign of Isabella (Procès des Francs, capites Franci, manus Francorum): however, the epitaph of Frederic II, p. 720-733.

Capitol 2
Capitol; and if the numbers and valour of the Germans prevailed in the bloody conflict, he could not safely encamp in the presence of a city of which he styled himself the sovereign. About twelve years afterwards, he besieged Rome, to beat an antipope in the chair of St. Peter; and twelve Pisan galleys were introduced into the Tyber: but the senate and people were saved by the arts of negotiation and the progress of disease; nor did Frederic or his successors reiterate the hostile attempt. Their laborious reigns were exercised by the popes, the crusades, and the independence of Lombardy and Germany; they courted the alliance of the Romans; and Frederic the second offered in the Capitol the great standard, the Caroccio of Milan. After the extinction of the house of Swabia, they were banished beyond the Alps; and their last coronations betrayed the impotence and poverty of the Teutonic Caesars.

Under

From the Chronicles of Ricobaldo and Francis Pipin, Muratori (differt. xxvi. tom. ii. p. 492.) has transcribed this curious tale, with the doggerel verses that accompanied the gift.

Ave decus orbis ave! victus tibi deflinor, ave!
Curris ab Augello Frederico Caefare jufto.
Vae Mediolanum! jam fentis spernere vanum
Imperii vires, proprias tibi tollere vires.
Ergo triumphorum urbs potes memor esse priorum
Quos tibi mittebant reges qui bella gerebant.

Ne si dux tacere (I now use the Italian Dissertations, tom. i. p. 444.) che nell’anno 1727, una copia dello Caroccio in marmo dianzi ignoto si scopri nel Campidoglio, presso alle carceri di quel luogo, dove Sisto V. l'avea fatto rinchudere. Stava esso posto sopra quattro colonne di marmo sino colla sequente incrizione, &c. to the same purpose as the old inscription.

The decline of the Imperial arms and authority in Italy, related with impartial learning in the Annals of Muratori (tom. x.)
Under the reign of Adrian, when the empire extended from the Euphrates to the ocean, from mount Aila to the Grampian Hills, a fanciful historian adorned the Romans with the picture of their infant wars. "There was a time," says Florus, "when Tibur and Praeneste, our former enemies, were the chosen habitation in the Capitol, when we deline'd the chart of the Aenean progeny, when we could triumph without a blush over the infant villages of the Sabines and Latins; and even Coriolanus could afford a title not unworthy of a victorious general."

The pride of these contending parties was gratified by the conquest of the pole, and the prudent they would have been baffled by the prospect of defeat, by the prediction, that after a thousand years Rome, the child of empire and contracted to her primitive limits, would renew the fame of her virtues, on the fame ground which was then consecrated with her villas and gardens. The ancient territory, on either side of the Tyber was almost diminish'd, and sometimes polluted, as the parvenu of St. Peter; but the barons acknowledged that it was independent, and the cities too hastily copied the revolt and diffusion of the metropolis. In the twelfth and thirteenth cen-
turies, the Romans incessantly laboured to reduce or destroy the contumacious vassals of the church and senate; and if their headstrong and selfish ambition was moderated by the pope, he often encouraged their zeal by the alliance of his spiritual arms. Their warfare was that of the first consuls and dictators, who were taken from the plow. They assembled in arms at the foot of the Capitol; fellied from the gates, plundered or burnt the harvests of their neighbours, engaged in tumultuary conflict, and returned home after an expedition of fifteen or twenty days. Their sieges were tedious and unskilful: in the use of victory, they indulged the meaner passions of jealousy and revenge; and instead of adopting the valour, they trampled on the misfortunes, of their adversaries. The captives, in their shirts, with a rope round their necks, solicited their pardon: the fortifications and even the buildings of the rival cities were demolished, and the inhabitants were scattered in the adjacent villages. It was thus that the seats of the cardinal bishops, Porto, Oelia, Albanum, Tusculum, Praeneste, and Tibur or Tivoli, were succedively overthrown by the ferocious hostility of the Romans. Of these,

63 Ne a feritate Romanorum, silent furant Helfienes, Parmales, Tusculanenses, Albanenses, Labicentes, et super Tiburtini lebruentur (Matthew Paris, p. 757.). These events are marked in the Annals and Index (the xvuith volume) of Muratori.

64 For the state or ruin of these suburban cities, the banks of the Tyber, &c. see the lively picture of the P. Labat (voyage en Italie), who had long resided in the neighbourhood of Rome; and the more accurate description of which P. Gellius (Roma, 1759, in octavo) he added to the topographical map of Cingolani.

Porto
THE DECLINE AND FALL

Porto and Ostia, the two keys of the Tyber, are still vacant and desolate: the marshy and unwholesome banks are peopled with herds of buffalos, and the river is lost to every purpose of navigation and trade. The hills which afford a shady retirement from the autumnal heats, have again smiled with the blessings of peace: Fiescati has arisen near the ruins of Tufculum; Tibur or Tivoli has resumed the honours of a city, and the meaner towns of Albano and Palestrina are decorated with the villas of the cardinals and princes of Rome. In the work of destruction, the ambition of the Romans was often checked and repulsed by the neighbouring cities and their allies: in the first siege of Tibur, they were driven from their camp, and the battles of Tufculum and Viterbo might be compared in their relative state to the memorable fields of Pharsaly and Cannae. In the first of these petty wars, thirty thousand Romans were overthrown by a thousand German horse, whom Frederic Barbarossa had detached to the relief of Tufculum; and if we number the lines at three, the prisoners at two, thousand, we shall embrace the most authentic and moderate account. Sixty-eight years after-

46 Albion (p. 304, 31. A.D. 1157) estimates a vacant degree of the Roman government, which had never comprehended the richer and poverty of Tufculum; and mentions it satisfactorily in a letter.

47 I quote from the usual method, or quoting only by the date the Author of Winchilsea, 1618, harked back to the current balance in which he is written from contemporary writers who mention the battle of Tufculum (A.D. 292). P. 135.

49 When with these p. 135. The battle of Winchilsea was Peter a thing, the year A.D. 1157, thirty-two years (A.D. 1205—1207) from the creation by the English historian, as a soldier and a

ward
ward they marched against Viterbo in the ecclesiastical state with the whole force of the city; by a rare coalition, the Teutonic eagle was blended, in the adverse banners, with the keys of St. Peter; and the pope's auxiliaries were commanded by a count of Tholouse and a bishop of Winchester. The Romans were discomfited with shame and slaughter; but the English prelate must have indulged the vanity of a pilgrim, if he multiplied their numbers to one hundred, and their loss in the field to thirty, thoufand men. Had the policy of the senate and the discipline of the legions been restored with the Capitol, the divided condition of Italy would have offered the fairest opportunity of a second conquest. But in arms, the modern Romans were not above, and in arts, they were far below, the common level of the neighbouring republics. Nor was their warlike spirit of any long continuance; after some irregular fallies, they subsided in the national apathy, in the neglect of military institutions, and in the disgraceful and dangerous use of foreign mercenaries.

Ambition is a weed of quick and early vegetation in the vineyard of Christ. Under the first Christian princes, the chair of St. Peter was disputed by the votes, the venality, the violence of a popular election: the sanctuaries of Rome were polluted with blood; and from the third to the twelfth century, the church was distracted by the mischief of frequent schisms. As long as the final appeal was determined by the civil magistrate, these mischiefs were transient and local: the merits were tried by equity or favour; nor could the unsuccessful
ful competitor long disturb the triumph of his rival. But after the emperors had been divested of their prerogatives, after a maxim had been established, that the view of Christ is amenable to no earthly tribunal, each vacancy of the holy see might involve Christendom in controversy and war. The claims of the cardinals and inferior clergy, of the nobles and people, were vague and litigious: the freedom of choice was over-ruled by the tumults of a city that no longer owned or obeyed a superior. On the decease of a pope, two factions proceeded in different directions to a double election: the number and weight of votes, the priority of time, the merit of the candidate, might balance each other; the most respectable of the clergy were divided, and the distant princes were tossed from the spiritual throne. Could the legitimate supremacy, from the legitimacy, fail? The emperors were often the authors of the dispute; but the political motive of opposing a unhappy to an hostile pontiff, and each of the aspirants was reduced to suffer the imputation of his position, who were not awed by consideration, and to procure the support of his adherents. The men induced by avarice or ambition, or passionate and perpetual contestion was regarded by the others the third", who "falsely divided his interests, were of the clergy and people, and hence the want of decision in the
of the college of cardinals 69. The three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, were assimilated to each other by this important privilege: the parochial clergy of Rome obtained the first rank in the hierarchy; they were indifferently chosen among the nations of Christendom; and the possession of the richest benefices, of the most important bishoprics, was not incompatible with their title and office. The senators of the Catholic church, the coadjutors and legates of the supreme pontiff, were robed in purple, the symbol of martyrdom or royalty; they claimed a proud equality with kings; and their dignity was enhanced by the fineness of their number, which, till the reign of Leo the tenth, seldom exceeded twenty, or twenty-five, persons. By this wise regulation, all doubt and scandal were removed, and the root of schism was so effectually destroyed, that in a period of six hundred years a double choice has only once divided the unity of the sacred college. But as the concurrence of two thirds of the votes had been made necessary, the election was often delayed by the private interest and passions of the electors; and while they prolonged their independent reign, the Christian world was left destitute of its head. A vacancy of almost three years had preceded the elevation of Gregory the tenth, who resolved to prevent
the future abuse; and his bull, after some opposition, has been consecrated in the code of the canon law. Nine days are allowed for the obsequies of the deceased pope, and the arrival of the absent cardinals: on the tenth, they are imprisoned, each with one domestic, in a common apartment or conclava, without any separation of walls or curtains; a small window is reserved for the introduction of necessaries; but the door is locked on both sides, and guarded by the magistrates of the city, to seclude them from all correspondence with the world. If the election be not consummated in three days, the luxury of their tables is contracted to a single dish at dinner and supper; and after the eighth day, they are reduced to a scanty allowance of bread, water, and wine. During the vacancy of the holy see, the cardinals are prohibited from touching the revenues, or affording, unless in some rare emergency, the government, of the church: all agreements and promises among the electors are formally annulled; and their integrity is fortified by their fasting and the prayers of the Catholics. Some articles of inconvenient or superfluous apparel have been gradually relaxed, but the principle of confinement is vigorous and entire; they are still urged by the personal motives of health and freedom, to accelerate the moment of their determination; and the improvement of ballot or secrecies has wrapt the struggles of the con-
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71 The genius of cardinal de Retz had a right to paint a conclave (of 1665), in which he was a spectator and an actor (Memoirs, tom. iv. p. 15-57); but I am at a loss to appreciate the knowledge or authority of an anonymous Italian, whose history (Concili de Pontifici Romani, in 4°, 1667) has been continued since the reign of Alexander VII. The accidental form of the work furnishes a lesson, though not an antidote, to ambition. From a labyrinth of intrigues, we emerge to the adoration of the successful candidate: but the next page opens with his funeral.

72 The expressions of cardinal de Retz are positive and picturesque: On y vécut toujours ensemble avec le même respect, et la même civilité qu'on observe dans le cabinet des rois, avec la même politesse qu'on avait dans la cour de Henri III., avec la même familiarité que l'on voit dans les colleges; avec la même mouettie, qui se remarque dans les noviciats; et avec la même charité, du moins en apparence, qu'il pourrait être entre des frères parfaitement unis.

73 Rechiefì per bando (says John Villani) fanatori di Roma, e 52 del popolo, et capituni de' 25. e confili (riferiti), et 13 buone huomini, uno per rione. Our knowledge is too imperfect to pronounce, how much of this constitution was temporary, and how much ordinary and permanent. Yet it is faintly illustrated by the ancient statutes of Rome.
from the city; and that if he neglected to return on the third summons, the public servant should be degraded and dismissed. But Lewis forgot his own debility and the prejudices of the times: beyond the precincts of a German camp, his uselessness was rejected; the Romans defied their own workmanship; the antipope implored the mercy of his lawful sovereign; and the exclusive right of the cardinals was more firmly established by this unreasonable attack.

Had the election been always held in the Vatican, the rights of the senate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But the Romans forgot, and were forgotten, in the absence of the death of Gregory the seventh, who did not keep up his wonted prudence in his ordinary residence in the city of God. The care of that decisive importance than the government of the city. With so much care, the popes desisted in a war, which their authority was always opposed, and which, however, was often endangered. From the part of God the river, and the sea of bills, the municipal by and the Alps had the longest length of Furniture from the plains of Rome and perhaps with dew to live

...
and die in the more tranquil stations of Anagni, Perugia, Viterbo, and the adjacent cities. When the flock was offended or impoverished by the absence of the shepherd, they were recalled by a stern admonition, that St. Peter had fixed his chair, not in an oblique village, but in the capital of the world; by a ferocious menace that the Romans would march in arms to destroy the place and people that should dare to afford them a retreat. They returned with timorous obedience; and were saluted with the account of an heavy debt, of all the lobbies which their desertion had occasioned, the hire of lodgings, the sale of provisions, and the various expenses of servants and strangers who attended the court. After a short interval of peace, and perhaps of authority, they were again banished by new tumults, and again summoned by the impious or respectful invitation of the Senate. In these occasional retreats, the exiles and fugitives of the Vatican were seldom long, or far, distant from the metropolis; but in the beginning of the fourteenth century the apostolic throne was transported, as it might seem for ever, from the Tyber to the Rhone; and the cause of the transmigration may be deduced from

76 Romani autem non voluntes nec volentes ultra suam sedem cupi-.

ductam gravissimam connuam papam in eum superunt voluntatem, existentes ab eo urgentissimae omnium que abierant pars ejus abhoidant dunnas et picturas, velicibus in hospitibus locandis, in mercatando, in uiri, in redituibus, in providendis, et et huius modis immemorabilibus. Quod cum autem papa, praetertim littera impetu et f: comperens magis solatium, &c. Matt. Paris, p. 757. For the ordinary history of the popes, their life and death, their residence and absence, it is enough to refer to the ecclesiastical annals, Bollandists and Pliny.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

the furious contest between Boniface the eighth and the king of France. The spiritual arms of excommunication and interdict were repulsed by the union of the three estates, and the privileges of the Gallican church; but the pope was not against the carnal weapons which Philip the Fair had courage to employ. As the pope resided at Anagni, without the suspicion of danger, his palace and person were assaulted by three hundred horse, who had been secretly levied by William of Nogaret, a French minister, and Sciarra Colonna, of a noble but hostile family of Rome. The cardinals fled; the inhabitants of Anagni were seduced from their allegiance and gratitude; but the dauntless Boniface, unarmed and alone, seated himself in his chair, and awaited, like the conscript fathers of old, the swords of the Gauls. Nogaret, a foreign adversary, was content to execute the orders of his master: by the domestic enmity of Colonna, he was insulted with words and blows; and during a confinement of three days his life was threatened by the hardships which they inflicted on the obstinacy which they provoked. Their strange delay gave time and courage to the adherents of the church, who rescued him from sacrilegious violence; but his imperious soul was wounded in a vital part; and Boniface expired at Rome in a frenzy of rage and revenge.
His memory is stained with the glaring vices of avarice and pride; nor has the courage of a martyr promoted this ecclesiastical champion to the honours of a saint; a magnanimous sinner (say the chronicles of the times), who entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog. He was succeeded by Benedict the eleventh, the mildest of mankind. Yet he excommunicated the impious emissaries of Philip, and devoted the city and people of Anagni by a tremendous curse, whose effects are still visible to the eyes of superstition.

After his decease, the tedious and equal suspense of the conclave was fixed by the dexterity of the French faction. A specious offer was made and accepted, that, in the term of forty days, they would elect one of the three candidates who should be named by their opponents. The archbishop of Bourdeaux, a furious enemy of his king and country, was the first on the list; but his ambition was known; and his conscience obeyed the calls of fortune and the commands of a benefactor, who had been informed by a swift messenger that the choice of a pope was now in his hands. The terms were regulated in a private interview; and with such speed and secrecy was the business transacted, that the unanimous conclave applauded the elevation of Clement the fifth. The cardinals

78 It is difficult to know whether Labat (tom. iv. p. 51-57.) be in jest or in earnest, when he supposes that Anagni still feels the weight of this curse, and that the corn-fields, or vineyards, or olive-trees, are annually blasted by nature, the obdurate handmaid of the popes.

79 See in the Chronicle of Giovanni Villani (I. viii. c. 63, 64, 83, in Muratori, tom. xiii.) the imprisonment of Boniface VIII. and the election of Clement V. the last of which, like most anecdotes, is embarrassed with some difficulties.
of both parties were soon astonished by a summons to attend him beyond the Alps; from whence, as they soon discovered, they must never hope to return. He was engaged, by promise and affection, to prefer the residence of France; and, after dragging his court through Poitou and Gascony, and devouring, by his expence, the cities and convents on the road, he finally repose at Avignon, which flourished above seventy years the seat of the Roman pontiff and the metropolis of Christendom. By land, by sea, the position of Avignon was on all sides accessible; the southern provinces of France do not yield to Italy itself; new palaces arose for the accommodation of the pope and cardinals; and the arts of luxury were soon attracted by the treasures of the church. They were already possiied of the adjacent territory, the Venetian county, a populous

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The original lists of the eight popes of Avignon, Clement V. John XXII., Benedict XII., Clement VI., Innocent V., Urban V., Gregory XI., and Clement VII., were published by Stephen Balsue (Vita Pap. X.?, in Pandolfs, Paris, 1593, vol. iv. in folio.) with copious notes, by Cardinal Turquet de Mayerne, in a manuscript, added to and expanded by the present editor. The adjacent territory, the Venetian county, was already possessed of the town of Avignon, founded by Pope Clement V., in the 1273 by D’Epine. Raymond
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... and the sovereignty of Avignon was afterwards purchased from the youth and distress of Jane, the first queen of Naples and countess of Provence, for the inadequate price of four-score thousand florins. Under the shadow of the French monarchy, amidst an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honourable and tranquil state, to which they long had been strangers: but Italy deplored their absence; and Rome, in solitude and poverty, might repent of the ungovernable freedom which had driven from the Vatican the successor of St. Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitless; after the death of the old members, the sacred college was filled with French cardinals, who beheld Rome and Italy with abhorrence and contempt, and perpetuated a series of national, and even provincial, popes, attached by the most indissoluble ties to their native country.

Raymond had given them a pretence of Kizure, and they devised some obscure claim from the xvth century to come hands extra Rhodomum (Valentii Notitiae Galliarum, p. 457. 610. Longueurue, Description de la France, tom. i. p. 376—381.)

If it a possession of four centuries were not itself a title, such obstacles might annul the bargain; but the purchase money must be refunded, for indeed it was paid. Civitatis Avellonii existunt per ejusmodi venditionem pecuniarum, &c. (Hier. V., xi. Chronic VI. in Baluze, tom. i. p. 273. Minutius, Script. tom. iv. Pari. p. 565.) The only remonstrance for Jane and herBehn the hand was ready money, and without it they could not have returned to the throne of Naples.

Clement V. immediately promoted ten cardinals, nine French and one English. Vita iv., p. 63. et Itinera, p. 330. &c. In 1311, the pope refused two candidates recommended by the king of France, and xx Cardinales, de quibus xvii., de re in France originem habent, nocumentur in memoria collegio cardinal (Thomassin, Disciplina le Rigit, tom. ii. p. 1281.).
The progress of industry had produced and enriched the Italian republics: the æra of their liberty is the most flourishing period of population and agriculture, of manufactures and commerce; and their mechanic labours were gradually refined into the arts of elegance and genius. But the position of Rome was less favourable, the territory less fruitful; the character of the inhabitants was debased by indolence and elated by pride; and they fondly conceived that the tribute of subjects must forever nourish the metropolis of the church and empire. This prejudice was encouraged in some degree by the resort of pilgrims to the shrines of the apostles; and the last legacy of the popes, the institution of the holy year 65, was not less beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Since the loss of Palestine, the gift of plenary indulgences, which had been applied to the crusades, remained without an object; and the most valuable treasure of the church was sequestrated above eight years from public circulation. A new channel was opened by the diligence of Boniface the eighth, who reconciled the vices of ambition and avarice; and the pope had sufficient learning to recollect and revive the secular games, which were celebrated in Rome at the conclusion of every century. To found without danger the depth of popular credulity, a sermon was reasonably pronounced, a report was art-

65 Our primitive account is from cardinal James Caetani (Maxim. Lat. it. Patrum, tom. xxvi.); and I am at a loss to determine whether the reports of Boniface VIII. be a fool or a knave: the uncle is a much shadier character.
fully scattered, some aged witnesses were produced; and on the first of January of the year thirteen hundred, the church of St. Peter was crowded with the faithful, who demanded the customary indulgence of the holy time. The pontiff, who watched and irritated their devout impatience, was soon persuaded by ancient testimony of the justice of their claim; and he proclaimed a plenary absolution to all Catholics who, in the course of that year, and at every similar period, should respectfully visit the apostolic churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. The welcome found was propagated through Christendom; and at first from the nearest provinces of Italy, and at length from the remote kingdoms of Hungary and Britain, the highways were thronged with a swarm of pilgrims who sought to expiate their sins in a journey, however costly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military service. All exceptions of rank or sex, of age or infirmity, were forgotten in the common transport: and in the streets and churches many persons were trampled to death by the eagerness of devotion. The calculation of their numbers could not be easy nor accurate; and they have probably been magnified by a dextrous clergy, well apprised of the contagion of example: yet we are assured by a judicious historian, who assisted at the ceremony, that Rome was never replenished with less than two hundred thousand strangers; and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treasure; and two priests stood night and day,
day, with rakes in their hands, to collect without counting, the heaps of gold and silver that were poured on the altar of St. Paul. It was fortunately a season of peace and plenty; and if forage was scarce, if lams and lodging, were extravagantly dear, an inexhaustible supply of bread and wine, of meat and fish, was provided by the policy of Boniface and the venal hospitality of the Romans. From a city without trade or industry, all casual riches will speedily evaporate; but the avarice and envy of the next generation solicited Clement the sixth to anticipate the distant period of the century. The gracious pontiff complied with their wishes; afforded Rome this poor consolation for his loss; and justified the change by the name and practice of the Mosaic Jubilee. His summons was obeyed, and the numbers, zeal, and liberality, of the pilgrims did not yield to the primitive festival. But they encountered the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine: many wives and virgins were violated in the cellars of Italy; and many strangers were plunged or mur-
dered by the savage Romans, no longer moderated by the presence of their bishop. To the impatience of the popes we may ascribe the successive reduction to fifty, thirty-three, and twenty-five years; although the second of these terms is commensurate with the life of Christ. The profusion of indulgences, the revolt of the Protestants, and the decline of superstition, have much diminished the value of the jubiles; yet even the ninth centenary festival was a year of pleasure and profit to the Romans; and a philosophic finite will not disturb the triumph of the priest or the happiness of the people.

