

THE ERULI - A CHRONOLOGY AD 200 - AD 600

AD 200 - AD 250

The Dani drive out the Eruli from the original home in present day southern Sweden or Denmark. Greek historian Prokopios in his *History of the Wars* writes about the customs of the Eruli. In ancient times they used to appease their gods by human sacrifice. Old or sick people were supposed to seek death voluntarily. Relatives used to build a high pile of wood, whereupon the victim climbed. Then another Erulian - not a relative - also climbed the pile, armed with a dagger, with which the victim was killed. This done, the killer got down from the pile, it was set on fire, and the burned remains were buried. A self-respecting widow was, according to Prokopios, expected to commit suicide by hanging herself beside the tomb of her husband.

The Eruli who migrated to the Danubian area and Illyricum in present day Croatia, also according to Prokopios, made themselves masters of the peoples around them including the Lombards.

AD 262 - AD 270

Erulian fleets participate in the Seventh Gothic-Roman War (262 - 270). In 267 - 268 Ostrogothic and Erulian fleets cross the Black Sea to the mouth of the river Danube and plunder Moesia (present day Romania). From there they continue to Byzantium, which is stormed by night by troops under Ararich. The fleets continue to plunder the Greek archipelago in spite of a Roman fleet attempting to stop them. Athens is stormed after a four week siege.

AD 268

The Eruli take part in a Gothic attempt to defeat the Roman empire. 200,000 Goths with Eruli and other federates on 6,000 ships according to probably exaggerated Roman sources cross the Bosphorus and plunder the Greek archipelago, Crete, Cyprus and once more take Athens.

AD 286

West Eruli, Rugi and Saxonians attack Romans in the Rhine delta and Britannia. The attacks are successfully averted.

AD 335

First Erulian King Alarich is elected.

AD 348

King Alarich's Eruli are defeated by the Gothic army under King Ermanarich (Ermenrich, Joermunrekr).

AD 490 - 520

King Rhodoulphos (Rodulf) of the Eruli starts a war against the Lombards. The Eruli lost a crucial battle (probably AD 494) in which the king was killed. Most Eruli fell but some managed to save themselves. The Eruli left and settled in Rugiland (present day Austria). The Rugians had by then left for Italy with the Goths.

Around AD 512

The Eruli did not stay long in Rugiland. They left to settle "near the Gepids" in the Danubian region north of present day Beograd, Serbia. After some conflicts they were accepted by the Romans as federates, apparently on Roman soil, south of the Danube.

AD 512 - 545

Some of the Eruli, so Prokopios, returned to their ancestral home in Scandinavia 'at the very extremity of the world'. These men were led by many of royal blood and traversed many nations on their trek northwards. They passed the nations of the Dani, without suffering violence at the hands of them. Coming then to the ocean, they took to the sea, and put in at Thoule (a word for Scandinavia) and remained on that island (Greeks and Romans falsely believed

Scandinavia was an island). Elsewhere Prokopios states that the Eruli settled among the Goths (Gautoi) and some Scandinavian researchers believe that was in the present southeastern Swedish province of Blekinge (from around 1000 until 1658 Danish territory).
AD 545

Then the Eruli lacking a king sent some of their notables to Thoule to search out and bring back a suitable person of royal blood. When they reached the island, according to Prokopios, they found many of royal blood. They selected one man who pleased them most and set out with him on the return voyage. But this man fell sick and died when they had come to the country of the Danes. The men therefore returned a second time to Thoule and secured another man, whose name was Dativos. He was followed by his brother Aordos and two hundred youths of the Eruli in Thoule.

Meanwhile the Eruli in Illyricum had, on the advice of the Roman Emperor Justinian, chosen another of royal blood as King, Souartouas. When the group of Eruli returned from Thoule with their candidate the people deserted Souartouas and choose Dativos from Scandinavia as their king. Souartouas managed to flee to Constantinople and Emperor Justinian was furious and attempted to reinstate his candidate. The Eruli terminated as result their treaty with the Romans and joined in treaty with the Gepidi instead.

AD 550

Some sources claim that the continental Eruli finally perished in battles with the East Roman Emperor.

Swedish researcher Otto von Friesen believes the returning Eruli brought the runes, which were invented by the Goths, to Scandinavia. The title erilaR, that can be found on a number of Iron Age runestones in Sweden and Norway, is believed to be synonymous with 'Erul', but also possibly 'priest' or *jarl* (chieftain and the same word as the English 'Earl').

Re: Gauts

In September Bertil mentioned a PhD dissertation by Ingemar Nordgren "Göter-källan" (the origin of the goths). Unfortunately his remarks resulted in an unfair discussion, where the basic idea of Ingemar got lost. As his idea gives an answer to the discussion about the names of Gauts, I will bring it up again.

According to Ingemar the Gauts were people who believed their kings to descend from the warrior god Gaut. Their ancestors in Scandinavia mostly were Ingviones - farmers worshipping the old fertility god Ing. As a consequence the Gauts was a religious group - not a single people. Therefore we have Gauti, Geats, Gauthigothi, Goeter, Guter and maybe Juter. Most of them were different tribes or people. They knew each other from the trade routes on the Baltic Sea and Kattegat, where Gotland was as a trade center connected to the Bernstein Route. When some of them had to leave Scandinavia they first settled near the mouth of Wistula, where some of the local tribes maybe already were Gauts. At last a group of Gauts followed the trade route to the Black Sea where they became known as the Goths. This group may have consisted of several tribes from Scandinavia and the south-eastern shores of the Baltic Sea.

The basic idea sounds reasonable to me.

Unfortunately Ingemar has not yet raised funds to publish his work.

Re: Erulies

Bertil referred to an article covering the Eruli written by Alvar Ellegaard in 1987 (Scandia). According to his theory, described in the latest article I know (Goetiska Minnen 1992), the Eruli were not a separate people, but an army group of gothic warriors, and the Eruli were only in Scandinavia at a short visit in the sixth century (According to him Jordanes referred to this late visit and not an event in 200). Unfortunately he has not combined the informations he got from his own main source Procopios (The information Bertil gave a week ago about Procopios seeing the Eruli as Goths came from Ellegaard). Procopios (History of Wars VI, xiv) tells us about their family life and their religion. They were their neighbours (inclusive the Lombards) superior in number and in power about 490, and many of royal blood lived in Thule (To Keth: P. describes clearly Thule as the Scandinavian Peninsula), but only two went back to Illyria in 545. They existed in Southern Europe for 300 years. They must have been a separate people, and their habits and their religion (a host of gods according to Procopios) does not point at a gothic origin. Bertil asked Tore for a proof - a smart tactic when discussing history of the nordic iron age, where nothing can be proved after a normal scientific historical method because of the lack of sources.

First of all I am sure Bertil cannot prove his own claim. Looking at Ottar's description before 900 the Danes must have ruled Scania and Halland. As far as we know, the Danes had several kingdoms in the iron age (even Procopios used pluralis). One of the kingdoms is supposed to be Scania. First when the Eruli left the Danes, Procopios mentioned an ocean, but Oeresund between Sealand and Scania is more narrow than the straits they already passed between Fyn and Sealand or Germany and Sealand. Therefore Procopios must refer to Kattegat or the Baltic Sea, and in that case Blekinge was not their landing place. Some of the runestones found in Norway with the inscription "Erilar" are dated before the Eruli left Austria, so some Eruli may have been in Scandinavia before the royal family arrived - perhaps runestone experts or Western Eruli from Frisia. A runestone in Blekinge signed by an Erulian does not prove anything about the royal family.

I know that Tore cannot prove his claim either. But Tore and I have in different ways reached the same theory: "The Vendel Era was caused by the Eruli". In my opinion the event took place, when king Audun (Odin?) changed the cult and the calendar at the Disething in Uppsala. A royal family of mercenaries from the Roman Empire disappeared from the Byzantine history in Sweden in some distance from the Danes, and at just the same time a new warrior dynasty with Roman and Byzantine connections turned up in Swedish archeology in the Uppsala area. In Scandinavia we had no historians at that time, but we had our myths written down 700 years after. Ynglingesaga tells about Odin, who came from Tanais just where the Eruli lived at the Black Sea, and he followed nearly the same route as the Eruli and ended in Old Sigtuna with a temple in Uppsala (distance between the places 30 kilometers). From Odin the Ynglinge dynasty descended according to Ynglingesaga. Is all that a coincidence? Snorre Sturluson may in the theory have stolen his story from Procopios, but why, as he did not tell about the Eruli? And if he stole the story, the little bluff from Snorre can not change the similarities between the Procopios story and the archeology. According to Keth the Ynglinge-dynasty should descend from Ing, but if Odin is Audun in the middle of the list of kings in Ynglingatal, the two groups of gods (Aser (Odin) and Vaner (Ing)) must have been merged - just as the saga tells us they were. As usual in the Germanic religions Odin became a god created as Wothan and Gaut. The farmers still worshipped the fertility god Yngve-Frey (Ing), but Odin became the god and ancestor to kings and warriors. So Adam of Bremen describes the statues in the temple of Uppsala in 1050. The royal family used the religion to secure a family right to the Nordic thrones.

In a way I believe Bertil is right: The Eruli were the "earls" of Scandinavia, and for two centuries they tried to collect tribute from most of the Scandinavian kingdoms - like in Austria. As far as I can see this is the only probable way to explain, how the powerful Eruli could disappear, and the theory may also explain, why the Scandinavians became Vikings, and how the kings later on were elected.

Troels Brandt

This is very interesting and certainly seems plausible. After all, Tacitus makes it clear that such cult groupings were very important to the early Germanics and there is a possibility that they lie behind the formation of other large Migration Age tribes which seem to have formed as federations of the first century tribes Tacitus discusses.

I mentioned my rather fraught attempts at discussion with a certain Inger Johansson on soc.history.medieval in a post last week. She justified some rather unlikely assertions about the later Goths by (vague) references to Nordgren - even claiming that he had used some of her hypotheses in his theory and acknowledged her research in his thesis. Does he mention her or his work in the thesis you mention (sorry, I don't read Swedish and so can't seek this out myself)?

Her posts are often difficult to understand, but she seems to think the Goths, Gauts, Geats etc remained one and the same and that this meant that there were close cultural and traditional contacts between Theodoric's Ostrogoths and these other 'Goths' back in the homeland of Scandinavia. Is this Nordgren's assessment as well?

Cheers,

Tim O'Neill
Tasmanian Devil

Gutwulf wrote: > Godana dags! > I have seen her theories on deja.com, but I didn't agree with > everything what she had to say. Many Scandinavians might have > emigrated, and the period 300-500c AD sees a drastic reduction of > settlements, agriculture. On the same time the amount of weapon seems > to increase dramatically (Mårten Stenberger). Scandinavians appears to > be in contact with the turmoil on the continent, and also taking part. > I think that the Gauts and the "Gutar", feeling a relation to the > Goths, might have emigrated to the Black sea until

400c. A source also > mentions "Rodulf" of the "ranii", probably "Ranrike", today's Bohuslän, > making a travel to the ostrogothic empire. A reference about Tioderik, > who for the norsemen seems to have been a great hero. That could > explain the expansion of the gothic empires at the Black sea, > constantly getting settlers from the starving Scandinavia(Norway and > Denmark too?). The "America" of that time? I agree until 375, but I do not see your Rodulf as a part of the migration. Maybe Gaut was in first hand a god to warriors, nomades, cattle people and tradesmen, but I suppose other than Gauts joined the migration. > Jutes might have been included among the "geats" in Beowulf because it > might have been difficult for anglosaxons 2-3 days travel from their > homeland at least hundred years later to separate between the *gutans, > *gauti-gutans or *gautans? and *jutans? It is possible that they were > also included in the term:"west-danes". The archeologists have recognised graves from the fifth century near the Lake of Flevo (old part of Rhine) with connections to southern Jutland. Groups of Erulean pirates are mentioned around the mouth of Rhine and Biscaya in 286, 409 and 450, and in 476 they were described as living at the shores of the North Sea (Musset/Apollonaris) In early Frankish history (Gregory/Venantius) and Burgundian myths all people from the far north were dani and the neighbours were Frisians or Ssaxons. Had the victims ever cared for which tribes the pirates originally came from? We have the same problem reading Bede, but he gave us a hint. He told us, that the Britains called for assistance against the Picts, but afterwards the helpers took full power of the country. Some of them were commanded by Hengest and Horsa from Angel, but they landed where the Jutes are said to have settled - as far as possible from Jutland. Did the Britains call for poor farmers or refugees from Angel or Jutland? I would have called for "professional" soldiers from the neighbourhood - the coast of Frisia. A century before the Britains also called for assistance, when they were a part of the Roman Empire. In 360 the Romans sent Erulian mercenaries to the Scottish border (Musset). In Beowulf we met a Halfdane - Hengest - in Frisian Finsbourg. 150 years after a king was buried in Sutton Hoo, East Anglia in a grave looking just like the graves near Uppsala 1400 kilometers away - in the country where Procopius told us the royal Erulian family (after terrorizing all their neighbours in Austria) settled next to the "Gautoi". Do we see a pattern? Maybe, but all this happened in exactly the same years where Attila laid pressure on Western Europe, crossed the Rhine and was defeated with his army scattered all over Europe. I am sure many tribes joined the migration to England in the vacuum after the Roman aristocrats - including "Geats", Eruls and Jutes. Troels Brandt

Sorry, resending my four latest contributions, as the first ones were HTML-coded.

The migration from Scandinavia likely took place around the Birth of Christ. It is probable that small groups continued to migrate during the Era of Great Migration from southern Scandinavia to the continent.

The Goti and the Eruli arrived at the Black Sea between before 200 AD and started raiding the areas around the Black Sea and around Greece some time ca. 250 AD. It would be interesting to know more about the claim that Gotlanders migrated to the Black Sea area 400 AD.

Gothically

Bertil Haggman

I have seen her theories on deja.com, but I didn't agree with everything what she had to say. Many scandinavians might have emigrated, and the period 300-500c AD sees a drastical reduction of settlements, agriculture. On the same time the amount of weapon seems to increase dramatically(Mårten Stenberger). Scandinavians appears to be in contact with the turmoil on the continent, and also taking part. I think that the gauts and the "gutar", feeling a relation to the goths, might have emigrated to the Black sea until 400c. A source also mentions "Rodulf" of the "ranii", probably "Ranrike", today's Bohuslän, making a travel to the ostrogothic empire. A reference about Tioderik, who for the norsemen seems to have been a great hero. That could explain the expansion of the gothic empires at the Black sea, constantly getting settlers from the starving Scandinavia(Norway and Denmark too?). The "America" of that time?

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PS She sent me a map, but it only showed that there were good waterways from the inner part of Östergötland, and the coast, just after the year 0. What she means is probably that it was easy to emigrate.DS
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Bertil!

Your first statement was, that my theory was quite unrealistic and impossible. You preferred to rely on Procopios.

When I showed you, that Procopios confirmed my theory as possible, then it was according to you "just a temporary thing".

But allready there you lost your argument. When it is possible once, it is also possible twice. Your denial is guesswork presented as a fact. Procopios did not tell you, what happened in Scandinavia.

The Herulian king Hrodulf lost a battle about 495 in Pannonia

(according to Procopios and Diaconus due to arrogance, as the Heruls were larger in number than the Lombards!!!) and the Heruls were divided in two groups. I agree - they lost strength.

As nearly all the royal family went north (they had no royal "reserves" in south in 546), we must expect the northern group to be the largest. The Heruls were trained soldiers, feared by their neighbours. It has been easy for them to impress the native tribes in Scandinavia as they were divided in many kingdoms (Procopios) – much easier than in Pannonia, where most of their neighbours 50 years earlier had joined the army of Attila and at last defeated the Huns.

I believe the Heruls did just what you would expect them to do. When they became too weak to plunder and terrorize their neighbours (migration people) in Pannonia, they found some weaker victims (farmers) in Scandinavia.

Please notice! One pillar of my theory is a deduction based on the behavior, Procopios described.

Troels

<http://ftp.scu.edu.tw/EText/Gutenberg/etext96/4dfre10.txt>

History Of The Decline And Fall Of The Roman Empire Edward Gibbon, Esq.

With notes by the Rev. H. H. Milman Vol. 4 1782 (Written), 1845 (Revised)

Chapter XXXIX: Gothic Kingdom Of Italy. Part I.

Zeno And Anastasius, Emperors Of The East. - Birth, Education, And First Exploits Of Theodoric The Ostrogoth. - His Invasion And Conquest Of Italy. - The Gothic Kingdom Of Italy. - State Of The West. - Military And Civil Government. - The Senator Boethius. - Last Acts And Death Of Theodoric. After the fall of the Roman empire in the West, an interval of fifty years, till the memorable reign of Justinian, is faintly marked by the obscure names and imperfect annals of Zeno, Anastasius, and Justin, who successively ascended to the throne of Constantinople. During the same period, Italy revived and flourished under the government of a Gothic king, who might have deserved a statue among the best and bravest of the ancient Romans. Theodoric the Ostrogoth, the fourteenth in lineal descent of the royal line of the Amali, ^{^1} was born in the neighborhood of Vienna ^{^2} two years after the death of Attila. ^{^!} A recent victory had restored the independence of the Ostrogoths; and the three brothers, Walamir, Theodemir, and Widimir, who ruled that warlike nation with united counsels, had separately pitched their habitations in the fertile though desolate province of Pannonia. The Huns still threatened their revolted subjects, but their hasty attack was repelled by the single forces of Walamir, and the news of his victory reached the distant camp of his brother in the same auspicious moment that the favorite concubine of Theodemir was delivered of a son and heir. In the eighth year of his age, Theodoric was reluctantly yielded by his father to the public interest, as the pledge of an alliance which Leo, emperor of the East, had consented to purchase by an annual subsidy of three hundred pounds of gold. The royal hostage was educated at Constantinople with care and tenderness. His body was formed to all the exercises of war, his mind was expanded by the habits of liberal conversation; he frequented the schools of the most skilful masters; but he disdained or neglected the arts of Greece, and so ignorant did he always remain of the first elements of science, that a rude mark was contrived to represent the signature

of the illiterate king of Italy. ^3 As soon as he had attained the age of eighteen, he was restored to the wishes of the Ostrogoths, whom the emperor aspired to gain by liberality and confidence. Walamir had fallen in battle; the youngest of the brothers, Widimir, had led away into Italy and Gaul an army of Barbarians, and the whole nation acknowledged for their king the father of Theodoric. His ferocious subjects admired the strength and stature of their young prince; ^4 and he soon convinced them that he had not degenerated from the valor of his ancestors. At the head of six thousand volunteers, he secretly left the camp in quest of adventures, descended the Danube as far as Singidunum, or Belgrade, and soon returned to his father with the spoils of a Sarmatian king whom he had vanquished and slain. Such triumphs, however, were productive only of fame, and the invincible Ostrogoths were reduced to extreme distress by the want of clothing and food. They unanimously resolved to desert their Pannonian encampments, and boldly to advance into the warm and wealthy neighborhood of the Byzantine court, which already maintained in pride and luxury so many bands of confederate Goths. After proving, by some acts of hostility, that they could be dangerous, or at least troublesome, enemies, the Ostrogoths sold at a high price their reconciliation and fidelity, accepted a donative of lands and money, and were intrusted with the defence of the Lower Danube, under the command of Theodoric, who succeeded after his father's death to the hereditary throne of the Amali. ^5 [Footnote 1: Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 13, 14, p. 629, 630, edit. Grot.) has drawn the pedigree of Theodoric from Gapt, one of the Anses or Demigods, who lived about the time of Domitian. Cassiodorus, the first who celebrates the royal race of the Amali, (Viriar. viii. 5, ix. 25, x. 2, xi. 1.) reckons the grandson of Theodoric as the xviiith in descent. Peringsciold (the Swedish commentator of Cochloeus, Vit. Theodoric. p. 271, &c., Stockholm, 1699) labors to connect this genealogy with the legends or traditions of his native country. Note: Amala was a name of hereditary sanctity and honor among the Visigoths. It enters into the names of Amalaberga, Amala suintha, (swinther means strength,) Amalafred, Amalarich. In the poem of the Nibelungen written three hundred years later, the Ostrogoths are called the Amilungen. According to Wachter it means, unstained, from the privative a, and malo a stain. It is pure Sanscrit, Amala, immaculatus. Schlegel. Indische Bibliothek, 1. p. 233. - M.] [Footnote 2: More correctly on the banks of the Lake Pelso, (Nieusiedler- see,) near Carnuntum, almost on the same spot where Marcus Antoninus composed his meditations, (Jornandes, c. 52, p. 659. Severin. Pannonia Illustrata, p. 22. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. (tom. i. p. 350.)) [Footnote !: The date of Theodoric's birth is not accurately determined. We can hardly err, observes Manso, in placing it between the years 453 and 455, Manso, Geschichte des Ost Gothischen Reichs, p. 14. - M.] [Footnote 3: The four first letters of his name were inscribed on a gold plate, and when it was fixed on the paper, the king drew his pen through the intervals (Anonym. Valesian. ad calcem Amm. Marcellin p. 722.) This authentic fact, with the testimony of Procopius, or at least of the contemporary Goths, (Gothic. 1. i. c. 2, p. 311.) far outweighs the vague praises of Ennodius (Sirmond Opera, tom. i. p. 1596) and Theophanes, (Chronograph. p. 112.) Note: Le Beau and his Commentator, M. St. Martin, support, though with no very satisfactory evidence, the opposite opinion. But Lord Mahon (Life of Belisarius, p. 19) urges the much stronger argument, the Byzantine education of Theodoric. - M.] [Footnote 4: Statura est quae resignet proceritate regnantem, (Ennodius, p. 1614.) The bishop of Pavia (I mean the ecclesiastic who wished to be a bishop) then proceeds to celebrate the complexion, eyes, hands, &c, of his sovereign.] [Footnote 5: The state of the Ostrogoths, and the first years of Theodoric, are found in Jornandes, (c. 52 - 56, p. 689 - 696) and Malchus, (Excerpt. Legat. p. 78 - 80,) who erroneously styles him the son of Walamir.] A hero, descended from a race of kings, must have despised the base Isaurian who was invested with the Roman purple, without any endowment of mind or body, without any advantages of royal birth, or superior qualifications. After the failure of the Theodosian life, the choice of Pulcheria and of the senate might be justified in some measure by the characters of Martin and Leo, but the latter of these princes confirmed and dishonored his reign by the perfidious murder of Aspar and his sons, who too rigorously exacted the debt of gratitude and obedience. The inheritance of Leo and of the East was peaceably devolved on his infant grandson, the son of his daughter Ariadne; and her Isaurian husband, the fortunate Trascalisseus, exchanged that barbarous sound for the Grecian appellation of Zeno. After the decease of the elder Leo, he approached with unnatural respect the throne of his son, humbly received, as a gift, the second rank in the empire, and soon excited the public suspicion on the sudden and premature death of his young colleague,

whose life could no longer promote the success of his ambition. But the palace of Constantinople was ruled by female influence, and agitated by female passions: and Verina, the widow of Leo, claiming his empire as her own, pronounced a sentence of deposition against the worthless and ungrateful servant on whom she alone had bestowed the sceptre of the East. ^6 As soon as she sounded a revolt in the ears of Zeno, he fled with precipitation into the mountains of Isauria, and her brother Basiliscus, already infamous by his African expedition, ^7 was unanimously proclaimed by the servile senate. But the reign of the usurper was short and turbulent. Basiliscus presumed to assassinate the lover of his sister; he dared to offend the lover of his wife, the vain and insolent Harmatius, who, in the midst of Asiatic luxury, affected the dress, the demeanor, and the surname of Achilles. ^8 By the conspiracy of the malecontents, Zeno was recalled from exile; the armies, the capital, the person, of Basiliscus, were betrayed; and his whole family was condemned to the long agony of cold and hunger by the inhuman conqueror, who wanted courage to encounter or to forgive his enemies. ^* The haughty spirit of Verina was still incapable of submission or repose. She provoked the enmity of a favorite general, embraced his cause as soon as he was disgraced, created a new emperor in Syria and Egypt, ^* raised an army of seventy thousand men, and persisted to the last moment of her life in a fruitless rebellion, which, according to the fashion of the age, had been predicted by Christian hermits and Pagan magicians. While the East was afflicted by the passions of Verina, her daughter Ariadne was distinguished by the female virtues of mildness and fidelity; she followed her husband in his exile, and after his restoration, she implored his clemency in favor of her mother. On the decease of Zeno, Ariadne, the daughter, the mother, and the widow of an emperor, gave her hand and the Imperial title to Anastasius, an aged domestic of the palace, who survived his elevation above twenty-seven years, and whose character is attested by the acclamation of the people, "Reign as you have lived!" ^9 ^! [Footnote 6: Theophanes (p. 111) inserts a copy of her sacred letters to the provinces. Such female pretensions would have astonished the slaves of the first Caesars.] [Footnote 7: Vol. iii. p. 504 - 508.] [Footnote 8: Suidas, tom. i. p. 332, 333, edit. Kuster.] [Footnote *: Joannes Lydus accuses Zeno of timidity, or, rather, of cowardice; he purchased an ignominious peace from the enemies of the empire, whom he dared not meet in battle; and employed his whole time at home in confiscations and executions. Lydus, de Magist. iii. 45, p. 230. - M.] [Footnote : **Named Illus. - M.**] [Footnote 9: **The contemporary histories of Malchus and Candidus are lost; but some extracts or fragments have been saved by Photius, (lxxviii. lxxix. p. 100 - 102,) Constantine Porphyrogenitus, (Excerpt. Leg. p. 78 - 97,) and in various articles of the Lexicon of Suidas. The Chronicles of Marcellinus (Imago Historiae) are originals for the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius; and I must acknowledge, almost for the last time, my obligations to the large and accurate collections of Tillemont, (Hist. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 472 - 652).] [Footnote !: **The Panegyric of Procopius of Gaza, (edited by Villoison in his Anecdota Graeca, and reprinted in the new edition of the Byzantine historians by Niebuhr, in the same vol. with Dexippus and Eunapius, viii. p. 488 516,) was unknown to Gibbon. It is vague and pedantic, and contains few facts. The same criticism will apply to the poetical panegyric of Priscian edited from the Ms. of Bobbio by Ang. Mai. Priscian, the gram marian, Niebuhr argues from this work, must have been born in the African, not in either of the Asiatic Caesareas. Pref. p. xi. - M.] Whatever fear of affection could bestow, was profusely lavished by Zeno on the king of the Ostrogoths; the rank of patrician and consul, the command of the Palatine troops, an equestrian statue, a treasure in gold and silver of many thousand pounds, the name of son, and the promise of a rich and honorable wife. As long as Theodoric condescended to serve, he supported with courage and fidelity the cause of his benefactor; his rapid march contributed to the restoration of Zeno; and in the second revolt, the Walamirs, as they were called, pursued and pressed the Asiatic rebels, till they left an easy victory to the Imperial troops. ^10 But the faithful servant was suddenly converted into a formidable enemy, who spread the flames of war from Constantinople to the Adriatic; many flourishing cities were reduced to ashes, and the agriculture of Thrace was almost extirpated by the wanton cruelty of the Goths, who deprived their captive peasants of the right hand that guided the plough. ^11 On such occasions, Theodoric sustained the loud and specious reproach of disloyalty, of ingratitude, and of insatiate avarice, which could be only excused by the hard necessity of his situation. He reigned, not as the monarch, but as the minister of a ferocious people, whose spirit was****