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

See the Chronicles of Matteo Villani (i. i. c. 56.) in the xivth volume of Memorie, and the Memoirs for la Vie de Petrarch, tom. iii. p. 70.—87.

The subject is exhaustfed by M. Chat, a French minister at the Hague, in his Lettres Anonymes et Dogmatiques, sur les Jubiles et les Indulgences; La Haye, 1751, 3 vol.; and in a work, an elaborate and pleasing work, had not the author professed the character of a polemic to that of a philologist.
to the laws 91. But the feeble and disorderly go-
vernment of Rome was unequal to the task of
curbing her rebellious sons, who scorned the au-
thority of the magistrate within and without the
walls. It was no longer a civil contention be-
tween the nobles and plebeians for the govern-
ment of the state; the barons asserted in arms
their personal independence; their palaces and
castles were fortified against a siege; and their
private quarrels were maintained by the num-
bers of their valets and retainers. In origin and
affection, they were aliens to their country 92:
and a genuine Roman, could such have been
produced, might have renounced these haughty
strangers, who disdained the appellation of citizens,
and proudly styled themselves the princes, of
Rome 93. After a dark series of revolutions, all
records of pedigree were lost; the distinction of
families was abolished; the blood of the nations
was mingled in a thousand channels; and the
Goths and Lombards, the Greeks and Franks,
the Germans and Normans, had obtained the

91 Muratori (Diari. xlviii.) alleges the Annals of Florence, Padua,
Genoa, &c. the accounts of the red, the evidence of Otho of Frisingen
(de Curt. Fred. 1. 4. n. c. 13.), and the submixture of the marquis
of Este.
92 As early as the year 874, the emperor Louis I., found it
expedient to interfere with the Roman people, to learn from each indivi-
dual, by what national law he chose to be governed (Muratori, Dif-
t. xxx.).
93 Petesch attacks these foremothers, the tyrants of Rome, in a
declaration as equally full of bold truths and absurd pedantry,
in which he applies the maxims, and even prejudices, of the old
republic to the state of the new century (Memorie, tome iii. p. 137—
163).
faiest posessions by royal bounty or the prerogative of valour. These examples might be readily presumed: but the elevation of an Hebrew race to the rank of senators and consuls is an event without a parallel in the long captivity of these miserable exiles. In the time of Leo the ninth, a wealthy and learned Jew was converted to christianity; and honoured at his baptism with the name of his godfather, the reigning pope. The zeal and courage of Peter the son of Leo were signalised in the cause of Gregory the seventh, who entrusted his faithful adherent with the government of Adrian's mole, the tower of Crescentius, or, as it is now called, the castle of St. Angelo. Both the father and the son were the parents of a numerous progeny; their riches, the fruits of usury, were shared with the noblest families of the city; and so extensive was their alliance, that the grandson of the proselyte was exalted by the weight of his kindred to the throne of St. Peter. A majority of the clergy and people supported his cause; he reigned several years in the Vatican, and it is only the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the final triumph of Innocent the second, that has branded Anacletus with the epithet of antipope. After his defeat and death, the posterity of Leo is no longer conspicuous; and none will be found of the modern nobles am-

94 The origin and adventures of this Jewish family are noticed by Pagi (Critici, tom. iv. p. 425. A. D. 1120, N. S. 3, 4.), who draws his information from the Chronographus Mangilius nude, and Arnulphus Sagination de Schilinare (in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. i. p. 433—432.). The fact must in some degree be true; yet I could wish that it had been coolly related, before it was turned into a reproach against the antipope.
bitter of defending from a Jewish Rock. It is not my design to enumerate the Roman families, which have failed at different periods, or those which are continued in a different degree of splendor to the present time. 23 The old senatorial line of the Decius discovered their name in the generous act of creating, or dividing land in a time of famine; and such benevolence is more truly glorious than to have entrenched, with their allies the Cori, a spacious quarter of the city in the chains of their fortifications: the Servii, as it should seem a Sabine race, have maintained their original dignity; the obloquous surname of the Ca- pizaccii is inscribed on the coins of the first senators: the Cori prefer the honour, without the estate, of the counts of Sestius; and the Mont- coli mutt have been very ignorant, or very modest, if they had not affected it from the Carthaginian hero. 24

But among, perhaps above, the peers and princes of the city, I distinguish the rival houses of

23. Mentioned in chapter 8. (A.D. 332-349) in the same, humorous, and familiar style. 24. These words, so striking in their meaning, did not then express the sentiments, nor even the passion, of antiquity; yet there is something pathetic in the idea of such antient minds prefixed to the Roman history. 25. The reign of Servius Tullius, or rather the period of the first Roman kings, is said by Vitruvius to have lasted 263 years. 26. The reigns of the Servii, the Montoli, and others of Rome, are described in Book VIII. (A.D. 368.)

The Servii, the Montoli, and others of Rome, are described in Book VIII. (A.D. 368.)
of Colonna and Urbina, whole private glory is an essential part of the annals of modern Rome. I. The name and arms of Colonna have been the theme of much doubtful etymology; nor have the orators and antiquarians overlooked either Trajan’s pillar, or the columns of Hercules, or the pillar of Christ’s flagellation, or the luminous column that guided the Israelites in the desert. Their first historical appearance in the year eleven hundred and four, attests the power and antiquity, while it explains the simple meaning, of the name. By the usurpation of Cæsare, the Colonna provoked the arms of Paschal the second; but they lawfully held in the Campagna of Rome, the hereditary fiefs of Zagarola and Colonna; and the latter of those towns was probably adorned with some lofty pillar, the relic of a villa or temple. They likewise possessed one moiety of the neighbouring city of Tusculum; a strong presumption of their descent from the counts

Ex iphis devota domus præstantis ab Urbe Pocellicis, vitrumque genere deminutus alium detta Colonna jucis, necon Sabella mitis; Stephania senior, Comites, Anchialica pilos, Pasticciumque urbem magnum line vitibus nomin.

(1.iii. c. 5. 120. p. 617, 643.)
The ancient statues of Rome (1.iii. c. 19. p. 174, 175.) distinguish eleven families of barons, who are obliged to wear in concilia communi, before the senator, that they would not harbour or protect any malefactors, our laws, &c.—a feeble security! 

75 It is pity that the Colonna themselves have not furnished the world with a complete and critical story of their illustrious...
of Tufculum, who in the tenth century were the tyrants of the apostolic see. According to their own and the public opinion, the primitive and remote source was derived from the banks of the Rhine; and the sovereigns of Germany were not ashamed of a real or fabulous affinity with a noble race, which in the revolutions of seven hundred years has been often illustrated by merit, and always by fortune. About the end of the thirteenth century, the most powerful branch was composed of an uncle and six brothers, all conspicuous in arms, or in the honours of the church. Of these, Peter was elected senatore of Rome, introduced to the Capitol in a triumphant car, and hailed in some vain acclamations with the title of Cæsar; while John and Stephen were declared marquis of Ancona and count of Romagna, by Nicholas the fourth, a patron to partial to their family, that he has been delineated in satirical portraits, imprisoned as it were in a hollow pillar. After his decease, their haughty
behaviour provoked the displeasure of the most implacable of mankind. The two cardinals, the uncle and the nephew, denied the election of Boniface the eighth; and the Colonna were oppressed for a moment by his temporal and spiritual arms. He proclaimed a crusade against his personal enemies; their estates were confiscated; their fortresses on either side of the Tyber were besieged by the troops of St. Peter and those of the rival nobles; and after the ruin of Palestrina or Prænesté, their principal seat, the ground was marked with a ploughshare, the emblem of perpetual desolation. Degraded, banished, proscribed, the six brothers, in disguise and danger, wandered over Europe without renouncing the hope of deliverance and revenge. In this double hope, the French court was their surest asylum: they prompted and directed the enterprise of Philip; and I should praise their magnanimity, had they respected the misfortune and courage of the captive tyrant. His civil acts were annulled by the Roman people, who restored the honours and possessions of the Colonna; and some estimate may be formed of their wealth by their losses, of their losses by the damages of one hundred thou-

152 Petrarch's attachment to the Colonna, has authorised the abbé de Sade to expatiate on the state of the family in the fourteenth century, the persecution of Boniface VIII., the character of Stephen and his sons, their quarrels with the Urbinis, &c. (Memoirs for Petrarch, tom. i. p. 98—110. 146—148. 174—176. 222—225. 232—239.) His criticism often refines the hasty stories of Villani, and the errors of the less diligent moderns. I understand the branch of Stephen to be now extinct.
and gold florins which were granted them against the accomplices and heirs of the deceased pope. All the spiritual confines and disqualifications were abolished by his prudent successors; and the fortune of the house was more firmly established by this transient hurricane. The boldness of Sciarra Colonna was signalised in the captivity of Boniface; and long afterwards in the coronation of Lewis of Bavaria; and by the gratitude of the emperor, the pillar in their arms was encircled with a royal crown. But the first of the family in fame and merit was the elder Stephen, whom Petrarch loved and esteemed as an hero superior to his own times, and not unworthy of ancient Rome. Persecution and exile displayed to the nations his abilities in peace and war; in his distress, he was an object, not of pity, but of reverence; the aspect of danger provoked him to avow his name and country; and when he was asked, "where is now your fortress?" he laid his hand on his heart, and answered, "here." He supported with the same virtue the return of prosperity; and, till the ruin of his declining age, the ancestors, the character, and the children of Stephen Colonna, exalted his dignity in the Roman republic, and at the court of Avignon. II. The Urfini migrated from Spo-
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leto 104; the sons of Ursus, as they are styled in the twelfth century, from some eminent person who is only known as the father of their race. But they were soon distinguished among the nobles of Rome, by the number and bravery of their kinsmen, the strength of their towers, the honours of the senate and sacred college, and the elevation of two popes, Celestine the third and Nicholas the third, of their name and lineage 105. Their riches may be accused as an early abuse of nepotism: the estates of St. Peter were alienated in their favour by the liberal Celestine 106; and Nicholas was ambitious for their sake to solicit the alliance of monarchs; to found new kingdoms in Lombardy and Tuscany; and to invest them with the perpetual office of senators of Rome. All

104——Vallis te proxima misit

Appeninigente quâ prata virentia sylve

Spoleatna metunt armenta græges protervi.

Moraldeichi (tom. xii. Script. Ital. p. 533.) gives the Urfini a French origin, which may be remotely true.

105 In the metrical life of Celestine V. by the cardinal of St. George (Muratori, tom. iii. P. i. p. 613, &c.), we find a luminous, and not inelegant passage (l. i. c. 3. p. 203, &c.):

——genuit quem nobilis Urfor (UrR?)

Progenies, Romana domus, veterataque magnis

Fatibus in clero, pompsaque experta tenatûs,

Bellorumque manu grandi dipata parentum

Cardineos apices neceon fatigia duce

Papatûs iterata tenens.

Muratori (Differt. xlii. tom. iii. p. ) observes, that the first Urfini pontificate of Celestine III. was unknown: he is inclined to read URF progenies.

106 Filii Urfi, quandam Celesstini papes nepotes, de bonis eccle-

siae Romanae ditati (Vit. Innocent. III. in Muratori, Script. tom. iii.
P. i.). The partial prodigality of Nicholas III. is more conspicuous in Villani and Muratori. Yet the Urfini would disdain the nephews of a mediæ pape.
that has been observed of the greatness of the Colonna, will likewise redound to the glory of the Ursini, their constant and equal antagonists in the long hereditary feud, which distracted above two hundred and fifty years the ecclesiastical state. The jealousy of pre-eminence and power was the true ground of their quarrel; but as a specious badge of distinction, the Colonna embraced the name of Ghibelines and the party of the empire; the Ursini espoused the title of Guelfs and the cause of the church. The eagle and the keys were displayed in their adverse banners; and the two factions of Italy most furiously raged when the origin and nature of the dispute were long since forgotten. After the retreat of the popes to Avignon, they disputed in arms the vacant republic: and the mischiefs of discord were perpetuated by the wretched compromise of electing each year two rival senators. By their private hostilities, the city and country were desolated, and the fluctuating balance inclined with their alternate factions. But none of either family had fallen by the sword, till the most renowned champion of the Ursini was surprised and slain by the younger Stephen Colonna. His triumph is stained with the reproach of violating the truce; their defeat was barely avenged by the afflication, before the church door, of an innocent boy and his two servants. Yet the victorious Co-

127 In his II. Deification on the Italian Antiquities, Muratori, explains the fictions of the Colonna and Ghibelines.

128 Pietro (I. tom. i. p. 222—250.) has celebrated this victory according to the Colonna; but two contemporaries, a Florentine (Gian Maria Viale, M. x. c. 225.) and a Roman (Ludovico Monaldeschi, P. 533, 534,) are justly reducible to their arms.
ONNA, with an annual colleague, was declared senator of Rome during the term of five years. And the mule of Petrarch inspired a wish, a hope, a prediction, that the generous youth, the son of his venerable hero, would restore Rome and Italy to their pristine glory; that his justice would extirpate the wolves and lions, the serpents and bears, who laboured to subvert the eternal basis of the marble column 169.

169 The abbé de Sade (tom. i. Notes, p. 61—66.) has applied the viii th Canzone of Petrarch, Spirita Gentil, &c. to Stephen Colonna the younger:

Orf, lupi, leoni, aquile e ferpi
Ad una gran marmorea colonna
Fauno noja favente e à se dannno.
Character and Coronation of Petrarch.—Restoration of the Freedom and Government of Rome by the Tribune Riario.—His Virtues and Vices, his Expulsion and Death.—Return of the Popes from Avignon.—Great Schism of the West.—Re-union of the Latin Church.—Last Struggles of Roman Liberty.—Statutes of Rome.—Final Settlement of the Ecclesiastical State.

In the apprehension of modern times, Petrarch is the Italian songster of Laura and love. In the harmony of his Tuscian rhymes, Italy applauds, or rather adores, the father of her lyric poetry: and his verse, or at least his name, is repeated by the enthusiasm, or affection, of amorous sensibility. Whatever may be the private taste of a stranger, his flight and superficial knowledge should humbly acquiesce in the judgment of a learned nation: yet I may hope or premise, that the Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of sonnets and elegies, with the sublime compositions of
compositions of their epic muse, the original wildness of Dante, the regular beauties of Tasso, and the boundless variety of the incomparable Ariosto. The merits of the lover, I am still less qualified to appreciate: nor am I deeply interested in a metaphysical passion for a nymph so shadowy, that her existence has been questioned; for a matron so prolific, that she was delivered of eleven legitimate children, while her amorous swain sighed and sung at the fountain of Vulcain. But in the eyes of Petrarch, and those of his graver contemporaries, his love was a sin, and Italian verse a frivolous amusement. His Latin works of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, establishted his serious reputation, which was soon diffused from Avignon over France and

2 The allegorical interpretation prevailed in the xth century; but the wide commentators were not agreed whether they should understand by Laura, religion, or virtue, or the blessed Virgin, or - - - - - - See the prefaces to the iit and iit volume.

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

4 Corpus ercbis partusus exhaursum; from one of these is issued, in the tenth degree, the abbé de Sade, the fond and grateful biographer of Petrarch; and this domestic motive most probably suggested the idea of his work, and urged him to enquire into every circumstance that could affect the history and character of his grandmother (see particularly tom. i. p. 122-133, notes, p. 7-58. tom. ii. p. 455-495. not. p. 76-82.).

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

Italy:
Italy: his friends and disciples were multiplied in
every city; and if the ponderous volume of his
writings 6 be now abandoned to a long repose,
our gratitude must applaud the man, who by
precept and example revived the spirit and study
of the Augustan age. From his earliest youth,
Petrarch aspired to the poetic crown. The aca-
demical honours of the three faculties had intro-
duced a royal degree of master or doctor in the
art of poetry 7; and the title of poet-laureat,
which custom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in
the English court 8, was first invented by the
Caesars of Germany. In the musical games of
antiquity, a prize was bestowed on the victor 9,

6 Of 1420 pages, in a clasp print, at Ball in the xvi. century, but
without the date of the year. The abbe de Sade considered for a new
edition of Petrarch's Latin works; but I much doubt whether it
would return to the profit of the bookseller, or the advantage of
the public.

7 Gentili Selden's Titles of Honour, in its works (vol. i. p.
457—466.). A hundred years before Petrarch, St. Francis received
the vest of a poet, quid ab imperatore furent ceremonial et ex deo x
serium habis.

8 From Ancillato to Louis, the muse has too often been false and
vain; but I much doubt whether any age or country produces
faster establish a perpetual poet, who in every reign, and at
the suggestion of his lord, can enrich with a work a season of peace
vain, never may we long in the church, and, I believe, in the pres-
ence of the sovereign. I speak them too true, or the better for
abiding by the superstitious custom, while the princes crown of
victors, and the poet an immortal prize.

9 In contempt of Fustiana, vol. i. p. 117, 118, ed. Botta, Con-
tattes sur l'histoire des lauriers de France et de Roumanie, and the
opusculum, this, considered the most, that is, a book from 1472.
Fustiana was not the only book printing in the sixteenth cen-
tury; it was also printed in England, in the French press, in un-
valuable crown, which was extended by the vantage pues of
(Salle, p. 152, 153, Philaron, and C.I.Ehobon in
Caffius, or X., vol. i. p. 1026, 1041, Potter's Greek Antiqui-
ties, Vol. i. p. 456.)
the belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned in the Capitol inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard; and the laurel was endeared to the lover by a verbal resemblance with the name of his mistress. The value of either object was enhanced by the difficulties of the pursuit; and if the virtue or prudence of Laura was inexorable, he enjoyed, and might boast of enjoying, the nymph of poetry. His vanity was not of the most delicate kind, since he applauds the success of his own labours; his name was popular; his friends were active; the open or secret opposition of envy and prejudice was surmounted by the dexterity of patient merit. In the thirty-sixth year of his age, he was solicited to accept the object of his wishes: and on the same day, in the solitude of Vaucoule, he received a familiar and solemn invitation from the senate of Rome and the university of Paris. The learning of a theological school, and the ignorance of a

10 The Capitoline games (certamen quinquenale, nau cicum, equesfr, gymnicum), were instituted by Domitian (Sueton. c. 4.) in the year 86 (Cenforin. de Die Natali, c. 180, ed. Havercamp), and were not abolished in the 195th century (Junianus de Priviteribus Burdelal. V.). If the crown were given to superior merit, the exclusion of Statius (Capitola politae indicata lyrea, Silv. 1 iii. v. 51.) may do honour to the games of the Capitol, but the Latin poets who lived before Domitian were crowned only in the public opinion.

11 retract and the senators of Rome were ignorant that the laurel was not the Capitoline, but the Delphic, crown (Plin. Hift. Natur. x v. 59. Hifl. Critique de la Republique des Lettres, tom. i. p. 310—220.). The victors in the Capitol were crowned with a garland of oak leaves (Martial, I. iv. epigram 54.).

12 The pious grandson of Laura has laboured, and not without success, to vindicate her immaculate chastity against the cenures of the grave and the snecrs of the profane (tom. ii. notes, p. 78—82.).
lawless city, were alike unqualified to bestow the ideal though immortal wreath which genius may obtain from the free appraisal of the public and of posterity: but the candidate discounted this trouble. Some reflections, and, after some moments of complacency and self-worship, preferred the summons of the metropolis of the world.

The ceremony of his coronation was performed in the Capitol, by his friend and patron the supreme magistrate of the republic. Twelve patrician youths were arrayed in scarlet; six representatives of the most illustrious families, in green robes, with garlands of flowers, accompanied the procession; in the midst of the princes and nobles, the senator, count of Anquilaira, a kinsman of the Colonna, assumed his throne; and at the voice of an herald Petrarch arose. After discoursing on a text of Virgil, and thrice repeating his vows for the prosperity of Rome, he knelt before the throne and received from the senator a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration, "This is the reward of merit." The people shouted, "Long life to the Capitol and the poet!" A sonnet in praise of Rome was accepted as the expression of genius and gratitude; and after the whole procession had visited the Vatican, the profligate wreath was suspended before the shrine of St. Peter. In the act of diploma which was

12 The whole process of Petrarch's coronation is accurately described by Rubric de Sale (tom. i. p. 435—436, tom. i. p. 1—6, tom. ii. p. 1—13.) from his own writing, and the Roman Diary of Ludovico Manuzioli, with no mixing in this authentic narrative the

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presented to Petrarch, the title and prerogatives of poet laureat are revived in the Capitol, after the lapse of thirteen hundred years; and he receives the perpetual privilege of wearing, at his choice, a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, of assuming the poetic habit, and of teaching, disputing, interpreting, and composing in all places whatsoever, and on all subjects of literature. The grant was ratified by the authority of the senate and people; and the character of citizen was the recompense of his affection for the Roman name. They did him honour, but they did him justice. In the familiar society of Cicero and Livy, he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient patriot; and his ardent fancy kindled every idea to a sentiment, and every sentiment to a passion. The aspect of the seven hills and their majestic ruins confirmed these lively impressions; and he loved a country by whose liberal spirit he had been crowned and adopted. The poverty and debasement of Rome excited the indignation and pity of her grateful son: he dissembled the faults of his fellow-citizens; applauded with partial fondness the lab of their heroes and matrons; and in the remembrance of the past, in the hope of the future, was pleased to forget the miseries of the present time. Rome was still the lawful mistress of the world: the pope and the emperor, her bishop and general, had abdicated their station by an inglorious retreat to the Rhône and the Danube; but if she could resume her virtue, the republic might again vindicate her liberty and dominion. Amidst the indulgence
indulgence of enthusiasm and eloquence," Petrarch, Italy, and Europe, were anointed by a revolution which realized for a moment his most splendid visions. The civic and judicial tribune Rienzi will occupy the following pages; the subject is interesting, the materials are rich, and the glance of a patriot-had he47 will sometimes vivify the cepious, but simple, narrative of the Florentine 46, and more especially of the Roman 47, historian.