unbroken by slavery, and impatient of real or imaginary insults. Their poverty was incurable; since the most liberal donatives were soon dissipated in wasteful luxury, and the most fertile estates became barren in their hands; they despised, but they envied, the laborious provincials; and when their subsistence had failed, the Ostrogoths embraced the familiar resources of war and rapine. It had been the wish of Theodoric (such at least was his declaration) to lead a peaceful, obscure, obedient life on the confines of Scythia, till the Byzantine court, by splendid and fallacious promises, seduced him to attack a confederate tribe of Goths, who had been engaged in the party of Basiliscus. He marched from his station in Maesia, on the solemn assurance that before he reached Adrianople, he should meet a plentiful convoy of provisions, and a reenforcement of eight thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, while the legions of Asia were encamped at Heraclea to second his operations. These measures were disappointed by mutual jealousy. As he advanced into Thrace, the son of Theodemir found an inhospitable solitude, and his Gothic followers, with a heavy train of horses, of mules, and of wagons, were betrayed by their guides among the rocks and precipices of Mount Sondis, where he was assaulted by the arms and invectives of Theodoric the son of Triarius. From a neighboring height, his artful rival harangued the camp of the Walamirs, and branded their leader with the opprobrious names of child, of madman, of perjured traitor, the enemy of his blood and nation. "Are you ignorant," exclaimed the son of Triarius, "that it is the constant policy of the Romans to destroy the Goths by each other's swords? Are you insensible that the victor in this unnatural contest will be exposed, and justly exposed, to their implacable revenge? Where are those warriors, my kinsmen and thy own, whose widows now lament that their lives were sacrificed to thy rash ambition? Where is the wealth which thy soldiers possessed when they were first allured from their native homes to enlist under thy standard? Each of them was then master of three or four horses; they now follow thee on foot, like slaves, through the deserts of Thrace; those men who were tempted by the hope of measuring gold with a bushel, those brave men who are as free and as noble as thyself." A language so well suited to the temper of the Goths excited clamor and discontent; and the son of Theodemir, apprehensive of being left alone, was compelled to embrace his brethren, and to imitate the example of Roman perfidy. ^12

[Footnote 10: In ipsis congressionis tuae foribus cessit inuasor, cum profugo per te sceptrum redderentur de salute dubitanti. Ennodius then proceeds (p. 1596, 1597, tom. i. Sirmond.) to transport his hero (on a flying dragon?) into Aethiopia, beyond the tropic of Cancer. The evidence of the Valesian Fragment, (p. 717,) Liberatus, (Brev. Euty. c. 25 p. 118,) and Theophanes, (p. 112,) is more sober and rational.] [Footnote 11: This cruel practice is specially imputed to the Triarian Goths, less barbarous, as it should seem, than the Walamirs; but the son of Theodemir is charged with the ruin of many Roman cities, (Malchus, Excerpt. Leg. p. 95.)] [Footnote 12: Jornandes (c. 56, 57, p. 696) displays the services of Theodoric, confesses his rewards, but dissembles his revolt, of which such curious details have been preserved by Malchus, (Excerpt. Legat. p. 78 - 97.) Marcellinus, a domestic of Justinian, under whose ivth consulship (A.D. 534) he composed his Chronicle, (Scaliger, Thesaurus Temporum, P. ii, p. 34 - 57,) betrays his prejudice and passion: in Graeciam debacchantem ... Zenonis munificentia pene pacatus ... beneficiis nunquam satiatus, &c.] [Footnote *: Gibbon has omitted much of the complicated intrigues of the Byzantine court with the two Theodorics. The weak emperor attempted to play them one against the other, and was himself in turn insulted, and the empire ravaged, by both. The details of the successive alliance and revolt, of hostility and of union, between the two Gothic chieftains, to dictate terms to the emperor, may be found in Malchus. - M.] In every state of his fortune, the prudence and firmness of Theodoric were equally conspicuous; whether he threatened Constantinople at the head of the confederate Goths, or retreated with a faithful band to the mountains and sea-coast of Epirus. At length the accidental death of the son of Triarius ^13 destroyed the balance which the Romans had been so anxious to preserve, the whole nation acknowledged the supremacy of the Amali, and the Byzantine court subscribed an ignominious and oppressive treaty. ^14 The senate had already declared, that it was necessary to choose a party among the Goths, since the public was unequal to the support of their united forces; a subsidy of two thousand pounds of gold, with the ample pay of thirteen thousand men, were required for the least considerable of their armies; ^15 and the Isaurians, who guarded not the empire but the emperor, enjoyed, besides the privilege of rapine, an annual pension of five thousand

pounds. The sagacious mind of Theodoric soon perceived that he was odious to the Romans, and suspected by the Barbarians: he understood the popular murmur, that his subjects were exposed in their frozen huts to intolerable hardships, while their king was dissolved in the luxury of Greece, and he prevented the painful alternative of encountering the Goths, as the champion, or of leading them to the field, as the enemy, of Zeno. Embracing an enterprise worthy of his courage and ambition, Theodoric addressed the emperor in the following words: "Although your servant is maintained in affluence by your liberality, graciously listen to the wishes of my heart! Italy, the inheritance of your predecessors, and Rome itself, the head and mistress of the world, now fluctuate under the violence and oppression of Odoacer the mercenary. Direct me, with my national troops, to march against the tyrant. If I fall, you will be relieved from an expensive and troublesome friend: if, with the divine permission, I succeed, I shall govern in your name, and to your glory, the Roman senate, and the part of the republic delivered from slavery by my victorious arms." The proposal of Theodoric was accepted, and perhaps had been suggested, by the Byzantine court. But the forms of the commission, or grant, appear to have been expressed with a prudent ambiguity, which might be explained by the event; and it was left doubtful, whether the conqueror of Italy should reign as the lieutenant, the vassal, or the ally, of the emperor of the East. ¹⁶ [Footnote 13: As he was riding in his own camp, an unruly horse threw him against the point of a spear which hung before a tent, or was fixed on a wagon, (Marcellin. in Chron. Evagrius, l. iii. c. 25.)] [Footnote 14: See Malchus (p. 91) and Evagrius, (l. iii. c. 35.)] [Footnote 15: Malchus, p. 85. In a single action, which was decided by the skill and discipline of Sabinian, Theodoric could lose 5000 men.] [Footnote 16: Jornandes (c. 57, p. 696, 697) has abridged the great history of Cassiodorus. See, compare, and reconcile Procopius, (Gothic. l. i. c. i.,) the Valesian Fragment, (p. 718,) Theophanes, (p. 113,) and Marcellinus, (in Chron.)] The reputation both of the leader and of the war diffused a universal ardor; the Walamirs were multiplied by the Gothic swarms already engaged in the service, or seated in the provinces, of the empire; and each bold Barbarian, who had heard of the wealth and beauty of Italy, was impatient to seek, through the most perilous adventures, the possession of such enchanting objects. The march of Theodoric must be considered as the emigration of an entire people; the wives and children of the Goths, their aged parents, and most precious effects, were carefully transported; and some idea may be formed of the heavy baggage that now followed the camp, by the loss of two thousand wagons, which had been sustained in a single action in the war of Epirus. For their subsistence, the Goths depended on the magazines of corn which was ground in portable mills by the hands of their women; on the milk and flesh of their flocks and herds; on the casual produce of the chase, and upon the contributions which they might impose on all who should presume to dispute the passage, or to refuse their friendly assistance. Notwithstanding these precautions, they were exposed to the danger, and almost to the distress, of famine, in a march of seven hundred miles, which had been undertaken in the depth of a rigorous winter. Since the fall of the Roman power, Dacia and Pannonia no longer exhibited the rich prospect of populous cities, well-cultivated fields, and convenient highways: the reign of barbarism and desolation was restored, and the tribes of Bulgarians, Gepidae, and Sarmatians, who had occupied the vacant province, were prompted by their native fierceness, or the solicitations of Odoacer, to resist the progress of his enemy. In many obscure though bloody battles, Theodoric fought and vanquished; till at length, surmounting every obstacle by skilful conduct and persevering courage, he descended from the Julian Alps, and displayed his invincible banners on the confines of Italy. ¹⁷ [Footnote 17: Theodoric's march is supplied and illustrated by Ennodius, (p. 1598 - 1602,) when the bombast of the oration is translated into the language of common sense.] Odoacer, a rival not unworthy of his arms, had already occupied the advantageous and well-known post of the River Sontius, near the ruins of Aquileia, at the head of a powerful host, whose independent kings ¹⁸ or leaders disdained the duties of subordination and the prudence of delays. No sooner had Theodoric gained a short repose and refreshment to his wearied cavalry, than he boldly attacked the fortifications of the enemy; the Ostrogoths showed more ardor to acquire, than the mercenaries to defend, the lands of Italy; and the reward of the first victory was the possession of the Venetian province as far as the walls of Verona. In the neighborhood of that city, on the steep banks of the rapid Adige, he was opposed by a new army, reenforced in its numbers, and not impaired in its courage: the contest was more obstinate, but the event was still more decisive; Odoacer fled to Ravenna, Theodoric advanced to Milan, and the vanquished

troops saluted their conqueror with loud acclamations of respect and fidelity. But their want either of constancy or of faith soon exposed him to the most imminent danger; his vanguard, with several Gothic counts, which had been rashly intrusted to a deserter, was betrayed and destroyed near Faenza by his double treachery; Odoacer again appeared master of the field, and the invader, strongly intrenched in his camp of Pavia, was reduced to solicit the aid of a kindred nation, the Visigoths of Gaul. In the course of this History, the most voracious appetite for war will be abundantly satiated; nor can I much lament that our dark and imperfect materials do not afford a more ample narrative of the distress of Italy, and of the fierce conflict, which was finally decided by the abilities, experience, and valor of the Gothic king. Immediately before the battle of Verona, he visited the tent of his mother ^{^19} and sister, and requested, that on a day, the most illustrious festival of his life, they would adorn him with the rich garments which they had worked with their own hands. "Our glory," said he, "is mutual and inseparable. You are known to the world as the mother of Theodoric; and it becomes me to prove, that I am the genuine offspring of those heroes from whom I claim my descent." The wife or concubine of Theodemir was inspired with the spirit of the German matrons, who esteemed their sons' honor far above their safety; and it is reported, that in a desperate action, when Theodoric himself was hurried along by the torrent of a flying crowd, she boldly met them at the entrance of the camp, and, by her generous reproaches, drove them back on the swords of the enemy. ^{^20}

Chapter XXXIX: Gothic Kingdom Of Italy. Part II. Among the Barbarians of the West, the victory of Theodoric had spread a general alarm. But as soon as it appeared that he was satisfied with conquest and desirous of peace, terror was changed into respect, and they submitted to a powerful mediation, which was uniformly employed for the best purposes of reconciling their quarrels and civilizing their manners. ^{^33} The ambassadors who resorted to Ravenna from the most distant countries of Europe, admired his wisdom, magnificence, ^{^34} and courtesy; and if he sometimes accepted either slaves or arms, white horses or strange animals, the gift of a sun-dial, a water-clock, or a musician, admonished even the princes of Gaul of the superior art and industry of his Italian subjects. His domestic alliances, ^{^35} a wife, two daughters, a sister, and a niece, united the family of Theodoric with the kings of the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, the Vandals, and the Thuringians, and contributed to maintain the harmony, or at least the balance, of the great republic of the West. ^{^36} It is difficult in the dark forests of Germany and Poland to pursue the emigrations of the Heruli, a fierce people who disdained the use of armor, and who condemned their widows and aged parents not to survive the loss of their husbands, or the decay of their strength. ^{^37} The king of these savage warriors solicited the friendship of Theodoric, and was elevated to the rank of his son, according to the barbaric rites of a military adoption. ^{^38} From the shores of the Baltic, the Aestians or Livonians laid their offerings of native amber ^{^39} at the feet of a prince, whose fame had excited them to undertake an unknown and dangerous journey of fifteen hundred miles. With the country ^{^40} from whence the Gothic nation derived their origin, he maintained a frequent and friendly correspondence: the Italians were clothed in the rich sables ^{^41} of Sweden; and one of its sovereigns, after a voluntary or reluctant abdication, found a hospitable retreat in the palace of Ravenna. He had reigned over one of the thirteen populous tribes who cultivated a small portion of the great island or peninsula of Scandinavia, to which the vague appellation of Thule has been sometimes applied. That northern region was peopled, or had been explored, as high as the sixty- eighth degree of latitude, where the natives of the polar circle enjoy and lose the presence of the sun at each summer and winter solstice during an equal period of forty days. ^{^42} The long night of his absence or death was the mournful season of distress and anxiety, till the messengers, who had been sent to the mountain tops, descried the first rays of returning light, and proclaimed to the plain below the festival of his resurrection. ^{^43} [Footnote 33: See the clearness and vigor of his negotiations in Ennodius, (p. 1607,) and Cassiodorus, (Var. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4; iv. 13; v. 43, 44,) who gives the different styles of friendship, counsel expostulation, &c.] [Footnote 34: Even of his table (Var. vi. 9) and palace, (vii. 5.) The admiration of strangers is represented as the most rational motive to justify these vain expenses, and to stimulate the diligence of the officers to whom these provinces were intrusted.] [Footnote 35: See the public and private alliances of the Gothic monarch, with the Burgundians, (Var. i. 45, 46,) with the Franks, (ii. 40,) with

the Thuringians, (iv. 1.) and with the Vandals, (v. 1;) each of these epistles affords some curious knowledge of the policy and manners of the Barbarians.] [Footnote 36: His political system may be observed in Cassiodorus, (Var. iv. l ix. l.) Jornandes, (c. 58, p. 698, 699,) and the Valesian Fragment, (p. 720, 721.) Peace, honorable peace, was the constant aim of Theodoric.] [Footnote 37: The curious reader may contemplate the Heruli of Procopius, (Goth. l. ii. c. 14,) and the patient reader may plunge into the dark and minute researches of M. de Buat, (Hist. des Peuples Anciens, tom. ix. p. 348 - 396.) Note: Compare Manso, Ost Gothische Reich. Beylage, vi. Malte- Brun brings them from Scandinavia: their names, the only remains of their language, are Gothic. "They fought almost naked, like the Icelandic Berserkirs their bravery was like madness: few in number, they were mostly of royal blood. What ferocity, what unrestrained license, sullied their victories! The Goth respects the church, the priests, the senate; the Heruli mangle all in a general massacre: there is no pity for age, no refuge for chastity. Among themselves there is the same ferocity: the sick and the aged are put to death. at their own request, during a solemn festival; the widow ends her days by hanging herself upon the tree which shadows her husband's tomb. All these circumstances, so striking to a mind familiar with Scandinavian history, lead us to discover among the Heruli not so much a nation as a confederacy of princes and nobles, bound by an oath to live and die together with their arms in their hands. Their name, sometimes written Heruli or Eruli. sometimes Aeruli, signified, according to an ancient author, (Isid. Hispal. in gloss. p. 24, ad calc. Lex. Philolog. Martini, ll,) nobles, and appears to correspond better with the Scandinavian word iarl or earl, than with any of those numerous derivations proposed by etymologists." Malte- Brun, vol. i. p. 400, (edit. 1831.) Of all the Barbarians who threw themselves on the ruins of the Roman empire, it is most difficult to trace the origin of the Heruli. They seem never to have been very powerful as a nation, and branches of them are found in countries very remote from each other. In my opinion they belong to the Gothic race, and have a close affinity with the Scyrri or Hirri. They were, possibly, a division of that nation. They are often mingled and confounded with the Alani. Though brave and formidable. they were never numerous. nor did they found any state. - St. Martin, vol. vi. p. 375. - M. Schafarck considers them descendants of the Hirri. of which Heruli is a diminutive, - Slawische Alter thinner - M. 1845.] [Footnote 38: Variarum, iv. 2. The spirit and forms of this martial institution are noticed by Cassiodorus; but he seems to have only translated the sentiments of the Gothic king into the language of Roman eloquence.] [Footnote 39: Cassiodorus, who quotes Tacitus to the Aestians, the unlettered savages of the Baltic, (Var. v. 2,) describes the amber for which their shores have ever been famous, as the gum of a tree, hardened by the sun, and purified and wafted by the waves. When that singular substance is analyzed by the chemists, it yields a vegetable oil and a mineral acid.] [Footnote 40: Scanzia, or Thule, is described by Jornandes (c. 3, p. 610 - 613) and Procopius, (Goth. l. ii. c. 15.) Neither the Goth nor the Greek had visited the country: both had conversed with the natives in their exile at Ravenna or Constantinople.] [Footnote 41: Sapherinas pelles. In the time of Jornandes they inhabited Suethans, the proper Sweden; but that beautiful race of animals has gradually been driven into the eastern parts of Siberia. See Buffon, (Hist. Nat. tom. xiii. p. 309 - 313, quarto edition;) Pennant, (System of Quadrupeds, vol. i. p. 322 - 328;) Gmelin, (Hist. Gen des. Voyages, tom. xviii. p. 257, 258;) and Levesque, (Hist. de Russie, tom. v. p. 165, 166, 514, 515.)] [Footnote 42: In the system or romance of Mr. Bailly, (Lettres sur les Sciences et sur l'Atlantide, tom. i. p. 249 - 256, tom. ii. p. 114 - 139,) the phoenix of the Edda, and the annual death and revival of Adonis and Osiris, are the allegorical symbols of the absence and return of the sun in the Arctic regions. This ingenious writer is a worthy disciple of the great Buffon; nor is it easy for the coldest reason to withstand the magic of their philosophy.] [Footnote 43: Says Procopius. At present a rude Manicheism (generous enough) prevails among the Samoyedes in Greenland and in Lapland, (Hist. des Voyages, tom. xviii. p. 508, 509, tom. xix. p. 105, 106, 527, 528;) yet, according to Orotius Samojutae coelum atque astra adorant, numina haud aliis iniquiora, (de Rebus Belgicis, l. iv. p. 338, folio edition) a sentence which Tacitus would not have disowned.] The life of Theodoric represents the rare and meritorious example of a Barbarian, who sheathed his sword in the pride of victory and the vigor of his age. A reign of three and thirty years was consecrated to the duties of civil government, and the hostilities, in which he was sometimes involved, were speedily terminated by the conduct of his lieutenants, the discipline of his troops, the arms of his allies, and even by the terror of his name. He reduced, under a strong and regular government, the unprofitable countries of Rhaetia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and

Pannonia, from the source of the Danube and the territory of the Bavarians, ^44 to the petty kingdom erected by the Gepidae on the ruins of Sirmium. His prudence could not safely intrust the bulwark of Italy to such feeble and turbulent neighbors; and his justice might claim the lands which they oppressed, either as a part of his kingdom, or as the inheritance of his father. The greatness of a servant, who was named perfidious because he was successful, awakened the jealousy of the emperor Anastasius; and a war was kindled on the Dacian frontier, by the protection which the Gothic king, in the vicissitude of human affairs, had granted to one of the descendants of Attila. Sabinian, a general illustrious by his own and father's merit, advanced at the head of ten thousand Romans; and the provisions and arms, which filled a long train of wagons, were distributed to the fiercest of the Bulgarian tribes. But in the fields of Margus, the eastern powers were defeated by the inferior forces of the Goths and Huns; the flower and even the hope of the Roman armies was irretrievably destroyed; and such was the temperance with which Theodoric had inspired his victorious troops, that, as their leader had not given the signal of pillage, the rich spoils of the enemy lay untouched at their feet. ^45 Exasperated by this disgrace, the Byzantine court despatched two hundred ships and eight thousand men to plunder the sea-coast of Calabria and Apulia: they assaulted the ancient city of Tarentum, interrupted the trade and agriculture of a happy country, and sailed back to the Hellespont, proud of their piratical victory over a people whom they still presumed to consider as their Roman brethren. ^46 Their retreat was possibly hastened by the activity of Theodoric; Italy was covered by a fleet of a thousand light vessels, ^47 which he constructed with incredible despatch; and his firm moderation was soon rewarded by a solid and honorable peace. He maintained, with a powerful hand, the balance of the West, till it was at length overthrown by the ambition of Clovis; and although unable to assist his rash and unfortunate kinsman, the king of the Visigoths, he saved the remains of his family and people, and checked the Franks in the midst of their victorious career. I am not desirous to prolong or repeat ^48 this narrative of military events, the least interesting of the reign of Theodoric; and shall be content to add, that the Alemanni were protected, ^49 that an inroad of the Burgundians was severely chastised, and that the conquest of Arles and Marseilles opened a free communication with the Visigoths, who revered him as their national protector, and as the guardian of his grandchild, the infant son of Alaric. Under this respectable character, the king of Italy restored the praetorian praefecture of the Gauls, reformed some abuses in the civil government of Spain, and accepted the annual tribute and apparent submission of its military governor, who wisely refused to trust his person in the palace of Ravenna. ^50 The Gothic sovereignty was established from Sicily to the Danube, from Sirmium or Belgrade to the Atlantic Ocean; and the Greeks themselves have acknowledged that Theodoric reigned over the fairest portion of the Western empire. ^51 [Footnote 44: See the *Hist. des Peuples Anciens, &c.*, tom. ix. p. 255 - 273, 396 - 501. The count de Buat was French minister at the court of Bavaria: a liberal curiosity prompted his inquiries into the antiquities of the country, and that curiosity was the germ of twelve respectable volumes.] [Footnote 45: See the Gothic transactions on the Danube and the Illyricum, in Jornandes, (c. 58, p. 699;) Ennodius, (p. 1607 - 1610;) Marcellinus (in *Chron.* p. 44, 47, 48;) and Cassiodorus, in (in *Chron* and *Var.* iii. 29 50, iv. 13, vii. 4 24, viii. 9, 10, 11, 21, ix. 8, 9.)] [Footnote 46: I cannot forbear transcribing the liberal and classic style of Count Marcellinus: *Romanus comes domesticorum, et Rusticus comes scholariorum cum centum armatis navibus, totidemque dromonibus, octo millia militum armatorum secum ferentibus, ad devastanda Italiae littora processerunt, ut usque ad Tarentum antiquissimam civitatem aggressi sunt; remensoque mari in honestam victoriam quam piratico ausu Romani ex Romanis rapuerunt, Anastasio Caesari reportarunt,* (in *Chron.* p. 48.) See *Variar.* i. 16, ii. 38.] [Footnote 47: See the royal orders and instructions, (*Var.* iv. 15, v. 16 - 20.) These armed boats should be still smaller than the thousand vessels of Agamemnon at the siege of Troy. (Manso, p. 121.)] [Footnote 48: Vol. iii. p. 581 - 585.] [Footnote 49: Ennodius (p. 1610) and Cassiodorus, in the royal name, (*Var.* ii 41,) record his salutary protection of the Alemanni.] [Footnote 50: The Gothic transactions in Gaul and Spain are represented with some perplexity in Cassiodorus, (*Var.* iii. 32, 38, 41, 43, 44, v. 39.) Jornandes, (c. 58, p. 698, 699,) and Procopius, (*Goth.* i. i. c. 12.) I will neither hear nor reconcile the long and contradictory arguments of the Abbe Dubos and the Count de Buat, about the wars of Burgundy.] [Footnote 51: Theophanes, p. 113.] The union of the Goths and Romans might have fixed for ages the transient happiness of Italy; and the first of nations, a new people of free subjects and enlightened soldiers, might have gradually

arisen from the mutual emulation of their respective virtues. But the sublime merit of guiding or seconding such a revolution was not reserved for the reign of Theodoric: he wanted either the genius or the opportunities of a legislator; ^52 and while he indulged the Goths in the enjoyment of rude liberty, he servilely copied the institutions, and even the abuses, of the political system which had been framed by Constantine and his successors. From a tender regard to the expiring prejudices of Rome, the Barbarian declined the name, the purple, and the diadem, of the emperors; but he assumed, under the hereditary title of king, the whole substance and plenitude of Imperial prerogative. ^53 His addresses to the eastern throne were respectful and ambiguous: he celebrated, in pompous style, the harmony of the two republics, applauded his own government as the perfect similitude of a sole and undivided empire, and claimed above the kings of the earth the same preeminence which he modestly allowed to the person or rank of Anastasius. The alliance of the East and West was annually declared by the unanimous choice of two consuls; but it should seem that the Italian candidate who was named by Theodoric accepted a formal confirmation from the sovereign of Constantinople. ^54 The Gothic palace of Ravenna reflected the image of the court of Theodosius or Valentinian. The Praetorian praefect, the praefect of Rome, the quaestor, the master of the offices, with the public and patrimonial treasurers, ^* whose functions are painted in gaudy colors by the rhetoric of Cassiodorus, still continued to act as the ministers of state. And the subordinate care of justice and the revenue was delegated to seven consulars, three correctors, and five presidents, who governed the fifteen regions of Italy according to the principles, and even the forms, of Roman jurisprudence. ^55 The violence of the conquerors was abated or eluded by the slow artifice of judicial proceedings; the civil administration, with its honors and emoluments, was confined to the Italians; and the people still preserved their dress and language, their laws and customs, their personal freedom, and two thirds of their landed property. ^! It had been the object of Augustus to conceal the introduction of monarchy; it was the policy of Theodoric to disguise the reign of a Barbarian. ^56 If his subjects were sometimes awakened from this pleasing vision of a Roman government, they derived more substantial comfort from the character of a Gothic prince, who had penetration to discern, and firmness to pursue, his own and the public interest. Theodoric loved the virtues which he possessed, and the talents of which he was destitute. Liberius was promoted to the office of Praetorian praefect for his unshaken fidelity to the unfortunate cause of Odoacer. The ministers of Theodoric, Cassiodorus, ^57 and Boethius, have reflected on his reign the lustre of their genius and learning. More prudent or more fortunate than his colleague, Cassiodorus preserved his own esteem without forfeiting the royal favor; and after passing thirty years in the honors of the world, he was blessed with an equal term of repose in the devout and studious solitude of Squillace. ^*