In

To find the proofs of his authorship for Rome, I still only require that the reader would open, by chance, either Petrarch, or a French biographer. The latter is deficient (the poet's first visit to Rome from 1 p. 338 to 338.), but in the place of much idle rhetoric and narrative, Petrarch's name have adorned the present and future age with his original account of the city and its restoration.

46 It has been ascribed by the pen of a C. H. de Sedes, whose passionate work (Comparation de Neuf et Gai, or as Renet Tyren de Rome, en 1748) was published at Liège 1748, in 3 vol. I am indebted to him for the facts and a certain in John Herennius, consul of Liège, a contemporary historian (Fabriacus, Libri, tom. iv. p. 275. tom. iv. p. 80).

47 The soul de Sedes, who to fancy exquisites in the history of Rome, a century, later then, in his proper subject, a revolution in which the heart of Petrarch was profoundly engaged (Nem. 178, tom. iv. p. 338. 329—427. note to p. 70—76. tom. iv. p. 271—243. 246—275.) is not so much a Latin in the writings of Petrarch has passed over the news of.

48 Corrain, N. 179, iii. 647, in Murat, Retour Italiens 133—147. 1585, tom. iv. p. 240. 257. 351—552.

49 It is of a bene of Italian Art (p. 25—58.), Murat 50 has treated the Etruscan and Roman 15th Anno 1527 Anno 1527 1527. tom. iv. p. 158, in the edition 1527. 1585, 1527. in Naples in 1527. 1527. as a Latin version in the benefit of that... it 47 in 1727. 1727. 1727. Anno Regali 1527, in 4th, under the name of Rome Petrarch, who is only mentioned in it... 1527. 1727. by the tribune for injury. 

47
In a quarter of the city which was inhabited only by mechanics and Jews, the marriage of an innkeeper and a washerwoman produced the future deliverer of Rome. From such parents Nicholas Rienzi Grabini could inherit neither dignity nor fortune; and the gift of a liberal education, which they painfully bestowed, was the cause of his glory and untimely end. The study of history and eloquence, the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Caeser, and Valerius Maximus, elevated above his equals and contemporaries the genius of the young plebeian: he perused with indefatigable diligence the manuscripts and marbles of antiquity; loved to dispense his knowledge in familiar language; and was often provoked to exclaim, "Where are now these Romans? their virtue, their justice, their power? why was I not born in those happy times?" When the nature is scarcely capable of such sublime or stupid impartiality; but whatsoever is the author of these Fragments, he wrote on the spot and at the time, and paints, without design or art, the manners of Rome and the character of the tribune.

The first and splendid period of Rienzi, his tribunitian government, is contained in the nineteenth chapter of the Fragments (p. 399-479.), which, in the new division, forms the 300th book of the history in xxxviii smaller chapters or sections.

The reader may be pleased with a specimen of the original idiom: "Da fiori juventutine nutritio di latte de eloquentia, bono grammatico, maggiore rettorico, accorta bravura. Del comuo et quarto era veloce leitore! molto utava Julio Livio, Seneca, et Tullio, et Balerio Mattiano, molto li dicava le magnifi citati di Julio Ceare raccontare. Tutta la die si speculava negli intagli di marmo lequali faceva intorno Roma. Non era altiri che elio, che facele legere li antichi poemini. Tute scritture antiche vulpavava; quelle finne di marmo julimente interpretava. Oh come fatto dissera, "Dove fuoco quelli buoni Romani? dove "ene loro somma giustizia? poteramme tratarle in tempo che quelli "nonnulli!"
The republic addressed to the throne of Avignon an embassy of the three orders, the spirit and eloquence of Rienzi recommended him to a place among the thirteen deputies of the commons. The orator had the honour of haranguing pope Clement the sixth, and the satisfaction of conversing with Petrarch, a continual mind; but his aspiring hopes were chilled by disgrace and poverty; and the patriot was reduced to a single garment and the charity of the hospital. From this misery he was relieved by the sense of merit or the smile of favour; and the employment of apostolic notary afforded him a daily stipend of five gold florins, a more honourable and extensive connection, and the right of contriving, both in words and actions, his own integrity with the vices of the State. The eloquence of Rienzi was prompt and persuasive: the multitude is always prone to envy and censure; he was stimulated by the loss of a brother and the impunity of the arietins; nor was it possible to excuse or exaggerate the public calamities. The blessings of peace and justice, for which civil society has been instituted, were banished from Rome: the jealous citizens, who might have endured every personal or pecuniary injury, were most deeply wounded in the dishonour of their wives and daughters: they were equally oppressed by the arrogance of the nobles and the corruption of the magistrates; and the abuse of arms or of laws was the only circum-

22 Petrarch compares the poverty of the Romans, with the cry hunger of the inhabitants of Avignon (Mem. i. p. 339.)
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

of the lions, from the dogs and serpents, of the Capitol. These allegorical emblems were variously repeated in the pictures which Rienzi exhibited in the streets and churches; and while the spectators gazed with curious wonder, the bold and ready orator unfolded the meaning, applied the satire, inflamed their passions, and announced a distant hope of comfort and deliverance. The privileges of Rome, her eternal sovereignty over her princes and provinces, was the theme of his public and private discourse; and a monument of servitude became in his hands a title and incentive of liberty. The decree of the Senate, which granted the most ample prerogatives to the emperor Vespasian, had been inscribed on a copper-plate still extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran. A numerous assembly of nobles and plebeians was invited to this political lecture, and a convenient theatre was erected for their reception. The notary appeared, in a magnificent and mysterious habit, explained the inscription by a version and commentary, and declaimed with eloquence and zeal on the ancient glories of the senate and people, from whom all legal authority was derived. The supine igno-

25 The fragments of the Lex Regia may be found in the Inscriptions of Gruter, tom. i. p. 242, and at the end of the Tacitus of Ercolani, with some learned notes of the editor, tom. ii.

26 I cannot overlook a stupendous and blunder of Rienzi. The Lex Regia empowers Vespasian to enlarge the Pomerium, a word familiar to every antiquary. It was not so to the tribune; he confounds it with famulus, an adverb, translates it Jardino de' Roma, citizen Italy, and is copied by the heinous ignorance of the Latin translator (p. 426) and the French historian (p. 53). Even the learning of Charon himself has flustered over the passage.

rance
rancence of the nobles was incapable of discerning the serious tendency of such representations: they might sometimes chastise with words and blows the plebeian reformer; but he was often suffered in the Colonna palace to amuse the company with his threats and predictions; and the modern Brutus 29 was concealed under the mask of folly and the character of a buffoon. While they indulged their contempt, the restoration of the good effects, his favourite expression, was entertained among the people as a desirable, a possible, and at length as an approaching event; and while all had the disposition to applaud, some had the courage to assist, their promised deliverer.

A prophecy, or rather a summons, affixed on the church door of St. George, was the first public evidence of his designs; a nocturnal assembly of an hundred citizens on mount Aventine, the first step to their execution. After an oath of secrecy and aid, he represented to the conspirators the importance and facility of their enterprise; that the nobles, without union or resources, were strong only in the fear of their imaginary strength; that all power, as well as right, was in the hands of the people; that the revenues of the apostolical chamber might relieve the public distress; and that the pope himself would approve their victory over the common enemies of government and freedom. After securing a faithful band to protect his bold declaration, he proclaimed through
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

the city, by sound of trumpet, that on the evening of the following day all persons should assemble without arms before the church of St. Angelo, to provide for the re-establishment of the good estate. The whole night was employed in the celebration of thirty masses of the Holy Ghost; and in the morning, Rienzi, bareheaded, but in complete armour, issued from the church, encompassed by the hundred conspirators. The pope's vicar, the simple bishop of Orvieto, who had been persuaded to join in a part in this singular ceremony, marched on the right-hand; and three great standards were borne aloft as the emblems of their design. In the first, the banner of liberty, Rome was leant on two lions, with a palm in one hand and a globe in the other: St. Paul, with a drawn sword, was delineated in the banner of justice; and in the third, St. Peter held the keys of concord and peace. Rienzi was encouraged by the presence and applause of an innumerable crowd, who understood little, and hoped much; and the procession slowly rolled forwards from the castle of St. Angelo to the Capitol. His triumph was disturbed by some secret emotion which he laboured to suppress: he ascended without opposition, and with seeming confidence, the citadel of the republic; harangued the people from the balcony, and received the most flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as indissoluble of arms and counsels, beheld in silent confirmation this strange revolution; and the moment had been prudently chosen, when the most formidable, Stephen Colonna, was absent
THE DECLINE AND FALL

Chap. LXX.

absent from the city. On the first rumour, he returned to his palace, afflicted to desist this plebeian tumult, and declined to the messanger of Rienzi, that at his leisure he would call the madman from the windows of the Capitol. The great bell instantly rang an alarm, and so rapid was the tide, so urgent was the danger, that Colonna escaped with precipitation to the suburb of St. Laurence: from thence, after a moment's refreshment, he continued the same speedy career till he reached in safety his castle of Palelitina; lamenting his own imprudence, which had not trampled the spark of this mighty conflagration. A general and peremptory order was issued from the Capitol to all the nobles, that they should peaceably retire to their estates: they obeyed; and their departure secured the tranquillity of the free and obedient citizens of Rome.

But such voluntary obedience evaporates with the first transports of zeal; and Rienzi felt the importance of fulfilling his usurpation by a regular form and a legal title. At his own choice, the Roman people would have displayed their attachment and industry, by inscribing on his head the names of senator or consul, of king or emperor: he preferred the simple and modest appellation of tribune; the preservation of the commons was the essence of this sacred office; and they were ignorant, that it had never been invested with any share in the legislative or executive powers of the republic. In this character, and with the consent of the Romans, the tribune enacted the most salutary laws for the restoration and maintenance
of the good estate. By the first he fulfils the
with of honesty and inexperience, that no civil
suit should be protracted beyond the term of
teen days. The danger of frequent perjury
might justify the pronouncing against a false
accuser the same penalty which his evidence would
have inflicted: the disorders of the times might
compel the legislator to punish every homicide
with death, and every injury with equal retaliaton.
But the execution of justice was hopeless till he
had previously abolished the tyranny of the nobles.
It was formally provided, that none, except the
supreme magistrate, should possess or command
the gates, bridges, or towers, of the state: that
no private garrisons should be introduced into the
towns or castles of the Roman territory; that
none should bear arms or presume to fortify
their houses in the city or country; that the
barons should be responsible for the safety of the
highways and the free passage of provisions; and
that the protection of malefactors and robbers
should be expiated by a fine of a thousand marks
of silver. But these regulations would have been
impotent and nugatory, had not the licentious
nobles been awed by the sword of the civil power.
A sudden alarm from the bell of the Capitol,
could still summon to the standard above twenty
thousand volunteers: the support of the tribune
and the laws required a more regular and per-
manent force. In each harbour of the coast, a
vessel was stationed for the assurance of commerce;
a standing militia of three hundred and sixty horse
and thirteen hundred foot was levied, clothed,
and paid in the thirteen quarters of the city: and
the spirit of a commonwealth may be traced in
the grateful allowance of one hundred florins, or
pounds, to the heirs of every soldier, who lost his
life in the service of his country. For the main-
tenance of the public defence, for the establish-
ment of granaries, for the relief of widows,
orphans, and indigent convents, Ikenzi applied
without fear of lucrilege, the revenues of the
apostolic chamber: the three branches of hearth-
money, the salt-duty, and the customs, were each
of the annual produce of one hundred thousand
florins; and exemptions were the abuses, if in
four or five months the amount of the salt-duty
could be reduced in various regencies. After
these, followed the public and expenses of the
republic, the tributes claimed the fifties from
their tenants, but it was required their per-
fect appearance in the Capitales and imposed an
tax, in a manner like a new government, and o.
limitation for the benefit of the publick state. Ac-
cepting such invasions, but still more appreciative
of the danger of an event, the princes and barons
retreated to the Camps at Rome in the gulf of
him below, to make either, the Colonna and
Willing, the (yanks and braggarts, were con-
fronted with a great evil, and in the plebeian city, of the
vans, by an armament they had so often divided, and

their disgrace was aggravated by the indignation which they vainly struggled to disguise. The same oath was successively pronounced by the several orders of society, the clergy and gentlemen, the judges and notaries, the merchants and artisans, and the gradual descent was marked by the increase of insecurity and zeal. They swore to live and die with the republic and the church, whose interests were artfully united by the nominal association of the bishop of Orvieto, the pope's vicar, to the office of tribune. It was the boast of Rienzi, that he had delivered the throne and patrimony of St. Peter from a rebellious aristocracy; and Clement the sixth, who rejoiced in its fall, affected to believe the professions, to applaud the merits, and to confirm the title, of his trusted servant. The speech, perhaps the mind, of the tribune, was inspired with a lively regard for the purity of the faith; he insinuated his claim to a supernatural mission from the Holy Ghost: enforced by an heavy forfeiture the annual duty of confession and communion; and strictly guarded the spiritual as well as temporal welfare of his faithful people. 

Never perhaps has the energy and effect of a single mind been more remarkably felt than in the sudden, though transient, reformation of Rome by the tribune Rienzi. A den of robbers was converted to the discipline of a camp or convent: patient to hear, swift to redress, inexorable to punish,
punish, his tribunal was always accessible to the poor and stranger; nor could birth, or dignity, or the immunities of the church, protect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houses, the private sanctuaries in Rome, on which no officer of justice would presume to trespass, were abolished; and he applied the timber and iron of their barricades in the fortifications of the Capitol. The venerable father of the Colonna was exposed in his own palace to the double shame of being desirous, and of being unable, to protect a criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been stolen near Capranica; and the lord, of the Ursini family, was condemned to restore the damage, and to defray a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highways. Nor were the persons of the barons more inviolate than their lands or houses: and either from accident or design, the same impartial rigour was exercised against the heads of the adverse factions. Peter Agapet Colonna, who had himself been senator of Rome, was arrested in the street for injury or debt; and justice was appeased by the tardy execution of Martin Ursini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a shipwrecked vessel at the mouth of the Tyber.\(^23\) His name, the purple of two cardinals,

\(^23\) Fortunuccia, i. 7, c. 11. From the account of this shipwreck, we learn some circumstances of the trade and navigation of the age. 1. The ship was built and freighted at Naples for the ports of Marseilles and Avignon. 2. The sailors were of Naples and the Isle of Samos, less daring than those of Sicily and Genua. 3. The navigation from Marseilles was a coaling voyage to the mouth
Of the Roman Empire.

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

mouth of the Tyber, where they took shelter in a storm, but, instead of finding the current, unfortunately ran on a shoal: the vessel was stranded, the mariners escaped. 4. The cargo, which was pillaged, consisted of the revenue of Provence for the royal treasury, many bags of pepper and cinnamon, and bales of French cloth, to the value of 50,000 florins: a rich prize.
The deliverance of his country inspired Rienzi with a vaft, and perhaps visionary, idea of uniting Italy in a great federative republic, of which Rome should be the ancient and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and associates. His pen was not less eloquent than his tongue; and his numerous epistles were delivered to Italy and truly messengers. On foot, with a white wand in their hand, they traversed the forests and mountains; enjoyed, in the mean hostile states, the moral fecuity of an attaché; and reported, in the style of Lucan or Sallust, that the highways along their passage were filled with kneeling multitudes, who implored heaven for the succours of their undertaking. Could passion have listened to reason; could popular fervor have yielded to the public weal; the federate tribunal and considerate union of the Italian republic might have healed their interminable feud, and closed the Alps against the Barbarians of the North. But the precipitous nation had eluded; and of Venice, Florence, Siena, Perugia, and many inferior cities, offered their lives and fortunes to the good cause; the tyrants of Lombardy and Tuscany must, despite, or have, the plebeian notion of a free constitution. From them, however, and from every part of Italy, the tribune received the most friendly and respectful answers: they were followed by the representatives of the princes and republics; and in this manner continued, on all the occasions of pleasure or troops, the free Roman city could always the falter
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP.

m. majestic courtesy of a sovereign. The most glorious circumstance of his reign was an appeal to his justice from Lewis king of Hungary, who complained, that his brother, and her husband, had been perfidiously strangled by Jane queen of Naples; her guilt or innocence was pleaded in a solemn trial at Rome; but after hearing the advocates, the tribune adjourned this weighty and invidious cause, which was soon determined by the sword of the Hungarian. Beyond the Alps, more especially at Avignon, the revolution was the theme of curiosity, wonder, and applause. Petrarch had been the private friend, perhaps the secret counsellor, of Rienzi; his writings breathe the most ardent spirit of patriotism and joy; and all respect for the pope, all gratitude for the Colonna, was lost in the superior duties of a Roman citizen. The poet-laureat of the Capitol

59 It was thus that Oliver Cromwell's old acquaintance, who now owned the vulgar and ungracious custom into the House of Commons, were admitted at the side and majesty of the prince on his throne (see Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 27—34. from Clarendon, Warwick, Whitechoker, Walter, &c.). The condescension of merit and power will sometimes clothe the hunters to the nation.


37. The advocate who pleaded against Jane, could add nothing to the alleged force and bravery of his master's guilt. Isb. must make vera procedens, retentio potestatis in regnum, ineptius, ut alter ingenios, ut excutere limines, et errare virtute suae, &c. tale testamentum et commissor. Pope of Naples, and Mary

4. the I, have a singular commendation,

maintains
maintains the act, applauds the hero, and mingles
with some apprehension and advice the most lofty
hopes of the permanent and rising greatnefs of the
republic 32.

While Petrarch indulged these prophetic vi-
visions, the Roman hero was fast declining from
the meridian of fame and power; and the people,
who had gazed with admiration on the ascending
meteor, began to mark the irregularity of its
course, and the vicissitudes of light and obscurity.
More eloquent than judicious, more enterprising
than resolute, the faculties of Rienzi were not
balanced by cool and commanding reason: he
magnified in a tenfold proportion the objects of
hope and fear; and prudence, which could not
have erected, did not presume to fortify, his
thronc. In the blaze of prosperity, his virtues
were insensibly tinctured with the adjacent vices;
justice with cruelty, liberality with profusion,
and the desire of fame with puerile and ostentatious
vanity. He might have learned, that the antient
tribunes, so strong and sacred in the public
opinion, were not distinguished in style, habit, or
appearance, from an ordinary plebeian 33; and
that as often as they visited the city on foot, a
ingle

32 See the Epifola Hortatoria de Capenaenda Republica, from
Petrarch to Nicholas Rienzi (Opp. p. 535-540.), and the 
eclogue or pastoral, a perpetual and obscure allegory.

33 In his Roman Questions, Plutarch (Op. tom. i. p. 575,
576, edit. Graec. Hef. Steph.) notes, on the most constitutional
principles, the simple garments of the tribunes, who were not
properly magistrates, but a check on magiftry. It was then
duty and interest (contemp. 6ce mem., contempor. Hsec. int. post
tempora... la tontamoderandi) (a faying of C. Cnio) 

6,28
single victor, or beadle, attended the exercise of their office. The Gracchi would have frowned or smiled, could they have read the sonorous titles and epithets of their successor, "Nicholas, severe and merciful; deliverer of Rome; defender of Italy"; friend of mankind, and of liberty, peace, and justice; tribune August:" his theatrical pageants had prepared the revolution; but Rienzi abused, in luxury and pride, the political maxim of speaking to the eyes, as well as the understanding, of the multitude. From nature he had received the gift of an handsome person, till it was swelled and disfigured by intemperance; and his propensity to laughter was corrected in the magistracy by the affectation of gravity and sternness. He was cloathed, at least on public occasions, in a party-coloured robe of velvet or satin, lined with fur, and embroidered with gold: the rod of justice, which he carried in his hand, was a sceptre of polished steel, crowned with a globe and cross of gold, and inclining a small fragment of the true and holy wood. In his civil and religious
religious processions through the city, he rode on a white steed, the symbol of royalty; the great banner of the republic, a sun with a circle of stars, a dove with an olive branch, was displayed over his head; a shower of gold and silver was scattered among the populace; fifty guards with halberds encompassed his person; a troop of horse preceded his march; and theirymbals and trumpets were of malleable silver.

The ambition of the honours of chivalry betrayed the meanness of his birth, and degraded the importance of his office; and the equestrian tribune was not less odious to the nobles, whom he adopted, than to the plebeians, whom he defrocked. All that yet remained of treasure, or luxury, or art, was exhausted on that solemn day. Rienzi led the procession from the Capitol to the Lateran; the tediousness of the way was relieved with decorations and games; the ecclesiastical, civil, and military orders marched under their various banners; the Roman ladies attended his wife; and the ambassadors of Italy might loudly applaud, or fiercely deride, the novelty of the pomp. In the evening, when they had reached the church and palace of Constantine, he thanked and dismissed the numerous assembly, with an invitation to the arrival of the ensuing day. From
the hands of a venerable knight he received the order of the Holy Ghost; the purification of the bowl was a previous ceremony; but in no step of his life did Rienzi excite such scandal and consternation as by the profane use of the porphyry vase, in which Constantine (a foolish legend) had been healed of his leprosy by pope Sylvester. With equal presumption the tribunal watched or reports within the consecrated precincts of the baptistery; and the failure of his state-bed was interpreted as an omen of his approaching downfall. At the hour of worship he shewed himself to the returning crowds in a majestic attitude, with a robe of purple, his sword, and gilt spurs; but the holy rites were soon interrupted by his levity and insolence. Riling from his throne, and advancing towards the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice: "We summon to our tribunal pope Clement; and command him to reside in his diocese of Rome; we also summon the sacred college of Cardinals. We again summon the two pretenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis of Bavaria, who style themselves emperors: we likewise summon all the electors of Germany, to inform us on what pretence they have

37 All parties believed in the leprosy and bath of Constantine (Petrarch, Epist. Famili. vi. 2.) and Rienzi joined his own conduct by observing to the court of Avignon, that a vat which had been used by a Pagan, could not be profaned by a priest Christian. Yet this crime is included in the list of excommunication (Hodlerius, suppl. de Cap. 1. p. 179, 190.)

38 This ode is one of Pope Clement VI. which falls on the authority of the Vatican MS. It is disputed by the biographer of Petrarch (Petrarch, ii. 897. p. 750-752) with arguments more of dis-pute than of weight. The court of Avignon might not chuse to argue this delicate question.
The pope's vicar, the bishop of Orvieto, attempted to check this career of folly; but his feeble protest was silenced by martial music; and instead of withdrawing from the assembly, he consented to dine with his brother tribune, at a table which had hitherto been reserved for the supreme pontiff. A banquet such as the Caesars had given, was prepared for the Romans. The apartments, porticoes, and courts, of the Lateran were spread with innumerable tables for either sex, and every condition; a stream of wine flowed from the nolirils of Constantine's brazen horse; no complaint, except of the scarcity of water, could be heard; and the licentiousness of the multitude was curbed by discipline and fear. A fateful day was appointed for the coronation of Rienzi; seven crowns of different leaves or metals were successively placed on his head by the most eminent of the Roman clergy, they represented the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; and he still professed to imitate the example of the ancient tribunes. These extraordinary spectacles might deceive or flatter the

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348 THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. LXX.

The inalienable right of the Roman people, the ancient and lawful sovereigns of the empire. Unsheathing his maiden sword, he thrice brandished it to the three parts of the world, and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, "And this too is mine!" The pope's vicar, the bishop of Orvieto, attempted to check this career of folly; but his feeble protest was silenced by martial music; and instead of withdrawing from the assembly, he consented to dine with his brother tribune, at a table which had hitherto been reserved for the supreme pontiff. A banquet such as the Caesars had given, was prepared for the Romans. The apartments, porticoes, and courts, of the Lateran were spread with innumerable tables for either sex, and every condition; a stream of wine flowed from the nolirils of Constantine's brazen horse; no complaint, except of the scarcity of water, could be heard; and the licentiousness of the multitude was curbed by discipline and fear. A fateful day was appointed for the coronation of Rienzi; seven crowns of different leaves or metals were successively placed on his head by the most eminent of the Roman clergy, they represented the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; and he still professed to imitate the example of the ancient tribunes. These extraordinary spectacles might deceive or flatter the

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344 The monument of the two rival emperors, a monument of freedom and folly, is extant in Hucbenthal (Cesephi, p. 143-169).

345 It is singular, that the Roman historian should have overlooked this twelfth coronation, which is sufficiently proved by internal evidence, and the testimony of Hucbenthal, and even of Reinach (Ploetz, p. 164-175, 179).
people; and their own vanity was gratified in the vanity of their leader. But in his private life he soon deviated from the strict rule of frugality and abstinence; and the plebeians, who were awed by the splendor of the nobles, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. His wife, his son, his uncle (a barber in name and profession), exposed the contrast of vulgar manners and princely expense: and without acquiring the majesty, Rienzi degenerated into the vices, of a king.

A simple citizen describes with pity, or perhaps with pleasure, the humiliation of the barons of Rome. "Bareheaded, their hands crossed on their breast, they stood with downcast looks in the presence of the tribune: and they trembled, good God, how they trembled!" As long as the yoke of Rienzi was that of justice and their country, their conscience forced them to esteem the man, whom pride and interest provoked them to hate; his extravagant conduct soon fortified their hatred by contempt; and they conceived the hope of subverting a power which was no longer so deeply rooted in the public confidence. The old animosity of the Colonna and Urfini was suspended for a moment by their common disgrace: they associated their wishes, and perhaps their designs; an assassin was seized and tortured; he accused the nobles; and as soon as Rienzi deserved the fate, he adopted the fulpicious and

41 Puoi se faceva stare denante a se, mentre sedeva, li baroni tutti in diadi ritto cola vracia piate, e co li capueci tratti. Deh comovavano paurosi! (Hift. Rom. 1. ii. c. 30. p. 439.) He saw them, and we see them.
maxims, of a tyrant. On the same day, under various pretences, he ordered to the Capitol his principal enemies, among whom were five members of the Usini and three of the Colonna name. But instead of a council or a banquet, they found themselves prisoners under the sword of death or life, and the consciousness of innocence or guilt might inspire them with equal apprehensions of danger. At the sound of the great bell the people assembled; they were arraigned for a conspiracy against the tribune's life; and though some might sympathize in their distress, not a hand, nor a voice, was raised to relieve the hilt of the nobility from their impending doom. Their appearance boldness was prompted by despair; they pleaded in separate chambers a people's and punish right; and the venerable here, St. then Colonna, calling a draft the door of his tribune, repeatedly urged his guards to deliver him to a speedy death from such ignominious execrations. In the morning they understood the letter of the chief of a confessor and the words of the priest that of the hall of the Capitol had been copied by the holy stone where it could not be seen; the circumstance of the tribune's life and power; the words of the confessor were unheeded; and the sentence was passed on their dying howling. The hilt of the sword is seen. But in this decisive moment the people, who had been or appeared to be the friends of the tribune, the number of their enemy, took possession. Instead of
of the world; and, after rashly offering a mortal injury, he vainly presumed that, if he could forgive, he might himself be forgiven. His elaborate oration was that of a Christian and a suppliant; and, as the humble minister of the commons, he entreated his masters to pardon these noble criminals, for whose repentance and future service he pledged his faith and authority. "If "you are spared," said the tribune, "by the "mercy of the Romans, will you not promise "to support the good estate with your lives and "fortunes?" Astonished by this marvellous clemency, the barons bowed their heads; and, while they devoutly repeated the oath of allegiance, might whisper a secret, and more sincere, assurance of revenge. A priest, in the name of the people, pronounced their abjuration: they received the communion with the tribune, ascended at the banquet, followed the procession; and, after every spiritual and temporal sign of reconciliation, were dismissed in safety to their respective homes, with the new honours and titles of generals, consuls, and patricians.

During some weeks they were checked by the memory of their danger, rather than of their deliverance, till the most powerful of the Ursini, escaping with the Colonna from the city, erected at Marino the standard of rebellion. The fortifications of the castle were instantly restored; the
vassals attended their lord; the outlaws armed against the magistrate; the flocks and herds, the harvests and vineyards, from Marino to the gates of Rome, were swept away or destroyed; and the people arraigned Rienzi as the author of the calamities which his government had taught them to forget. In the camp, Rienzi appeared to let advantage than in the rostrum: and he neglected the progress of the rebel barons till their numbers were strong, and their castles impregnable. From the pages of Livy he had not imbibed the art, or even the courage, of a general: an army of twenty thousand Romans returned without honour or effect from the attack of Marino: and his vengeance was amuse by painting his enemies, their heads downwards, and drowning two dogs (at least they should have been bears) as the representatives of the Ufiniti. The belief of his incapacity encouraged their operations: they were invited by their secret adherents; and the barons attempted with four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, to enter Rome by force or surprize. The city was prepared for their reception: the alarm-bell rung all night: the gates were strictly guarded, or insulting open; and after some hesitation they found a retreat. The two first divisions had passed along the walls, but the prospect of a free entrance tempted the headstrong tribes of the nobles in the rear; and after a successful skirmish, they were overthrown and vanquished without quarter by the crowds of the Roman people. Stephen Colonna the younger, the noble spirit to whom Petrarch ascribed the reformation
restoration of Italy, was preceded or accompanied in death by his son John, a gallant youth, by his brother Peter, who might regret the ease and honours of the church, by a nephew of legitimate birth, and by two bastards of the Colonna race; and the number of seven, the seven crowns, as Rienzi styled them, of the Holy Ghost, was completed by the agony of the deplorable parent, of the veteran chief, who had survived the hope and fortune of his house. The vision and prophecies of St. Martin and pope Boniface had been used by the tribune to animate his troops: he displayed, at least in the pursuit, the spirit of an hero; but he forgot the maxims of the ancient Romans, who abhorred the triumphs of civil war. The conqueror ascended the Capitol; deposited his crown and sceptre on the altar; and boasted with some truth, that he had cut off an ear which neither pope nor emperor had been able to amputate. His base and implacable revenge denied the honours of burial; and the bodies of the Colonna, which he threatened to expose with those of the vilest malefactors, were

41 Rienzi, in the above-mentioned letter, ascribes to St. Martin the tribune, Boniface VIII. the enemy of Colonna, himself, and the Roman people, the glory of the day, which Villani likewise (l. 12. c. 104.) describes as a regular battle. The disorderly skirmish, the flight of the Romans, and the cowardice of Rienzi, are painted in the simple and minute narrative of Fortioccia, or the anonymous citizen (l. ii. c. 34—37.).

44 In describing the fall of the Colonna, I speak only of the family of Stephen the elder, who is often confounded by the P. du Cerceau, with his son. That family was extinguished, but the house has been perpetuated in the collateral branches, of which I have not a very accurate knowledge. Circumspice (says Petrarch) familias tuae statum, Columnentium deus: solito pauciores habeat columnas. Quid ad rem? modo fundamentum stabile, solidum quo permaneat.

Vol. XII. A a secretly
secretly interred by the holy virgins of their name and family. The people sympathized in their grief, repented of their own fury, and detested the indecent joy of Rienzi, who visited the spot where these illustrious victims had fallen. It was on that fatal spot, that he conferred on his son the honour of knighthood; and the ceremony was accomplished by a slight blow from each of the horsemen of the guard, and by a ridiculous and inhuman ablution from a pool of water, which was yet polluted with patrician blood.

A short delay would have saved the Colonna, the delay of a single month, which elapsed between the triumph and exile of Rienzi. In the pride of victory, he forfeited what yet remained of his civil virtues, without acquiring the fame of military prowess. A free and vigorous opposition was formed in the city; and when the tribune proposed in the public council to impose a new tax, and to regulate the government of Perugia, thirty-nine members voted against his measure: repelled the injurious charge of

45 The society of the Menor was founded, endowed, and protected by the Colonna di Montefeltro, for the daughters of the family who cultivated a noble life, and valor, in the year 1518, were twelve in number. The others were allowed to marry with their kinship in the family line; and the indulgence was justified by the town confirmed the same to the noble families of Rome (Monments for Patrons, vol. vii. p. 226, vol. viii. p. 317. 46 Pederch was a free and patient lover of confusion (Frontal. 166. 153. p. 62, 63). The poet exclaims in the model. Not a flower stir in the field, nor can they be turned to good, or ever see the light."

Justice, kindness, truth, beauty, and the peaceful "

47 This council and opposition is obtruded, as it was by Pederch, a contemporary, in the history of his private and national, (Petron. text. xxv. 1631. P. 57. 584. 589) treachery.
t indispensable and corruption; and urged him to prove, by their forcible exclusion, that, if the populace adhered to his cause, it was already disdained by the most respectable citizens. The pope and the sacred college had never been dazzled by his specious professions; they were justly offended by the insolence of his conduct; a cardinal legate was sent to Italy, and after some fruitless treaty, and two personal interviews, he fulminated a bull of excommunication, in which the tribune is degraded from his office, and branded with the guilt of rebellion, sacrilege, and hereby. The surviving barons of Rome were now humbled to a sense of allegiance; their interest and revenge engaged them in the service of the church; but as the fate of the Colonna was before their eyes, they abandoned to a private adventurer the peril and glory of the revolution. John Pepin, count of Minorbino in the kingdom of Naples, had been condemned for his crimes, or his riches, to perpetual imprisonment; and Petrarch, by soliciting his release, indirectly contributed to the ruin of his friend. At the head of one hundred and fifty soldiers, the count of Minorbino introduced himself into Rome; barricaded the quarter of the Colonna; and found

43 The briefs and bulls of Clement VI. against Rienzi, are translated by the P. du Cerceau (p. 197. 231.) from the Ecclesiastic Annals of Fredericus Raynaldus (A. D. 1347, No. 15. 17. 21, &c.), who found them in the archives of the Vatican.

49 Matteo Villani describes the origin, character, and death of this count of Minorbino, a man da natura inconfante e senza fede, whose grandfather, a crafty notary, was enriched and ennobled by the spoils of the Remains of Nocera (i. viii. c. 102, 103.) See his imprisonment, and the efforts of Petrarch, tom. ii. p. 149—
the enterprise as easy as it had seemed impossible. From the first alarm, the bell of the Capitol incessantly tolled; but, instead of repairing to the well-known sound, the people was silent and inactive; and the puffilanimous Rienzi, deploring their ingratitude with sighs and tears, abdicated the government and palace of the republic.

Without drawing his sword, count Pepin restored the aristocracy and the church; three senators were chosen, and the legate assuming the first rank, accepted his two colleagues from the rival families of Colonna and Urfini. The acts of the tribune were abolished, his head was proscribed; yet such was the terror of his name, that the barons hesitated three days before they would trust themselves in the city, and Rienzi was left above a month in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence he peaceably withdrew, after labouring, without effect, to revive the affection and courage of the Romans. The vision of freedom and empire had vanished: their fallen spirit would have acquiesced in servitude, had it been smoothed by tranquillity and order: and it was scarcely observed, that the new senators derived their authority from the Apostolic See, that four cardinals were appointed to reform with dictatorial power the state of the republic. Rome was again agitated by the bloody feuds of the barons, who detested each other, and despised the commons: their hostile fortresses, both in town and country, again rose, and were again demolished; and the peaceful citizens, a flock of sheep, were devoured, says the Florentine historian, by these rapacious wolves. But when their pride and avarice had
had exhausted the patience of the Romans, a con-
fraternity of the virgin Mary protected or avenged
the republic: the bell of the Capitol was again
tolled, the nobles in arms trembled in the pre-
sence of an unarmed multitude; and of the two
senators, Colonna escaped from the window of the
palace, and Urfini was stoned at the foot of the
altar. The dangerous office of tribune was suc-
cessively occupied by two plebeians, Cerroni and
Baroncelli. The mildness of Cerroni was un-
equal to the times; and after a faint struggle, he
retired with a fair reputation and a decent for-
tune to the comforts of rural life. Devoid of
eloquence or genius, Baroncelli was distinguished
by a resolute spirit: he spoke the language of a
patriot, and trod in the footsteps of tyrants; his
suspicion was a sentence of death, and his own
death was the reward of his cruelties. Amidst
the public misfortunes, the faults of Rienzi were
forgotten; and the Romans sighed for the peace
and prosperity of the good estate 59.

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

59 The troubles of Rome, from the departure to the return of
Rienzi, are related by Matteo Villani (l. iii. c. 47. l. iii. c. 33. 57.
70.) and Thomas Fortifocca (l. iii. c. 1—4.). I have slightly
passed over these secondary characters, who imitated the original
tribune.
the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. His person was invisible, his name was yet formidable; and the anxiety of the court of Avignon supposed, and even magnifies, his personal merit. The emperor Charles the fourth gave audience to a stranger, who frankly revealed himself as the tribune of the republic; and astonished an assembly of ambassadors and princes, by the eloquence of a patriot and the visions of a prophet, the downfall of tyranny and the kingdom of the Holy Ghost. Whatever had been his hopes, Rienzi found himself a captive; but he supported a character of independence and dignity, and obeyed, as his own choice, the irresistible summons of the supreme pontiff. The zeal of Petrarch, which had been cooled by the unworthy conduct, was rekindled by the sufferings and the presence, of his friend; and he boldly complains of the times, in which the favour of Rome was delivered by her emperor into the hands of her bishop. Rienzi was transported flowly, but in safe custody, from Prague to Avignon: his entrance into the city was that of a malefactor; in his prison he was chained by the leg; and four cardinals were named to enquire into the crimes of heresy and rebellion. But his trial and condemnation would have involved some questions, which it was more prudent to leave under the veil of mystery: the temporal supremacy of the popes;

**Note:** These visions, of which the friends and enemies of Rienzi form such importance, are strongly supported by the zeal of Petrarch, a Dominican inquisitor, (ib. i. tom. xxv. c. 57, p. 316.) And the more one turns, he Christ was succeeded by the Holy Ghost, that the tyranny of the pope would be abolished, he might have been convicted of heresy and treason, without exciting the Roman people.

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**Chapter LXV.**

A prisoner at Avignon. A.D. 1351.
the duty of residence; the civil and ecclesiastical privileges of the clergy and people of Rome. The reigning pontiff well deserved the appellation of Clement: the strange vicissitudes and magnanimous spirit of the captive excited his pity and esteem; and Petrarch believes that he respected in the hero the name and sacred character of a poet. Rienzi was indulged with an easy confinement and the use of books; and in the assiduous study of Livy and the bible, he fought the cause and the consolation of his misfortunes.

The succeeding pontificate of Innocent the sixth opened a new prospect of his deliverance and restoration; and the court of Avignon was persuaded, that the successful rebel could alone appease and reform the anarchy of the metropolis. After a solemn profession of fidelity, the Roman tribune was sent into Italy, with the title of senator; but the death of Baroncelli appeared to supercede the use of his mission; and the legate, cardinal Albornoz, a consummate statesman, allowed him with reluctance, and without aid, to undertake the perilous experiment. His first reception was equal to his wishes: the day of his entrance was a public festival; and his eloquence and authority re-

52 The astonishment, the envy almost, of Petrarch is a proof, if not of the truth of this incredible fact, at least of his own veracity. The abbé de Sade (Memoires, tom. iii. p. 242.) quotes the vth epistle of the xiiiith book of Petrarch, but it is in the royal MS. which he consulted, and not of the ordinary Bulfin edition (p. 920.).

53 Albigius, or Giles Albornoz, a noble Spaniard, archbishop of Toledo, and cardinal legate in Italy (A. D. 1553—1567), restored, by his arms and counsels, the temporal dominion of the popes. His life has been separately written by Sepulveda; but Dryden could not reasonably suppose, that his name, or that of Wolsey, had reached the ears of the Multæ mi Don Sebastian.
vived the laws of the good estate. But this momentary sunshine was soon clouded by his own vices and those of the people: in the Capitol, he might often regret the prison of Avignon; and after a second administration of four months, Rienzi was massacred in a tumult which had been fomented by the Roman barons. In the society of the Germans and Bohemians, he is said to have contracted the habits of intemperance and cruelty: adversity had chilled his enthusiasm, without fortifying his reason or virtue: and that youthful hope, that lively assurance, which is the pledge of success, was now succeeded by the cold impotence of distress and despair. The tribune had reigned with absolute dominion, by the choice, and in the hearts, of the Romans: the senator was the servile minister of a foreign court; and while he was suspected by the people, he was abandoned by the prince. The legate Albornoz, who seemed desirous of his ruin, inflexibly refused all supplies of men and money; a faithful subject could no longer presume to touch the revenues of the apostolical chamber; and the first idea of a tax was the signal of clamour and sedition. Even his justice was tainted with the guilt or reproach of selfish cruelty: the most virtuous citizen of Rome was sacrificed to his jealousy; and in the execution of a public robber, from whose purse he had been rifled, the magistrate too much forgot, or too much remembered, the obligations of the debtor. A civil

*4 From Matteo Villani, and Fortunuccio, the P. du Cerfian (p. 344—354.) has extracted the life and death of the chevalier Montcalm, the life of a robber and the death of an hero. At the head
A civil war exhausted his treasures, and the patience of the city: the Colonna maintained their hostile station at Palestrina; and his mercenaries soon delipied a leader whose ignorance and fear were envious of all subordinate merit. In the death as in the life of Rienzi, the hero and the coward were strangely mingled. When the Capitol was invested by a furious multitude, when he was basely deserted by his civil and military servants, the intrepid senator, waving the banner of liberty, presented himself on the balcony, addressed his eloquence to the various passions of the Romans, and laboured to persuade them, that in the same cause himself and the republic must either stand or fall. His oration was interrupted by a volley of imprecations and stones; and after an arrow had tranpierced his head, he sunk into abject despair, and fled weeping to the inner chambers, from whence he was let down by a sheet before the windows of the prison. Destitute of aid or hope, he was besieged till the evening: the doors of the Capitol were destroyed with axes and fire; and while the senator attempted to escape in a plebeian habit, he was discovered and dragged to the platform of the palace, the fatal scene of his judgments and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he flood amidst the multitude half naked and half dead; their rage was hushed into curiosity and wonder; the last feelings of reverence and compassion yet struggled in his head of a free company, the first that desolated Italy, he became rich and formidable: he had money in all the banks, 60,000 ducats in Padua alone.
favour; and they might have prevailed, if a bold assassin had not plunged a dagger in his breast. He fell senseless with the first stroke; the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thousand wounds; and the senator’s body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames. Posterity will compare the virtues and failings of this extraordinary man; but in a long period of anarchy and servitude, the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country, and the last of the Roman patriots.

The first and most generous wish of Petrarch was the restoration of a free republic; but after the exile and death of his plebeian hero, he turned his eyes from the tribune, to the king, of the Romans. The Capitol was yet stained with the blood of Rienzi, when Charles the fourth descended from the Alps to obtain the Italian and Imperial crowns. In his passage through Milan he received the visit, and repaid the flattery, of the poet-laureat; accepted a medal of Augustus; and promised, without a smile, to imitate the founder of the Roman monarchy. A false application of the names and maxims of antiquity was the bane of the hopes and disappointments of Petrarch; yet he could not overlook the difference of times and characters; the immeasurable distance between the first Caesars and a Bohemian prince, who by the favour of the clergy had been elected the titular head of the German aristocracy. Instead of re-

55 The exile, false government, and death of Rienzi, are minutely related by the anonymous Roman, who appears neither his friend nor his enemy (p. 134. c. 15—25). Petrarch, who loved the tribune, was insensible to the fate of the Caesars.
floring to Rome her glory and her provinces, he had bound himself, by a secret treaty with the pope, to evacuate the city on the day of his coronation; and his shameful retreat was pursued by the reproaches of the patriot bard 56.

After the loss of liberty and empire, his third and more humble wish, was to reconcile the shepherd with his flock; to recall the Roman bishop to his ancient and peculiar diocese. In the fervour of youth, with the authority of age, Petrarch addressed his exhortations to five successive popes, and his eloquence was always inspired by the enthusiasm of sentiment and the freedom of language 57. The son of a citizen of Florence invariably preferred the country of his birth to that of his education: and Italy, in his eyes, was the queen and garden of the world. Amidst her domestic factions, she was doubtless superior to France both in art and science, in wealth and politeness; but the difference could scarcely support the epithet of barbarous, which he promiscuously bestows on the countries beyond the Alps. Avignon, the mystic Babylon, the sink of vice and corruption, was the object of his hatred and con-

56 The hopes and the disappointment of Petrarch are agreeably described in his own words by the French biographer (Memoires, tom. iii. p. 375—413), but the deep, though secret, wound, was the coronation of Zanobi the poet-laureat by Charles IV.