[Footnote 52: Procopius affirms that no laws whatsoever were promulgated by Theodoric and the succeeding kings of Italy, (Goth. l. ii. c. 6.) He must mean in the Gothic language. A Latin edict of Theodoric is still extant, in one hundred and fifty-four articles. Note: See Manso, 92. Savigny, vol. ii. p. 164, et seq. - M.] [Footnote 53: The image of Theodoric is engraved on his coins: his modest successors were satisfied with adding their own name to the head of the reigning emperor, (Muratori, Antiquitat. Italiae Medii Aevi, tom. ii. dissert. xxvii. p. 577 - 579. Giannone, Istoria Civile di Napoli tom. i. p. 166.)] [Footnote 54: The alliance of the emperor and the king of Italy are represented by Cassiodorus (Var. i. l. ii. 1, 2, 3, vi. l) and Procopius, (Goth. l. ii. c. 6, l. iii. c. 21,) who celebrate the friendship of Anastasius and Theodoric; but the figurative style of compliment was interpreted in a very different sense at Constantinople and Ravenna.] [Footnote *: All causes between Roman and Roman were judged by the old Roman courts. The comes Gothorum judged between Goth and Goth; between Goths and Romans, (without considering which was the plaintiff.) the comes Gothorum, with a Roman jurist as his assessor, making a kind of mixed jurisdiction, but with a natural predominance to the side of the Goth Savigny, vol. i. p. 290. - M.] [Footnote 55: To the xvii. provinces of the Notitia, Paul Warnefrid the deacon (De Reb. Longobard. l. ii. c. 14 - 22) has subjoined an xviiiith, the Apennine, (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. p. 431 - 443.) But of these Sardinia and Corsica were possessed by the Vandals, and the two Rhaetias, as well as the Cottian Alps, seem to have been abandoned to a military government. The state of the four provinces that now form the kingdom of Naples is labored by Giannone (tom. i. p. 172, 178) with patriotic diligence.] [Footnote !: Manso enumerates and develops at some length the following sources of the royal revenue of Theodoric: 1. A domain, either by succession to that of Odoacer, or a part of

the third of the lands was reserved for the royal patrimony. 1. Regalia, including mines, unclaimed estates, treasure-trove, and confiscations. 3. Land tax. 4. Aurarium, like the Chrysargyrum, a tax on certain branches of trade. 5. Grant of Monopolies. 6. Siliquaticum, a small tax on the sale of all kinds of commodities. 7. Portoria, customs

Manso, 96, 111. Savigny (i. 285) supposes that in many cases the property remained in the original owner, who paid his *tertia*, a third of the produce to the crown, vol. i. p. 285. - M.] [Footnote 56: See the Gothic history of Procopius, (l. i. c. 1, l. ii. c. 6,) the Epistles of Cassiodorus, (passim, but especially the vth and vith books, which contain the formulae, or patents of offices,) and the Civil History of Giannone, (tom. i. l. ii. iii.) The Gothic counts, which he places in every Italian city, are annihilated, however, by Maffei, (Verona Illustrata, P. i. l. viii. p. 227; for those of Syracuse and Naples (Var vi. 22, 23) were special and temporary commissions.] [Footnote 57: Two Italians of the name of Cassiodorus, the father (Var. i. 24, 40) and the son, (ix. 24, 25,) were successively employed in the administration of Theodoric. The son was born in the year 479: his various epistles as quaestor, master of the offices, and Praetorian praefect, extend from 509 to 539, and he lived as a monk about thirty years, (Tiraboschi Storia della Letteratura Italiana, tom. iii. p. 7 - 24. Fabricius, Bibliot. Lat. Med. Aevi, tom. i. p. 357, 358, edit. Mansi.)] [Footnote *: Cassiodorus was of an ancient and honorable family; his grandfather had distinguished himself in the defence of Sicily against the ravages of Genseric; his father held a high rank at the court of Valentinian III., enjoyed the friendship of Aetius, and was one of the ambassadors sent to arrest the progress of Attila. Cassiodorus himself was first the treasurer of the private expenditure to Odoacer, afterwards "count of the sacred largesses." Yielding with the rest of the Romans to the dominion of Theodoric, he was instrumental in the peaceable submission of Sicily; was successively governor of his native provinces of Bruttium and Lucania, quaestor, magister, palatii, Praetorian praefect, patrician, consul, and private secretary, and, in fact, first minister of the king. He was five times Praetorian praefect under different sovereigns, the last time in the reign of Vitiges. This is the theory of Manso, which is not unencumbered with difficulties. M. Buat had supposed that it was the father of Cassiodorus who held the office first named. Compare Manso, p. 85, &c., and Beylage, vii. It certainly appears improbable that Cassiodorus should have been count of the sacred largesses at twenty years old. - M.] As the patron of the republic, it was the interest and duty of the Gothic king to cultivate the affections of the senate ^58 and people. The nobles of Rome were flattered by sonorous epithets and formal professions of respect, which had been more justly applied to the merit and authority of their ancestors. The people enjoyed, without fear or danger, the three blessings of a capital, order, plenty, and public amusements. A visible diminution of their numbers may be found even in the measure of liberality; ^59 yet Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, poured their tribute of corn into the granaries of Rome an allowance of bread and meat was distributed to the indigent citizens; and every office was deemed honorable which was consecrated to the care of their health and happiness. The public games, such as the Greek ambassador might politely applaud, exhibited a faint and feeble copy of the magnificence of the Caesars: yet the musical, the gymnastic, and the pantomime arts, had not totally sunk in oblivion; the wild beasts of Africa still exercised in the amphitheatre the courage and dexterity of the hunters; and the indulgent Goth either patiently tolerated or gently restrained the blue and green factions, whose contests so often filled the circus with clamor and even with blood. ^60 In the seventh year of his peaceful reign, Theodoric visited the old capital of the world; the senate and people advanced in solemn procession to salute a second Trajan, a new Valentinian; and he nobly supported that character by the assurance of a just and legal government, ^61 in a discourse which he was not afraid to pronounce in public, and to inscribe on a tablet of brass. Rome, in this august ceremony, shot a last ray of declining glory; and a saint, the spectator of this pompous scene, could only hope, in his pious fancy, that it was excelled by the celestial splendor of the new Jerusalem. ^62 During a residence of six months, the fame, the person, and the courteous demeanor of the Gothic king, excited the admiration of the Romans, and he contemplated, with equal curiosity and surprise, the monuments that remained of their ancient greatness. He imprinted the footsteps of a conqueror on the Capitoline hill, and frankly confessed that each day he viewed with fresh wonder the forum of Trajan and his lofty column. The theatre of Pompey appeared, even in its decay, as a huge mountain artificially hollowed, and polished, and adorned by human industry; and he vaguely computed, that a river of gold must have been drained to erect the colossal amphitheatre of Titus. ^63 From the mouths of

fourteen aqueducts, a pure and copious stream was diffused into every part of the city; among these the Claudian water, which arose at the distance of thirty-eight miles in the Sabine mountains, was conveyed along a gentle though constant declivity of solid arches, till it descended on the summit of the Aventine hill. The long and spacious vaults which had been constructed for the purpose of common sewers, subsisted, after twelve centuries, in their pristine strength; and these subterraneous channels have been preferred to all the visible wonders of Rome. ^64 The Gothic kings, so injuriously accused of the ruin of antiquity, were anxious to preserve the monuments of the nation whom they had subdued. ^65 The royal edicts were framed to prevent the abuses, the neglect, or the depredations of the citizens themselves; and a professed architect, the annual sum of two hundred pounds of gold, twenty-five thousand tiles, and the receipt of customs from the Lucrine port, were assigned for the ordinary repairs of the walls and public edifices. A similar care was extended to the statues of metal or marble of men or animals. The spirit of the horses, which have given a modern name to the Quirinal, was applauded by the Barbarians; ^66 the brazen elephants of the Via sacra were diligently restored; ^67 the famous heifer of Myron deceived the cattle, as they were driven through the forum of peace; ^68 and an officer was created to protect those works of art, which Theodoric considered as the noblest ornament of his kingdom. [Footnote 58: See his regard for the senate in Cochlæus, (Vit. Theod. viii. p. 72 - 80.)] [Footnote 59: No more than 120,000 modii, or four thousand quarters, (Anonym. Valesian. p. 721, and Var. i. 35, vi. 18, xi. 5, 39.)] [Footnote 60: See his regard and indulgence for the spectacles of the circus, the amphitheatre, and the theatre, in the Chronicle and Epistles of Cassiodorus, (Var. i. 20, 27, 30, 31, 32, iii. 51, iv. 51, illustrated by the xivth Annotation of Mascou's History), who has contrived to sprinkle the subject with ostentatious, though agreeable, learning.] [Footnote 61: Anonym. Vales. p. 721. Marius Aventicensis in Chron. In the scale of public and personal merit, the Gothic conqueror is at least as much above Valentinian, as he may seem inferior to Trajan.] [Footnote 62: Vit. Fulgentii in Baron. Annal. Eccles. A.D. 500, No. 10.] [Footnote 63: Cassiodorus describes in his pompous style the Forum of Trajan (Var. vii. 6,) the theatre of Marcellus, (iv. 51,) and the amphitheatre of Titus, (v. 42;) and his descriptions are not unworthy of the reader's perusal. According to the modern prices, the Abbe Barthelemy computes that the brick work and masonry of the Coliseum would now cost twenty millions of French livres, (Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 585, 586.) How small a part of that stupendous fabric!] [Footnote 64: For the aqueducts and cloacae, see Strabo, (l. v. p. 360;) Pliny, (Hist. Natur. xxxvi. 24; Cassiodorus, (Var. iii. 30, 31, vi. 6;) Procopius, (Goth. l. i. c. 19;) and Nardini, (Roma Antica, p. 514 - 522.) How such works could be executed by a king of Rome, is yet a problem. Note: See Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 402. These stupendous works are among the most striking confirmations of Niebuhr's views of the early Roman history; at least they appear to justify his strong sentence - "These works and the building of the Capitol attest with unquestionable evidence that this Rome of the later kings was the chief city of a great state." - Page 110 - M.] [Footnote 65: For the Gothic care of the buildings and statues, see Cassiodorus (Var. i. 21, 25, ii. 34, iv. 30, vii. 6, 13, 15) and the Valesian Fragment, (p. 721.)] [Footnote 66: Var. vii. 15. These horses of Monte Cavallo had been transported from Alexandria to the baths of Constantine, (Nardini, p. 188.) Their sculpture is disdained by the Abbe Dubos, (Reflexions sur la Poesie et sur la Peinture, tom. i. section 39,) and admired by Winkelmann, (Hist. de l'Art, tom. ii. p. 159.)] [Footnote 67: Var. x. 10. They were probably a fragment of some triumphal car, (Cuper de Elephantis, ii. 10.)] [Footnote 68: Procopius (Goth. l. iv. c. 21) relates a foolish story of Myron's cow, which is celebrated by the false wit of thirty-six Greek epigrams, Antholog. l. iv. p. 302 - 306, edit. Hen. Steph.; Auson. Epigram. xiii. - lxxviii.)] Chapter XXXIX: Gothic Kingdom Of Italy. Part III. After the example of the last emperors, Theodoric preferred the residence of Ravenna, where he cultivated an orchard with his own hands. ^69 As often as the peace of his kingdom was threatened (for it was never invaded) by the Barbarians, he removed his court to Verona ^70 on the northern frontier, and the image of his palace, still extant on a coin, represents the oldest and most authentic model of Gothic architecture. These two capitals, as well as Pavia, Spoleto, Naples, and the rest of the Italian cities, acquired under his reign the useful or splendid decorations of churches, aqueducts, baths, porticos, and palaces. ^71 But the happiness of the subject was more truly conspicuous in the busy scene of labor and luxury, in the rapid increase and bold enjoyment of national wealth. From the shades of Tibur and Praeneste, the Roman senators still retired in the winter season to the warm

sun, and salubrious springs of Baiae; and their villas, which advanced on solid moles into the Bay of Naples, commanded the various prospect of the sky, the earth, and the water. On the eastern side of the Adriatic, a new Campania was formed in the fair and fruitful province of Istria, which communicated with the palace of Ravenna by an easy navigation of one hundred miles. The rich productions of Lucania and the adjacent provinces were exchanged at the Marcilian fountain, in a populous fair annually dedicated to trade, intemperance, and superstition. In the solitude of Comum, which had once been animated by the mild genius of Pliny, a transparent basin above sixty miles in length still reflected the rural seats which encompassed the margin of the Larian lake; and the gradual ascent of the hills was covered by a triple plantation of olives, of vines, and of chestnut trees. ⁷² Agriculture revived under the shadow of peace, and the number of husbandmen was multiplied by the redemption of captives. ⁷³ The iron mines of Dalmatia, a gold mine in Bruttium, were carefully explored, and the Pomptine marshes, as well as those of Spoleto, were drained and cultivated by private undertakers, whose distant reward must depend on the continuance of the public prosperity. ⁷⁴ Whenever the seasons were less propitious, the doubtful precautions of forming magazines of corn, fixing the price, and prohibiting the exportation, attested at least the benevolence of the state; but such was the extraordinary plenty which an industrious people produced from a grateful soil, that a gallon of wine was sometimes sold in Italy for less than three farthings, and a quarter of wheat at about five shillings and sixpence. ⁷⁵ A country possessed of so many valuable objects of exchange soon attracted the merchants of the world, whose beneficial traffic was encouraged and protected by the liberal spirit of Theodoric. The free intercourse of the provinces by land and water was restored and extended; the city gates were never shut either by day or by night; and the common saying, that a purse of gold might be safely left in the fields, was expressive of the conscious security of the inhabitants. [Footnote 69: See an epigram of Ennodius (ii. 3, p. 1893, 1894) on this garden and the royal gardener.] [Footnote 70: His affection for that city is proved by the epithet of "Verona tua," and the legend of the hero; under the barbarous name of Dietrich of Bern, (Peringsciold and Cochloeum, p. 240.) Maffei traces him with knowledge and pleasure in his native country, (l. ix. p. 230 - 236.)] [Footnote 71: See Maffei, (Verona Illustrata, Part i. p. 231, 232, 308, &c.) His amputes Gothic architecture, like the corruption of language, writing &c., not to the Barbarians, but to the Italians themselves. Compare his sentiments with those of Tiraboschi, (tom. iii. p. 61.) Note: Mr. Hallam (vol. iii. p. 432) observes that "the image of Theodoric's palace" is represented in Maffei, not from a coin, but from a seal. Compare D'Agincourt (Storia dell'arte, Italian Transl., Arcitettura, Plate xvii. No. 2, and Pittura, Plate xvi. No. 15,) where there is likewise an engraving from a mosaic in the church of St. Apollinaris in Ravenna, representing a building ascribed to Theodoric in that city. Neither of these, as Mr. Hallam justly observes, in the least approximates to what is called the Gothic style. They are evidently the degenerate Roman architecture, and more resemble the early attempts of our architects to get back from our national Gothic into a classical Greek style. One of them calls to mind Inigo Jones inner quadrangle in St. John's College Oxford. Compare Hallam and D'Agincourt vol. i. p. 140 - 145. - M] [Footnote 72: The villas, climate, and landscape of Baiae, (Var. ix. 6; see Cluver Italia Antiq. l. iv. c. 2, p. 1119, &c.,) Istria, (Var. xii. 22, 26,) and Comum, (Var. xi. 14; compare with Pliny's two villas, ix. 7,) are agreeably painted in the Epistles of Cassiodorus.] [Footnote 73: In Liguria numerosa agricolarum progenies, (Ennodius, p. 1678, 1679, 1680.) St. Epiphanius of Pavia redeemed by prayer or ransom 6000 captives from the Burgundians of Lyons and Savoy. Such deeds are the best of miracles.] [Footnote 74: The political economy of Theodoric (see Anonym. Vales. p. 721, and Cassiodorus, in Chron.) may be distinctly traced under the following heads: iron mine, (Var. iii. 23;) gold mine, (ix. 3;) Pomptine marshes, (ii. 32, 33;) Spoleto, (ii. 21;) corn, (i. 34, x. 27, 28, xi. 11, 12;) trade, (vi. 7, vii. 9, 23;) fair of Leucothoe or St. Cyprian in Lucania, (viii. 33;) plenty, (xii. 4;) the cursus, or public post, (i. 29, ii. 31, iv. 47, v. 5, vi. 6, vii. 33;) the Flaminian way, (xii. 18.) Note: The inscription commemorative of the draining of the Pomptine marshes may be found in many works; in Gruter, Inscript. Ant. Heidelberg, p. 152, No. 8. With variations, in Nicolai De' bonificamenti delle terre Pontine, p. 103. In Sartorius, in his prize essay on the reign of Theodoric, and Manse Beylage, xi. - M.] [Footnote 75: LX modii tritici in solidum ipsium tempore fuerunt, et vinum xxx amphoras in solidum, (Fragment. Vales.) Corn was distributed from the granaries at xv or xxv modii for a piece of gold, and the price was still moderate.] A difference of religion is always pernicious, and often fatal, to the

harmony of the prince and people: the Gothic conqueror had been educated in the profession of Arianism, and Italy was devoutly attached to the Nicene faith. But the persuasion of Theodoric was not infected by zeal; and he piously adhered to the heresy of his fathers, without condescending to balance the subtle arguments of theological metaphysics. Satisfied with the private toleration of his Arian sectaries, he justly conceived himself to be the guardian of the public worship, and his external reverence for a superstition which he despised, may have nourished in his mind the salutary indifference of a statesman or philosopher. The Catholics of his dominions acknowledged, perhaps with reluctance, the peace of the church; their clergy, according to the degrees of rank or merit, were honorably entertained in the palace of Theodoric; he esteemed the living sanctity of Caesarius⁷⁶ and Epiphanius,⁷⁷ the orthodox bishops of Arles and Pavia; and presented a decent offering on the tomb of St. Peter, without any scrupulous inquiry into the creed of the apostle.⁷⁸ His favorite Goths, and even his mother, were permitted to retain or embrace the Athanasian faith, and his long reign could not afford the example of an Italian Catholic, who, either from choice or compulsion, had deviated into the religion of the conqueror.⁷⁹ The people, and the Barbarians themselves, were edified by the pomp and order of religious worship; the magistrates were instructed to defend the just immunities of ecclesiastical persons and possessions; the bishops held their synods, the metropolitans exercised their jurisdiction, and the privileges of sanctuary were maintained or moderated according to the spirit of the Roman jurisprudence.⁸⁰ With the protection, Theodoric assumed the legal supremacy, of the church; and his firm administration restored or extended some useful prerogatives which had been neglected by the feeble emperors of the West. He was not ignorant of the dignity and importance of the Roman pontiff, to whom the venerable name of Pope was now appropriated. The peace or the revolt of Italy might depend on the character of a wealthy and popular bishop, who claimed such ample dominion both in heaven and earth; who had been declared in a numerous synod to be pure from all sin, and exempt from all judgment.⁸¹ When the chair of St. Peter was disputed by Symmachus and Laurence, they appeared at his summons before the tribunal of an Arian monarch, and he confirmed the election of the most worthy or the most obsequious candidate. At the end of his life, in a moment of jealousy and resentment, he prevented the choice of the Romans, by nominating a pope in the palace of Ravenna. The danger and furious contests of a schism were mildly restrained, and the last decree of the senate was enacted to extinguish, if it were possible, the scandalous venality of the papal elections.⁸² [Footnote 76: See the life of St. Caesarius in Baronius, (A.D. 508, No. 12, 13, 14.) The king presented him with 300 gold solidi, and a discus of silver of the weight of sixty pounds.] [Footnote 77: Ennodius in Vit. St. Epiphani, in Sirmond, Op. tom. i. p. 1672 - 1690. Theodoric bestowed some important favors on this bishop, whom he used as a counsellor in peace and war.] [Footnote 78: *Devotissimus ac si Catholicus*, (Anonym. Vales. p. 720;) yet his offering was no more than two silver candlesticks (*cerostrata*) of the weight of seventy pounds, far inferior to the gold and gems of Constantinople and France, (Anastasius in Vit. Pont. in Hormisda, p. 34, edit. Paris.)] [Footnote 79: The tolerating system of his reign (Ennodius, p. 1612. Anonym. Vales. p. 719. Procop. Goth. l. i. c. 1, l. ii. c. 6) may be studied in the Epistles of Cassiodorus, under the following heads: bishops, (Var. i. 9, vii. 15, 24, xi. 23;) immunities, (i. 26, ii. 29, 30;) church lands (iv. 17, 20;) sanctuaries, (ii. 11, iii. 47;) church plate, (xii. 20;) discipline, (iv. 44;) which prove, at the same time, that he was the head of the church as well as of the state. Note: He recommended the same toleration to the emperor Justin. - M.] [Footnote 80: We may reject a foolish tale of his beheading a Catholic deacon who turned Arian, (Theodor. Lector. No. 17.) Why is Theodoric surnamed *Afer*? From *Vafer*? (Vales. ad loc.) A light conjecture.] [Footnote 81: Ennodius, p. 1621, 1622, 1636, 1638. His libel was approved and registered (*synodaliter*) by a Roman council, (Baronius, A.D. 503, No. 6, Franciscus Pagi in *Breviar. Pont. Rom.* tom. i. p. 242.)] [Footnote 82: See Cassiodorus, (Var. viii. 15, ix. 15, 16,) Anastasius, (in Symmacho, p. 31,) and the xviiith Annotation of Mascou. Baronius, Pagi, and most of the Catholic doctors, confess, with an angry growl, this Gothic usurpation.] I have descanted with pleasure on the fortunate condition of Italy; but our fancy must not hastily conceive that the golden age of the poets, a race of men without vice or misery, was realized under the Gothic conquest. The fair prospect was sometimes overcast with clouds; the wisdom of Theodoric might be deceived, his power might be resisted and the declining age of the monarch was sullied with popular hatred and patrician blood. In the first insolence of victory, he had been tempted to deprive the