57 See in his accurate and amusing biographer, the application of Petrarch and Rome to Benedict XII. in the year 1334 (Memoires, tom. i. p. 261—295.), to Clement VI. in 1342 (tom. ii. p. 25—47.), and to Urban V. in 1366 (tom. iii. p. 677—671.); his pride (p. 711—715.) and exude (p. 771.) of the list of these pontiffs, His angry controversy on the respective merits of France and Italy may be found (ibid. p. 1063—1087.),
tempt; but he forgets that her scandalous vices were not the growth of the soil, and that in every residence they would adhere to the power and luxury of the papal court. He confesses, that the successor of St. Peter is the bishop of the universal church; yet it was not on the banks of the Rhone, but of the Tiber, that the apostle had fixed his everlasting throne: and while every city in the Christian world was blessed with a bishop, the metropolis alone was desolate and forlorn. Since the removal of the Holy See, the sacred buildings of the Lateran and the Vatican, their altars and their saints, were left in a state of poverty and decay; and Rome was often painted under the image of a disconsolate matron, as if the wandering husband could be reclaimed by the homely portrait of the age and infirmities of his weeping spouse. But the cloud which hung over the seven hills, would be dispelled by the presence of their lawful sovereign: eternal fame, the prosperity of Rome, and the peace of Italy, would be the recompence of the pope who should dare to embrace this generous resolution. Of the five whom Petrarch exhorted, the three first, John the twenty-second, Benedict the twelfth, and Clement the sixth, were importuned or amused by the blandness of the orator; but the memorable change

Squalida fed quoniam facies, neglegia cultura
Cecinere; multique malis fallacia tenetus
Emptor fontam oblivient: vetus accipe nomen
Roma vocat. (Carm. l. 2. p. 77.)

He spins this allegory beyond all measure of patience. The Epistles to Urban V. in prose, are more simple and perspicuous (Semilium, I. vii. p. 844—854, &c. ii. 844—854), which
which had been attempted by Urban the fifth, was finally accomplished by Gregory the eleventh. The execution of their design was opposed by weighty and almost insuperable obstacles. A king of France who has deserved the epithet of wife, was unwilling to release them from a local dependence: the cardinals, for the most part his subjects, were attached to the language, manners, and climate, of Avignon; to their stately palaces; above all, to the wines of Burgundy. In their eyes, Italy was foreign or hostile; and they reluctantly embarked at Marseilles, as if they had been sold or banished into the land of the Saracens. Urban the fifth resided three years in the Vatican with safety and honour: his sanctity was protected by a guard of two thousand horse; and the king of Cyprus, the queen of Naples, and the emperors of the East and West devoutly saluted their common father in the chair of St. Peter. But the joy of Petrarch and the Italians was soon turned into grief and indignation. Some reasons of public or private moment, his own impatience or the prayers of the cardinals, recalled Urban to France; and the approaching election was faved from the tyrannic patriotism of the Romans. The powers of heaven were interested in their cause: Bridget of Sweden, a saint and pilgrim, disapproved the return, and foretold the death, of Urban the fifth: the migration of Gregory the eleventh was encouraged by St. Catherine of Sienna, the spouse of Christ and ambassadress of the Florentines; and the popes themselves, the great masters of human credulity, appear to have listened to these
these visionary females. Yet those celestial admonitions were supported by some arguments of temporal policy. The residence of Avignon had been invaded by hostile violence: at the head of thirty thousand robbers, an hero had extorted ransom and absolution from the vicar of Christ and the sacred college; and the maxim of the French warriors, to spare the people and plunder the church, was a new herald of the most dangerous import. While the pope was driven from Avignon, he was firenously invited to Rome. The senate and people acknowledged him as their lawful sovereign, and laid at his feet the keys of the gates, the bridges, and the fortresses; of the quarter at least beyond the Tiber. But this loyal offer was accompanied by a declaration, that they could no longer suffer the scandal and calamity of his absence; and that his obstinacy would finally provoke them to revive and assert the primitive right of election. The abbot of mount

CHAP. LXX.

Casslin
Cassin had been consulted, whether he would accept the triple crown " from the clergy and people; "I am a citizen of Rome," replied that venerable ecclesiastic, "and my first law is the "voice of my country.""

If superstition will interpret an untimely death; if the merit of counsels be judged from the event; the heavens may seem to frown on a measure of such apparent reason and propriety. Gregory the eleventh did not survive above fourteen months his return to the Vatican; and his decease was followed by the great schism of the West, which distracted the Latin church above forty years.

42 The first crown or regnum (Ducange, Gloss. Latin, tom. v. p. 702.) on the episcopal mitre of the popes, is attributed to the gift of Constantine, or Clovis. The second was added by Boniface VIII. as the emblem not only of a spiritual, but of a temporal, kingdom. The three states of the church are represented by the triple crown which was introduced by John XXII. or Benedict XII. (Memoires für Petrarque, tom. i. p. 258, 259.).

43 Baluze (Not. ad Pap. Avenion, tom. i. p. 1794, 1795.) produces the original evidence which attests the threats of the Roman ambassadors, and the resignation of the abbot of mount Cassin, qui utroque offensae, respondit in civem Romanum eisse, et illud vellem quod ipsi vellent.

44 The return of the popes from Avignon to Rome, and their reception by the people, are related in the original Lives of Urban V. and Gregory XI. in Baluze (Vit. Paparum Avenionemum, tom. i. p. 363—485.) and Muratori (Script. Rer. Italianarum, tom. iii. P. i. p. 610—716.). In the disputes of the schism, every circumstance was severely, though partially, scrutinized; more especially in the great inquest, which decided the obedience of Cassile, and to which Baluze, in his notes, so often and so largely appeals, from a MS. volume in the Harley library (p. 1281, &c.).

45 Can the death of a good man be esteemed a punishment by those who believe in the immortality of the soul? They betray the inferiority of their faith. Yet, as a mere philosopher, I cannot agree with the Greeks, ἐὰν δὲ ἡμι σιδην ἀντίκεκουσα (Brunck, Petr. Graec. Gr. p. 231.). See in Herodotus (i. i. c. 31.) the moral and philosophic value of the Argive yokes.
The sacred college was then composed of twenty-two cardinals: six of these had remained at Avignon; eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italians, entered the conclave in the usual form. Their choice was not yet limited to the purple; and their unanimous votes acquiesced in the archbishop of Bari, a subject of Naples, conspicuous for his zeal and learning, who ascended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Urban the sixth. The epistle of the sacred college affirms his free and regular election; which had been inspired, as usual, by the Holy Ghost: he was adored, invested, and crowned, with the customary rights; his temporal authority was obeyed at Rome and Avignon, and his ecclesiastical supremacy was acknowledged in the Latin world. During several weeks, the cardinals attended their new master with the fairest professions of attachment and loyalty; till the summer heats permitted a decent escape from the city. But as soon as they were united at Anagni and Fundi, in a place of security, they cast aside the mask, accused their own falsehood and hypocrisy, excommunicated the apostate and antichrift of Rome, and proceeded to a new election of Robert of Geneva, Clement the seventh, whom they announced to the nations as the true and rightful vicar of Christ. Their first choice, an involuntary and illegal act, was annulled by the fear of death and the menaces of the Romans; and their complaint is justified by the strong evidence of probability and fact. The twelve French cardinals, above two-thirds of the votes, were masters of the election; and whatever
might be their provincial jealousies, it cannot fairly be presumed that they would have sacrificed their right and interest to a foreign candidate, who would never restore them to their native country. In the various, and often inconsistent, narratives, the shades of popular violence are more darkly or faintly coloured: but the licentiousness of the sedulous Romans was inflamed by a sense of their privileges, and the danger of a second emigration. The conclave was intimidated by the shouts, and encompassed by the arms, of thirty thousand rebels; the bells of the Capitol and St. Peter’s rang an alarm; “Death, or an Italian pope!” was the universal cry; the same threat was repeated by the twelve bannerets or chiefs of the quarters, in the form of charitable advice; some preparations were made for burning the obdurate cardinals; and had they chosen a Transalpine subject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican. The same constraint imposed the necessity of dissimulating in the eyes of Rome and of the world: the pride and cruelty of Urban presented a more inevitable danger; and they soon discovered the features of the tyrant, who could walk in his garden and recite his breviary, while he heard from an adjacent chamber six cardinals groaning on the rack. His inflexible

45 In the first book of the Histoire du Concile de Pise, M. Lenfant has abridged and compared the original narratives of the adherents of Urban and Clement, of the Italians and Germans, the French and Spaniards. The latter appear to be the most active and loquacious, and every fact and word in the original Lives of Gregory XI. and Clement VII. are supported in the notes of their editor Baluze.
zeal, which loudly cenfured their luxury and vice, would have attached them to the stations and duties of their parishes at Rome; and had he not fatally delayed a new promotion, the French cardinals would have been reduced to an helpless minority in the sacred college. For these reasons, and in the hope of repassing the Alps, they rashly violated the peace and unity of the church; and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic schools. The vanity, rather than the interest, of the nation determined the court and clergy of France. The states of Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Scotland, were inclined by their example and authority to the obedience of Clement the seventh, and, after his decease, of Benedict the thirteenth. Rome and the principal states of Italy, Germany, Portugal, England, the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of the North, adhered to the prior election of Urban the fifth, who was succeeded by Boniface.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

the ninth, Innocent the seventh, and Gregory the twelfth.

From the banks of the Tyber and the Rhône, the hostile pontiffs encountered each other with the pen and the sword: the civil and ecclesiastical order of society was disturbed; and the Romans had their full share of the mischief of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors. They had vainly flattered themselves with the hope of restoring the seat of the ecclesiastical monarchy, and of relieving their poverty with the tributes and offerings of the nations; but the separation of France and Spain diverted the stream of lucrative devotion; nor could the loss be compensated by the two jubilees which were crowded into the space of ten years. By the avocations of the schism, by foreign arms, and popular tumults, Urban the sixth and his three successors were often compelled to interrupt their residence in the Vatican. The Colonna and Urfini still exercised their deadly feuds: the bannerets of Rome afficted and abused the privileges of a republic: the vicars of Christ, who had levied a military force, chastised their rebellion with the gibbet, the sword, and the dagger; and in a friendly conference, eleven deputies of the people were perfidiously murdered and cast into the street. Since the invasion of Robert the Norman, the Romans had pursued their domestic quarrels with-

72 Besides the general historians, the Diaries of Delphinus Gentilis, Peter Antonius, and Stephen Infelura, in the great Collection of Muratori, represent the state and misfortunes of Rome.
out the dangerous interposition of a stranger. But in the disorders of the schism, an aspiring neighbour, Ladislaus king of Naples, alternately supported and betrayed the pope and the people: by the former, he was declared gonfalonier, or general, of the church, while the latter submitted to his choice the nomination of their magistrates. Besieging Rome by land and water, he thrice entered the gates as a Barbarian conqueror; profaned the altars, violated the virgins, pillaged the merchants, performed his devotions at St. Peter's, and left a garrison in the castle of St. Angelo. His arms were sometimes unfortunate, and to a delay of three days he was indebted for his life and crown; but Ladislaus triumphed in his turn, and it was only his premature death that could save the metropolis and the ecclesiastical state from the ambitious conqueror, who had assumed the title, or at least the powers, of king of Rome 71.

I have not undertaken the ecclesiastical history of the schism; but Rome, the object of these last chapters, is deeply interested in the disputed succession of her sovereigns. The first counsels for the peace and union of Christendom arose from the university of Paris, from the faculty of the Sorbonne, whose doctors were esteemed, at least in the Gallican church, as the most consummate

71 It is supposed by Giannone (tom. iii. p. 592.) that he styled himself Rex Romae, a title unknown to the world since the expulsion of Tartary. But a nearer inspection has justified the reading of Rex Romæ, of Rama, an obsolete kingdom annexed to the crown of Hungary.
masters of theological science. Prudently wavin all invidious enquiry into the origin and merits of the dispute, they proposed, as an healing measure, that the two pretenders of Rome and Avignon should abdicate at the same time, after qualifying the cardinals of the adverse factions to join in a legitimate election; and that the nations should submit their obedience, if either of the competitors preferred his own interest to that of the public. At each vacancy, these physicians of the church deprecated the mischiefs of an hafty choice; but the policy of the conclave and the ambition of its members were deaf to reason and entreaties; and whatsoever promises were made, the pope could never be bound by the oaths of the cardinal. During fifteen years, the pacific designs of the university were eluded by the arts of the rival pontiffs, the scruples or passions of their adherents, and the vicissitudes of French factions, that ruled the infancy of Charles the Sixth. At length a vigorous resolution was embraced; and a solemn embassy, of the titular patriarch of Alexandria, two arch-

72 The leading and decisive part which France assumed in the schism, is stated by Peter du Puis in a separate History, extracted from authentic records, and inserted in the viith volume of the last and best edition of his friend Thuanus (P. xi. p. 170—184.).

73 Of this measure, John Gerson, a stout doctor, was the author or the champion. The proceedings of the university of Paris and the Gallican church were often prompted by his advice, and are copiously displayed in his theological writings, of which Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Choix, tom. x. p. 1—78.) has given a valuable extract. John Gerson acted an important part in the councils of Pisa and Constance.
bishops, five bishops, five abbots, three knights, and twenty doctors, was sent to the courts of Avignon and Rome, to require, in the name of the church and king, the abdication of the two pretenders, of Peter de Luna, who styled himself Benedict the thirteenth, and of Angelo Corrado, who assumed the name of Gregory the twelfth. For the ancient honour of Rome, and the success of their commission, the ambassadors solicited a conference with the magistrates of the city, whom they gratified by a positive declaration, that the most Christian king did not entertain a wish of transporting the holy see from the Vatican, which he considered as the genuine and proper seat of the successor of St. Peter. In the name of the senate and people, an eloquent Roman asserted their desire to co-operate in the union of the church, deplored the temporal and spiritual calamities of the long schism, and requested the protection of France against the arms of the king of Naples. The answers of Benedict and Gregory were alike edifying and alike deceitful; and, in evading the demand of their abdication, the two rivals were animated by a common spirit. They agreed on the necessity of a previous interview, but the time, the place, and the manner, could never be ascertained by mutual consent. "If the one advances," says a servant of Gregory, "the other retreats; the one appears an animal fearful of the land, the other a creature apprehensive of the water. And thus, for a short moment of life and power, will these aged priests..."
"priests endanger the peace and salvation of the Christian world."

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

74 Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, one of the revivers of classic learning in Italy, who, after serving many years as secretary in the Roman court, retired to the honourable office of chancellor of the republic of Florence (Fabric. Bibliot. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 290.). Lanfant has given the version of this curious epitite (Concil. de Pise, tom. i. p. 191—195.).
fled and was brought back a prisoner: the most scandalous charges were suppressed; the vicar of Christ was only accused of piracy, murder, rape, sodomy, and incest; and after subscribing his own condemnation, he expiated in prison the impiety of trusting his person to a free city beyond the Alps. Gregory the twelfth, whose obedience was reduced to the narrow precincts of Rimini, descended with more honour from the throne, and his ambassador convened the session, in which he renounced the title and authority of lawful pope. To vanquish the obstinacy of Benedict the thirteenth or his adherents, the emperor in person undertook a journey from Constance to Perpignan. The kings of Cathile, Aragon, Navarre, and Scotland, obtained an equal and honourable treaty: with the concurrence of the Spaniards, Benedict was deposed by the council; but the harmless old man was left in a solitary cell to excommunicate twice each day the rebel kingdoms which had defeated his cause. After thus eradicating the remains of the schism, the synod of Constance proceeded with flow and cautious steps, to clear the sovereign of Rome and the head of the church. On this momentous occasion, the college of twenty-three cardinals was fortified with thirty deputies; six of whom were chosen in each of the five great nations of Christendom, the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and the English: the interference of strangers was

75 I cannot overlook this great national cause, which was vigorously maintained by the English and Scottish against that of France. The latter contended, that Christendom was effectually divided...
was softened by their generous preference of an Italian and a Roman; and the hereditary, as well as personal, merit of Otho Colonna recommended him to the conclave. Rome accepted with joy and obedience the noblest of her sons, the ecclesiastical state was defended by his powerful family, and the elevation of Martin the fifth is the era of the restoration and establishment of the popes in the Vatican.

The into the four great nations and votes, of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; and that the lesser kingdoms (such as England, Denmark, Portugal, &c.) were comprehended under one or other of these great divisions. The English asserted, that the British Islands, of which they were the head, should be considered as a fifth and coordinate nation, with an equal vote; and every argument of truth or table was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Including England, Scotland, Wales, the four kingdoms of Ireland, and the Orkneys, the British Islands are decorated with eight royal crowns, and discriminated by four or five languages, English, Welsh, Cornish, Scotch, Irish, &c. The greater island from north to south measures 830 miles, or 40 days journey; and England alone contains 32 counties, and 52,000 parish churches, (a bold account!) besides cathedrals, colleges, priories, and hospitals. They celebrate the mission of St. Joseph of Arimathea, the birth of Constantine, and the legantine powers of the two primates, without forgetting the testimony of Bartholomew de Glanville (A. D. 1360), who reckons only four Christian kingdoms, 1. of Rome, 2. of Constantinople, 3. of Ireland, which had been transferred to the English monarchs, and, 4. of Spain. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their arguments. The adverse pleadings were found at Constance by Sir Robert Wingfield, ambassadour from Henry VIII. to the emperor Maximilian I. and by him printed in 1517 at Louvain. From a Leipfic MS. they are more correctly published in the Collection of Von der Hardt, tom. v.; but I have only seen Lenfant's abridgment of these acts (Concilium de Constance, tom. ii. p. 447-455, &c.).

76 The histories of the three successive councils, Pisa, Constance, and Basil, have been written with a tolerable degree of candor, industry,
THE DECLINE AND FALL

The royal prerogative of coining money, which had been exercised near three hundred years by the senate, was first resumed by Martin the fifth, and his image and superscription introduce the series of the papal medals. Of his two immediate successors, Eugenius the fourth was the last pope expelled by the tumults of the Roman people, and Nicholas the fifth, who was important by the presence of a Roman emperor I. The conflict of Eugenius, with the fathers of Basil, and the weight or apprehension of a new excise, emboldened and provoked the Romans to usurp the temporal government of the city. They rose in arms, elected seven governors of the republic, and a constable of the Capitol; imprisoned the pope's nephew; besieged his person in the palace; and shot volleys of arrows into his bark as he escaped down the Tyber in the habit of a monk. But he still possessed in the castle of St. dufry, and elegance, by a Protestant miniiller, M. Lenfant, who retired from France to Berlin. They form six volumes, in quartos, and as Basil is the word, to Confiance is the bell, part of the collection.

77 See the xxviiith Dissertation of the Antiquities of Muratori. and the 1st Instruct on of the Science des Medailles of the Duc Joubert and the Baron de la Balley. The Metallic History of Martin V. and his successors, has been composed by two monks, Mabulet a Frenchman, and Bonanini an Italian: but I understand, that the last part of the series is written in more recent years.

78 Besides the Lives of Eugenius IV. (Serenum Italic. tom. iii. P. i. p. 569. and tom xxv. p. 256.), the Diaries of Paul Petron and Stephen Iccoli are the best original evidence for the revolt of the Romans against Eugenius IV. The former, who lived at the time and on the spot, speaks the language of a citizen, equally afraid of papal as of temporal tyranny.

79 The conquest of Frederick III. is described by Lenfant (Concilium Balbi, tom. ii. p. 256—294.) from Alberts chronicles, a spectator and actor in this imperial scene.

Angelo
Angelo a faithful garrison and a train of artillery; their batteries incessantly thundered on the city, and a bullet more dextrously pointed broke down the barricade of the bridge, and scattered with a single shot the heroes of the republic. Their constancy was exhausted by a rebellion of five months. Under the tyranny of the Ghibeline nobles, the wilest patriots regretted the dominion of the church; and their repentance was unanimous and effectual. The troops of St. Peter again occupied the Capitol; the magistrates departed to their homes; the most guilty were executed or exiled; and the legate, at the head of two thousand foot and four thousand horse, was saluted as the father of the city. The synods of Ferrara and Florence, the fear or resentment of Eugenius, prolonged his absence; he was received by a submissive people; but the pontiff understood from the acclamations of his triumphal entry, that to secure their loyalty and his own repose, he must grant without delay the abolition of the odious exicle.

II. Rome was restored, adorned, and enlightened, by the peaceful reign of Nicholas the fifth. In the midst of these laudable occupations, the pope was alarmed by the approach of Frederic the third of Austria; though his fears could not be justified by the character or the power of the Imperial candidate. After drawing his military force to the metropolis, and imposing the belt security of oaths and

20 The oath of fidelity imposed on the emperor by the pope, is recorded and mentioned in the Clementines (l. ii. tit. ix); and Aeneas Sylvius, who objects to this new demand, could not foresee, that in a few years he should ascend the throne, and imbibe the maxims, of Boniface VIII.
treaties, Nicholas received with a smiling countenance the faithful advocate and vassal of the church. So tame were the times, so feeble was the Austrian, that the pomp of his coronation was accomplished with order and harmony; but the superfluous honour was so disgraceful to an independent nation, that his successors have excused themselves from the toilsome pilgrimage to the Vatican; and rest their Imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany.

A citizen has remarked, with pride and pleasure, that the king of the Romans, after passing with a flight salute the cardinals and prelates who met him at the gate, distinguished the dress and person of the senator of Rome; and in this last farewell, the pageants of the empire and the republic were clasped in a friendly embrace. According to the laws of Rome, her first magistrate was required to be a doctor of laws, an alien, of a place at least forty miles from the city; with whole inhabitants he must not be connected in the third canonical degree of blood or alliance. The election was annual; a severe scrutiny was instituted into the conduct of the

21 Lo senatore di Roma, vestito di broccato con quella feretta, e con quelle maniche, et ornamenti di pelle, co' quali va alle feste di Tivoli e Nago, ringiorge l'occhio di Neæus Sylvius, ma lo si veste con meraviglia e complacency dal romano cittadino (Diario di Stephano Intellcura, p. 1153.)

22 See in the statutes of Rome, the 

CHA. 

LXX.