whole party of Odoacer of the civil and even the natural rights of society; ^83 a tax unseasonably imposed after the calamities of war, would have crushed the rising agriculture of Liguria; a rigid preemption of corn, which was intended for the public relief, must have aggravated the distress of Campania. These dangerous projects were defeated by the virtue and eloquence of Epiphanius and Boethius, who, in the presence of Theodoric himself, successfully pleaded the cause of the people: ^84 but if the royal ear was open to the voice of truth, a saint and a philosopher are not always to be found at the ear of kings. The privileges of rank, or office, or favor, were too frequently abused by Italian fraud and Gothic violence, and the avarice of the king's nephew was publicly exposed, at first by the usurpation, and afterwards by the restitution of the estates which he had unjustly extorted from his Tuscan neighbors. Two hundred thousand Barbarians, formidable even to their master, were seated in the heart of Italy; they indignantly supported the restraints of peace and discipline; the disorders of their march were always felt and sometimes compensated; and where it was dangerous to punish, it might be prudent to dissemble, the sallies of their native fierceness. When the indulgence of Theodoric had remitted two thirds of the Ligurian tribute, he condescended to explain the difficulties of his situation, and to lament the heavy though inevitable burdens which he imposed on his subjects for their own defence. ^85 These ungrateful subjects could never be cordially reconciled to the origin, the religion, or even the virtues of the Gothic conqueror; past calamities were forgotten, and the sense or suspicion of injuries was rendered still more exquisite by the present felicity of the times. [Footnote 83: He disabled them - alicentia testandi; and all Italy mourned - lamentabili justitio. I wish to believe, that these penalties were enacted against the rebels who had violated their oath of allegiance; but the testimony of Ennodius (p. 1675 - 1678) is the more weighty, as he lived and died under the reign of Theodoric.] [Footnote 84: Ennodius, in Vit. Epiphan. p. 1589, 1690. Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiae, l. i. pros. iv. p. 45, 46, 47. Respect, but weigh the passions of the saint and the senator; and fortify and alleviate their complaints by the various hints of Cassiodorus, (ii. 8, iv. 36, viii. 5.)] [Footnote 85: Immanium expensarum pondus ...propisorum salute, &c.; yet these are no more than words.] Even the religious toleration which Theodoric had the glory of introducing into the Christian world, was painful and offensive to the orthodox zeal of the Italians. They respected the armed heresy of the Goths; but their pious rage was safely pointed against the rich and defenceless Jews, who had formed their establishments at Naples, Rome, Ravenna, Milan, and Genoa, for the benefit of trade, and under the sanction of the laws. ^86 Their persons were insulted, their effects were pillaged, and their synagogues were burned by the mad populace of Ravenna and Rome, inflamed, as it should seem, by the most frivolous or extravagant pretences. The government which could neglect, would have deserved such an outrage. A legal inquiry was instantly directed; and as the authors of the tumult had escaped in the crowd, the whole community was condemned to repair the damage; and the obstinate bigots, who refused their contributions, were whipped through the streets by the hand of the executioner. ^* This simple act of justice exasperated the discontent of the Catholics, who applauded the merit and patience of these holy confessors. Three hundred pulpits deplored the persecution of the church; and if the chapel of St. Stephen at Verona was demolished by the command of Theodoric, it is probable that some miracle hostile to his name and dignity had been performed on that sacred theatre. At the close of a glorious life, the king of Italy discovered that he had excited the hatred of a people whose happiness he had so assiduously labored to promote; and his mind was soured by indignation, jealousy, and the bitterness of unrequited love. The Gothic conqueror condescended to disarm the unwarlike natives of Italy, interdicting all weapons of offence, and excepting only a small knife for domestic use. The deliverer of Rome was accused of conspiring with the vilest informers against the lives of senators whom he suspected of a secret and treasonable correspondence with the Byzantine court. ^87 After the death of Anastasius, the diadem had been placed on the head of a feeble old man; but the powers of government were assumed by his nephew Justinian, who already meditated the extirpation of heresy, and the conquest of Italy and Africa. A rigorous law, which was published at Constantinople, to reduce the Arians by the dread of punishment within the pale of the church, awakened the just resentment of Theodoric, who claimed for his distressed brethren of the East the same indulgence which he had so long granted to the Catholics of his dominions. ^! At his stern command, the Roman pontiff, with four illustrious senators, embarked on an embassy, of which he must have alike dreaded the failure or the success. The singular veneration

shown to the first pope who had visited Constantinople was punished as a crime by his jealous monarch; the artful or peremptory refusal of the Byzantine court might excuse an equal, and would provoke a larger, measure of retaliation; and a mandate was prepared in Italy, to prohibit, after a stated day, the exercise of the Catholic worship. By the bigotry of his subjects and enemies, the most tolerant of princes was driven to the brink of persecution; and the life of Theodoric was too long, since he lived to condemn the virtue of Boethius and Symmachus. ^88 [Footnote 86: The Jews were settled at Naples, (Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 8,) at Genoa, (Var. ii. 28, iv. 33,) Milan, (v. 37,) Rome, (iv. 43.) See likewise Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. viii. c. 7, p. 254.] [Footnote *: See History of the Jews vol. iii. p. 217. - M.] [Footnote 87: Rex avidus communis exitii, &c., (Boethius, l. i. p. 59:) rex colum Romanis tendebat, (Anonym. Vales. p. 723.) These are hard words: they speak the passions of the Italians and those (I fear) of Theodoric himself.] [Footnote !: Gibbon should not have omitted the golden words of Theodoric in a letter which he addressed to Justin: That to pretend to a dominion over the conscience is to usurp the prerogative of God; that by the nature of things the power of sovereigns is confined to external government; that they have no right of punishment but over those who disturb the public peace, of which they are the guardians; that the most dangerous heresy is that of a sovereign who separates from himself a part of his subjects because they believe not according to his belief. Compare Le Beau, vol viii. p. 68. - M] [Footnote 88: I have labored to extract a rational narrative from the dark, concise, and various hints of the Valesian Fragment, (p. 722, 723, 724,) Theophanes, (p. 145,) Anastasius, (in Johanne, p. 35,) and the Hist Miscella, (p. 103, edit. Muratori.) A gentle pressure and paraphrase of their words is no violence. Consult likewise Muratori (Annali d' Italia, tom. iv. p. 471 - 478,) with the Annals and Breviary (tom. i. p. 259 - 263) of the two Pagis, the uncle and the nephew.] The senator Boethius ^89 is the last of the Romans whom Cato or Tully could have acknowledged for their countryman. As a wealthy orphan, he inherited the patrimony and honors of the Anician family, a name ambitiously assumed by the kings and emperors of the age; and the appellation of Manlius asserted his genuine or fabulous descent from a race of consuls and dictators, who had repulsed the Gauls from the Capitol, and sacrificed their sons to the discipline of the republic. In the youth of Boethius the studies of Rome were not totally abandoned; a Virgil ^90 is now extant, corrected by the hand of a consul; and the professors of grammar, rhetoric, and jurisprudence, were maintained in their privileges and pensions by the liberality of the Goths. But the erudition of the Latin language was insufficient to satiate his ardent curiosity: and Boethius is said to have employed eighteen laborious years in the schools of Athens, ^91 which were supported by the zeal, the learning, and the diligence of Proclus and his disciples. The reason and piety of their Roman pupil were fortunately saved from the contagion of mystery and magic, which polluted the groves of the academy; but he imbibed the spirit, and imitated the method, of his dead and living masters, who attempted to reconcile the strong and subtle sense of Aristotle with the devout contemplation and sublime fancy of Plato. After his return to Rome, and his marriage with the daughter of his friend, the patrician Symmachus, Boethius still continued, in a palace of ivory and marble, to prosecute the same studies. ^92 The church was edified by his profound defence of the orthodox creed against the Arian, the Eutychian, and the Nestorian heresies; and the Catholic unity was explained or exposed in a formal treatise by the indifference of three distinct though consubstantial persons. For the benefit of his Latin readers, his genius submitted to teach the first elements of the arts and sciences of Greece. The geometry of Euclid, the music of Pythagoras, the arithmetic of Nicomachus, the mechanics of Archimedes, the astronomy of Ptolemy, the theology of Plato, and the logic of Aristotle, with the commentary of Porphyry, were translated and illustrated by the indefatigable pen of the Roman senator. And he alone was esteemed capable of describing the wonders of art, a sun-dial, a water-clock, or a sphere which represented the motions of the planets. From these abstruse speculations, Boethius stooped, or, to speak more truly, he rose to the social duties of public and private life: the indigent were relieved by his liberality; and his eloquence, which flattery might compare to the voice of Demosthenes or Cicero, was uniformly exerted in the cause of innocence and humanity. Such conspicuous merit was felt and rewarded by a discerning prince: the dignity of Boethius was adorned with the titles of consul and patrician, and his talents were usefully employed in the important station of master of the offices. Notwithstanding the equal claims of the East and West, his two sons were created, in their tender youth, the consuls of the same year. ^93 On the memorable day of their inauguration, they proceeded in solemn pomp from

their palace to the forum amidst the applause of the senate and people; and their joyful father, the true consul of Rome, after pronouncing an oration in the praise of his royal benefactor, distributed a triumphal largess in the games of the circus. Prosperous in his fame and fortunes, in his public honors and private alliances, in the cultivation of science and the consciousness of virtue, Boethius might have been styled happy, if that precarious epithet could be safely applied before the last term of the life of man. [Footnote 89: Le Clerc has composed a critical and philosophical life of Anicius Manlius Severinus Boetius, (Bibliot. Choisie, tom. xvi. p. 168 - 275;) and both Tiraboschi (tom. iii.) and Fabricius (Bibliot Latin.) may be usefully consulted. The date of his birth may be placed about the year 470, and his death in 524, in a premature old age, (Consol. Phil. Metrica. i. p. 5.)] [Footnote 90: For the age and value of this Ms., now in the Medicean library at Florence, see the Cenotaphia Pisana (p. 430 - 447) of Cardinal Noris.] [Footnote 91: The Athenian studies of Boethius are doubtful, (Baronius, A.D. 510, No. 3, from a spurious tract, De Disciplina Scholarum,) and the term of eighteen years is doubtless too long: but the simple fact of a visit to Athens is justified by much internal evidence, (Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philosoph. tom. iii. p. 524 - 527,) and by an expression (though vague and ambiguous) of his friend Cassiodorus, (Var. i. 45,) "longe positas Athenas intrioisti." [Footnote 92: Bibliothecae comptos ebore ac vitro ^{^*} parietes, &c., (Consol. Phil. l. i. pros. v. p. 74.) The Epistles of Ennodius (vi. 6, vii. 13, viii. 1 31, 37, 40) and Cassiodorus (Var. i. 39, iv. 6, ix. 21) afford many proofs of the high reputation which he enjoyed in his own times. It is true, that the bishop of Pavia wanted to purchase of him an old house at Milan, and praise might be tendered and accepted in part of payment. Note: Gibbon translated vitro, marble; under the impression, no doubt that glass was unknown. - M.] [Footnote 93: Pagi, Muratori, &c., are agreed that Boethius himself was consul in the year 510, his two sons in 522, and in 487, perhaps, his father. A desire of ascribing the last of these consulships to the philosopher had perplexed the chronology of his life. In his honors, alliances, children, he celebrates his own felicity - his past felicity, (p. 109 110)] A philosopher, liberal of his wealth and parsimonious of his time, might be insensible to the common allurements of ambition, the thirst of gold and employment. And some credit may be due to the asseveration of Boethius, that he had reluctantly obeyed the divine Plato, who enjoins every virtuous citizen to rescue the state from the usurpation of vice and ignorance. For the integrity of his public conduct he appeals to the memory of his country. His authority had restrained the pride and oppression of the royal officers, and his eloquence had delivered Paulianus from the dogs of the palace. He had always pitied, and often relieved, the distress of the provincials, whose fortunes were exhausted by public and private rapine; and Boethius alone had courage to oppose the tyranny of the Barbarians, elated by conquest, excited by avarice, and, as he complains, encouraged by impunity. In these honorable contests his spirit soared above the consideration of danger, and perhaps of prudence; and we may learn from the example of Cato, that a character of pure and inflexible virtue is the most apt to be misled by prejudice, to be heated by enthusiasm, and to confound private enmities with public justice. The disciple of Plato might exaggerate the infirmities of nature, and the imperfections of society; and the mildest form of a Gothic kingdom, even the weight of allegiance and gratitude, must be insupportable to the free spirit of a Roman patriot. But the favor and fidelity of Boethius declined in just proportion with the public happiness; and an unworthy colleague was imposed to divide and control the power of the master of the offices. In the last gloomy season of Theodoric, he indignantly felt that he was a slave; but as his master had only power over his life, he stood without arms and without fear against the face of an angry Barbarian, who had been provoked to believe that the safety of the senate was incompatible with his own. The senator Albinus was accused and already convicted on the presumption of hoping, as it was said, the liberty of Rome. "If Albinus be criminal," exclaimed the orator, "the senate and myself are all guilty of the same crime. If we are innocent, Albinus is equally entitled to the protection of the laws." These laws might not have punished the simple and barren wish of an unattainable blessing; but they would have shown less indulgence to the rash confession of Boethius, that, had he known of a conspiracy, the tyrant never should. ^{^94} The advocate of Albinus was soon involved in the danger and perhaps the guilt of his client; their signature (which they denied as a forgery) was affixed to the original address, inviting the emperor to deliver Italy from the Goths; and three witnesses of honorable rank, perhaps of infamous reputation, attested the treasonable designs of the Roman patrician. ^{^95} Yet his innocence must be presumed, since he was deprived by Theodoric

of the means of justification, and rigorously confined in the tower of Pavia, while the senate, at the distance of five hundred miles, pronounced a sentence of confiscation and death against the most illustrious of its members. At the command of the Barbarians, the occult science of a philosopher was stigmatized with the names of sacrilege and magic. ^96 A devout and dutiful attachment to the senate was condemned as criminal by the trembling voices of the senators themselves; and their ingratitude deserved the wish or prediction of Boethius, that, after him, none should be found guilty of the same offence. ^97 [Footnote 94: Si ego scissem tu nescisses. Boethius adopts this answer (l. i. pros. 4, p. 53) of Julius Canus, whose philosophic death is described by Seneca, (*De Tranquillitate Animi*, c. 14.)] [Footnote 95: The characters of his two delators, Basilus (Var. ii. 10, 11, iv. 22) and Opilio, (v. 41, viii. 16,) are illustrated, not much to their honor, in the Epistles of Cassiodorus, which likewise mention Decoratus, (v. 31,) the worthless colleague of Boethius, (l. iii. pros. 4, p. 193.)] [Footnote 96: A severe inquiry was instituted into the crime of magic, (Var. iv. 22, 23, ix. 18;) and it was believed that many necromancers had escaped by making their jailers mad: for mad I should read drunk.] [Footnote 97: Boethius had composed his own Apology, (p. 53,) perhaps more interesting than his Consolation. We must be content with the general view of his honors, principles, persecution, &c., (l. i. pros. 4, p. 42 - 62,) which may be compared with the short and weighty words of the Valesian Fragment, (p. 723.) An anonymous writer (*Sinner, Catalog. Mss. Bibliot. Bern. tom. i. p. 287*) charges him home with honorable and patriotic treason.] While Boethius, oppressed with fetters, expected each moment the sentence or the stroke of death, he composed, in the tower of Pavia, the *Consolation of Philosophy*; a golden volume not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully, but which claims incomparable merit from the barbarism of the times and the situation of the author. The celestial guide, whom he had so long invoked at Rome and Athens, now condescended to illumine his dungeon, to revive his courage, and to pour into his wounds her salutary balm. She taught him to compare his long prosperity and his recent distress, and to conceive new hopes from the inconstancy of fortune. Reason had informed him of the precarious condition of her gifts; experience had satisfied him of their real value; he had enjoyed them without guilt; he might resign them without a sigh, and calmly disdain the impotent malice of his enemies, who had left him happiness, since they had left him virtue. From the earth, Boethius ascended to heaven in search of the Supreme Good; explored the metaphysical labyrinth of chance and destiny, of prescience and free will, of time and eternity; and generously attempted to reconcile the perfect attributes of the Deity with the apparent disorders of his moral and physical government. Such topics of consolation so obvious, so vague, or so abstruse, are ineffectual to subdue the feelings of human nature. Yet the sense of misfortune may be diverted by the labor of thought; and the sage who could artfully combine in the same work the various riches of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, must already have possessed the intrepid calmness which he affected to seek. Suspense, the worst of evils, was at length determined by the ministers of death, who executed, and perhaps exceeded, the inhuman mandate of Theodoric. A strong cord was fastened round the head of Boethius, and forcibly tightened, till his eyes almost started from their sockets; and some mercy may be discovered in the milder torture of beating him with clubs till he expired. ^98 But his genius survived to diffuse a ray of knowledge over the darkest ages of the Latin world; the writings of the philosopher were translated by the most glorious of the English kings, ^99 and the third emperor of the name of Otho removed to a more honorable tomb the bones of a Catholic saint, who, from his Arian persecutors, had acquired the honors of martyrdom, and the fame of miracles. ^100 In the last hours of Boethius, he derived some comfort from the safety of his two sons, of his wife, and of his father-in-law, the venerable Symmachus. But the grief of Symmachus was indiscreet, and perhaps disrespectful: he had presumed to lament, he might dare to revenge, the death of an injured friend. He was dragged in chains from Rome to the palace of Ravenna; and the suspicions of Theodoric could only be appeased by the blood of an innocent and aged senator. ^101 [Footnote 98: He was executed in Agro Calventiano, (Calvenzano, between Marignano and Pavia,) Anonym. Vales. p. 723, by order of Eusebius, count of Ticinum or Pavia. This place of confinement is styled the baptistery, an edifice and name peculiar to cathedrals. It is claimed by the perpetual tradition of the church of Pavia. The tower of Boethius subsisted till the year 1584, and the draught is yet preserved, (*Tiraboschi, tom. iii. p. 47, 48.*)] [Footnote 99: See the *Biographia Britannica*, Alfred, tom. i. p. 80, 2d edition. The work is still more honorable if performed under the learned eye of Alfred by his foreign and domestic

doctors. For the reputation of Boethius in the middle ages, consult Brucker, (*Hist. Crit. Philosoph.* tom. iii. p. 565, 566.) [Footnote 100: The inscription on his new tomb was composed by the preceptor of Otho III., the learned Pope Silvester II., who, like Boethius himself, was styled a magician by the ignorance of the times. The Catholic martyr had carried his head in his hands a considerable way, Baronius, A.D. 526, No. 17, 18;) and yet on a similar tale, a lady of my acquaintance once observed, “La distance n’y fait rien; il n’y a que lo remier pas qui coute.” Note: Madame du Deffand. This witticism referred to the miracle of St. Denis. - G.] [Footnote 101: Boethius applauds the virtues of his father-in-law, (l. i. pros. 4, p. 59, l. ii. pros. 4, p. 118.) Procopius, (Goth. l. i. c. i.,) the Valesian Fragment, (p. 724,) and the *Historia Miscella*, (l. xv. p. 105,) agree in praising the superior innocence or sanctity of Symmachus; and in the estimation of the legend, the guilt of his murder is equal to the imprisonment of a pope.] Humanity will be disposed to encourage any report which testifies the jurisdiction of conscience and the remorse of kings; and philosophy is not ignorant that the most horrid spectres are sometimes created by the powers of a disordered fancy, and the weakness of a distempered body. After a life of virtue and glory, Theodoric was now descending with shame and guilt into the grave; his mind was humbled by the contrast of the past, and justly alarmed by the invisible terrors of futurity. One evening, as it is related, when the head of a large fish was served on the royal table, ^102 he suddenly exclaimed, that he beheld the angry countenance of Symmachus, his eyes glaring with fury and revenge, and his mouth armed with long sharp teeth, which threatened to devour him. The monarch instantly retired to his chamber, and, as he lay, trembling with aguish cold, under a weight of bed-clothes, he expressed, in broken murmurs to his physician Elpidius, his deep repentance for the murders of Boethius and Symmachus. ^103 His malady increased, and after a dysentery which continued three days, he expired in the palace of Ravenna, in the thirty-third, or, if we compute from the invasion of Italy, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign. Conscious of his approaching end, he divided his treasures and provinces between his two grandsons, and fixed the Rhone as their common boundary. ^104 Amalaric was restored to the throne of Spain. Italy, with all the conquests of the Ostrogoths, was bequeathed to Athalaric; whose age did not exceed ten years, but who was cherished as the last male offspring of the line of Amali, by the short-lived marriage of his mother Amalasantha with a royal fugitive of the same blood. ^105 In the presence of the dying monarch, the Gothic chiefs and Italian magistrates mutually engaged their faith and loyalty to the young prince, and to his guardian mother; and received, in the same awful moment, his last salutary advice, to maintain the laws, to love the senate and people of Rome, and to cultivate with decent reverence the friendship of the emperor. ^106 The monument of Theodoric was erected by his daughter Amalasantha, in a conspicuous situation, which commanded the city of Ravenna, the harbor, and the adjacent coast. A chapel of a circular form, thirty feet in diameter, is crowned by a dome of one entire piece of granite: from the centre of the dome four columns arose, which supported, in a vase of porphyry, the remains of the Gothic king, surrounded by the brazen statues of the twelve apostles. ^107 His spirit, after some previous expiation, might have been permitted to mingle with the benefactors of mankind, if an Italian hermit had not been witness, in a vision, to the damnation of Theodoric, ^108 whose soul was plunged, by the ministers of divine vengeance, into the volcano of Lipari, one of the flaming mouths of the infernal world. ^109 [Footnote 102: In the fanciful eloquence of Cassiodorus, the variety of sea and river fish are an evidence of extensive dominion; and those of the Rhine, of Sicily, and of the Danube, were served on the table of Theodoric, (Var. xii. 14.) The monstrous turbot of Domitian (Juvenal Satir. iii. 39) had been caught on the shores of the Adriatic.] [Footnote 103: Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 1. But he might have informed us, whether he had received this curious anecdote from common report or from the mouth of the royal physician.] [Footnote 104: Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 1, 2, 12, 13. This partition had been directed by Theodoric, though it was not executed till after his death, Regni hereditatem superstes reliquit, (Isidor. Chron. p. 721, edit. Grot.)] [Footnote 105: Berimund, the third in descent from Hermanric, king of the Ostrogoths, had retired into Spain, where he lived and died in obscurity, (Jornandes, c. 33, p. 202, edit. Muratori.) See the discovery, nuptials, and death of his grandson Eutharic, (c. 58, p. 220.) His Roman games might render him popular, (Cassiodor. in Chron.) but Eutharic was asper in religione, (Anonym. Vales. p. 723.)] [Footnote 106: See the counsels of Theodoric, and the professions of his successor, in Procopius, (Goth. l. i. c. 1, 2,) Jornandes, (c. 59, p. 220, 221,) and Cassiodorus, (Var. viii. 1 - 7.) These epistles are the triumph of his

ministerial eloquence.] [Footnote 107: Anonym. Vales. p. 724. Agnellus de Vitis. Pont. Raven. in Muratori Script. Rerum Ital. tom. ii. P. i. p. 67. Alberti Descriptio d' Italia, p. 311. Note: The Mausoleum of Theodoric, now Sante Maria della Rotonda, is engraved in D'Agincourt, Histoire de l'Art, p. xviii. of the Architectural Prints. - M] [Footnote 108: This legend is related by Gregory I., (Dialog. iv. 36.) and approved by Baronius, (A.D. 526, No. 28;) and both the pope and cardinal are grave doctors, sufficient to establish a probable opinion.] [Footnote 109: Theodoric himself, or rather Cassiodorus, had described in tragic strains the volcanos of Lipari (Cluver. Sicilia, p. 406 - 410) and Vesuvius, (v 50.)] Chapter XL: Reign Of Justinian. Part I. Elevation Of Justin The Elder. - Reign Of Justinian. - I. The Empress Theodora. - II. Factions Of The Circus, And Sedition Of Constantinople. - III. Trade And Manufacture Of Silk. - IV. Finances And Taxes. - V. Edifices Of Justinian. - Church Of St. Sophia. - Fortifications And Frontiers Of The Eastern Empire. - Abolition Of The Schools Of Athens, And The Consulship Of Rome. The emperor Justinian was born ¹ near the ruins of Sardica, (the modern Sophia,) of an obscure race ² of Barbarians, ³ the inhabitants of a wild and desolate country, to which the names of Dardania, of Dacia, and of Bulgaria, have been successively applied. His elevation was prepared by the adventurous spirit of his uncle Justin, who, with two other peasants of the same village, deserted, for the profession of arms, the more useful employment of husbandmen or shepherds. ⁴ On foot, with a scanty provision of biscuit in their knapsacks, the three youths followed the high road of Constantinople, and were soon enrolled, for their strength and stature, among the guards of the emperor Leo. Under the two succeeding reigns, the fortunate peasant emerged to wealth and honors; and his escape from some dangers which threatened his life was afterwards ascribed to the guardian angel who watches over the fate of kings. His long and laudable service in the Isaurian and Persian wars would not have preserved from oblivion the name of Justin; yet they might warrant the military promotion, which in the course of fifty years he gradually obtained; the rank of tribune, of count, and of general; the dignity of senator, and the command of the guards, who obeyed him as their chief, at the important crisis when the emperor Anastasius was removed from the world. The powerful kinsmen whom he had raised and enriched were excluded from the throne; and the eunuch Amantius, who reigned in the palace, had secretly resolved to fix the diadem on the head of the most obsequious of his creatures. A liberal donative, to conciliate the suffrage of the guards, was intrusted for that purpose in the hands of their commander. But these weighty arguments were treacherously employed by Justin in his own favor; and as no competitor presumed to appear, the Dacian peasant was invested with the purple by the unanimous consent of the soldiers, who knew him to be brave and gentle, of the clergy and people, who believed him to be orthodox, and of the provincials, who yielded a blind and implicit submission to the will of the capital. The elder Justin, as he is distinguished from another emperor of the same family and name, ascended the Byzantine throne at the age of sixty-eight years; and, had he been left to his own guidance, every moment of a nine years' reign must have exposed to his subjects the impropriety of their choice. His ignorance was similar to that of Theodoric; and it is remarkable that in an age not destitute of learning, two contemporary monarchs had never been instructed in the knowledge of the alphabet. ^{*} But the genius of Justin was far inferior to that of the Gothic king; the experience of a soldier had not qualified him for the government of an empire; and though personally brave, the consciousness of his own weakness was naturally attended with doubt, distrust, and political apprehension. But the official business of the state was diligently and faithfully transacted by the quaestor Proclus; ⁵ and the aged emperor adopted the talents and ambition of his nephew Justinian, an aspiring youth, whom his uncle had drawn from the rustic solitude of Dacia, and educated at Constantinople, as the heir of his private fortune, and at length of the Eastern empire. [Footnote 1: There is some difficulty in the date of his birth (Ludewig in Vit. Justiniani, p. 125;) none in the place - the district Bederiana - the village Tauresium, which he afterwards decorated with his name and splendor, (D'Anville, Hist. de l'Acad. &c., tom. xxxi. p. 287 - 292.)] [Footnote 2: The names of these Dardanian peasants are Gothic, and almost English: Justinian is a translation of uprauda, (upright;) his father Sabatius (in Graeco-barbarous language stipes) was styled in his village Istock, (Stock;) his mother Bigleniza was softened into Vigilantia.] [Footnote 3: Ludewig (p. 127 - 135) attempts to justify the Anician name of Justinian and Theodora, and to connect them with a family from which the house of Austria has been derived.] [Footnote 4: See the anecdotes of Procopius, (c. 6,) with the notes of N. Alemannus. The satirist would not have sunk, in the vague and decent appellation of