The statutes and government of Rome.

departing
departing senator; nor could he be recalled to the same office till after the expiration of two years. A liberal salary of three thousand florins was assigned for his expense and reward; and his public appearance represented the majesty of the republic. His robes were of gold brocade or crimson velvet, or in the summer season of a lighter silk; he bore in his hand an ivory sceptre; the sound of trumpets announced his approach; and his solemn steps were preceded at least by four lictors or attendants, whose red wands were enveloped with bands or streamers of the golden colour or livery of the city. His oath in the Capitol proclaims his right and duty, to observe and assert the laws, to control the proud, to protect the poor, and to exercise justice and mercy within the extent of his jurisdiction. In these useful functions he was assisted by three learned strangers; the two collaterals, and the judge of criminal appeals: their frequent trials of robberies, rapes, and murders, are attested by the laws; and the weakness of these laws connives at the licentiousness of private feuds and armed associations for mutual defence. But the senator was confined to the administration of justice: the Capitol, the treasury, and the government of the city and its territory were entrusted to the three conservators, who were changed four times in each year: the militia of the thirteen regions assembled under the banners of their respective chiefs, or caporioni; and the first of these was distinguished by the name and dignity of the prior. The popular legislature consisted of the secret and the
common councils of the Romans. The former was composed of the magistrates and their immediate predecessors, with some fiscal and legal officers, and three classes of thirteen, twenty-six, and forty, counsellors; amounting in the whole to about one hundred and twenty persons. In the common council all male citizens had a right to vote; and the value of their privilege was enhanced by the care with which any foreigners were prevented from usurping the title and character of Romans. The tumult of a democracy was checked by wise and jealous precautions: except the magistrates, none could propose a question; none were permitted to speak, except from an open pulpit or tribunal; all disorderly acclamations were suppressed; the sense of the majority was decided by a secret ballot; and their decrees were promulgated in the venerable name of the Roman Senate and people. It would not be easy to assign a period in which this theory of government has been reduced to accurate and constant practice, since the establishment of order has been gradually connected with the decay of liberty. But in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty, the ancient statutes were collected, methodized in three books, and adapted to present use, under the pontificate, and with the approbation, of Gregory the thirteenth; this civil and criminal code is the modern

83 Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte S. D. N. Gregori XIII. Part. Max. a Servio Tullioque Rom. recepta et edita. Romae, 1870, in fine. The obsolete, repugnant statutes of antiquity, were contained in five books, and Lucas Petri, a lawyer and
modern law of the city; and, if the popular assemblies have been abolished, a foreign senator, with the three conservators, still resides in the palace of the Capitol. The policy of the Caesars has been repeated by the popes; and the bishop of Rome affected to maintain the form of a republic, while he reigned with the absolute powers of a temporal, as well as spiritual, monarch.

It is an obvious truth, that the times must be suited to extraordinary characters, and that the genius of Cromwell or Retz might now expire in obscurity. The political enthusiasm of Rienzi had exalted him to a throne; the same enthusiasm, in the next century, conducted his imitator to the gallows. The birth of Stephen Porcaro was noble, his reputation spotless; his tongue was armed with eloquence, his mind was enlightened with learning; and he aspired, beyond the aim of vulgar ambition, to free his country and immortalize his name. The dominion of priests is most odious to a liberal spirit: every scruple was removed by the recent knowledge of the fable and forgery of Constantine's donation; Petrarch was now the oracle of the Italians; and as often as Porcaro revolved the ode which describes the

and antiquarian, was appointed to act as the modern Tribonian. Yet I regret the old code, with the rugged fruit of freedom and barbarism.

84 In my time (1765), and M. Greffey's (Observations sur l'Italie, tom. ii. p. 361.), the senator of Rome was M. Bielke, a noble Swede, and a proflyte to the Catholic faith. The popes' right to appoint the senator and the conservator is implied, rather than affirmed, in the Statutes.
patriot and hero of Rome, he applied to himself the visions of the prophetic bird. His first trial of the popular feelings was at the funeral of Eugenius the fourth: in an elaborate speech he called the Romans to liberty and arms; and they listened with apparent pleasure, till Porcaro was interrupted and answered by a grave advocate, who pleaded for the church and state. By every law the seditious orator was guilty of treason; but the benevolence of the new pontiff, who viewed his character with pity and esteem, attempted by an honourable office to convert the patriot into a friend. The inflexible Roman returned from Anagni with an increase of reputation and zeal; and, on the first opportunity, the games of the place Navona, he tried to inflame the casual dispute of some boys and mechanics into a general rising of the people. Yet the humane Nicholas was still averse to accept the forfeit of his life; and the traitor was removed from the scene of temptation to Bologna, with a liberal allowance for his support, and the easy obligation of presenting himself each day before the governor of the city. But Porcaro had learned from the younger Brunus, that with tyrants no faith or gratitude should be observed: the exile declaimed against the arbitrary sentence, a party and a conspiracy was gradually formed; his nephew, a daring youth, attended a band of volunteers; and on the appointed evening a fleet was prepared at his house for the friends of the republic. Their leader, who had escaped from Bologna, appeared
appeared among them in a robe of purple and gold: his voice, his countenance, his gestures, bespoke the man who had devoted his life or death to the glorious cause. In a studied oration, he expatiated on the motives and the means of their enterprise: the name and liberties of Rome; the sloth and pride of their ecclesiastical tyrants; the active or passive consent of their fellow-citizens; three hundred soldiers and four hundred exiles, long exercised in arms or in wrongs; the licence of revenge to edge their swords, and a million of ducats to reward their victory. It would be easy (he said), on the next day, the festival of the Epiphany, to seize the pope and his cardinals before the doors, or at the altar, of St. Peter's; to lead them in chains under the walls of St. Angelo; to extort by the threat of their instant death a surrender of the castle; to ascend the vacant Capitol; to ring the alarm-bell; and to restore in a popular assembly the ancient republic of Rome. While he triumphed, he was already betrayed. The senator, with a strong guard, invested the house: the nephew of Porcaro cut his way through the crowd; but the unfortunate Stephen was drawn from a chest, lamenting that his enemies had anticipated by three hours the execution of his design. After such manifest and repeated guilt, even the mercy of Nicholas was silent. Porcaro, and nine of his accomplices, were hanged without the benefit of the sacraments; and amidst the fears and invectives of the papal court, the Romans pitied,
and almost applauded, these martyrs of their country. But their applause was mute, their pity ineffectual, their liberty for ever extinct; and, if they have since risen in a vacancy of the throne or a scarcity of bread, such accidental tumults may be found in the bottom of the most abject servitude.

But the independence of the nobles, which was fomented by discord, survived the freedom of the commons, which must be founded in union. A privilege of rapine and oppression was long maintained by the barons of Rome; their houses were a fortress and a sanctuary; and the ferocious train of banditti and criminals whom they protected from the law, repaid the hospitality with the service of their swords and daggers. The private interest of the pontiffs, or their nephews, sometimes involved them in these domestic feuds. Under the reign of Sixtus the fourth, Rome was distracted by the battles and sieges of the rival houses: after the conflagration of his palace, the protonotary Colonna was tortured and beheaded; and Savelli, his captive friend, was murdered on the spot, for refusing to join in the acclamations

55 Render the curious though concise narrative of Machiavel (History Florentina, I. vi. Opera, tom. i. p. 210, 211, edit. Londra, 1747, in 4to), the Pisanian conspiracy is related in the Diary of Stephen Infellara (Reg. Ital. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1134, 1135), and in a separate tract by Leo Baptista Albizzi (Reg. Ital. tom. xxv. p. 629—614). It is amusing to compare the style and sentiments of the country and citizen. Fuit us protégé quo . . . neque periculo fortissimi, neque audacia detestabilius, neque crudelitate taurina, a quoquam perditioni ulterius excogitatum sit . . . Perdit a vita quern in uno da bene, c. matera della bene et liberta di Roma.
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The spiritual thunders of the Vatican depend on the force of opinion: and, if that opinion be supplanted by reason or passion, the sound may idly waste itself in the air; and the helpless priest is exposed to the brutal violence of a noble or a plebeian adversary. But after their return from Avignon, the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the sword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable citadel: the use of cannon is a powerful engine against popular seditions: a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enlisted under the banners of the pope; his ample revenues supplied the resources of war; and, from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army of hostile neighbours.

6 The disorders of Rome, which were much inflamed by the partiality of Sixtus IV, are expos'd in the Diaries of two spectaors, Stephen Infelula, and an anonymous citizen. See the troubles of the year 1484, and the death of the protonotary Colonna, in tom. III. P. 2183. 1155.

67 Ett toute la terre de l'Eglise troublée pour cette partialité (des Colonnes et des Ursini), comme nous dirions n'insé, et Grammont, ou en Hollande Hono et Cimabue et quand ce ne feroit ce différend la terre de l'Eglise n'auroit la plus heureuse habitation pour les sujets, qui font dans tout le monde (car ils ne payent ni taille ni guerre autres choses), estoient toujours bien conduits (car toujours les papes sont faves et bien entendus): mais très souvent en adven d'un autre grand incendie et pillage.

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The popes acquire the absolute dominion of Rome, A. D. 1500, &c.
and loyal subjects. Since the union of the dutchies of Ferrara and Urbino, the ecclesiastical state extends from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, and from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po; and as early as the sixteenth century, the greater part of that spacious and fruitful country acknowledged the lawful claims and temporal sovereignty of the Roman pontiffs. Their claims were readily deduced from the genuine, or fabulous, donations of the darker ages: the successive steps of their final settlement would engage us too far in the transactions of Italy, and even of Europe; the crimes of Alexander the sixth, the martial operations of Julius the second, and the liberal policy of Leo the tenth, a theme which has been adorned by the pens of the noblest historians of the times. In the first period of their conquests, till the expedition of Charles the eighth, the popes might successfully wrestle with the adjacent princes and states, whose military force was equal, or inferior, to their own. But as soon as the monarchs of France, Germany, and Spain,
contended with gigantic arms for the dominion of Italy, they supplied with art the deficiency of strength; and concealed, in a labyrinth of wars and treaties, their aspiring views, and the immortal hope of chancing the Barbarians beyond the Alps. The nice balance of the Vatican was often subverted by the soldiers of the North and West, who were united under the standard of Charles the fifth: the feeble and fluctuating policy of Clement the seventh exposed his person and dominions to the conqueror; and Rome was abandoned seven months to a lawless army, more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals. After this severe lesson, the popes contracted their ambition, which was almost satisfied, resumed the character of a common parent, and abstained from all offensive hostilities, except in an hasty quarrel, when the vicar of Christ and the Turkish sultan were armed at the same time against the kingdom of Naples. The French and Germans at length withdrew from the field of battle: Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the sea-coast of Tuscany, were firmly possessed by the Spaniards; and it became their interest to maintain the peace and 

92 In the history of the Gothic siege, I have compared the Barbarians with the subjects of Charles V. (vol. v. p. 319—322); an anticipation, which, like that of the Tartar conquests, I indulged with the least scruple, as I could scarcely hope to reach the conclusion of my work.

94 The ambitious and feeble hostilities of the Caraffi p. 56, Paul IV. may be seen in Thunus (l. xvi.—xviii.) and Giannone (tom. iv. p. 149—163.). Those Catholic bigots, Philip II. and the duke of Alva, preferred to separate the Roman prince from the vicar of Christ: yet the holy character, which would have tarnished his victory, was decently applied to protect his defeat.
dependence of Italy, which continued almost without disturbance from the middle of the sixteenth to the opening of the eighteenth century. The Vatican was swayed and protected by the religious policy of the Catholic king: his prejudice and interest disposed him in every dispute to support the prince against the people; and instead of the encouragement, the aid, and the asylum, which they obtained from the adjacent states, the friends of liberty, or the enemies of law, were enclosed on all sides within the iron circle of despotism. The long habits of obedience and education subdued the turbulent spirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons forgot the arms and factions of their ancestors, and insensibly became the servants of luxury and government. Instead of maintaining a crowd of tenants and followers, the produce of their estates was consumed in the private expenses, which multiply the pleasures, and diminish the power, of the lord. The Colonna and Urfini vied with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels; and their antique splendour was rivalled or surpassed by the sudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and discord is no longer heard; and, instead of the foaming torrent, a smooth and stagnant lake reflects the image of idleness and servitude.

52 This sudden change of manners and expense, is admirably explained by Dr. Adam Smith (Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 495-504), who proves, perhaps too forcibly, that the most salutary effects have flowed from the meanest and most foolish causes.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

A Christian, a philosopher*3, and a patriot, will be equally scandalized by the temporal kingdom of the clergy; and the local majesty of Rome, the remembrance of her consuls and triumphs, may seem to embitter the sense, and aggravate the shame, of her slavery. If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the ecclesiastical government, it may be praised in its present state as a mild, decent, and tranquil system, exempt from the dangers of a minority, the fallacies of youth, the expences of luxury, and the calamities of war. But these advantages are overbalanced by a frequent, perhaps a septennial, election of a sovereign, who is seldom a native of the country: the reign of a young statesman of three-score, in the decline of his life and abilities, without hope to accomplish, and without children to inherit, the labours of his transitory reign. The successful candidate is drawn from the church, and even the convent; from the mode of education and life the most adverse to reason, humanity, and freedom. In the trammels of servile faith, he has learned to believe because it is absurd, to revere all that is contemptible, and to despise whatever might deserve the esteem of a rational being; to punish error as a crime, to reward mortification and celibacy, as the first of virtues; to place the saints of the kalendar*4 above the

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

*4 A Protestant may disdain the unworthy preference of St. Francis or St. Dominic, but he will not rashly condemn the zeal or
the heroes of Rome and the fages of Athens; and to consider the misfial, or the crucifix, as more useful instruments than the plough or the loom. In the office of nuncio, or the rank of cardinal, he may acquire some knowledge of the world, but the primitive stain will adhere to his mind and manners; from study and experience he may suspect the mystery of his profession; but the sacerdotal artist will imbibe some portion of the bigotry which he inculcates. The genius of Sixtus the fifth burst from the gloom of a Franciscan cloister. In a reign of five years, he exterminated the outlaws and banditti, abolished the profane sanctuaries of Rome, formed a naval and military force, restored and emulated the monuments of antiquity, and after a liberal sale and large encroase of the revenue, left five millions of crowns

judgment of Sixtus V. who placed the statues of the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, on the vacant columns of Trajan and Antonine.

65 A wandering Italian, Gregorio Leti, has given the Vita di Silvio Quinto (Amstel. 1721, 3 vol. in 12°), a copious and amusing work, but which does not command our absolute confidence. Yet the character of the man, and the principal facts, are supported by the Annals of Sпонданус and Martyr (A. D. 1585—1590), and the contemporary history of the great Thuanus (J. lxxix. c. i. 2. I. lxxxiv. c. 10. l. c. c. 8 ).

66 These privileged places, the praetext or sanctuaries, were adopted from the Roman nobles by the foreign ministers. Jesus I. had once abolished the abominandum et detestandum fraternitatem, and after Sixtus V. they again revived. I cannot differ either the justice or magnanimity of Louis XIV. who in 1665 sent his ambassador, the marquis de Lavardin, to Rome, with an armed force of a thousand cuirassiers, guards, and domestics, to maintain this inviolate claim, and insult pope Innocent XI. in the heart of his capital (Vita di Silvio V. tom. iii. p. 252—278. Martyr. Annali d'Italia, tom. xv. p. 493—496, and Voltaire, Secle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. c. 14. p. 58, 90).
in the castle of St. Angelo. But his justice was
fulfilled with cruelty, his activity was prompted by
the ambition of conquest; after his decease, the
abuses revived; the treasure was dissipated; he
entailed on posterity thirty-five new taxes and the
venality of offices; and, after his death, his statue
was demolished by an ungrateful, or an injured,
people. The wild and original character of
Sixtus the fifth stands alone in the series of the
pontiffs: the maxims and effects of their temporal
government may be collected from the positive
and comparative view of the arts and philosophy,
the agriculture and trade, the wealth and popula-
tion, of the ecclesiastical state. For myself, it is
my wish to depart in charity with all mankind, nor
am I willing, in their last moments, to offend even
the pope and clergy of Rome.

97 This outrage produced a decree, which was inscribed on marble,
and placed in the Capitol. It is expressed in a style of manly simplic-
city and freedom: Si quis, five privatus, five magnatatum genem de
collocandâ sine pontifici statâtâ mentionem facte auxit, legitime
S. P. Q. R. decr. o in perpetuum infamia et publicorum munorum
cesperct. MDXC. ment. Angulo (Vita di Silo V. tom. iii.
p. 469.). I believe that this decree is still observed, and I know
that every monarch who deserves a statue, should himself impose the
prohibition.

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

1. Monumenti (Ludovici Boncompensis) Fragmenta Annuarium Ro-
man. A. D. 1528, in the Scriptores Rerum Italicorum of Mur-
tori, tom. xiii. p. 525. N. B. The credit of this fragment is
somewhat hurt by a singular interpolation, in which the author re-
lates his own death at the age of 113 years.

2. Fragmenta Historiae Romanae (vulgo Thomas Fortescus),
in Romana Dialesco vulgari (A. D. 1527-1554, in Muratori,
Antiquitatem.
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Antiquitate. In Acta Italica, tom. III. p. 247—489, the authentic ground work of the history of Rome.


8. Intelline (stephaoni.) Diamon Ramiumum (A. D. 1241 et 1376—1414), tom. I. P. 3, 6, 1199.


N. M. ROMANIA. Tom. VII. p. 227—228.

I saw the folly of the F뷴ths, for I was a spectator of the Gal.

I, a spectator of the Gal.

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I, a spectator of the Gal.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. LXXI.

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

In the last days of pope Eugenius the fourth, two of his servants, the learned Poggius and a friend, ascended the Capitoline hill; repose themselves among the ruins of columns and temples; and viewed from that commanding spot the wide and various prospect of desolation. The place and the object gave ample scope for moralizing on the vicissitudes of fortune, which spares neither man nor the proudest of his works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave; and it was agreed, that in proportion to her former greatness, the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable. "Her primaeval state, "such as she might appear in a remote age, when "Evander entertained the stranger of Troy," has

1 I have already (not 50, 51, or chap. 61.) mentioned the age, character, and writings of Poggius; and particularly noticed the date of the elegant memoir above on the varieties of fortune.

2 Confutus in i. Tarpeis unda ruina, post ingens porta capiitulum, at puros, templi, antiquorum lineas, pluviaeque pallim conturbat columnas, unde ingens ex parte prospectus urbis praelit (p. 57).

3 Ann. iv. 97—105. This ancient picture, so artfully introduced, and to caput esse facta, must have been highly interesting to an inhabitant of Rome; and our early studies allow us to sympatthize in the feelings of a Roman.
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been delineated by the fancy of Virgil. This Tarpeian rock was then a savage and solitary thicket: in the time of the poet, it was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple; the temple is overthrown, the gold has been pillaged, the wheel of fortune has accomplished her revolution, and the sacred ground is again disfigured with thorns and brambles. The hill of the Capitol, on which we sit, was formerly the head of the Roman empire, the citadel of the earth, the terror of kings; illustrated by the footsteps of so many triumphs, enriched with the spoils and tributes of so many nations. This spectacle of the world, how is it fallen! how changed! how defaced! the path of victory is obliterated by vines, and the benches of the senators are concealed by a dung-hill. Cast your eyes on the Palatine hill, and seek among the shapeless and enormous fragments, the marble theatre, the obelisks, the colossal statues, the porticoes of Nero's palace: survey the other hills of the city, the vacant space is interrupted only by ruins and gardens. The forum of the Roman people, where they assembled to enact their laws and elect their magistrates, is now enclosed for the cultivation of pot-herbs, or thrown open for the reception of swine and buffaloes. The public and private edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie prostrate, naked, and broken, like the limbs of a mighty giant; and the ruin is the more visible, from the stupendous relics
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"relics that have survived the injuries of time and " fortune.""

These relics are minutely described by Poggius, one of the first who raised his eyes from the monuments of legendary, to those of classic, superstition. 1. Besides a bridge, an arch, a sepulchre, and the pyramid of Ceitius, he could discern, of the age of the republic, a double row of vaults in the salt-office of the Capitol, which were inscribed with the name and munificence of Catulus. 2. Eleven temples were visible in some degree, from the perfect form of the Pantheon, to the three arches and a marble column of the temple of peace, which Vespasian erected after the civil wars and the Jewish triumph. 3. Of the number, which he rashly defines, of seven therme or public baths, none were sufficiently entire to represent the use and distribution of the several parts; but those of Diocletian and Antoninus Caracalla still retained the titles of the founders, and astonished the curious spectator, who, in observing their solidity and extent, the variety of marbles, the size and multitude of the columns, compared the labour and expense with the use and importance. Of the baths of Constantine, of Alexander, of Domitian, or rather of Titus, some vestige might yet be found. 4. The triumphal arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine, were entire, both the structure and the

4 Capitolium adeo... immutatum ut vineae in senatorum subterranea succurrant, hicorem de purgamentorum receptaculum factum. Respice ad Palatium montem... vasta rudera... exteros colles perdita omnia vacua addicio, ruinis viscicaque oppleta copicicies (Poggius de Varietate Fortune, p. 21.).

5 See Poggius, p. 8—21. inscriptions;
inscriptions; a falling fragment was honoured with the name of Trajan; and two arches, then extant, in the Flaminian way, have been ascribed to the baser memory of Faustina and Gallienus. 5. After the wonder of the Coliseum, Poggius might have overlooked a small amphitheatre of brick, most probably for the use of the praetorian camp: the theatres of Marcellus and Pompey were occupied in a great measure by public and private buildings; and in the Circus, Agonalis and Maximus, little more than the situation and the form could be investigated. 6. The columns of Trajan and Antonine were still erect; but the Egyptian obelisks were broken or buried. A people of gods and heroes, the workmanship of art, was reduced to one equestrian figure of gilt brass, and to five marble statues, of which the most conspicuous were the two horses of Phidias and Praxiteles. 7. The two mausoleums or sepulchres of Augustus and Hadrian could not totally be lost; but the former was only visible as a mound of earth; and the latter, the castle of St. Angelo, had acquired the name and appearance of a modern fortress. With the addition of some separate and nameless columns, such were the remains of the ancient city: for the marks of a more recent structure might be detected in the walls, which formed a circumference of ten miles, included three hundred and seventy-nine turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates.

This melancholy picture was drawn above nine hundred years after the fall of the Western empire, and even of the Gothic kingdom of Italy. A long period of distress and anarchy, in which em-
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p r e, and arts, and riches, had migrated from the banks of the Tyber, was incapable of restoring or adorning the city; and, as all that is human must retrograde if it do not advance, every successive age must have hastened the ruin of the works of antiquity. To measure the progress of decay, and to ascertain at each æra, the state of each edifice, would be an endless and useless labour, and I shall content myself with two observations which will introduce a short enquiry into the general causes and effects. 1. Two hundred years before the eloquent complaint of Poggius, an anonymous writer composed a description of Rome. His ignorance may repeat the same objects under strange and fabulous names. Yet this barbarous topographer had eyes and ears, he could observe the visible remains, he could listen to the tradition of the people, and he distinctly enumerates seven theatres, eleven baths, twelve arches, and eighteen palaces, of which many had disappeared before the time of Poggius. It is apparent, that many lately monuments of antiquity survived till a late period, and that the principles of destruction

6 Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ, ex Registro Nicolai Cardinalis de Arragoniæ, in Bibliothecâ St. Idæi Armario IV. N° 69. This treatise, with some short but pertinent notes, has been published by Montfaucon (Diarium Italicum, p. 283—301.), who thus delivers his own critical opinion: Scriptor xiiith cantiter faculi, ut ibidem notatur; antiquarior rei imperitus, et, ut ab illo se, magis et antiquos tabellis referitur; sed, quia monumenta qua illos temporibus Romæ supererant pro modali recentiæ, non parum inde lucas mutuavit qui Romanis antiquitates indagandis operam navabat (p. 283.).

7 The Pere Mabillon (Analectæ, tom. iv. p. 502.) has published an anonymous pilgrim of the 17th century, who, in his visit
Four causes of destruction:

I. The injuries of nature;

II. The injuries of time and nature;

III. The hostile attacks of the Barbarians and Christians.

IV. The use and abuse of the materials.

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

I. The art of man is able to construct monuments far more permanent than the narrow span of his own existence; yet these monuments, like himself, are perishable and frail; and in the boundless annals of time, his life and his labours must equally be measured as a fleeting moment. Of a simple and solid edifice, it is not easy however to circumscribe the duration. As the

round the churches and holy places of Rome, touches on several buildings, especially palaces, which had disappeared before the

1000th century.

9 On the Septizonium, see the Memoriae in Petarum (vol. i. p. 325.), Donatus (i. 333.), and Naldini (p. 117. 414.).

chers
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

ders of ancient days, the pyramids⁹ attracted the curiosity of the ancients: an hundred generations, the leaves of autumn¹⁰, have dropt into the grave; and after the fall of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, the Caesars and caliphs, the same pyramids stand erect and unshaken above the floods of the Nile. A complex figure of various and minute parts is more accessible to injury and decay; and the silent lapse of time is often accelerated by hurricanes and earthquakes, by fires and inundations. The air and earth have doubtless been shaken; and the lofty turrets of Rome have tottered from their foundations; but the seven hills do not appear to be placed on the great cavities of the globe; nor has the city, in any age, been exposed to the convulsions of nature, which, in the climate of Antioch, Lisbon, or Lima, have crumbled in a few moments the works of ages into dust. Fire is the most powerful agent of life and death: the rapid mischief may be kindled and propagated by the industry or negligence of mankind; and every period of the Roman annals is marked by the repetition of similar calamities. A memorable conflagration, the guilt or misfortune of Nero's reign, continued, though with unequal fury, either fix, or

⁹ The age of the pyramids is remote and unknown, since Dionysius Siculus (tom. i. l. i. c. 44. p. 72.) is unable to decide whether they were constructed 1000, or 3400, years before the eleventh Olympiad. Sir John Mariam's contracted tale of the Egyptian dynasties would fix them about 2000 years before Christ (Caron, Chronicus, p. 47.).

¹⁰ See the speech of Glaucus in the Iliad (z. 146.). This natural but melancholy image is familiar to Homer.
nine days". Innumerable buildings, crowded in close and crooked streets, supplied perpetual fuel for the flames; and when they ceased, four only of the fourteen regions were left entire; three were totally destroyed, and seven were deformed by the relics of smoking and lacerated edifices. In the full meridian of empire, the metropolis arose with fresh beauty from her ashes; yet the memory of the old deplored their irreparable losses, the arts of Greece, the trophies of victory, the monuments of primitive or fabulous antiquity. In the days of distress and anarchy, every wound is mortal, every fall irretrievable; nor can the damage be restored either by the public care of government or the activity of private interest. Yet two causes may be alleged, which render the calamity of fire more destructive to a flourishing than a decayed city. 1. The more combustible materials of brick, timber, and metals, are first melted or consumed; but the flames may play without injury or effect on...
the naked walls, and massively arches, that have been despoiled of their ornaments. It is among the common and plebeian habitations, that a mischievous spark is most easily blown to a conflagration; but as soon as they are devoured, the greater edifices which have resisted or escaped, are left as so many islands in a state of solitude and safety. From her situation, Rome is exposed to the danger of frequent inundations. Without excepting the Tyber, the rivers that descend from either side of the Apennine have a short and irregular course: a shallow stream in the summer heats: an impetuous torrent, when it is swelled in the spring or winter, by the fall of rain, and the melting of the snows. When the current is repelled from the sea by adverse winds, when the ordinary bed is inadequate to the weight of waters, they rise above the banks, and overspread, without limits or control, the plains and cities of the adjacent country. Soon after the triumph of the first Punic war, the Tyber was increased by unusual rains; and the inundation surpassing all former measure of time and place, destroyed all the buildings that were situate below the hills of Rome. According to the variety of ground, the same mischief was produced by different means; and the edifices were either swept away by the sudden impulse, or dissolved and undermined by the long continuance, of the flood. Under the reign of Augustus,
gul'nus, the same calamity was renewed: the lawless river overturned the palaces and temples on its banks; and, after the labours of the emperor in cleansing and widening the bed that was encumbered with ruins, the vigilance of his successors was exercised by similar dangers and designs. The project of diverting into new channels the Tyber itself, or some of the dependent streams, was long opposed by superition and local interests; nor did the use compensate the toil and cost of the tardy and imperfect execution. The servitude of rivers is the noblest and most important victory which man has obtained over the licentiousness of na-

...
fure 17; and if such were the ravages of the Tyber under a firm and active government, what could oppose, or who can enumerate, the injuries of the city after the fall of the Western empire? A remedy was at length produced by the evil itself: the accumulation of rubbish and the earth, that has been washed down from the hills, is supposed to have elevated the plain of Rome, fourteen or fifteen feet, perhaps, above the ancient level 18; and the modern city is less accessible to the attacks of the river 19.

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

17 See the Époques de la Nature of the eloquent and philosophic Buffon. His picture of Guyana in South America, is that of a new and savage land, in which the waters are abandoned to themselves, without being regulated by human industry (p. 212, 351, quarto edition).

18 In his Travels in Italy, Mr. Addison (his works, vol. ii. p. 98, D'Aviler's edition) has observed this curious and unquestionable fact.

19 Yet in modern times, the Tyber has sometimes damaged the city; and in the years 1530, 1557, 1598, the Annals of Muratori record three mischievous and memorable inundations (tom. xiv. p. 268, 429, tom. xv. p. 99, &c.).
Odin to break the chains, and to chastise the oppressors, of mankind; that they wished to burn the records of classic literature, and to found their national architecture on the broken members of the Tuscan and Corinthian orders. But in simple truth, the northern conquerors were neither sufficiently savage, nor sufficiently refined, to entertain such aspiring ideas of destruction and revenge. The shepherds of Scythia and Germany had been educated in the armies of the empire, whose discipline they acquired, and whose weakness they invaded: with the familiar use of the Latin tongue, they had learned to reverence the name and titles of Rome; and, though incapable of emulating, they were more inclined to admire, than to abolish, the arts and studies of a brighter period. In the transient possession of a rich and unrefining capital, the soldiers of Alaric and Genseric were stimulated by the passions of a victorious army; amidst the wanton indulgence of lust or cruelty, portable wealth was the object of their search; nor could they derive either pride or pleasure from the unprofitable reflection, that they had battered to the ground the works of the consuls and Caesars. Their moments were indeed precious; the Goths evacuated Rome on the sixth\(^1\), the Vandals on the fifteenth, day\(^2\);

\(^{1}\) History of the Decline, &c. vol. v. p. 535.

\(^{2}\) vol. vii. p. 151.

and
and, though it be far more difficult to build than to destroy, their haughty assault would have made a slight impression on the solid piles of antiquity. We may remember, that both Alaric and Genseric affected to spare the buildings of the city; that they subsisted in strength and beauty under the auspicious government of Theodoric; and that the momentary resentment of Totila was disarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies. From these innocent Barbarians, the reproach may be transferred to the Catholics of Rome. The statues, altars, and houses, of the demons were an abomination in their eyes; and in the absolute command of the city, they might labour with zeal and perseverance to eraze the idolatry of their ancestors. The demolition of the temples in the East affords to them an example of conduct, and to us an argument of belief; and it is probable, that a portion of guilt or merit may be imputed with justice to the Roman proselytes. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the monuments of heathen super-stition; and the civil structures that were dedicated to the business or pleasure of society might be preserved without injury or scandal. The change of religion was accomplished, not by a popular tumult, but by the decrees of the emperors, of the senate, and of time. Of the Christian hierarchy, the bishops of Rome were commonly the most prudent and least fanatic: nor

**History of the Decline, &c. vol. vii. p. 308-309.**

**History of the Decline, &c. vol. viii. p. 308.**

**History of the Decline, &c. vol. vi. p. 205-208.**

**History of the Decline, &c. vol. vi. p. 205-208.**
can any positive charge be opposed to the merito-
rious act of saving and converting the majestic
structure of the Pantheon 26.
II. The use and
abuse of the ma-
terials.

III. The value of any object that supplies the
wants or pleasures of mankind, is compounded
of its substance and its form, of the materials and
the manufacture. Its price must depend on the
number of persons by whom it may be acquired
and used; on the extent of the market; and con-
sequently on the ease or difficulty of remote ex-
portation, according to the nature of the com-
modity, its local situation, and the temporary cir-
cumstances of the world. The Barbarian con-
querors of Rome plunged in a moment the toil
and treasure of beneficent ages; but, except the
luxuries of immediate consumption, they must
view without definable that could not be removed
from the city in the Gothic wagons or the fleet
of the Vandals 27. Gold and silver were the first
objects of their avarice; as in every country, and

26 Edition temperante p. 270. Phoebus princeps templi, equal
applicatus Farnese, in quo sustulit editionem Super. Mor. fragm.
Vergilii, in codicibus, in quibus & codicibus post
Horae artistarum antiquarum, vel poetas liber Postumus, in Rec. et
IV. in Supplement. Recruit Romanitas, tom. iv. P. p. 1506. A clothe to the aggravates which is 24,870;
the Pantheon had been revered by Augustus to Celsus and Nep-
set; but was invaded by Domitian IV, on the call of a
conquest by the Vandal, que erat mundi antiquorum
(1 p. 250, 1485).

27 Edition Scoto, house Magna, p. 175. 156. His Ma-
rest is great because, p. 121, to obtain the Roman architec-
тур, which are Romae, antiquae antiquae, were prized in the
the touching soul. Ecalis, 156. 12, and repav or the, the
many the most price. It was the most valuable to peace, and
enjoyment, since peace were valued and satisfied by it. The
pilgrimage, the lust of the Greek conquerors.
in the smallest compass, they represent the most ample command of the industry and possessions of mankind. A vase or a statue of those precious metals might tempt the vanity of some Barbarian chief; but the grosser multitude, regardless of the form, was tenacious only of the substance; and the melted ingots might be readily divided and stamped into the current coin of the empire. The less active or less fortunate robbers were reduced to the baser plunder of brass, lead, iron, and copper; whatever had escaped the Goths and Vandals was pillaged by the Greek tyrants; and the emperor Condamus, in his rapacious visit, stripped the bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon 28. The edifices of Rome might be considered as a vast and various mine; the first labour of extracting the materials was already performed; the metals were purified and cast; the marbles were hewn and polished; and after foreign and domestic rapine had been satiated, the remains of the city, could a purchaser have been found, were still venal. The monuments of antiquity had been left naked of their precious ornaments, but the Romans would demolish with their own hands the arches and walls, if the hope of profit could surpass the cost of the labour and exportation. If Charlemagne had fixed in Italy the seat of the Western empire, his genius would have aspired to restore, rather than to violate, the

28 Omnia quae erant in aere ad ornatum civitatis deposuit: sed et ecclesiàm B. Maria ad martyres qua de tegulis aereis cooperta diff. coopertur (Anast. in Vitalian, p. 141.). The base and sacrilegious Greek had not even the poor pretence of plundering an heathen temple; the Pantheon was already a Catholic church.
works of the Cæsars: but policy confined the French monarch to the forests of Germany; his taste could be gratified only by destruction; and the new palace of Aix la Chapelle was decorated with the marbles of Ravenna 35 and Rome 36. Five hundred years after Charlemagne, a king of Sicily, Robert, the wisest and most liberal sovereign of the age, was supplied with the same materials by the easy navigation of the Tyber and the sea; and Petrarch sights an indignant complaint, that the ancient capital of the world should adorn from her own bowels the slothful luxury of Naples 37. But these examples of plunder or purchase

35 For the spoils of Ravenna (musa exequæ marmora) see the original grant of pope Adrian I. to Charlemagne (Codex Caroli epist. Ixxvii. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. i. P. iii. p. 227.).

36 I shall quote the authentic testimony of the Saxon poet (A. D. 887–899.), de Rebus gladiis Caroli magni, l. v. 437–440., in the Historiarum of France (tom. v. p. 180.):

Ad quae marmoreas perfabat Romæ columnas,
Quotidem praecipuas pulchra Ravennæ dedid
De tam longinquæ potestate regni vetustas,
Ibius ornatum Franciæ sacra tibi.

And I shall add, from the Chronicle of Sigebert (Historiarum of France, tom. v. p. 573.) extant antiqui Aquitani bairicum plurimas pulchrum vitam, ad ejus studiosum a Roma et Ravenna columnas et marmores decubuit.

37 I cannot resist to translate a long passage of Petrarch (Opp. p. 546, 557.) in Panthea horatiana ad Nicolaum Laurusium); it is too strong and full to the point: Nescit pudor aut honestus continent quoniam in ipsa epistola D. Petrus, occupat ait, hanc publicam regnum urbem, atque horum omnium locorum in diebus, (illeque) quoniam non, sine turbamentum ad multos homines et totius rei publicae vicissitudines et actiones diversas, auditum foret, & hactenus conversum, in portas et personas atque ministeris legis deformat. Dumque potuit quasi novo collegi, datur, quae quoniam ingentes temporum est, pol despect:se latus triumphantes (unde majores forum forum cornu convaeus), et ipsius vetustatis ac propriæ impietatis frigmnul 12.
purchase were rare in the darker ages; and the Romans, alone and unenvied, might have applied to their private or public use the remaining structures of antiquity, if in their present form and situation they had not been useless in a great measure to the city and its inhabitants. The walls still described the old circumference, but the city had descended from the seven hills into the campus Martius; and some of the noblest monuments which had braved the injuries of time were left in a desert, far remote from the habitations of mankind. The palaces of the senators were no longer adapted to the manners or fortunes of their indigent successors: the use of baths and porticoes was forgotten; in the sixth century, the games of the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus, had been interrupted: some temples were devoted to the prevailing worship; but the Christian churches preferred the holy figure of the cross; and fashion, or reason, had distributed after a peculiar model the cells and offices of the cloyster. Under the ecclesiastical reign, the number of these pious foundations was enormously multiplied; and the city was crowded with forty monasteries

fungminimus vilum quod illum turpi mercimonio captare non puduit. (teque nunc, beo dolor! beo stcitus indignum! de velris mar- mareis columnis, de liminibus templorum (ad quae super ex cetera teto concussis devotissimus fiebat), de imaginibus repul- ciorum sub quibus patrum velhorum venerabilis civis (civis) erat, ut religiosus dilectus, deinde Neapolis adornatus, sic paululum ruinæ ipse deficient. Yet King Robert was the friend of Penarth.

32 Yet Charlemagne washed and swam at Aix la Chapelle with an hundred of his courtiers (Eginhart, c. 22, p. 108, 109.), and Muratone describes as late as the year 814, the public baths which were still at Spoleto in Italy (Annali, tom. vi. p. 416).
of men, twenty of women, and sixty chapters and colleges of canons and priests 31, who aggravated, instead of relieving, the depopulation of the tenth century. But if the forms of ancient architecture were disregarded by a people insensible of their use and beauty, the plentiful materials were applied to every call of necessity or superstition; till the fairest columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, the richest marbles of Paros and Numidia, were degraded, perhaps, to the support of a convent or a table. The daily havoc which is perpetrated by the Turks in the cities of Greece and Asia, may afford a melancholy example; and in the gradual destruction of the monuments of Rome, Sixtus the fifth may alone be excused for employing the forms of the Septizonium in the glorious edifice of St. Peter's 34. A fragment, a ruin, howeyer mangled or profaned, may be viewed with pleasure and regret; but the greater part of the marble was deprived of substance, as well as of place and proportion; it was burnt to lime for the purpose of cement. Since the arrival of Poggio, the temple of Concord 35, and many

31 See the Annals of Italy, A. D. 982. For this and the preceding fact, Muratori himself is indebted to the Benedictine history of The Marbion.

34 Vita di Silo Quirto, de Gregorio Lati, tom. i. p. 59.

35 Poccius says Concordiae, et pro etiam aliarum urbium sectionibus, in primum Romam portavit, et e similibus declinavit, ut litera sacra, fecta columnas superit. Sixtus the fifth of Concord was the chaste, diligent, and learned bishop of the tenth century; as I have said in a MS. at Rome, in the Vatican Library, to the memory of Rome, and at the Blessed Chace the celebrated Gravina. For this like-wisfe relief, when the patron of Cecilia Metella was burnt for time (P. 135, 227).
capital structures, had vanished from his eyes; and an epigram of the same age expresses a just and pious fear, that the continuance of this practice would finally annihilate all the monuments of antiquity. The smallness of their numbers was the sole check on the demands and depredations of the Romans. The imagination of Petrarch might create the presence of a mighty people; and I hesitate to believe, that even in the fourteenth century, they could be reduced to a contemptible lift of thirty-three thousand inhabitants. From that period to the reign of Leo the tenth, if they multiplied to the amount of eighty-five thousand, the encrease of citizens was in some degree pernicious to the ancient city.

IV. I have reserved for the last, the most potent and forcible cause of destruction, the domelie hostilities of the Romans themselves. Under the dominion of the Greek and French emperors, the peace of the city was disturbed by accidental, though frequent, seditions: it is from the decline of the latter, from the beginning of the tenth century, that the decline of the city was accelerated, though not so speedily as during the preceding. The population of Rome at different periods, are derived from an ingenious treatise of the physician Lancill, de Romani Codli Qualitatis (p. 122.).
century, that we may date the licentiousness of private war, which violated with impunity the laws of the Code and the Gospel; without respecting the majesty of the abient sovereign, or the preference and person of the vicar of Christ. In a dark period of five hundred years, Rome was perpetually afflicted by the sanguinary quarrels of the nobles and the people, the Guelphs and Ghibelines, the Colonna and Urfini; and if much has escaped the knowledge, and much is unworthy of the notice, of history, I have expos'd in the two preceding chapters, the causes and effects of the public disorders. At such a time, when every quarrel was decided by the sword; and none could trust their lives or properties to the impotence of law; the powerful citizens were armed for safety or offence, against the domestic enemies, whom they feared or hated. Except Venice alone, the same dangers and designs were common to all the free republics of Italy; and the nobles usurped the prerogative of fortifying their houses, and erecting strong towers 32 that were capable of resisting a sudden attack. The cities were filled with these hostile edifices; and the example of Lucca, which contained three hundred towers; her law which confined their height to the measure of four score feet, may be extended with suitable latitude to the more opulent and populous states. The first step of the senator Brancacone in the establishment of peace

32 All the facts that relate to the towers at Rome, and in other free cities of Italy, may be found in the labours and entertaining compilation of Minister, Antiquitates Italicæ mediæ Ævi, d. iii. p. 493—495. of the Latin, tom. i. p. 446. of the Italian work.
and justice, was to demolish (as we have already seen) one hundred and forty of the towers of Rome; and, in the last days of anarchy and discord, as late as the reign of Martin the fifth, forty-four still stood in one of the thirteen or fourteen regions of the city. To this mischievous purpose, the remains of antiquity were most readily adapted: the temples and arches afforded a broad and solid basis for the new structures of brick and stone; and we can name the modern turrets that were raised on the triumphal monuments of Julius Cæsar, Titus, and the Antonines. With some slight alterations, a theatre, an amphitheatre, a mausoleum, was transformed into a strong and spacious citadel. I need not repeat, that the mole of Adrian has assumed the title and form of the castle of St. Angelo; the Septizonium of Severus was capable of standing against a royal army; the sepulchre of Metella has sunk under its outworks; the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus were

42 As for influence, Templeum Jovis nunc dicitur, turris Centii Francopanis, et post Juno impulsa turris lateritiae conficiens hocque vetustissimus imperans (Montaullon, Durum Italicum, p. 186.).

The anonymous writer (p. 285.) enumerates, arcus Titii, turris Carturthina, Arcus Jovis, Cæsaris et Senatorum, turres de Isaac; arcus Antoni, turris de Cohortis, &c.

41 Hadrium molion . . . . magna ex parte Romanorum injuria . . . . disturbavi; quod certe funditus eventit, fierum omnibus precor, adhucque gradibus lexit, relic quae moles existit intellect (Poggius de Varese Foxtiace, p. 12.).