Zonaras. Yet why are those names disgraceful? - and what German baron would not be proud to descend from the Eumaeus of the Odyssey! Note: It is whimsical enough that, in our own days, we should have, even in jest, a claimant to lineal descent from the godlike swineherd not in the person of a German baron, but in that of a professor of the Ionian University. Constantine Koliades, or some malicious wit under this name, has written a tall folio to prove Ulysses to be Homer, and himself the descendant, the heir (?), of the Eumaeus of the Odyssey. - M] [Footnote *: St. Martin questions the fact in both cases. The ignorance of Justin rests on the secret history of Procopius, vol. viii. p. 8. St. Martin's notes on Le Beau. - M] [Footnote 5: His virtues are praised by Procopius, (Persic. l. i. c. 11.) The quaestor Proclus was the friend of Justinian, and the enemy of every other adoption.] Since the eunuch Amantius had been defrauded of his money, it became necessary to deprive him of his life. The task was easily accomplished by the charge of a real or fictitious conspiracy; and the judges were informed, as an accumulation of guilt, that he was secretly addicted to the Manichaeian heresy. ^6 Amantius lost his head; three of his companions, the first domestics of the palace, were punished either with death or exile; and their unfortunate candidate for the purple was cast into a deep dungeon, overwhelmed with stones, and ignominiously thrown, without burial, into the sea. The ruin of Vitalian was a work of more difficulty and danger. That Gothic chief had rendered himself popular by the civil war which he boldly waged against Anastasius for the defence of the orthodox faith, and after the conclusion of an advantageous treaty, he still remained in the neighborhood of Constantinople at the head of a formidable and victorious army of Barbarians. By the frail security of oaths, he was tempted to relinquish this advantageous situation, and to trust his person within the walls of a city, whose inhabitants, particularly the blue faction, were artfully incensed against him by the remembrance even of his pious hostilities. The emperor and his nephew embraced him as the faithful and worthy champion of the church and state; and gratefully adorned their favorite with the titles of consul and general; but in the seventh month of his consulship, Vitalian was stabbed with seventeen wounds at the royal banquet; ^7 and Justinian, who inherited the spoil, was accused as the assassin of a spiritual brother, to whom he had recently pledged his faith in the participation of the Christian mysteries. ^8 After the fall of his rival, he was promoted, without any claim of military service, to the office of master-general of the Eastern armies, whom it was his duty to lead into the field against the public enemy. But, in the pursuit of fame, Justinian might have lost his present dominion over the age and weakness of his uncle; and instead of acquiring by Scythian or Persian trophies the applause of his countrymen, ^9 the prudent warrior solicited their favor in the churches, the circus, and the senate, of Constantinople. The Catholics were attached to the nephew of Justin, who, between the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, trod the narrow path of inflexible and intolerant orthodoxy. ^10 In the first days of the new reign, he prompted and gratified the popular enthusiasm against the memory of the deceased emperor. After a schism of thirty-four years, he reconciled the proud and angry spirit of the Roman pontiff, and spread among the Latins a favorable report of his pious respect for the apostolic see. The thrones of the East were filled with Catholic bishops, devoted to his interest, the clergy and the monks were gained by his liberality, and the people were taught to pray for their future sovereign, the hope and pillar of the true religion. The magnificence of Justinian was displayed in the superior pomp of his public spectacles, an object not less sacred and important in the eyes of the multitude than the creed of Nice or Chalcedon: the expense of his consulship was esteemed at two hundred and twenty-eight thousand pieces of gold; twenty lions, and thirty leopards, were produced at the same time in the amphitheatre, and a numerous train of horses, with their rich trappings, was bestowed as an extraordinary gift on the victorious charioteers of the circus. While he indulged the people of Constantinople, and received the addresses of foreign kings, the nephew of Justin assiduously cultivated the friendship of the senate. That venerable name seemed to qualify its members to declare the sense of the nation, and to regulate the succession of the Imperial throne: the feeble Anastasius had permitted the vigor of government to degenerate into the form or substance of an aristocracy; and the military officers who had obtained the senatorial rank were followed by their domestic guards, a band of veterans, whose arms or acclamations might fix in a tumultuous moment the diadem of the East. The treasures of the state were lavished to procure the voices of the senators, and their unanimous wish, that he would be pleased to adopt Justinian for his colleague, was communicated to the emperor. But this request, which too clearly admonished him of his approaching end, was unwelcome to the jealous temper of an aged monarch,

desirous to retain the power which he was incapable of exercising; and Justin, holding his purple with both his hands, advised them to prefer, since an election was so profitable, some older candidate. Notwithstanding this reproach, the senate proceeded to decorate Justinian with the royal epithet of nobilissimus; and their decree was ratified by the affection or the fears of his uncle. After some time the languor of mind and body, to which he was reduced by an incurable wound in his thigh, indispensably required the aid of a guardian. He summoned the patriarch and senators; and in their presence solemnly placed the diadem on the head of his nephew, who was conducted from the palace to the circus, and saluted by the loud and joyful applause of the people. The life of Justin was prolonged about four months; but from the instant of this ceremony, he was considered as dead to the empire, which acknowledged Justinian, in the forty-fifth year of his age, for the lawful sovereign of the East. ¹¹ [Footnote 6: Manichaeism signifies Eutychiean. Hear the furious acclamations of Constantinople and Tyre, the former no more than six days after the decease of Anastasius. They produced, the latter applauded, the eunuch's death, (Baronius, A.D. 518, P. ii. No. 15. Fleury, Hist Eccles. tom. vii. p. 200, 205, from the Councils, tom. v. p. 182, 207.)] [Footnote 7: His power, character, and intentions, are perfectly explained by the court de Buat, (tom. ix. p. 54 - 81.) He was great-grandson of Aspar, hereditary prince in the Lesser Scythia, and count of the Gothic foederati of Thrace. The Bessi, whom he could influence, are the minor Goths of Jornandes, (c. 51.)] [Footnote 8: Justiniani patricii factione dicitur interfectus fuisse, (Victor Tu nunensis, Chron. in Thesaur. Temp. Scaliger, P. ii. p. 7.) Procopius (Anecd. c. 7) styles him a tyrant, but acknowledges something which is well explained by Alemannus.] [Footnote 9: In his earliest youth (plane adolescens) he had passed some time as a hostage with Theodoric. For this curious fact, Alemannus (ad Procop. Anecd. c. 9, p. 34, of the first edition) quotes a Ms. history of Justinian, by his preceptor Theophilus. Ludewig (p. 143) wishes to make him a soldier.] [Footnote 10: The ecclesiastical history of Justinian will be shown hereafter. See Baronius, A.D. 518 - 521, and the copious article Justinianas in the index to the viith volume of his Annals.] [Footnote 11: The reign of the elder Justin may be found in the three Chronicles of Marcellinus, Victor, and John Malala, (tom. ii. p. 130 - 150,) the last of whom (in spite of Hody, Prolegom. No. 14, 39, edit. Oxon.) lived soon after Justinian, (Jortin's Remarks, &c., vol. iv p. 383:) in the Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius, (l. iv. c. 1, 2, 3, 9,) and the Excerpta of Theodorus Lector, (No. 37,) and in Cedrenus, (p. 362 - 366,) and Zonaras, (l. xiv. p. 58 - 61,) who may pass for an original. Note: Dindorf, in his preface to the new edition of Malala, p. vi., concurs with this opinion of Gibbon, which was also that of Reiske, as to the age of the chronicler. - M.] From his elevation to his death, Justinian governed the Roman empire thirty-eight years, seven months, and thirteen days. The events of his reign, which excite our curious attention by their number, variety, and importance, are diligently related by the secretary of Belisarius, a rhetorician, whom eloquence had promoted to the rank of senator and praefect of Constantinople. According to the vicissitudes of courage or servitude, of favor or disgrace, Procopius ¹² successively composed the history, the panegyric, and the satire of his own times. The eight books of the Persian, Vandalic, and Gothic wars, ¹³ which are continued in the five books of Agathias, deserve our esteem as a laborious and successful imitation of the Attic, or at least of the Asiatic, writers of ancient Greece. His facts are collected from the personal experience and free conversation of a soldier, a statesman, and a traveller; his style continually aspires, and often attains, to the merit of strength and elegance; his reflections, more especially in the speeches, which he too frequently inserts, contain a rich fund of political knowledge; and the historian, excited by the generous ambition of pleasing and instructing posterity, appears to disdain the prejudices of the people, and the flattery of courts. The writings of Procopius ¹⁴ were read and applauded by his contemporaries: ¹⁵ but, although he respectfully laid them at the foot of the throne, the pride of Justinian must have been wounded by the praise of a hero, who perpetually eclipses the glory of his inactive sovereign. The conscious dignity of independence was subdued by the hopes and fears of a slave; and the secretary of Belisarius labored for pardon and reward in the six books of the Imperial edifices. He had dexterously chosen a subject of apparent splendor, in which he could loudly celebrate the genius, the magnificence, and the piety of a prince, who, both as a conqueror and legislator, had surpassed the puerile virtues of Themistocles and Cyrus. ¹⁶ Disappointment might urge the flatterer to secret revenge; and the first glance of favor might again tempt him to suspend and suppress a libel, ¹⁷ in which the Roman Cyrus is degraded into an odious and contemptible tyrant, in which both the emperor

and his consort Theodora are seriously represented as two daemons, who had assumed a human form for the destruction of mankind. ^18 Such base inconsistency must doubtless sully the reputation, and detract from the credit, of Procopius: yet, after the venom of his malignity has been suffered to exhale, the residue of the anecdotes, even the most disgraceful facts, some of which had been tenderly hinted in his public history, are established by their internal evidence, or the authentic monuments of the times. ^19

^* From these various materials, I shall now proceed to describe the reign of Justinian, which will deserve and occupy an ample space. The present chapter will explain the elevation and character of Theodora, the factions of the circus, and the peaceful administration of the sovereign of the East. In the three succeeding chapters, I shall relate the wars of Justinian, which achieved the conquest of Africa and Italy; and I shall follow the victories of Belisarius and Narses, without disguising the vanity of their triumphs, or the hostile virtue of the Persian and Gothic heroes. The series of this and the following volume will embrace the jurisprudence and theology of the emperor; the controversies and sects which still divide the Oriental church; the reformation of the Roman law which is obeyed or respected by the nations of modern Europe. [Footnote 12: See the characters of Procopius and Agathias in La Mothe le Vayer, (tom. viii. p. 144 - 174,) Vossius, (de Historicis Graecis, l. ii. c. 22,) and Fabricius, (Bibliot. Graec. l. v. c. 5, tom. vi. p. 248 - 278.) Their religion, an honorable problem, betrays occasional conformity, with a secret attachment to Paganism and Philosophy.] [Footnote 13: In the seven first books, two Persic, two Vandalic, and three Gothic, Procopius has borrowed from Appian the division of provinces and wars: the viiith book, though it bears the name of Gothic, is a miscellaneous and general supplement down to the spring of the year 553, from whence it is continued by Agathias till 559, (Pagi, Critica, A.D. 579, No. 5.)] [Footnote 14: The literary fate of Procopius has been somewhat unlucky. 1. His book de Bello Gothico were stolen by Leonard Aretin, and published (Fulgini, 1470, Venet. 1471, apud Janson. Mattaire, Annal Typograph. tom. i. edit. posterior, p. 290, 304, 279, 299,) in his own name, (see Vossius de Hist. Lat. l. iii. c. 5, and the feeble defence of the Venice Giornale de Letterati, tom. xix. p. 207.) 2. His works were mutilated by the first Latin translators, Christopher Persona, (Giornale, tom. xix. p. 340 - 348,) and Raphael de Volaterra, (Huet, de Claris Interpretibus, p. 166,) who did not even consult the Ms. of the Vatican library, of which they were praefects, (Aleman. in Praefat Anecd. c. 1, 2, 5,) and the anecdotes are reckoned as the ninth book by Suidas, (tom. iii. p. 186, edit. Kuster.) The silence of Evagrius is a poor objection. Baronius (A.D. 548, No. 24) regrets the loss of this secret history: it was then in the Vatican library, in his own custody, and was first published sixteen years after his death, with the learned, but partial notes of Nicholas Alemannus, (Lugd. 1623.)] [Footnote 15: Agathias in Praefat. p. 7, 8, l. iv. p. 137. Evagrius, l. iv. c. 12. See likewise Photius, cod. lxxiii. p. 65.] [Footnote 16: Says, he, Praefat. ad l. de Edificiis is no more than a pun! In these five books, Procopius affects a Christian as well as a courtly style.] [Footnote 17: Procopius discloses himself, (Praefat. ad Anecd. c. 1, 2, 5,) and the anecdotes are reckoned as the ninth book by Suidas, (tom. iii. p. 186, edit. Kuster.) The silence of Evagrius is a poor objection. Baronius (A.D. 548, No. 24) regrets the loss of this secret history: it was then in the Vatican library, in his own custody, and was first published sixteen years after his death, with the learned, but partial notes of Nicholas Alemannus, (Lugd. 1623.)] [Footnote 18: Justinian an ass - the perfect likeness of Domitian - Anecd. c. 8. - Theodora's lovers driven from her bed by rival daemons - her marriage foretold with a great daemon - a monk saw the prince of the daemons, instead of Justinian, on the throne - the servants who watched beheld a face without features, a body walking without a head, &c., &c. Procopius declares his own and his friends' belief in these diabolical stories, (c. 12.)] [Footnote 19: Montesquieu (Considerations sur la Grandeur et la Decadence des Romains, c. xx.) gives credit to these anecdotes, as connected, 1. with the weakness of the empire, and, 2. with the instability of Justinian's laws.] [Footnote *: The Anecdota of Procopius, compared with the former works of the same author, appear to me the basest and most disgraceful work in literature. The wars, which he has described in the former volumes as glorious or necessary, are become unprofitable and wanton massacres; the buildings which he celebrated, as raised to the immortal honor of the great emperor, and his admirable queen, either as magnificent embellishments of the city, or useful fortifications for the defence of the frontier, are

become works of vain prodigality and useless ostentation. I doubt whether Gibbon has made sufficient allowance for the "malignity" of the Anecdota; at all events, the extreme and disgusting profligacy of Theodora's early life rests entirely on this viratent libel - M.] I. In the exercise of supreme power, the first act of Justinian was to divide it with the woman whom he loved, the famous Theodora, ^20 whose strange elevation cannot be applauded as the triumph of female virtue. Under the reign of Anastasius, the care of the wild beasts maintained by the green faction at Constantinople was intrusted to Acacius, a native of the Isle of Cyprus, who, from his employment, was surnamed the master of the bears. This honorable office was given after his death to another candidate, notwithstanding the diligence of his widow, who had already provided a husband and a successor. Acacius had left three daughters, Comito, ^21 Theodora, and Anastasia, the eldest of whom did not then exceed the age of seven years. On a solemn festival, these helpless orphans were sent by their distressed and indignant mother, in the garb of suppliants, into the midst of the theatre: the green faction received them with contempt, the blues with compassion; and this difference, which sunk deep into the mind of Theodora, was felt long afterwards in the administration of the empire. As they improved in age and beauty, the three sisters were successively devoted to the public and private pleasures of the Byzantine people: and Theodora, after following Comito on the stage, in the dress of a slave, with a stool on her head, was at length permitted to exercise her independent talents. She neither danced, nor sung, nor played on the flute; her skill was confined to the pantomime arts; she excelled in buffoon characters, and as often as the comedian swelled her cheeks, and complained with a ridiculous tone and gesture of the blows that were inflicted, the whole theatre of Constantinople resounded with laughter and applause. The beauty of Theodora ^22 was the subject of more flattering praise, and the source of more exquisite delight. Her features were delicate and regular; her complexion, though somewhat pale, was tinged with a natural color; every sensation was instantly expressed by the vivacity of her eyes; her easy motions displayed the graces of a small but elegant figure; and either love or adulation might proclaim, that painting and poetry were incapable of delineating the matchless excellence of her form. But this form was degraded by the facility with which it was exposed to the public eye, and prostituted to licentious desire. Her venal charms were abandoned to a promiscuous crowd of citizens and strangers of every rank, and of every profession: the fortunate lover who had been promised a night of enjoyment, was often driven from her bed by a stronger or more wealthy favorite; and when she passed through the streets, her presence was avoided by all who wished to escape either the scandal or the temptation. The satirical historian has not blushed ^23 to describe the naked scenes which Theodora was not ashamed to exhibit in the theatre. ^24 After exhausting the arts of sensual pleasure, ^25 she most ungratefully murmured against the parsimony of Nature; ^26 but her murmurs, her pleasures, and her arts, must be veiled in the obscurity of a learned language. After reigning for some time, the delight and contempt of the capital, she condescended to accompany Ecebolus, a native of Tyre, who had obtained the government of the African Pentapolis. But this union was frail and transient; Ecebolus soon rejected an expensive or faithless concubine; she was reduced at Alexandria to extreme distress; and in her laborious return to Constantinople, every city of the East admired and enjoyed the fair Cyprian, whose merit appeared to justify her descent from the peculiar island of Venus. The vague commerce of Theodora, and the most detestable precautions, preserved her from the danger which she feared; yet once, and once only, she became a mother. The infant was saved and educated in Arabia, by his father, who imparted to him on his death-bed, that he was the son of an empress. Filled with ambitious hopes, the unsuspecting youth immediately hastened to the palace of Constantinople, and was admitted to the presence of his mother. As he was never more seen, even after the decease of Theodora, she deserves the foul imputation of extinguishing with his life a secret so offensive to her Imperial virtue. [Footnote 20: For the life and manners of the empress Theodora see the Anecdotes; more especially c. 1 - 5, 9, 10 - 15, 16, 17, with the learned notes of Alemannus - a reference which is always implied.] [Footnote 21: Comito was afterwards married to Sittas, duke of Armenia, the father, perhaps, at least she might be the mother, of the empress Sophia. Two nephews of Theodora may be the sons of Anastasia, (Aleman. p. 30, 31.)] [Footnote 22: Her statue was raised at Constantinople, on a porphyry column. See Procopius, (de Edif. l. i. c. 11,) who gives her portrait in the Anecdotes, (c. 10.) Aleman. (p. 47) produces one from a Mosaic at Ravenna, loaded with pearls and jewels, and yet handsome.] [Footnote 23: A fragment of the Anecdotes,

(c. 9.) somewhat too naked, was suppressed by Alemannus, though extant in the Vatican Ms.; nor has the defect been supplied in the Paris or Venice editions. La Mothe le Vayer (tom. viii. p. 155) gave the first hint of this curious and genuine passage, (Jortin's Remarks, vol. iv. p. 366,) which he had received from Rome, and it has been since published in the Menagiana (tom. iii. p. 254 - 259) with a Latin version.] [Footnote 24: After the mention of a narrow girdle, (as none could appear stark naked in the theatre,) Procopius thus proceeds. I have heard that a learned prelate, now deceased, was fond of quoting this passage in conversation.] [Footnote 25: Theodora surpassed the Crispa of Ausonius, (Epigram lxxi.,) who imitated the capitalis luxus of the females of Nola. See Quintilian Institut. viii. 6, and Torrentius ad Horat. Sermon. l. i. sat. 2, v. 101. At a memorable supper, thirty slaves waited round the table ten young men feasted with Theodora. Her charity was universal. Et lassata viris, necdum satiata, recessit.] [Footnote 26: She wished for a fourth altar, on which she might pour libations to the god of love.] [Footnote *: Gibbon should have remembered the axiom which he quotes in another piece, scelera ostendi oportet dum puniantur abscondi flagitia. - M.] In the most abject state of her fortune, and reputation, some vision, either of sleep or of fancy, had whispered to Theodora the pleasing assurance that she was destined to become the spouse of a potent monarch. Conscious of her approaching greatness, she returned from Paphlagonia to Constantinople; assumed, like a skilful actress, a more decent character; relieved her poverty by the laudable industry of spinning wool; and affected a life of chastity and solitude in a small house, which she afterwards changed into a magnificent temple. ^27 Her beauty, assisted by art or accident, soon attracted, captivated, and fixed, the patrician Justinian, who already reigned with absolute sway under the name of his uncle. Perhaps she contrived to enhance the value of a gift which she had so often lavished on the meanest of mankind; perhaps she inflamed, at first by modest delays, and at last by sensual allurements, the desires of a lover, who, from nature or devotion, was addicted to long vigils and abstemious diet. When his first transports had subsided, she still maintained the same ascendant over his mind, by the more solid merit of temper and understanding. Justinian delighted to ennoble and enrich the object of his affection; the treasures of the East were poured at her feet, and the nephew of Justin was determined, perhaps by religious scruples, to bestow on his concubine the sacred and legal character of a wife. But the laws of Rome expressly prohibited the marriage of a senator with any female who had been dishonored by a servile origin or theatrical profession: the empress Lupicina, or Euphemia, a Barbarian of rustic manners, but of irreproachable virtue, refused to accept a prostitute for her niece; and even Vigilantia, the superstitious mother of Justinian, though she acknowledged the wit and beauty of Theodora, was seriously apprehensive, lest the levity and arrogance of that artful paramour might corrupt the piety and happiness of her son. These obstacles were removed by the inflexible constancy of Justinian. He patiently expected the death of the empress; he despised the tears of his mother, who soon sunk under the weight of her affliction; and a law was promulgated in the name of the emperor Justin, which abolished the rigid jurisprudence of antiquity. A glorious repentance (the words of the edict) was left open for the unhappy females who had prostituted their persons on the theatre, and they were permitted to contract a legal union with the most illustrious of the Romans. ^28 This indulgence was speedily followed by the solemn nuptials of Justinian and Theodora; her dignity was gradually exalted with that of her lover, and, as soon as Justin had invested his nephew with the purple, the patriarch of Constantinople placed the diadem on the heads of the emperor and empress of the East. But the usual honors which the severity of Roman manners had allowed to the wives of princes, could not satisfy either the ambition of Theodora or the fondness of Justinian. He seated her on the throne as an equal and independent colleague in the sovereignty of the empire, and an oath of allegiance was imposed on the governors of the provinces in the joint names of Justinian and Theodora. ^29 The Eastern world fell prostrate before the genius and fortune of the daughter of Acacius. The prostitute who, in the presence of innumerable spectators, had polluted the theatre of Constantinople, was adored as a queen in the same city, by grave magistrates, orthodox bishops, victorious generals, and captive monarchs. ^30 [Footnote 27: Anonym. de Antiquitat. C. P. l. iii. 132, in Banduri Imperium Orient. tom. i. p. 48. Ludewig (p. 154) argues sensibly that Theodora would not have immortalized a brothel: but I apply this fact to her second and chaster residence at Constantinople.] [Footnote 28: See the old law in Justinian's Code, (l. v. tit. v. leg. 7, tit. xxvii. leg. 1,) under the years 336 and 454. The new edict (about the year 521 or 522, Aleman. p. 38, 96) very awkwardly repeals no more than the clause of

mulieres scenicoe, libertinae, tabernariae. See the novels 89 and 117, and a Greek rescript from Justinian to the bishops, (Aleman. p. 41.) [Footnote 29: I swear by the Father, &c., by the Virgin Mary, by the four Gospels, quae in manibus teneo, and by the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel, puram conscientiam germanumque servitium me servaturum, sacratissimis DDNN. Justiniano et Theodoraе conjugі ejus, (Novell. viii. tit. 3.) Would the oath have been binding in favor of the widow? Communes tituli et triumphī, &c., (Aleman. p. 47, 48.)] [Footnote 30: "Let greatness own her, and she's mean no more," &c. Without Warburton's critical telescope, I should never have seen, in this general picture of triumphant vice, any personal allusion to Theodora.]