40 Against the emperor Henry IV. (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 147.).

45 I must repel the impertinent passage of Montaullon. Turris ingens tumida . . . . luctat et tel e . . . . sepulchrum est, cuius hanc tumiditatem, ut apudum ipsum omnium inrursus vacuum regignit, et Turris di Bex dicitur, ab eunct septimum mero incriptas. Hinc le materi...
were occupied by the Savelli and Urfini families; and the rough fortress has been gradually softened to the splendour and elegance of an Italian palace. Even the churches were encompassed with arms and bulwarks, and the military engines on the roof of St. Peter's were the terror of the Vatican and the scandal of the Christian world. Whatever is fortified will be attacked; and whatever is attacked may be destroyed. Could the Romans have wrested from the popes the castle of St. Angelo, they had resolved by a public decree to annihilate that monument of servitude. Every building of defence was exposed to a siege; and in every siege the arts and engines of destruction were laboriously employed. After the death of Nicholas the fourth, Rome, without a sovereign or a senate, was abandoned six months to the fury of civil war. "The homes," says a cardinal and poet of the times, "were crushed by the weight and
velocity of enormous stones; the walls were perforated by the strokes of the battering-ram; the towers were involved in fire and smoke; and the assailants were stimulated by rapine and revenge." The work was consummated by the tyranny of the laws; and the factions of Italy alternately exercised a blind and thoughtless vengeance on their adversaries, whose houses and castles they razed to the ground. In comparing the days of foreign, with the ages of domestic, hostility, we must pronounce, that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city, and our opinion is confirmed by the evidence of Petrarch. "Be hold," says the laureat, "the relics of Rome, the image of her pristine greatness! neither time nor the Barbarian can boast the merit of this stupendous destruction: it was perpetrated by her own citizens, by the most illustrious of her sons; and your ancestors (he writes to a noble Annibaldi) have done with the battering-ram, what the Punic hero could not accomplish with the sword." The influence of the two last principles of decay must in some degree be multiplied.

46 Muratori (Dissertazione sopra le Antichità Italiane, tom. i. p. 427—431.) finds, that stone bullets of two or three hundred pounds weight were not uncommon; and they are sometimes computed at xii or xviii cantari of Genoa, each cantaro weighing 150 pounds.

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

48 Petrarch thus addresses his friend who, with shame and tears, had shown him the moenia, lacerata specimem miserrabile Rome, and declared
tiplied by each other; since the houses and towers, which were subverted by civil war, required a new and perpetual supply from the monuments of antiquity.

These general observations may be separately applied to the amphitheatre of Titus, which has obtained the name of the Coliseum, either from its magnitude or from Nero’s colossal statue: an edifice, had it been left to time and nature, which might perhaps have claimed an eternal duration. The curious antiquaries, who have computed the numbers and seats, are disposed to believe, that above the upper row of stone steps, the amphitheatre was encircled and elevated with several stages of wooden galleries, which were repeatedly consumed by fire, and restored by the emperors. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the statues of gods, and heroes, and the costly ornaments of sculpture, which were call in brads, or overspread with leaves of silver and declared his own intention of restoring them (Carmina Latina, l. ii. epist. Paulo Annibaleni, xii. p. 97, 78): Neb te prava manet fervvis fama ruinis Quanta ejus integra fuit olim gloria Rome spectat titantium adhuc; quas longier alas a Terent. non valuit: non vis aut ira cruenti hostas: franguntur civibus hest; heu! --- --- Quod lice mequirit (Herculis)

Paulus Maffi.

The fourth part of the Verona Illustrata of the Marquis Maffi, contains notes of amphitheatres, particularly those of Rome and Verona, of their decorations, wooden galleries, &c. It is from many of these that hederived the name of Colisium, or Colosseum: since the same epithet was applied to the amphitheatre of Capua, without the least foundation, since that of Nero was erected in the court of the Colissea, and not in the Colisium (P. iv. p. 15-17).

The Coli. from or amphitheatre of Titus.
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gold, became the first prey of conquest or fanati-
cism, of the avarice of the Barbarians or the
Christians. In the mafly stones of the Colifium,
many holes are discerned; and the two most pro-
bable conjectures represent the various accidents
of its decay. These stones were connected by solid
links of brafs or iron, nor had the eye of rapine
overlooked the value of the bafer metals: the
vacant space was converted into a fair or market;
the artisans of the Colifium are mentioned in an
ancient survey; and the chafms were perforated or
enlarged to receive the poles that supported the
fops or tents of the mechanic trades.

Reduced to its naked majeftry, the Flavian amphi-
theatre was contemplated with awe and admiration
by the pilgrims of the North; and their rude en-
thufiasm broke forth in a sublime proverbial ex-
pression, which is recorded in the eighth century,
in the fragments of the venerable Bede: "As long
as the Colifeum flands, Rome fhall fland; when
the Colifeum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome
falls, the world will fall." In the modern fystem of war, a situation commanded by three

59 Joseph Maria Suarés, a learned bishop, and the author of an
history of France, has composed a separate difcertation on the seven
or eight probable causes of these holes, which has been since reprinted
in the Roman Thelaurus of Salengre. Montfaucon (Diarium, p. 233.) pronounces the rapine of the Barbarians to be the unus
germanumque cauam firaminum.

50 Quamdiu flabit Colifeus, flabit et Roma; quanto cadet Coly-
feus, cadet Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus (Beda in
Excerptis seu Collectaneis apud Ducange Glossar. med. et infima
Latinitatis, tom. ii. p. 427. edit. Basil.). This faying muft be
altered to the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who visited Rome before the
year 735, the era of Bede's death; for I do not believe that our
venerable monk ever pafl'd the fea.
hills would not be chosen for a fortress; but the strength of the walls and arches could resist the engines of assault; a numerous garrison might be lodged in the enclosure, and while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was entrenched in the Lateran and the Colosseum.

The abolition at Rome of the ancient games must be understood with some latitude; and the carnival sports, of the Tossalcan mount and the Circus Agonali, were regulated by the law or custom of the city. The senator presided with dignity and pomp to adjudge and distribute the prizes, the gold ring, or the pallium, as it was flyled, of cloth or silk. A tribute on the Jews supplied the annual expense, and the races, on foot,

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51 I cannot recover in Muratori's original Lives of the Popes (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. 1.) the passage that attests this hostile partition, which must be applied to the end of the xvi. or the beginning of the xvii. century.

54 Although the structure of the Circus Agonali be destroyed, it still retains its form and name (Agonia, Nagona, Navona); and the interior space affords a sufficient level for the purpose of racing. But the Monte Tossalcan, that strange pile of broken pottery, seems only adapted for the annual fight of hogs, from top to bottom, some waggons-loads of live hogs, for the diversion of the populace (Statuta Urbis Romae, p. 186).

55 See the Statuta Urbis Romae, iv. vii. ss. 87, 88, 89. p. 185, 186. I have already given an idea of this municipal code. The races of Nagona and Monte Tossalcan are likewise mentioned in the Diary of Peter Antonius from 1464 to 1477 (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxiv. p. 1124.).

56 The Pallium, which Menage & foolishly derives from Pallium, is an early extension of the idea and the words, from the robe of cloak, to the materials, and from thence to their application as a prize (Muratori, ditiff. xxxix.).

57 For these expenses, the Jews of Rome paid each year 111 or 12 florins, of which the odd thirty represented the pieces of silver for which
foot, on horseback, or in chariots, were ennobled by a tilt and tournament of seventy-two of the Roman youth. In the year one thousand three hundred and thirty-two, a bull-feast, after the fashion of the Moors and Spaniards, was celebrated in the Coliseum itself; and the living manners are painted in a diary of the times. A convenient order of benches was restored; and a general proclamation, as far as Rimini and Ravenna, invited the nobles to exercise their skill and courage in this perilous adventure. The Roman ladies were marshalled in three squadrons, and seated in three balconies, which on this day, the third of September, were lined with scarlet cloth. The fair Jacova di Rovere led the matrons from beyond the Tyber, a pure and native race, who still represent the features and character of antiquity. The remainder of the city was divided as usual between the Colonna and Urfini: the two factions were proud of the number and beauty of their female bands: the charms of Savella Urfini are mentioned with praise; and the Colonna regretted the absence of the youngest of their house, who had sprained her ankle in the garden of Nero's tower. The lots of the champions were which Judas had betrayed his master to their ancestors. There was a foot-race of Jewish, as well as of Christian youths (Statuta Urbis, ibidem).  

This extraordinary bull-feast in the Coliseum, is described from tradition, rather than memory, by Ludovico Buonconte Monaldeco, in the most ancient fragments of Roman annals (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 535, 536); and however fanciful they may seem, they are deeply marked with the colours of truth and nature.
drawn by an old and respectable citizen; and they descended into the arena, or pit, to encounter the wild-bulls, on foot as it should seem, with a single spear. Amidst the crowd, our annalist has selected the names, colours, and devices, of twenty of the most conspicuous knights. Several of the names are the most illustrious of Rome and the ecclesiastical state; Malatesta, Polenta, della Valle, Cafarello, Savelli, Capoccio, Conti, Annabaldi, Altieri, Corsi; the colours were adapted to their taste and situation; the devices are expressive of hope or despair, and breathe the spirit of gallantry and arms. "I am alone like the youngest of the Horatii," the confidence of an intrepid stranger; "I live disconsolate," a weeping widower; "I burn under the ashes," a discreet lover; "I adore Lavinia, or Lucretia," the ambiguous declaration of a modern passion: "My faith is as pure," the motto of a white livery; "Who is stronger than myself?" of a lion's hide; "If I am drowned in blood, what a pleasant death," the wish of ferocious courage. The pride or prudence of the Urbinæ restrained them from the field, which was occupied by three of their hereditary rivals, whose inscriptions denoted the lofty greatness of the Colonna name: "Though sad, I am strong:" "Strong as I am great:" "If I fall," addressing himself to the spectators, "you fall with me:"—intimating (says the contemporary writer) that while the other families were the subjects of the Vatican, they alone were the supporters of the Capitol. The combats of the amphitheatre were dangerous...
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and bloody. Every champion successively encountered a wild bull; and the victory may be ascribed to the quadrupedes, since no more than eleven were left on the field, with the loss of nine wounded and eighteen killed on the side of their adversaries. Some of the noblest families might mourn, but the pomp of the funerals, in the churches of St. John Lateran and St. Maria Maggiore, afforded a second holiday to the people. Doubtless it was not in such conflicts that the blood of the Romans should have been shed; yet in blaming their rashness, we are compelled to applaud their gallantry; and the noble volunteers, who display their magnificence, and risk their lives, under the balconies of the fair, excite a more generous sympathy than the thousands of captives and malefactors who were reluctantly dragged to the scene of slaughter.

This use of the amphitheatre was a rare, perhaps a singular, festival: the demand for the materials was a daily and continual want, which the citizens could gratify without restraint or remorse. In the fourteenth century, a scandalous act of concord secured to both factions the privilege of extracting stones from the free and common quarry of the Coliseum; and Poggias lamented that the greater part of these stones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the Romans.

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59 Muratori has given a separate dissertation (the xxixth) to the games of the Italians in the middle ages.
60 In a concise but instructive memoir, the abbé Barthelemy (Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxvii. p. 585.) has mentioned this agreement of the factions of the sixteenth century, de Tiburino faciendo in the Coliseum, from an original act in the archives of Rome.
mans 61. To check this abuse, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be perpetrated in the vast and gloomy recess, Eugenius the fourth surrounded it with a wall; and by a charter long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent 62. After his death, the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people; and had they themselves respected the noblest monument of their fathers, they might have justified the resolve that it should never be degraded to private property. The inside was damaged; but in the middle of the sixteenth century, an æra of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of one thousand six hundred and twelve feet was still entire and inviolate; a triple elevation of fourscore arches, which rose to the height of one hundred and eight feet. Of the present ruin, the nephews of Paul the third are the guilty agents; and every traveller who views the Farnese palace may curse the sacrilege and luxury of these upstart princes 63. A similar re-

61 Coliseum . . . ob multitiam Romanorum majori ex parte ad cal-
cem deletum, says the indignant Poggius (p. 17.); but his expres-
sion, too strong for the present age, must be very tenderly applied to the xvth century.

62 Of the Oliveran monks, Montfaucon (p. 142.) affirms this fact from the memorials of Flaminius Vacci (No. 72.). They still hoped, on some future occasion, to revive and vindicate their grant.

63 After measuring the priscus amphitheatrai gyrus, Montfaucon (p. 142.) only adds, that it was entire under Paul III.; tacendo chamat. Muratori (Annali d' Italia, tom. xiv. p. 371.) more freely reports the guilt of the Farnese pope, and the indignation of the Roman people. Against the nephews of Urban VIII. I have no other evidence than the vulgar saying, "Quod non fecerunt Bar-
\"bare, secero Barbarini," which was perhaps suggested by the resem-

Lance of the words.

proach
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proach is applied to the Barberini; and the repetition of injury might be dreaded from every reign, till the Coliseum was placed under the safeguard of religion, by the most liberal of the pontiffs, Benedict the fourteenth, who consecrated a spot which persecution and fable had stained with the blood of so many Christian martyrs.

When Petrarch first gratified his eyes with a view of those monuments, whose scattered fragments so far surpass the most eloquent descriptions, he was astonished at the supine indifference of the Romans themselves; he was humbled rather than elated by the discovery, that, except his friend Rienzi and one of the Colonna, a stranger of the Rhone was more conversant with these antiquities than the nobles and natives of the metropolis. The ignorance and credulity of the Romans are elaborately displayed in the old survey of the city which was composed about the

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64 As an antiquarian and a priest, Montfaucon thus deprecates the ruin of the Coliseum: Quod si non fuopte merito atque pulchritudine dignum sufflet quod improbas arceret manus, indigna

65 Yet the Statutes of Rome (I. iii. c. 81. p. 182.) impose a fine of 500 aurei on whoever shall demolish any ancient edifice, ne ruinis civitis detornetur, et ut antiqua edificia decorum urbis perpetuo repre


67 He excepts and praises the rare knowledge of John Colonna. Qui enim hodie magis ignari rerum Romanarum, quam Romani izes? Invitus dico audquam minus Roma cognoscitur quam Romæ, beginning.
Beginning of the thirteenth century; and, without dwelling on the manifold errors of name and place, the legend of the Capitol may provoke a smile of contempt and indignation. "The Capitol," says the anonymous writer, "is so named as being the head of the world; where the consuls and senators formerly resided for the government of the city and the globe. The strong and lofty walls were covered with glasses and gold, and crowned with a roof of the richest and most costly carving. Below the citadel stood a palace, of gold for the greatest part, decorated with precious stones, and whose value might be esteemed at one third of the world itself. The statues of all the provinces were arranged in order, each with a small bell suspended from its neck; and such was the consciousness of art magic, that if the province rebelled against Rome, the statue turned round.

68 After the description of the Capitol, he adds, "Just as every great city must have its provinces, or rather its districts and a palace. In every large city, there are provinces, and there are provinces. The Roman provinces, however, are these: the provinces are divided into a number of provinces, with a stadium for each of them. The provinces are called: the provinces of the provinces are called, and so on. He mentions in examples the provinces of Suevi, who, after they had been subdued by Augustus, again rebelled against him; but now, he says, you must change your provinces, or else they will become provinces again. Agrippa made them look and reduce them—Pompeius (Anonym, in Muntzian, p. 297, 298)."

65 The same writer states, that Virgil expresses Romans in: "Believers, instead of. As, the Roman nation, in the 3rd century, is numbered by William of Malmesbury (St. Guitt Rise.). Augerius, in his, p. 67, in the time of Innocent VII (St. Franc.) it was a common belief that the province (the Great) invoked the demons for the discovery of hidden treasures."

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"to that quarter of the heavens, the bell rang, the prophet of the Capitol reported the prodigy, and the senate was admonished of the impending danger." A second example of less importance, though of equal absurdity, may be drawn from the two marble horses, led by two naked youths, which have since been transported from the baths of Constantine to the Quirinal hill. The groundless application of the names of Phidias and Praxiteles may perhaps be excused; but these Grecian sculptors should not have been removed above four hundred years from the age of Pericles to that of Tiberius: they should not have been transformed into two philosophers or magicians, whose nakedness was the symbol of truth and knowledge, who revealed to the emperor his most secret actions; and, after refusing all pecuniary recompense, solicited the honour of leaving this eternal monument of themselves. Thus awake to the power of magic, the Romans were insensible to the beauties of art: no more than five statues were visible to the eyes of Poggius; and of the multitudes which chance or design had buried under the ruins, the resurrection was fortunately delayed till a safer and more enlightened age. The Nile, which now adorns the

72 Anonym. p. 289. Manufactum (p. 191.) justly observes, that if Alexander be represented, these statues cannot be the work of Phidias (Olympiad lxxxiii.) or Praxiteles (Olympiad civ.), who lived before that conqueror (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiv. 19.)

71 William of Malmsbury (l. ii. p. 86, 37.) relates a marvellous discovery (A. D. 1046) of Peillars, the son of Evander, who had been slain by Turnus; the perpetual light in his sepulchre, a Latin epitaph, the corpse, yet entire, of a young plant, the
the Vatican, had been explored by some labourers, in digging a vineyard near the temple, or convent, of the Minerva; but the impatient proprietor, who was tormented by some visits of curiosity, restored the unprofitable marble to its former grave. The discovery of a statue of Pompey, ten feet in length, was the occasion of a law-suit. It had been found under a partition-wall: the equitable judge had pronounced, that the head should be separated from the body to satisfy the claims of the contiguous owners; and the sentence would have been executed, if the intercession of a cardinal, and the liberality of a pope, had not recovered the Roman hero from the hands of his barbarous countrymen.

But the clouds of barbarism were gradually dispelled; and the peaceful authority of Martin the fifth and his successors, restored the ornaments of the city as well as the order of the ecclesiastical state. The improvements of Rome, since the fifteenth century, have not been the spontaneous produce of freedom and industry. The first and most natural root of a great city, is the labour and populousness of the adjacent country, which enormous wound in his breast (pectus perforat ingens). If this fable rests on the highest foundation, we may pity the body, as well as the statues, that were exposed to the air in a barbarous age.

72 Prope pecurium Minervae, statura eff recubantes, cujus caput integra eligie, tanta magnitudinis, ut fuggirenum excederit. Quam ad pluries aures feronis facitum exspect. Ad hoc mundum inplures in dies magis concententur. (Poggio de Varietate Familias, p. 137.).

71 See the Memoria of Flaminius Vesca, No 57, p. 11, 12. at the end of the Roma Antica of Nardini (1704, in 4to). Supplies
supplies the materials of subsistence, of manufactures, and of foreign trade. But the greater part of the Campagna of Rome is reduced to a dreary and desolate wilderness: the overgrown estates of the princes and the clergy are cultivated by the lazy hands of indigent and hopeless vassals; and the scanty harvests are confined or exported for the benefit of a monopoly. A second and more artificial cause of the growth of a metropolis, is the residence of a monarch, the expense of a luxurious court, and the tributes of dependent provinces. Those provinces and tributes had been lost in the fall of the empire: and if some streams of the silver of Peru and the gold of Brazil have been attracted by the Vatican; the revenues of the cardinals, the fees of office, the oblations of pilgrims and clients, and the remnant of ecclesiastical taxes, afford a poor and precarious supply, which maintains however the idleness of the court and city. The population of Rome, far below the measure of the great capitals of Europe, does not exceed one hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants; and within the spacious inclosure of the walls, the largest portion of the seven hills is overspread with vineyards and ruins. The beauty and splendour of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government, to the influence of superstition. Each reign (the exceptions are rare)

74 In the year 1709, the inhabitants of Rome (without including eight or ten thousand Jews) amounted to 132,607 souls (Idem, Voyages en Espagne et en Italie, tom. ii. p. 217, 218). In 1720 they had increased to 146,082; and in 1765, I find them, without the Jews, 161,899. I am ignorant whether they have since continued in a progressive state.
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has been marked by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childless pontiff at the expense of the church and country. The palaces of these fortunate nephews are the most costly monuments of elegance and servitude; the perfect arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture, have been prostituted in their service, and their galleries and gardens are decorated with the most precious works of antiquity, which taste or vanity has prompted them to collect. The ecclesiastical revenues were more decently employed by the popes themselves in the pomp of the Catholic worship; but it is superfluous to enumerate their pious foundations of altars, chapels, and churches, since these lesser flars are eclipsed by the sun of the Vatican, by the dome of St. Peter, the most glorious structure that ever has been applied to the use of religion. The fame of Julius the second, Leo the tenth, and Sixtus the fifth, is accompanied by the superior merit of Bramante and Fontana, of Raphael and Michael-Angelo: and the fame munificence which had been displayed in palaces and temples, was directed with equal zeal to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity. Profane edifices were raised from the ground, and erected in the most conspicuous places; of the eleven aqueducts of the Caesars and consuls, three were restored; the artificial rivers were conducted over a long series of old, or of new, arches, to discharge into noble turrets a flood of salubrious and refreshing waters; and the spectator, impatient to ascend the steps of St. Peter's, is detained by a column of Egyptian granite, which...
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The first steps of heroes, the relics, not of superstition, but of empire, are devoutly visited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote, and once savage countries of the North.

Of these pilgrims, and of every reader, the attention will be excited by an history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire; the greatest, perhaps, and most awful scene, in the history of mankind. The various causes and progressive effects are connected with many of the events.

The Père Montfaucon distributes his own observations into twenty days, he should have styled them weeks, or months, of his visits to the different parts of the city (Diarium Italicum, c. 8—20. p. 104—501.). That learned Benedictine reviews the topographers of ancient Rome, in fine, efforts of Blondus, Fulvius, Martianus, and Faunus, the superior labours of Pyrrhus Ligorius, had his learning been equal to his labours; the writings of Onuphrius Panvinius, qui omnes oblivavit, and the recent but imperfect works of Donatus and Nardini. Yet Montfaucon still fights for a more complete plan and description of the old city, which must be attained by the three following methods: 1. The measurement of the space and intervals of the ruins. 2. The study of inscriptions, and the places where they were found. 3. The investigation of all the acts, charters, diaries of the middle ages, which name any spot or building of Rome. The laborious work, such as Montfaucon desired, must be promoted by princely or public munificences; but the great modern plan of Nolli (A. D. 1748) would furnish a solid and accurate basis for the ancient topography of Rome.
most interesting in human annals: the artful policy of the Caesars, who long maintained the name and image of a free republic; the disorder of military despotism, the rise, establishment, and sects of Christianity; the foundation of Constantinople; the division of the monarchy; the invasion and settlements of the Barbarians of Germany and Scythia; the institutions of the new law; the character and religion of Mahomet; the temporal sovereignty of the popes; the restoration and decay of the Western empire of Charlemagne; the crusades of the Latins in the East; the conquests of the Saracens and Turks; the ruin of the Greek empire; the state and revolutions of Rome in the middle age. The historian may applaud the importance and variety of his subject; but, while he is conscious of his own imperfections, he must often accuse the deficiency of his materials. It was among the ruins of the Capitol, that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiosity and candour of the Public.

Lausanne,
June 27, 1787.
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