Chapter XLI: Conquests Of Justinian, Charact Of Balisarius. Part II. As soon as the tumult had subsided, the several parts of the army informed each other of the accidents of the day; and Belisarius pitched his camp on the field of victory, to which the tenth mile-stone from Carthage had applied the Latin appellation of Decimus. From a wise suspicion of the stratagems and resources of the Vandals, he marched the next day in order of battle, halted in the evening before the gates of Carthage, and allowed a night of repose, that he might not, in darkness and disorder, expose the city to the license of the soldiers, or the soldiers themselves to the secret ambush of the city. But as the fears of Belisarius were the result of calm and intrepid reason, he was soon satisfied that he might confide, without danger, in the peaceful and friendly aspect of the capital. Carthage blazed with innumerable torches, the signals of the public joy; the chain was removed that guarded the entrance of the port; the gates were thrown open, and the people, with acclamations of gratitude, hailed and invited their Roman deliverers. The defeat of the Vandals, and the freedom of Africa, were announced to the city on the eve of St. Cyprian, when the churches were already adorned and illuminated for the festival of the martyr whom three centuries of superstition had almost raised to a local deity. The Arians, conscious that their reign had expired, resigned the temple to the Catholics, who rescued their saint from profane hands, performed the holy rites, and loudly proclaimed the creed of Athanasius and Justinian. One awful hour reversed the fortunes of the contending parties. The suppliant Vandals, who had so lately indulged the vices of conquerors, sought an humble refuge in the sanctuary of the church; while the merchants of the East were delivered from the deepest dungeon of the palace by their affrighted keeper, who implored the protection of his captives, and showed them, through an aperture in the wall, the sails of the Roman fleet. After their separation from the army, the naval commanders had proceeded with slow caution along the coast till they reached the Hermaean promontory, and obtained the first intelligence of the victory of Belisarius. Faithful to his instructions, they would have cast anchor about twenty miles from Carthage, if the more skilful seamen had not represented the perils of the shore, and the signs of an impending tempest. Still ignorant of the revolution, they declined, however, the rash attempt of forcing the chain of the port; and the adjacent harbor and suburb of Mandracium were insulted only by the rapine of a private officer, who disobeyed and deserted his leaders. But the Imperial fleet, advancing with a fair wind, steered through the narrow entrance of the Goletta, and occupied, in the deep and capacious lake of Tunis, a secure station about five miles from the capital. ^19 No sooner was Belisarius informed of their arrival, than he despatched orders that the greatest part of the mariners should be immediately landed to join the triumph, and to swell the apparent numbers, of the Romans. Before he allowed them to enter the gates of Carthage, he exhorted them, in a discourse worthy of himself and the occasion, not to disgrace the glory of their arms; and to remember that the Vandals had been the tyrants, but that they were the deliverers, of the Africans, who must now be respected as the voluntary and affectionate subjects of their common sovereign. The Romans marched through the streets in close ranks prepared for battle if an enemy had appeared: the strict order maintained by the general imprinted on their minds the duty of obedience; and in an age in which custom and impunity almost sanctified the abuse of conquest, the genius of one man repressed the passions of a victorious army. The voice of menace and complaint was silent; the trade of Carthage was not interrupted; while Africa changed her master and her government, the shops continued open and busy; and the soldiers, after sufficient guards had been posted, modestly departed to the houses which were allotted for their reception. Belisarius fixed his residence in the palace; seated himself on the throne of Genseric; accepted and distributed the Barbaric spoil; granted their lives to the suppliant Vandals; and labored to repair the damage which the suburb of Mandracium had sustained in the preceding night. At supper he entertained his principal

officers with the form and magnificence of a royal banquet. ^20 The victor was respectfully served by the captive officers of the household; and in the moments of festivity, when the impartial spectators applauded the fortune and merit of Belisarius, his envious flatterers secretly shed their venom on every word and gesture which might alarm the suspicions of a jealous monarch. One day was given to these pompous scenes, which may not be despised as useless, if they attracted the popular veneration; but the active mind of Belisarius, which in the pride of victory could suppose a defeat, had already resolved that the Roman empire in Africa should not depend on the chance of arms, or the favor of the people. The fortifications of Carthage ^* had alone been exempted from the general proscription; but in the reign of ninety-five years they were suffered to decay by the thoughtless and indolent Vandals. A wiser conqueror restored, with incredible despatch, the walls and ditches of the city. His liberality encouraged the workmen; the soldiers, the mariners, and the citizens, vied with each other in the salutary labor; and Gelimer, who had feared to trust his person in an open town, beheld with astonishment and despair, the rising strength of an impregnable fortress. [Footnote 19: The neighborhood of Carthage, the sea, the land, and the rivers, are changed almost as much as the works of man. The isthmus, or neck of the city, is now confounded with the continent; the harbor is a dry plain; and the lake, or stagnum, no more than a morass, with six or seven feet water in the mid-channel. See D'Anville, (*Geographie Ancienne*, tom. iii. p. 82,) Shaw, (*Travels*, p. 77 - 84,) Marmol, (*Description de l'Afrique*, tom. ii. p. 465,) and Thuanus, (*Iviii. 12*, tom. iii. p. 334.)] [Footnote 20: From Delphi, the name of Delphicum was given, both in Greek and Latin, to a tripod; and by an easy analogy, the same appellation was extended at Rome, Constantinople, and Carthage, to the royal banquetting room, (Procopius, *Vandal. l. i. c. 21*. Ducange, *Gloss, Graec. p. 277.*, ad *Alexiad. p. 412.*)] [Footnote : **And a few others. Procopius states in his work De Edi Sciis. l. vi. vol i. p. 5. - M] That unfortunate monarch, after the loss of his capital, applied himself to collect the remains of an army scattered, rather than destroyed, by the preceding battle; and the hopes of pillage attracted some Moorish bands to the standard of Gelimer. He encamped in the fields of Bulla, four days' journey from Carthage; insulted the capital, which he deprived of the use of an aqueduct; proposed a high reward for the head of every Roman; affected to spare the persons and property of his African subjects, and secretly negotiated with the Arian sectaries and the confederate Huns. Under these circumstances, the conquest of Sardinia served only to aggravate his distress: he reflected, with the deepest anguish, that he had wasted, in that useless enterprise, five thousand of his bravest troops; and he read, with grief and shame, the victorious letters of his brother Zano, ^ who expressed a sanguine confidence that the king, after the example of their ancestors, had already chastised the rashness of the Roman invader. "Alas! my brother," replied Gelimer, "Heaven has declared against our unhappy nation. While you have subdued Sardinia, we have lost Africa. No sooner did Belisarius appear with a handful of soldiers, than courage and prosperity deserted the cause of the Vandals. Your nephew Gibamund, your brother Ammatas, have been betrayed to death by the cowardice of their followers. Our horses, our ships, Carthage itself, and all Africa, are in the power of the enemy. Yet the Vandals still prefer an ignominious repose, at the expense of their wives and children, their wealth and liberty. Nothing now remains, except the fields of Bulla, and the hope of your valor. Abandon Sardinia; fly to our relief; restore our empire, or perish by our side." On the receipt of this epistle, Zano imparted his grief to the principal Vandals; but the intelligence was prudently concealed from the natives of the island. The troops embarked in one hundred and twenty galleys at the port of Caghari, cast anchor the third day on the confines of Mauritania, and hastily pursued their march to join the royal standard in the camp of Bulla. Mournful was the interview: the two brothers embraced; they wept in silence; no questions were asked of the Sardinian victory; no inquiries were made of the African misfortunes: they saw before their eyes the whole extent of their calamities; and the absence of their wives and children afforded a melancholy proof that either death or captivity had been their lot. The languid spirit of the Vandals was at length awakened and united by the entreaties of their king, the example of Zano, and the instant danger which threatened their monarchy and religion. The military strength of the nation advanced to battle; and such was the rapid increase, that before their army reached Tricameron, about twenty miles from Carthage, they might boast, perhaps with some exaggeration, that they surpassed, in a tenfold proportion, the diminutive powers of the Romans. But these powers were under the command of Belisarius; and, as he was conscious of their superior merit, he**

permitted the Barbarians to surprise him at an unseasonable hour. The Romans were instantly under arms; a rivulet covered their front; the cavalry formed the first line, which Belisarius supported in the centre, at the head of five hundred guards; the infantry, at some distance, was posted in the second line; and the vigilance of the general watched the separate station and ambiguous faith of the Massagetæ, who secretly reserved their aid for the conquerors. The historian has inserted, and the reader may easily supply, the speeches ²¹ of the commanders, who, by arguments the most apposite to their situation, inculcated the importance of victory, and the contempt of life. Zano, with the troops which had followed him to the conquest of Sardinia, was placed in the centre; and the throne of Genseric might have stood, if the multitude of Vandals had imitated their intrepid resolution. Casting away their lances and missile weapons, they drew their swords, and expected the charge: the Roman cavalry thrice passed the rivulet; they were thrice repulsed; and the conflict was firmly maintained, till Zano fell, and the standard of Belisarius was displayed. Gelimer retreated to his camp; the Huns joined the pursuit; and the victors despoiled the bodies of the slain. Yet no more than fifty Romans, and eight hundred Vandals were found on the field of battle; so inconsiderable was the carnage of a day, which extinguished a nation, and transferred the empire of Africa. In the evening Belisarius led his infantry to the attack of the camp; and the pusillanimous flight of Gelimer exposed the vanity of his recent declarations, that to the vanquished, death was a relief, life a burden, and infamy the only object of terror. His departure was secret; but as soon as the Vandals discovered that their king had deserted them, they hastily dispersed, anxious only for their personal safety, and careless of every object that is dear or valuable to mankind. The Romans entered the camp without resistance; and the wildest scenes of disorder were veiled in the darkness and confusion of the night. Every Barbarian who met their swords was inhumanly massacred; their widows and daughters, as rich heirs, or beautiful concubines, were embraced by the licentious soldiers; and avarice itself was almost satiated with the treasures of gold and silver, the accumulated fruits of conquest or economy in a long period of prosperity and peace. In this frantic search, the troops, even of Belisarius, forgot their caution and respect. Intoxicated with lust and rapine, they explored, in small parties, or alone, the adjacent fields, the woods, the rocks, and the caverns, that might possibly conceal any desirable prize: laden with booty, they deserted their ranks, and wandered without a guide, on the high road to Carthage; and if the flying enemies had dared to return, very few of the conquerors would have escaped. Deeply sensible of the disgrace and danger, Belisarius passed an apprehensive night on the field of victory: at the dawn of day, he planted his standard on a hill, recalled his guardians and veterans, and gradually restored the modesty and obedience of the camp. It was equally the concern of the Roman general to subdue the hostile, and to save the prostrate, Barbarian; and the suppliant Vandals, who could be found only in churches, were protected by his authority, disarmed, and separately confined, that they might neither disturb the public peace, nor become the victims of popular revenge. After despatching a light detachment to tread the footsteps of Gelimer, he advanced, with his whole army, about ten days' march, as far as Hippo Regius, which no longer possessed the relics of St. Augustin. ²² The season, and the certain intelligence that the Vandal had fled to an inaccessible country of the Moors, determined Belisarius to relinquish the vain pursuit, and to fix his winter quarters at Carthage. From thence he despatched his principal lieutenant, to inform the emperor, that in the space of three months he had achieved the conquest of Africa. [Footnote *: Gibbon had forgotten that the bearer of the "victorious letters of his brother" had sailed into the port of Carthage; and that the letters had fallen into the hands of the Romans. Proc. Vandal. l. i. c. 23. - M.] [Footnote 21: These orations always express the sense of the times, and sometimes of the actors. I have condensed that sense, and thrown away declamation.] [Footnote 22: The relics of St. Augustin were carried by the African bishops to their Sardinian exile, (A.D. 500;) and it was believed, in the viiith century, that Liutprand, king of the Lombards, transported them (A.D. 721) from Sardinia to Pavia. In the year 1695, the Augustan friars of that city found a brick arch, marble coffin, silver case, silk wrapper, bones, blood, &c., and perhaps an inscription of Agostino in Gothic letters. But this useful discovery has been disputed by reason and jealousy, (Baronius, Annal. A.D. 725, No. 2 - 9. Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xiii. p. 944. Montfaucon, Diarium Ital. p. 26 - 30. Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Medii Aevi, tom. v. dissert. lviii. p. 9, who had composed a separate treatise before the decree of the bishop of Pavia, and Pope Benedict XIII.)] Belisarius spoke the language of truth. The surviving Vandals yielded, without resistance, their arms and

their freedom; the neighborhood of Carthage submitted to his presence; and the more distant provinces were successively subdued by the report of his victory. Tripoli was confirmed in her voluntary allegiance; Sardinia and Corsica surrendered to an officer, who carried, instead of a sword, the head of the valiant Zano; and the Isles of Majorca, Minorca, and Yvica consented to remain an humble appendage of the African kingdom. Caesarea, a royal city, which in looser geography may be confounded with the modern Algiers, was situate thirty days' march to the westward of Carthage: by land, the road was infested by the Moors; but the sea was open, and the Romans were now masters of the sea. An active and discreet tribune sailed as far as the Straits, where he occupied Septem or Ceuta, ²³ which rises opposite to Gibraltar on the African coast; that remote place was afterwards adorned and fortified by Justinian; and he seems to have indulged the vain ambition of extending his empire to the columns of Hercules. He received the messengers of victory at the time when he was preparing to publish the Pandects of the Roman laws; and the devout or jealous emperor celebrated the divine goodness, and confessed, in silence, the merit of his successful general. ²⁴ Impatient to abolish the temporal and spiritual tyranny of the Vandals, he proceeded, without delay, to the full establishment of the Catholic church. Her jurisdiction, wealth, and immunities, perhaps the most essential part of episcopal religion, were restored and amplified with a liberal hand; the Arian worship was suppressed; the Donatist meetings were proscribed; ²⁵ and the synod of Carthage, by the voice of two hundred and seventeen bishops, ²⁶ applauded the just measure of pious retaliation. On such an occasion, it may not be presumed, that many orthodox prelates were absent; but the comparative smallness of their number, which in ancient councils had been twice or even thrice multiplied, most clearly indicates the decay both of the church and state. While Justinian approved himself the defender of the faith, he entertained an ambitious hope, that his victorious lieutenant would speedily enlarge the narrow limits of his dominion to the space which they occupied before the invasion of the Moors and Vandals; and Belisarius was instructed to establish five dukes or commanders in the convenient stations of Tripoli, Leptis, Cirta, Caesarea, and Sardinia, and to compute the military force of palatines or borderers that might be sufficient for the defence of Africa. The kingdom of the Vandals was not unworthy of the presence of a Praetorian praefect; and four consulars, three presidents, were appointed to administer the seven provinces under his civil jurisdiction. The number of their subordinate officers, clerks, messengers, or assistants, was minutely expressed; three hundred and ninety-six for the praefect himself, fifty for each of his vicegerents; and the rigid definition of their fees and salaries was more effectual to confirm the right than to prevent the abuse. These magistrates might be oppressive, but they were not idle; and the subtle questions of justice and revenue were infinitely propagated under the new government, which professed to revive the freedom and equity of the Roman republic. The conqueror was solicitous to extract a prompt and plentiful supply from his African subjects; and he allowed them to claim, even in the third degree, and from the collateral line, the houses and lands of which their families had been unjustly despoiled by the Vandals. After the departure of Belisarius, who acted by a high and special commission, no ordinary provision was made for a master-general of the forces; but the office of Praetorian praefect was intrusted to a soldier; the civil and military powers were united, according to the practice of Justinian, in the chief governor; and the representative of the emperor in Africa, as well as in Italy, was soon distinguished by the appellation of Exarch. ²⁷ [Footnote 23: The expression of Procopius (de Edific. l. vi. c. 7.) Ceuta, which has been defaced by the Portuguese, flourished in nobles and palaces, in agriculture and manufactures, under the more prosperous reign of the Arabs, (l'Afrique de Marmai, tom. ii. p. 236.)] [Footnote 24: See the second and third preambles to the Digest, or Pandects, promulgated A.D. 533, December 16. To the titles of Vandalicus and Africanus, Justinian, or rather Belisarius, had acquired a just claim; Gothicus was premature, and Franciscus false, and offensive to a great nation.] [Footnote 25: See the original acts in Baronius, (A.D. 535, No. 21 - 54.) The emperor applauds his own clemency to the heretics, cum sufficiat eis vivere.] [Footnote 26: Dupin (Geograph. Sacra Africana, p. lix. ad Optat. Milav.) observes and bewails this episcopal decay. In the more prosperous age of the church, he had noticed 690 bishoprics; but however minute were the dioceses, it is not probable that they all existed at the same time.] [Footnote 27: The African laws of Justinian are illustrated by his German biographer, (Cod. l. i. tit. 27. Novell. 36, 37, 131. Vit. Justinian, p. 349 - 377.)] Yet the conquest of Africa was imperfect till her former sovereign was delivered, either alive or dead, into the hands of the Romans. Doubtful of the event, Gelimer had

given secret orders that a part of his treasure should be transported to Spain, where he hoped to find a secure refuge at the court of the king of the Visigoths. But these intentions were disappointed by accident, treachery, and the indefatigable pursuit of his enemies, who intercepted his flight from the sea-shore, and chased the unfortunate monarch, with some faithful followers, to the inaccessible mountain of Papua, ^{^28} in the inland country of Numidia. He was immediately besieged by Pharas, an officer whose truth and sobriety were the more applauded, as such qualities could seldom be found among the Heruli, the most corrupt of the Barbarian tribes. To his vigilance Belisarius had intrusted this important charge and, after a bold attempt to scale the mountain, in which he lost a hundred and ten soldiers, Pharas expected, during a winter siege, the operation of distress and famine on the mind of the Vandal king. From the softest habits of pleasure, from the unbounded command of industry and wealth, he was reduced to share the poverty of the Moors, ^{^29} supportable only to themselves by their ignorance of a happier condition. In their rude hovels, of mud and hurdles, which confined the smoke and excluded the light, they promiscuously slept on the ground, perhaps on a sheep-skin, with their wives, their children, and their cattle. Sordid and scanty were their garments; the use of bread and wine was unknown; and their oaten or barley cakes, imperfectly baked in the ashes, were devoured almost in a crude state, by the hungry savages. The health of Gelimer must have sunk under these strange and unwonted hardships, from whatsoever cause they had been endured; but his actual misery was imbibed by the recollection of past greatness, the daily insolence of his protectors, and the just apprehension, that the light and venal Moors might be tempted to betray the rights of hospitality. The knowledge of his situation dictated the humane and friendly epistle of Pharas. "Like yourself," said the chief of the Heruli, "I am an illiterate Barbarian, but I speak the language of plain sense and an honest heart. Why will you persist in hopeless obstinacy? Why will you ruin yourself, your family, and nation? The love of freedom and abhorrence of slavery? Alas! my dearest Gelimer, are you not already the worst of slaves, the slave of the vile nation of the Moors? Would it not be preferable to sustain at Constantinople a life of poverty and servitude, rather than to reign the undoubted monarch of the mountain of Papua? Do you think it a disgrace to be the subject of Justinian? Belisarius is his subject; and we ourselves, whose birth is not inferior to your own, are not ashamed of our obedience to the Roman emperor. That generous prince will grant you a rich inheritance of lands, a place in the senate, and the dignity of patrician: such are his gracious intentions, and you may depend with full assurance on the word of Belisarius. So long as Heaven has condemned us to suffer, patience is a virtue; but if we reject the proffered deliverance, it degenerates into blind and stupid despair." "I am not insensible" replied the king of the Vandals, "how kind and rational is your advice. But I cannot persuade myself to become the slave of an unjust enemy, who has deserved my implacable hatred. Him I had never injured either by word or deed: yet he has sent against me, I know not from whence, a certain Belisarius, who has cast me headlong from the throne into his abyss of misery. Justinian is a man; he is a prince; does he not dread for himself a similar reverse of fortune? I can write no more: my grief oppresses me. Send me, I beseech you, my dear Pharas, send me, a lyre, ^{^30} a sponge, and a loaf of bread." From the Vandal messenger, Pharas was informed of the motives of this singular request. It was long since the king of Africa had tasted bread; a defluxion had fallen on his eyes, the effect of fatigue or incessant weeping; and he wished to solace the melancholy hours, by singing to the lyre the sad story of his own misfortunes. The humanity of Pharas was moved; he sent the three extraordinary gifts; but even his humanity prompted him to redouble the vigilance of his guard, that he might sooner compel his prisoner to embrace a resolution advantageous to the Romans, but salutary to himself. The obstinacy of Gelimer at length yielded to reason and necessity; the solemn assurances of safety and honorable treatment were ratified in the emperor's name, by the ambassador of Belisarius; and the king of the Vandals descended from the mountain. The first public interview was in one of the suburbs of Carthage; and when the royal captive accosted his conqueror, he burst into a fit of laughter. The crowd might naturally believe, that extreme grief had deprived Gelimer of his senses: but in this mournful state, unseasonable mirth insinuated to more intelligent observers, that the vain and transitory scenes of human greatness are unworthy of a serious thought. ^{^31} [Footnote 28: Mount Papua is placed by D'Anville (tom. iii. p. 92, and Tabul. Imp. Rom. Occident.) near Hippo Regius and the sea; yet this situation ill agrees with the long pursuit beyond Hippo, and the words of Procopius, (l. ii.c.4.). Note: Compare Lord Mahon, 120. conceive Gibbon to be right - M.] [Footnote

29: Shaw (Travels, p. 220) most accurately represents the manners of the Bedoweens and Kabyles, the last of whom, by their language, are the remnant of the Moors; yet how changed - how civilized are these modern savages! - provisions are plenty among them and bread is common.] [Footnote 30: By Procopius it is styled a lyre; perhaps harp would have been more national. The instruments of music are thus distinguished by Venantius Fortunatus: - Romanusque lyra tibi plaudat, Barbarus harpa.] [Footnote 31: Herodotus elegantly describes the strange effects of grief in another royal captive, Psammetichus of Egypt, who wept at the lesser and was silent at the greatest of his calamities, (l. iii. c. 14.) In the interview of Paulus Aemilius and Perses, Belisarius might study his part; but it is probable that he never read either Livy or Plutarch; and it is certain that his generosity did not need a tutor.] Their contempt was soon justified by a new example of a vulgar truth; that flattery adheres to power, and envy to superior merit. The chiefs of the Roman army presumed to think themselves the rivals of a hero. Their private despatches maliciously affirmed, that the conqueror of Africa, strong in his reputation and the public love, conspired to seat himself on the throne of the Vandals. Justinian listened with too patient an ear; and his silence was the result of jealousy rather than of confidence. An honorable alternative, of remaining in the province, or of returning to the capital, was indeed submitted to the discretion of Belisarius; but he wisely concluded, from intercepted letters and the knowledge of his sovereign's temper, that he must either resign his head, erect his standard, or confound his enemies by his presence and submission. Innocence and courage decided his choice; his guards, captives, and treasures, were diligently embarked; and so prosperous was the navigation, that his arrival at Constantinople preceded any certain account of his departure from the port of Carthage. Such unsuspecting loyalty removed the apprehensions of Justinian; envy was silenced and inflamed by the public gratitude; and the third Africanus obtained the honors of a triumph, a ceremony which the city of Constantine had never seen, and which ancient Rome, since the reign of Tiberius, had reserved for the auspicious arms of the Caesars. ^32 From the palace of Belisarius, the procession was conducted through the principal streets to the hippodrome; and this memorable day seemed to avenge the injuries of Genseric, and to expiate the shame of the Romans. The wealth of nations was displayed, the trophies of martial or effeminate luxury; rich armor, golden thrones, and the chariots of state which had been used by the Vandal queen; the massy furniture of the royal banquet, the splendor of precious stones, the elegant forms of statues and vases, the more substantial treasure of gold, and the holy vessels of the Jewish temple, which after their long peregrination were respectfully deposited in the Christian church of Jerusalem. A long train of the noblest Vandals reluctantly exposed their lofty stature and manly countenance. Gelimer slowly advanced: he was clad in a purple robe, and still maintained the majesty of a king. Not a tear escaped from his eyes, not a sigh was heard; but his pride or piety derived some secret consolation from the words of Solomon, ^33 which he repeatedly pronounced, Vanity! vanity! all is vanity! Instead of ascending a triumphal car drawn by four horses or elephants, the modest conqueror marched on foot at the head of his brave companions; his prudence might decline an honor too conspicuous for a subject; and his magnanimity might justly disdain what had been so often sullied by the vilest of tyrants. The glorious procession entered the gate of the hippodrome; was saluted by the acclamations of the senate and people; and halted before the throne where Justinian and Theodora were seated to receive homage of the captive monarch and the victorious hero. They both performed the customary adoration; and falling prostrate on the ground, respectfully touched the footstool of a prince who had not unsheathed his sword, and of a prostitute who had danced on the theatre; some gentle violence was used to bend the stubborn spirit of the grandson of Genseric; and however trained to servitude, the genius of Belisarius must have secretly rebelled. He was immediately declared consul for the ensuing year, and the day of his inauguration resembled the pomp of a second triumph: his curule chair was borne aloft on the shoulders of captive Vandals; and the spoils of war, gold cups, and rich girdles, were profusely scattered among the populace. [Footnote 32: After the title of imperator had lost the old military sense, and the Roman auspices were abolished by Christianity, (see La Bleterie, Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xxi. p. 302 - 332,) a triumph might be given with less inconsistency to a private general.]

[Footnote !: This is a singular mistake. Gibbon must have hastily caught at his inexperience, and concluded that it must have been from youth. Lord Mahon has pointed out this error, p. 401. I should add that in the last 4to. edition, corrected by Gibbon, it stands "want of youth and experience;" - but Gibbon can scarcely have intended such a phrase. - M.] [Footnote 26: See the acts of Germanus in the public (Vandal. l. ii, c. 16, 17, 18 Goth. l. iii. c. 31, 32) and private history, (Anecdot. c. 5,) and those of his son Justin, in Agathias, (l. iv. p. 130, 131.) Notwithstanding an ambiguous expression of Jornandes, fratri suo, Alemannus has proved that he was the son of the emperor's brother.] [Footnote 27: Conjuncta Aniciorum gens cum Amala stirpe spem adhuc utii usque generis promittit, (Jornandes, c. 60, p. 703.) He wrote at Ravenna before the death of Totila] [Footnote *: See note 31, p. 268. - M.] [Footnote 28: The third book of Procopius is terminated by the death of Germanus, (Add. l. iv. c. 23, 24, 25, 26.)] After the loss of Germanus, the nations were provoked to smile, by the strange intelligence, that the command of the Roman armies was given to a eunuch. But the eunuch Narses ²⁹ is ranked among the few who have rescued that unhappy name from the contempt and hatred of mankind. A feeble, diminutive body concealed the soul of a statesman and a warrior. His youth had been employed in the management of the loom and distaff, in the cares of the household, and the service of female luxury; but while his hands were busy, he secretly exercised the faculties of a vigorous and discerning mind. A stranger to the schools and the camp, he studied in the palace to dissemble, to flatter, and to persuade; and as soon as he approached the person of the emperor, Justinian listened with surprise and pleasure to the manly counsels of his chamberlain and private treasurer. ³⁰ The talents of Narses were tried and improved in frequent embassies: he led an army into Italy acquired a practical knowledge of the war and the country, and presumed to strive with the genius of Belisarius. Twelve years after his return, the eunuch was chosen to achieve the conquest which had been left imperfect by the first of the Roman generals. Instead of being dazzled by vanity or emulation, he seriously declared that, unless he were armed with an adequate force, he would never consent to risk his own glory and that of his sovereign. Justinian granted to the favorite what he might have denied to the hero: the Gothic war was rekindled from its ashes, and the preparations were not unworthy of the ancient majesty of the empire. The key of the public treasure was put into his hand, to collect magazines, to levy soldiers, to purchase arms and horses, to discharge the arrears of pay, and to tempt the fidelity of the fugitives and deserters. The troops of Germanus were still in arms; they halted at Salona in the expectation of a new leader; and legions of subjects and allies were created by the well-known liberality of the eunuch Narses. The king of the Lombards ³¹ satisfied or surpassed the obligations of a treaty, by lending two thousand two hundred of his bravest warriors, ³² who were followed by three thousand of their martial attendants. Three thousand Heruli fought on horseback under Philemuth, their native chief; and the noble Aratus, who adopted the manners and discipline of Rome, conducted a band of veterans of the same nation. Dagistheus was released from prison to command the Huns; and Kobad, the grandson and nephew of the great king, was conspicuous by the regal tiara at the head of his faithful Persians, who had devoted themselves to the fortunes of their prince. ³³ Absolute in the exercise of his authority, more absolute in the affection of his troops, Narses led a numerous and gallant army from Philippopolis to Salona, from whence he coasted the eastern side of the Adriatic as far as the confines of Italy. His progress was checked. The East could not supply vessels capable of transporting such multitudes of men and horses. The Franks, who, in the general confusion, had usurped the greater part of the Venetian province, refused a free passage to the friends of the Lombards. The station of Verona was occupied by Teias, with the flower of the Gothic forces; and that skilful commander had overspread the adjacent country with the fall of woods and the inundation of waters. ³³ In this perplexity, an officer of experience proposed a measure, secure by the appearance of rashness; that the Roman army should cautiously advance along the seashore, while the fleet preceded their march, and successively cast a bridge of boats over the mouths of the rivers, the Timavus, the Brenta, the Adige, and the Po, that fall into the Adriatic to the north of Ravenna. Nine days he reposed in the city, collected the fragments of the Italian army, and marching towards Rimini to meet the defiance of an insulting enemy. [Footnote 29: Procopius relates the whole series of this second Gothic war and the victory of Narses, (l. iv. c. 21, 26 - 35.) A splendid scene. Among the six subjects of epic poetry which Tasso revolved in his mind, he hesitated between the conquests of Italy by Belisarius and by Narses, (Hayley's Works, vol. iv. p. 70.)] [Footnote 30: The country of Narses is

unknown, since he must not be confounded with the Persarmenian. Procopius styles him (see Goth. l. ii. c. 13); Paul Warnefrid, (l. ii. c. 3, p. 776,) Chartularius: Marcellinus adds the name of Cubicularius. In an inscription on the Salarian bridge he is entitled Ex-consul, Ex-praepositus, Cubiculi Patricius, (Mascou, Hist. of the Germans, l. xiii. c. 25.) The law of Theodosius against ennuuchs was obsolete or abolished, Annotation xx.,) but the foolish prophecy of the Romans subsisted in full vigor, (Procop. l. iv. c. 21.) Note: Lord Mahon supposes them both to have been Persarmenians. Note, p. 256. - M.] [Footnote 31: Paul Warnefrid, the Lombard, records with complacency the succor, service, and honorable dismissal of his countrymen - reipublicae Romanae adversus aemulos adjutores fuerant, (l. ii. c. i. p. 774, edit. Grot.) I am surprised that Alboin, their martial king, did not lead his subjects in person. Note: The Lombards were still at war with the Gepidae. See Procop. Goth. lib. iv. p. 25. - M.] [Footnote !!: Gibbon has blindly followed the translation of Maltretus: Bis mille ducentos - while the original Greek says expressly something else, (Goth. lib. iv. c. 26.) In like manner, (p. 266,) he draws volunteers from Germany, on the authority of Cousin, who, in one place, has mistaken Germanus for Germania. Yet only a few pages further we find Gibbon loudly condemning the French and Latin readers of Procopius. Lord Mahon, p. 403. The first of these errors remains uncorrected in the new edition of the Byzantines. - M.] [Footnote 32: He was, if not an impostor, the son of the blind Zames, saved by compassion, and educated in the Byzantine court by the various motives of policy, pride, and generosity, (Procop. Persic. l. i. c. 23.)] [Footnote 33: In the time of Augustus, and in the middle ages, the whole waste from Aquileia to Ravenna was covered with woods, lakes, and morasses. Man has subdued nature, and the land has been cultivated since the waters are confined and embanked. See the learned researches of Muratori, (Antiquitat. Italiae Medii Aevi. tom. i. dissert. xxi. p. 253, 254,) from Vitruvius, Strabo, Herodian, old charters, and local knowledge.] Chapter XLIII: Last Victory And Death Of Belisarius, Death Of Justinian. Part III. The prudence of Narses impelled him to speedy and decisive action. His powers were the last effort of the state; the cost of each day accumulated the enormous account; and the nations, untrained to discipline or fatigue, might be rashly provoked to turn their arms against each other, or against their benefactor. The same considerations might have tempered the ardor of Totila. But he was conscious that the clergy and people of Italy aspired to a second revolution: he felt or suspected the rapid progress of treason; and he resolved to risk the Gothic kingdom on the chance of a day, in which the valiant would be animated by instant danger and the disaffected might be awed by mutual ignorance. In his march from Ravenna, the Roman general chastised the garrison of Rimini, traversed in a direct line the hills of Urbino, and reentered the Flaminian way, nine miles beyond the perforated rock, an obstacle of art and nature which might have stopped or retarded his progress. ^34 The Goths were assembled in the neighborhood of Rome, they advanced without delay to seek a superior enemy, and the two armies approached each other at the distance of one hundred furlongs, between Tagina ^35 and the sepulchres of the Gauls. ^36 The haughty message of Narses was an offer, not of peace, but of pardon. The answer of the Gothic king declared his resolution to die or conquer. "What day," said the messenger, "will you fix for the combat?" "The eighth day," replied Totila; but early the next morning he attempted to surprise a foe, suspicious of deceit, and prepared for battle. Ten thousand Heruli and Lombards, of approved valor and doubtful faith, were placed in the centre. Each of the wings was composed of eight thousand Romans; the right was guarded by the cavalry of the Huns, the left was covered by fifteen hundred chosen horse, destined, according to the emergencies of action, to sustain the retreat of their friends, or to encompass the flank of the enemy. From his proper station at the head of the right wing, the eunuch rode along the line, expressing by his voice and countenance the assurance of victory; exciting the soldiers of the emperor to punish the guilt and madness of a band of robbers; and exposing to their view gold chains, collars, and bracelets, the rewards of military virtue. From the event of a single combat they drew an omen of success; and they beheld with pleasure the courage of fifty archers, who maintained a small eminence against three successive attacks of the Gothic cavalry. At the distance only of two bow-shots, the armies spent the morning in dreadful suspense, and the Romans tasted some necessary food, without unloosing the cuirass from their breast, or the bridle from their horses. Narses awaited the charge; and it was delayed by Totila till he had received his last succors of two thousand Goths. While he consumed the hours in fruitless treaty, the king exhibited in a narrow space the strength and agility of a warrior. His armor was encased with gold; his purple banner floated

with the wind: he cast his lance into the air; caught it with the right hand; shifted it to the left; threw himself backwards; recovered his seat; and managed a fiery steed in all the paces and evolutions of the equestrian school. As soon as the succors had arrived, he retired to his tent, assumed the dress and arms of a private soldier, and gave the signal of a battle. The first line of cavalry advanced with more courage than discretion, and left behind them the infantry of the second line. They were soon engaged between the horns of a crescent, into which the adverse wings had been insensibly curved, and were saluted from either side by the volleys of four thousand archers. Their ardor, and even their distress, drove them forwards to a close and unequal conflict, in which they could only use their lances against an enemy equally skilled in all the instruments of war. A generous emulation inspired the Romans and their Barbarian allies; and Narses, who calmly viewed and directed their efforts, doubted to whom he should adjudge the prize of superior bravery. The Gothic cavalry was astonished and disordered, pressed and broken; and the line of infantry, instead of presenting their spears, or opening their intervals, were trampled under the feet of the flying horse. Six thousand of the Goths were slaughtered without mercy in the field of Tagina. Their prince, with five attendants, was overtaken by Asbad, of the race of the Gepidae. "Spare the king of Italy," ^* cried a loyal voice, and Asbad struck his lance through the body of Totila. The blow was instantly revenged by the faithful Goths: they transported their dying monarch seven miles beyond the scene of his disgrace; and his last moments were not embittered by the presence of an enemy. Compassion afforded him the shelter of an obscure tomb; but the Romans were not satisfied of their victory, till they beheld the corpse of the Gothic king. His hat, enriched with gems, and his bloody robe, were presented to Justinian by the messengers of triumph. ^37 [Footnote 34: The Flaminian way, as it is corrected from the Itineraries, and the best modern maps, by D'Anville, (*Analyse de l'Italie*, p. 147 - 162,) may be thus stated: Rome to Narni, 51 Roman miles; Terni, 57; Spoleto, 75; Foligno, 88; Nocera, 103; Cagli, 142; Intercisa, 157; Fossombrone, 160; Fano, 176; Pesaro, 184; Rimini, 208 - about 189 English miles. He takes no notice of the death of Totila; but West selling (*Itinerar.* p. 614) exchanges, for the field of Taginas, the unknown appellation of Ptaniae, eight miles from Nocera.] [Footnote 35: Taginae, or rather Tadiniae, is mentioned by Pliny; but the bishopric of that obscure town, a mile from Gualdo, in the plain, was united, in the year 1007, with that of Nocera. The signs of antiquity are preserved in the local appellations, Fossato, the camp; Capraia, Caprea; Bastia, Busta Gallorum. See Cluverius, (*Italia Antiqua*, l. ii. c. 6, p. 615, 616, 617,) Lucas Holstenius, (*Annotat. ad Cluver.* p. 85, 86,) Guazzesi, (*Dissertat.* p. 177 - 217, a professed inquiry,) and the maps of the ecclesiastical state and the march of Ancona, by Le Maire and Magini.] [Footnote 36: The battle was fought in the year of Rome 458; and the consul Decius, by devoting his own life, assured the triumph of his country and his colleague Fabius, (*T. Liv.* x. 28, 29.) Procopius ascribes to Camillus the victory of the Busta Gallorum; and his error is branded by Cluverius with the national reproach of *Graecorum nugamenta*.] [Footnote *: "Dog, wilt thou strike thy Lord?" was the more characteristic exclamation of the Gothic youth. Procop. lib. iv. p. 32. - M.] [Footnote 37: Theophanes, *Chron.* p. 193. *Hist. Miscell.* l. xvi. p. 108.] As soon as Narses had paid his devotions to the Author of victory, and the blessed Virgin, his peculiar patroness, ^38 he praised, rewarded, and dismissed the Lombards. The villages had been reduced to ashes by these valiant savages; they ravished matrons and virgins on the altar; their retreat was diligently watched by a strong detachment of regular forces, who prevented a repetition of the like disorders. The victorious eunuch pursued his march through Tuscany, accepted the submission of the Goths, heard the acclamations, and often the complaints, of the Italians, and encompassed the walls of Rome with the remainder of his formidable host. Round the wide circumference, Narses assigned to himself, and to each of his lieutenants, a real or a feigned attack, while he silently marked the place of easy and unguarded entrance. Neither the fortifications of Hadrian's mole, nor of the port, could long delay the progress of the conqueror; and Justinian once more received the keys of Rome, which, under his reign, had been five times taken and recovered. ^39 But the deliverance of Rome was the last calamity of the Roman people. The Barbarian allies of Narses too frequently confounded the privileges of peace and war. The despair of the flying Goths found some consolation in sanguinary revenge; and three hundred youths of the noblest families, who had been sent as hostages beyond the Po, were inhumanly slain by the successor of Totila. The fate of the senate suggests an awful lesson of the vicissitude of human affairs. Of the senators whom Totila had banished from their country, some were rescued by an officer of

Belisarius, and transported from Campania to Sicily; while others were too guilty to confide in the clemency of Justinian, or too poor to provide horses for their escape to the sea-shore. Their brethren languished five years in a state of indigence and exile: the victory of Narses revived their hopes; but their premature return to the metropolis was prevented by the furious Goths; and all the fortresses of Campania were stained with patrician ^{^40} blood. After a period of thirteen centuries, the institution of Romulus expired; and if the nobles of Rome still assumed the title of senators, few subsequent traces can be discovered of a public council, or constitutional order. Ascend six hundred years, and contemplate the kings of the earth soliciting an audience, as the slaves or freedmen of the Roman senate! ^{^41} [Footnote 38: Evagrius, l. iv. c. 24. The inspiration of the Virgin revealed to Narses the day, and the word, of battle, (Paul Diacon. l. ii. c. 3, p. 776)] [Footnote 39: (Procop. Goth. lib. iv. p. 33.)] In the year 536 by Belisarius, in 546 by Totila, in 547 by Belisarius, in 549 by Totila, and in 552 by Narses. Maltretus had inadvertently translated sextum; a mistake which he afterwards retracts; out the mischief was done; and Cousin, with a train of French and Latin readers, have fallen into the snare.] [Footnote 40: Compare two passages of Procopius, (l. iii. c. 26, l. iv. c. 24,) which, with some collateral hints from Marcellinus and Jornandes, illustrate the state of the expiring senate.] [Footnote 41: See, in the example of Prusias, as it is delivered in the fragments of Polybius, (Excerpt. Legat. xcvi. p. 927, 928,) a curious picture of a royal slave.] The Gothic war was yet alive. The bravest of the nation retired beyond the Po; and Teias was unanimously chosen to succeed and revenge their departed hero. The new king immediately sent ambassadors to implore, or rather to purchase, the aid of the Franks, and nobly lavished, for the public safety, the riches which had been deposited in the palace of Pavia. The residue of the royal treasure was guarded by his brother Aligern, at Cumaea, in Campania; but the strong castle which Totila had fortified was closely besieged by the arms of Narses. From the Alps to the foot of Mount Vesuvius, the Gothic king, by rapid and secret marches, advanced to the relief of his brother, eluded the vigilance of the Roman chiefs, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Sarnus or Draco, ^{^42} which flows from Nuceria into the Bay of Naples. The river separated the two armies: sixty days were consumed in distant and fruitless combats, and Teias maintained this important post till he was deserted by his fleet and the hope of subsistence. With reluctant steps he ascended the Lactarian mount, where the physicians of Rome, since the time of Galen, had sent their patients for the benefit of the air and the milk. ^{^43} But the Goths soon embraced a more generous resolution: to descend the hill, to dismiss their horses, and to die in arms, and in the possession of freedom. The king marched at their head, bearing in his right hand a lance, and an ample buckler in his left: with the one he struck dead the foremost of the assailants; with the other he received the weapons which every hand was ambitious to aim against his life. After a combat of many hours, his left arm was fatigued by the weight of twelve javelins which hung from his shield. Without moving from his ground, or suspending his blows, the hero called aloud on his attendants for a fresh buckler; but in the moment while his side was uncovered, it was pierced by a mortal dart. He fell; and his head, exalted on a spear, proclaimed to the nations that the Gothic kingdom was no more. But the example of his death served only to animate the companions who had sworn to perish with their leader. They fought till darkness descended on the earth. They reposed on their arms. The combat was renewed with the return of light, and maintained with unabated vigor till the evening of the second day. The repose of a second night, the want of water, and the loss of their bravest champions, determined the surviving Goths to accept the fair capitulation which the prudence of Narses was inclined to propose. They embraced the alternative of residing in Italy, as the subjects and soldiers of Justinian, or departing with a portion of their private wealth, in search of some independent country. ^{^44} Yet the oath of fidelity or exile was alike rejected by one thousand Goths, who broke away before the treaty was signed, and boldly effected their retreat to the walls of Pavia. The spirit, as well as the situation, of Aligern prompted him to imitate rather than to bewail his brother: a strong and dexterous archer, he transpierced with a single arrow the armor and breast of his antagonist; and his military conduct defended Cumae ^{^45} above a year against the forces of the Romans. Their industry had scooped the Sibyl's cave ^{^46} into a prodigious mine; combustible materials were introduced to consume the temporary props: the wall and the gate of Cumae sunk into the cavern, but the ruins formed a deep and inaccessible precipice. On the fragment of a rock Aligern stood alone and unshaken, till he calmly surveyed the hopeless condition of his country, and judged it more honorable to be the friend of Narses, than the slave of the Franks. After the

death of Teias, the Roman general separated his troops to reduce the cities of Italy; Lucca sustained a long and vigorous siege: and such was the humanity or the prudence of Narses, that the repeated perfidy of the inhabitants could not provoke him to exact the forfeit lives of their hostages. These hostages were dismissed in safety; and their grateful zeal at length subdued the obstinacy of their countrymen. ^47 [Footnote 42: The item of Procopius (Goth. l. iv. c. 35) is evidently the Sarnus. The text is accused or altered by the rash violence of Cluverius (l. iv. c. 3. p. 1156:) but Camillo Pellegrini of Naples (Discorsi sopra la Campania Felice, p. 330, 331) has proved from old records, that as early as the year 822 that river was called the Dracontio, or Draconcello.] [Footnote 43: Galen (de Method. Medendi, l. v. apud Cluver. l. iv. c. 3, p. 1159, 1160) describes the lofty site, pure air, and rich milk, of Mount Lactarius, whose medicinal benefits were equally known and sought in the time of Symmachus (l. vi. epist. 18) and Cassiodorus, (Var. xi. 10.) Nothing is now left except the name of the town of Lettere.] [Footnote 44: Buat (tom. xi. p. 2, &c.) conveys to his favorite Bavaria this remnant of Goths, who by others are buried in the mountains of Uri, or restored to their native isle of Gothland, (Mascou, Annot. xxi.)] [Footnote 45: I leave Scaliger (Animadvers. in Euseb. p. 59) and Salmasius (Exercitatio Pliniana, p. 51, 52) to quarrel about the origin of Cumae, the oldest of the Greek colonies in Italy, (Strab. l. v. p. 372, Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 4,) already vacant in Juvenal's time, (Satir. iii.,) and now in ruins.] [Footnote 46: Agathias (l. i. c. 21) settles the Sibyl's cave under the wall of Cumae: he agrees with Servius, (ad l. vi. Aeneid.;) nor can I perceive why their opinion should be rejected by Heyne, the excellent editor of Virgil, (tom. ii. p. 650, 651.) In urbe media secreta religio! But Cumae was not yet built; and the lines (l. vi. 96, 97) would become ridiculous, if Aeneas were actually in a Greek city.] [Footnote 47: There is some difficulty in connecting the 35th chapter of the fourth book of the Gothic war of Procopius with the first book of the history of Agathias. We must now relinquish the statesman and soldier, to attend the footsteps of a poet and rhetorician, (l. i. p. 11, l. ii. p. 51, edit. Lonvre.)] Before Lucca had surrendered, Italy was overwhelmed by a new deluge of Barbarians. A feeble youth, the grandson of Clovis, reigned over the Austrasians or oriental Franks. The guardians of Theodebald entertained with coldness and reluctance the magnificent promises of the Gothic ambassadors. But the spirit of a martial people outstripped the timid counsels of the court: two brothers, Lothaire and Buccelin, ^48 the dukes of the Alemanni, stood forth as the leaders of the Italian war; and seventy-five thousand Germans descended in the autumn from the Rhaetian Alps into the plain of Milan. The vanguard of the Roman army was stationed near the Po, under the conduct of Fulcaris, a bold Herulian, who rashly conceived that personal bravery was the sole duty and merit of a commander. As he marched without order or precaution along the Aemilian way, an ambuscade of Franks suddenly rose from the amphitheatre of Parma; his troops were surprised and routed; but their leader refused to fly; declaring to the last moment, that death was less terrible than the angry countenance of Narses. ^* The death of Fulcaris, and the retreat of the surviving chiefs, decided the fluctuating and rebellious temper of the Goths; they flew to the standard of their deliverers, and admitted them into the cities which still resisted the arms of the Roman general. The conqueror of Italy opened a free passage to the irresistible torrent of Barbarians. They passed under the walls of Cesena, and answered by threats and reproaches the advice of Aligern, ^! that the Gothic treasures could no longer repay the labor of an invasion. Two thousand Franks were destroyed by the skill and valor of Narses himself, who sailed from Rimini at the head of three hundred horse, to chastise the licentious rapine of their march. On the confines of Samnium the two brothers divided their forces. With the right wing, Buccelin assumed the spoil of Campania, Lucania, and Bruttium; with the left, Lothaire accepted the plunder of Apulia and Calabria. They followed the coast of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, as far as Rhegium and Otranto, and the extreme lands of Italy were the term of their destructive progress. The Franks, who were Christians and Catholics, contented themselves with simple pillage and occasional murder. But the churches which their piety had spared, were stripped by the sacrilegious hands of the Alamanni, who sacrificed horses' heads to their native deities of the woods and rivers; ^49 they melted or profaned the consecrated vessels, and the ruins of shrines and altars were stained with the blood of the faithful. Buccelin was actuated by ambition, and Lothaire by avarice. The former aspired to restore the Gothic kingdom; the latter, after a promise to his brother of speedy succors, returned by the same road to deposit his treasure beyond the Alps. The strength of their armies was already wasted by the change of climate and contagion of disease:

the Germans revelled in the vintage of Italy; and their own intemperance avenged, in some degree, the miseries of a defenceless people. ^{^*} [Footnote 48: Among the fabulous exploits of Buccelin, he discomfited and slew Belisarius, subdued Italy and Sicily, &c. See in the Historians of France, Gregory of Tours, (tom. ii. l. iii. c. 32, p. 203,) and Aimoin, (tom. iii. l. ii. de Gestis Francorum, c. 23, p. 59.)] [Footnote *: Agathius.] [Footnote !: Aligern, after the surrender of Cumae, had been sent to Cesent by Narses. Agathias. - M.] [Footnote 49: Agathias notices their superstition in a philosophic tone, (l. i. p. 18.) At Zug, in Switzerland, idolatry still prevailed in the year 613: St. Columban and St. Gaul were the apostles of that rude country; and the latter founded a hermitage, which has swelled into an ecclesiastical principality and a populous city, the seat of freedom and commerce.] [Footnote *: A body of Lothaire's troops was defeated near Fano, some were driven down precipices into the sea, others fled to the camp; many prisoners seized the opportunity of making their escape; and the Barbarians lost most of their booty in their precipitate retreat. Agathias. - M.] At the entrance of the spring, the Imperial troops, who had guarded the cities, assembled, to the number of eighteen thousand men, in the neighborhood of Rome. Their winter hours had not been consumed in idleness. By the command, and after the example, of Narses, they repeated each day their military exercise on foot and on horseback, accustomed their ear to obey the sound of the trumpet, and practised the steps and evolutions of the Pyrrhic dance. From the Straits of Sicily, Buccelin, with thirty thousand Franks and Alamanni, slowly moved towards Capua, occupied with a wooden tower the bridge of Casilinum, covered his right by the stream of the Vulturnus, and secured the rest of his encampment by a rampart of sharp stakes, and a circle of wagons, whose wheels were buried in the earth. He impatiently expected the return of Lothaire; ignorant, alas! that his brother could never return, and that the chief and his army had been swept away by a strange disease ^{^50} on the banks of the Lake Benacus, between Trent and Verona. The banners of Narses soon approached the Vulturnus, and the eyes of Italy were anxiously fixed on the event of this final contest. Perhaps the talents of the Roman general were most conspicuous in the calm operations which precede the tumult of a battle. His skilful movements intercepted the subsistence of the Barbarian deprived him of the advantage of the bridge and river, and in the choice of the ground and moment of action reduced him to comply with the inclination of his enemy. On the morning of the important day, when the ranks were already formed, a servant, for some trivial fault, was killed by his master, one of the leaders of the Heruli. The justice or passion of Narses was awakened: he summoned the offender to his presence, and without listening to his excuses, gave the signal to the minister of death. If the cruel master had not infringed the laws of his nation, this arbitrary execution was not less unjust than it appears to have been imprudent. The Heruli felt the indignity; they halted: but the Roman general, without soothing their rage, or expecting their resolution, called aloud, as the trumpets sounded, that unless they hastened to occupy their place, they would lose the honor of the victory. His troops were disposed ^{^51} in a long front, the cavalry on the wings; in the centre, the heavy-armed foot; the archers and slingers in the rear. The Germans advanced in a sharp-pointed column, of the form of a triangle or solid wedge. They pierced the feeble centre of Narses, who received them with a smile into the fatal snare, and directed his wings of cavalry insensibly to wheel on their flanks and encompass their rear. The host of the Franks and Alamanni consisted of infantry: a sword and buckler hung by their side; and they used, as their weapons of offence, a weighty hatchet and a hooked javelin, which were only formidable in close combat, or at a short distance. The flower of the Roman archers, on horseback, and in complete armor, skirmished without peril round this immovable phalanx; supplied by active speed the deficiency of number; and aimed their arrows against a crowd of Barbarians, who, instead of a cuirass and helmet, were covered by a loose garment of fur or linen. They paused, they trembled, their ranks were confounded, and in the decisive moment the Heruli, preferring glory to revenge, charged with rapid violence the head of the column. Their leader, Sinbal, and Aligern, the Gothic prince, deserved the prize of superior valor; and their example excited the victorious troops to achieve with swords and spears the destruction of the enemy. Buccelin, and the greatest part of his army, perished on the field of battle, in the waters of the Vulturnus, or by the hands of the enraged peasants: but it may seem incredible, that a victory, ^{^52} which no more than five of the Alamanni survived, could be purchased with the loss of fourscore Romans. Seven thousand Goths, the relics of the war, defended the fortress of Campsa till the ensuing spring; and every messenger of Narses announced the reduction of the Italian cities, whose names were corrupted by the

ignorance or vanity of the Greeks. ^53 After the battle of Casilinum, Narses entered the capital; the arms and treasures of the Goths, the Franks, and the Alamanni, were displayed; his soldiers, with garlands in their hands, chanted the praises of the conqueror; and Rome, for the last time, beheld the semblance of a triumph. [Footnote 50: See the death of Lothaire in Agathias (l. ii. p. 38) and Paul Warnefrid, surnamed Diaconus, (l. ii. c. 3, 775.) The Greek makes him rave and tear his flesh. He had plundered churches.] [Footnote 51: Pere Daniel (Hist. de la Milice Francoise, tom. i. p. 17 - 21) has exhibited a fanciful representation of this battle, somewhat in the manner of the Chevalier Folard, the once famous editor of Polybius, who fashioned to his own habits and opinions all the military operations of antiquity.] [Footnote 52: Agathias (l. ii. p. 47) has produced a Greek epigram of six lines on this victory of Narses, which a favorably compared to the battles of Marathon and Plataea. The chief difference is indeed in their consequences - so trivial in the former instance - so permanent and glorious in the latter. Note: Not in the epigram, but in the previous observations - M.] [Footnote 53: The Beroia and Brincas of Theophanes or his transcriber (p. 201) must be read or understood Verona and Brixia.] After a reign of sixty years, the throne of the Gothic kings was filled by the exarchs of Ravenna, the representatives in peace and war of the emperor of the Romans. Their jurisdiction was soon reduced to the limits of a narrow province: but Narses himself, the first and most powerful of the exarchs, administered above fifteen years the entire kingdom of Italy. Like Belisarius, he had deserved the honors of envy, calumny, and disgrace: but the favorite eunuch still enjoyed the confidence of Justinian; or the leader of a victorious army awed and repressed the ingratitude of a timid court. Yet it was not by weak and mischievous indulgence that Narses secured the attachment of his troops. Forgetful of the past, and regardless of the future, they abused the present hour of prosperity and peace. The cities of Italy resounded with the noise of drinking and dancing; the spoils of victory were wasted in sensual pleasures; and nothing (says Agathias) remained unless to exchange their shields and helmets for the soft lute and the capacious hogshead. ^54 In a manly oration, not unworthy of a Roman censor, the eunuch reprov'd these disorderly vices, which sullied their fame, and endangered their safety. The soldiers blushed and obeyed; discipline was confirmed; the fortifications were restored; a duke was stationed for the defence and military command of each of the principal cities; ^55 and the eye of Narses pervaded the ample prospect from Calabria to the Alps. The remains of the Gothic nation evacuated the country, or mingled with the people; the Franks, instead of revenging the death of Buccelin, abandoned, without a struggle, their Italian conquests; and the rebellious Sinbal, chief of the Heruli, was subdued, taken and hung on a lofty gallows by the inflexible justice of the exarch. ^56 The civil state of Italy, after the agitation of a long tempest, was fixed by a pragmatic sanction, which the emperor promulgated at the request of the pope. Justinian introduced his own jurisprudence into the schools and tribunals of the West; he ratified the acts of Theodoric and his immediate successors, but every deed was rescinded and abolished which force had extorted, or fear had subscribed, under the usurpation of Totila. A moderate theory was framed to reconcile the rights of property with the safety of prescription, the claims of the state with the poverty of the people, and the pardon of offences with the interest of virtue and order of society. Under the exarchs of Ravenna, Rome was degraded to the second rank. Yet the senators were gratified by the permission of visiting their estates in Italy, and of approaching, without obstacle, the throne of Constantinople: the regulation of weights and measures was delegated to the pope and senate; and the salaries of lawyers and physicians, of orators and grammarians, were destined to preserve, or rekindle, the light of science in the ancient capital. Justinian might dictate benevolent edicts, ^57 and Narses might second his wishes by the restoration of cities, and more especially of churches. But the power of kings is most effectual to destroy; and the twenty years of the Gothic war had consummated the distress and depopulation of Italy. As early as the fourth campaign, under the discipline of Belisarius himself, fifty thousand laborers died of hunger ^58 in the narrow region of Picenum; ^59 and a strict interpretation of the evidence of Procopius would swell the loss of Italy above the total sum of her present inhabitants. ^60 [Footnote 54: (Agathias, l. ii. p. 48.) In the first scene of Richard III. our English poet has beautifully enlarged on this idea, for which, however, he was not indebted to the Byzantine historian.] [Footnote 55: Maffei has proved, (Verona Illustrata. P. i. l. x. p. 257, 289,) against the common opinion, that the dukes of Italy were instituted before the conquest of the Lombards, by Narses himself. In the Pragmatic Sanction, (No. 23,) Justinian restrains the judices militares.] [Footnote

56: See Paulus Diaconus, liii. c. 2, p. 776. Menander in (Excerpt Legat. p. 133) mentions some risings in Italy by the Franks, and Theophanes (p. 201) hints at some Gothic rebellions.] [Footnote 57: The Pragmatic Sanction of Justinian, which restores and regulates the civil state of Italy, consists of xxvii. articles: it is dated August 15, A.D. 554; is addressed to Narses, V. J. Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi, and to Antiochus, Praefectus Praetorio Italiae; and has been preserved by Julian Antecessor, and in the Corpus Juris Civilis, after the novels and edicts of Justinian, Justin, and Tiberius.] [Footnote 58: A still greater number was consumed by famine in the southern provinces, without the Ionian Gulf. Acorns were used in the place of bread. Procopius had seen a deserted orphan suckled by a she-goat. Seventeen passengers were lodged, murdered, and eaten, by two women, who were detected and slain by the eighteenth, &c. Note: Denina considers that greater evil was inflicted upon Italy by the Uroecian conquest than by any other invasion. Reveluz. d' Italia, t. i. l. v. p. 247. - M.] [Footnote 59: Quinta regio Piceni est; quondam uberrimae multitudinis, cclx. millia Picentium in fidem P. R. venerere, (Plin. Hist. Natur. iii. 18.) In the time of Vespasian, this ancient population was already diminished.] [Footnote 60: Perhaps fifteen or sixteen millions. Procopius (Anecdot. c. 18) computes that Africa lost five millions, that Italy was thrice as extensive, and that the depopulation was in a larger proportion. But his reckoning is inflamed by passion, and clouded with uncertainty.] I desire to believe, but I dare not affirm, that Belisarius sincerely rejoiced in the triumph of Narses. Yet the consciousness of his own exploits might teach him to esteem without jealousy the merit of a rival; and the repose of the aged warrior was crowned by a last victory, which saved the emperor and the capital. The Barbarians, who annually visited the provinces of Europe, were less discouraged by some accidental defeats, than they were excited by the double hope of spoil and of subsidy. In the thirty-second winter of Justinian's reign, the Danube was deeply frozen: Zabergan led the cavalry of the Bulgarians, and his standard was followed by a promiscuous multitude of Slavonians. ^* The savage chief passed, without opposition, the river and the mountains, spread his troops over Macedonia and Thrace, and advanced with no more than seven thousand horse to the long wall, which should have defended the territory of Constantinople. But the works of man are impotent against the assaults of nature: a recent earthquake had shaken the foundations of the wall; and the forces of the empire were employed on the distant frontiers of Italy, Africa, and Persia. The seven schools, ^61 or companies of the guards or domestic troops, had been augmented to the number of five thousand five hundred men, whose ordinary station was in the peaceful cities of Asia. But the places of the brave Armenians were insensibly supplied by lazy citizens, who purchased an exemption from the duties of civil life, without being exposed to the dangers of military service. Of such soldiers, few could be tempted to sally from the gates; and none could be persuaded to remain in the field, unless they wanted strength and speed to escape from the Bulgarians. The report of the fugitives exaggerated the numbers and fierceness of an enemy, who had polluted holy virgins, and abandoned new-born infants to the dogs and vultures; a crowd of rustics, imploring food and protection, increased the consternation of the city, and the tents of Zabergan were pitched at the distance of twenty miles, ^62 on the banks of a small river, which encircles Melanthias, and afterwards falls into the Propontis. ^63 Justinian trembled: and those who had only seen the emperor in his old age, were pleased to suppose, that he had lost the alacrity and vigor of his youth. By his command the vessels of gold and silver were removed from the churches in the neighborhood, and even the suburbs, of Constantinople; the ramparts were lined with trembling spectators; the golden gate was crowded with useless generals and tribunes, and the senate shared the fatigues and the apprehensions of the populace. [Footnote *: Zabergan was king of the Cutrigours, a tribe of Huns, who were neither Bulgarians nor Slavonians. St. Martin, vol. ix. p. 408 - 420. - M] [Footnote 61: In the decay of these military schools, the satire of Procopius (Anecdot. c. 24, Aleman. p. 102, 103) is confirmed and illustrated by Agathias, (l. v. p. 159,) who cannot be rejected as a hostile witness.] [Footnote 62: The distance from Constantinople to Melanthias, Villa Caesariana, (Ammian. Marcellin. xxx. 11,) is variously fixed at 102 or 140 stadia, (Suidas, tom. ii. p. 522, 523. Agathias, l. v. p. 158,) or xviii. or xix. miles, (Itineraria, p. 138, 230, 323, 332, and Wesseling's Observations.) The first xii. miles, as far as Rhegium, were paved by Justinian, who built a bridge over a morass or gullet between a lake and the sea, (Procop. de Edif. l. iv. c. 8.)] [Footnote 63: The Atyras, (Pompon. Mela, l. ii. c. 2, p. 169, edit. Voss.) At the river's mouth, a town or castle of the same name was fortified by Justinian, (Procop. de Edif. l. iv. c. 2. Itinerar. p. 570, and

Wesseling.)] But the eyes of the prince and people were directed to a feeble veteran, who was compelled by the public danger to resume the armor in which he had entered Carthage and defended Rome. The horses of the royal stables, of private citizens, and even of the circus, were hastily collected; the emulation of the old and young was roused by the name of Belisarius, and his first encampment was in the presence of a victorious enemy. His prudence, and the labor of the friendly peasants, secured, with a ditch and rampart, the repose of the night; innumerable fires, and clouds of dust, were artfully contrived to magnify the opinion of his strength; his soldiers suddenly passed from despondency to presumption; and, while ten thousand voices demanded the battle, Belisarius dissembled his knowledge, that in the hour of trial he must depend on the firmness of three hundred veterans. The next morning the Bulgarian cavalry advanced to the charge. But they heard the shouts of multitudes, they beheld the arms and discipline of the front; they were assaulted on the flanks by two ambuscades which rose from the woods; their foremost warriors fell by the hand of the aged hero and his guards; and the swiftness of their evolutions was rendered useless by the close attack and rapid pursuit of the Romans. In this action (so speedy was their flight) the Bulgarians lost only four hundred horse; but Constantinople was saved; and Zabergan, who felt the hand of a master, withdrew to a respectful distance. But his friends were numerous in the councils of the emperor, and Belisarius obeyed with reluctance the commands of envy and Justinian, which forbade him to achieve the deliverance of his country. On his return to the city, the people, still conscious of their danger, accompanied his triumph with acclamations of joy and gratitude, which were imputed as a crime to the victorious general. But when he entered the palace, the courtiers were silent, and the emperor, after a cold and thankless embrace, dismissed him to mingle with the train of slaves. Yet so deep was the impression of his glory on the minds of men, that Justinian, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, was encouraged to advance near forty miles from the capital, and to inspect in person the restoration of the long wall. The Bulgarians wasted the summer in the plains of Thrace; but they were inclined to peace by the failure of their rash attempts on Greece and the Chersonesus. A menace of killing their prisoners quickened the payment of heavy ransoms; and the departure of Zabergan was hastened by the report, that double-prowed vessels were built on the Danube to intercept his passage. The danger was soon forgotten; and a vain question, whether their sovereign had shown more wisdom or weakness, amused the idleness of the city. ^64 [Footnote 64: The Bulgarian war, and the last victory of Belisarius, are imperfectly represented in the prolix declamation of Agathias. (l. 5, p. 154-174,) and the dry Chronicle of Theophanes, (p. 197 198.)] Chapter XLIII: Last Victory And Death Of Belisarius, Death Of Justinian. Part IV. About two years after the last victory of Belisarius, the emperor returned from a Thracian journey of health, or business, or devotion. Justinian was afflicted by a pain in his head; and his private entry countenanced the rumor of his death. Before the third hour of the day, the bakers' shops were plundered of their bread, the houses were shut, and every citizen, with hope or terror, prepared for the impending tumult. The senators themselves, fearful and suspicious, were convened at the ninth hour; and the praefect received their commands to visit every quarter of the city, and proclaim a general illumination for the recovery of the emperor's health. The ferment subsided; but every accident betrayed the impotence of the government, and the factious temper of the people: the guards were disposed to mutiny as often as their quarters were changed, or their pay was withheld: the frequent calamities of fires and earthquakes afforded the opportunities of disorder; the disputes of the blues and greens, of the orthodox and heretics, degenerated into bloody battles; and, in the presence of the Persian ambassador, Justinian blushed for himself and for his subjects. Capricious pardon and arbitrary punishment imbittered the irksomeness and discontent of a long reign: a conspiracy was formed in the palace; and, unless we are deceived by the names of Marcellus and Sergius, the most virtuous and the most profligate of the courtiers were associated in the same designs. They had fixed the time of the execution; their rank gave them access to the royal banquet; and their black slaves ^65 were stationed in the vestibule and porticos, to announce the death of the tyrant, and to excite a sedition in the capital. But the indiscretion of an accomplice saved the poor remnant of the days of Justinian. The conspirators were detected and seized, with daggers hidden under their garments: Marcellus died by his own hand, and Sergius was dragged from the sanctuary. ^66 Pressed by remorse, or tempted by the hopes of safety, he accused two officers of the household of Belisarius; and torture forced them to declare that they had acted according to the secret instructions of their patron. ^67

Posterity will not hastily believe that a hero who, in the vigor of life, had disdained the fairest offers of ambition and revenge, should stoop to the murder of his prince, whom he could not long expect to survive. His followers were impatient to fly; but flight must have been supported by rebellion, and he had lived enough for nature and for glory. Belisarius appeared before the council with less fear than indignation: after forty years' service, the emperor had prejudged his guilt; and injustice was sanctified by the presence and authority of the patriarch. The life of Belisarius was graciously spared; but his fortunes were sequestered, and, from December to July, he was guarded as a prisoner in his own palace. At length his innocence was acknowledged; his freedom and honor were restored; and death, which might be hastened by resentment and grief, removed him from the world in about eight months after his deliverance. The name of Belisarius can never die but instead of the funeral, the monuments, the statues, so justly due to his memory, I only read, that his treasures, the spoil of the Goths and Vandals, were immediately confiscated by the emperor. Some decent portion was reserved, however for the use of his widow: and as Antonina had much to repent, she devoted the last remains of her life and fortune to the foundation of a convent. Such is the simple and genuine narrative of the fall of Belisarius and the ingratitude of Justinian. ^68 That he was deprived of his eyes, and reduced by envy to beg his bread, ^* "Give a penny to Belisarius the general!" is a fiction of later times, ^69 which has obtained credit, or rather favor, as a strange example of the vicissitudes of fortune. ^70 [Footnote 65: They could scarcely be real Indians; and the Aethiopians, sometimes known by that name, were never used by the ancients as guards or followers: they were the trifling, though costly objects of female and royal luxury, (Terent. Eunuch. act. i. scene ii Sueton. in August. c. 83, with a good note of Casaubon, in Caligula, c. 57.)] [Footnote 66: The Sergius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 21, 22, Anecd. c. 5) and Marcellus (Goth. l. iii. c. 32) are mentioned by Procopius. See Theophanes, p. 197, 201. Note: Some words, "the acts of," or "the crimes of," appear to have false from the text. The omission is in all the editions I have consulted. - M.] [Footnote 67: Alemannus, (p. quotes an old Byzantian Ms., which has been printed in the Imperium Orientale of Banduri.)] [Footnote 68: Of the disgrace and restoration of Belisarius, the genuine original record is preserved in the Fragment of John Malala (tom. ii. p. 234 - 243) and the exact Chronicle of Theophanes, (p. 194 - 204.) Cedrenus (Compend. p. 387, 388) and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 69) seem to hesitate between the obsolete truth and the growing falsehood.] [Footnote *: Le Beau, following Alemannus, conceives that Belisarius was confounded with John of Cappadocia, who was thus reduced to beggary, (vol. ix. p. 58, 449.) Lord Mahon has, with considerable learning, and on the authority of a yet unquoted writer of the eleventh century, endeavored to reestablish the old tradition. I cannot acknowledge that I have been convinced, and am inclined to subscribe to the theory of Le Beau. - M.] [Footnote 69: The source of this idle fable may be derived from a miscellaneous work of the xiith century, the Chiliads of John Tzetzes, a monk, (Basil. 1546, ad calcem Lycophront. Colon. Allobrog. 1614, in Corp. Poet. Graec.) He relates the blindness and beggary of Belisarius in ten vulgar or political verses, (Chiliad iii. No. 88, 339 - 348, in Corp. Poet. Graec. tom. ii. p. 311.) This moral or romantic tale was imported into Italy with the language and manuscripts of Greece; repeated before the end of the xvth century by Crinitus, Pontanus, and Volaterranus, attacked by Alciat, for the honor of the law; and defended by Baronius, (A.D. 561, No. 2, &c.) for the honor of the church. Yet Tzetzes himself had read in other chronicles, that Belisarius did not lose his sight, and that he recovered his fame and fortunes. Note: I know not where Gibbon found Tzetzes to be a monk; I suppose he considered his bad verses a proof of his monachism. Compare to Gerbelius in Kiesling's edition of Tzetzes. - M.] [Footnote 70: The statue in the villa Borghese at Rome, in a sitting posture, with an open hand, which is vulgarly given to Belisarius, may be ascribed with more dignity to Augustus in the act of propitiating Nemesis, (Winckelman, Hist. de l' Art, tom. iii. p. 266.) Ex nocturno visu etiam stipem, quotannis, die certo, emendicabat a populo, cavana manum asses porrigentibus praebens, (Sueton. in August. c. 91, with an excellent note of Casaubon.) Note: Lord Mahon abandons the statue, as altogether irreconcilable with the state of the arts at this period, (p. 472.) - M.] If the emperor could rejoice in the death of Belisarius, he enjoyed the base satisfaction only eight months, the last period of a reign of thirty- eight years, and a life of eighty-three years. It would be difficult to trace the character of a prince who is not the most conspicuous object of his own times: but the confessions of an enemy may be received as the safest evidence of his virtues. The resemblance of Justinian to the bust of Domitian, is maliciously urged; ^71 with the acknowledgment,

however, of a well-proportioned figure, a ruddy complexion, and a pleasing countenance. The emperor was easy of access, patient of hearing, courteous and affable in discourse, and a master of the angry passions which rage with such destructive violence in the breast of a despot. Procopius praises his temper, to reproach him with calm and deliberate cruelty: but in the conspiracies which attacked his authority and person, a more candid judge will approve the justice, or admire the clemency, of Justinian. He excelled in the private virtues of chastity and temperance: but the impartial love of beauty would have been less mischievous than his conjugal tenderness for Theodora; and his abstemious diet was regulated, not by the prudence of a philosopher, but the superstition of a monk. His repasts were short and frugal: on solemn fasts, he contented himself with water and vegetables; and such was his strength, as well as fervor, that he frequently passed two days, and as many nights, without tasting any food. The measure of his sleep was not less rigorous: after the repose of a single hour, the body was awakened by the soul, and, to the astonishment of his chamberlain, Justinian walked or studied till the morning light. Such restless application prolonged his time for the acquisition of knowledge ⁷² and the despatch of business; and he might seriously deserve the reproach of confounding, by minute and preposterous diligence, the general order of his administration. The emperor professed himself a musician and architect, a poet and philosopher, a lawyer and theologian; and if he failed in the enterprise of reconciling the Christian sects, the review of the Roman jurisprudence is a noble monument of his spirit and industry. In the government of the empire, he was less wise, or less successful: the age was unfortunate; the people was oppressed and discontented; Theodora abused her power; a succession of bad ministers disgraced his judgment; and Justinian was neither beloved in his life, nor regretted at his death. The love of fame was deeply implanted in his breast, but he condescended to the poor ambition of titles, honors, and contemporary praise; and while he labored to fix the admiration, he forfeited the esteem and affection, of the Romans. The design of the African and Italian wars was boldly conceived and executed; and his penetration discovered the talents of Belisarius in the camp, of Narses in the palace. But the name of the emperor is eclipsed by the names of his victorious generals; and Belisarius still lives, to upbraid the envy and ingratitude of his sovereign. The partial favor of mankind applauds the genius of a conqueror, who leads and directs his subjects in the exercise of arms. The characters of Philip the Second and of Justinian are distinguished by the cold ambition which delights in war, and declines the dangers of the field. Yet a colossal statue of bronze represented the emperor on horseback, preparing to march against the Persians in the habit and armor of Achilles. In the great square before the church of St. Sophia, this monument was raised on a brass column and a stone pedestal of seven steps; and the pillar of Theodosius, which weighed seven thousand four hundred pounds of silver, was removed from the same place by the avarice and vanity of Justinian. Future princes were more just or indulgent to his memory; the elder Andronicus, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, repaired and beautified his equestrian statue: since the fall of the empire it has been melted into cannon by the victorious Turks. ⁷³

[Footnote 71: The rubor of Domitian is stigmatized, quaintly enough, by the pen of Tacitus, (in Vit. Agric. c. 45;) and has been likewise noticed by the younger Pliny, (Panegy. c. 48,) and Suetonius, (in Domitian, c. 18, and Casaubon ad locum.) Procopius (Anecd. c. 8) foolishly believes that only one bust of Domitian had reached the sixth century.] [Footnote 72: The studies and science of Justinian are attested by the confession (Anecd. c. 8, 13) still more than by the praises (Gothic. l. iii. c. 31, de Edific. l. i. Proem. c. 7) of Procopius. Consult the copious index of Alemannus, and read the life of Justinian by Ludewig, (p. 135 - 142.)] [Footnote 73: See in the C. P. Christiana of Ducange (l. i. c. 24, No. 1) a chain of original testimonies, from Procopius in the sixth, to Gyllius in the sixteenth century.] I shall conclude this chapter with the comets, the earthquakes, and the plague, which astonished or afflicted the age of Justinian. I. In the fifth year of his reign, and in the month of September, a comet ⁷⁴ was seen during twenty days in the western quarter of the heavens, and which shot its rays into the north. Eight years afterwards, while the sun was in Capricorn, another comet appeared to follow in the Sagittary; the size was gradually increasing; the head was in the east, the tail in the west, and it remained visible above forty days. The nations, who gazed with astonishment, expected wars and calamities from their baleful influence; and these expectations were abundantly fulfilled. The astronomers dissembled their ignorance of the nature of these blazing stars, which they affected to represent as the floating meteors of the air; and few among them embraced the simple

notion of Seneca and the Chaldeans, that they are only planets of a longer period and more eccentric motion. ⁷⁵ Time and science have justified the conjectures and predictions of the Roman sage: the telescope has opened new worlds to the eyes of astronomers; ⁷⁶ and, in the narrow space of history and fable, one and the same comet is already found to have revisited the earth in seven equal revolutions of five hundred and seventy-five years. The first, ⁷⁷ which ascends beyond the Christian aera one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven years, is coeval with Ogyges, the father of Grecian antiquity. And this appearance explains the tradition which Varro has preserved, that under his reign the planet Venus changed her color, size, figure, and course; a prodigy without example either in past or succeeding ages. ⁷⁸ The second visit, in the year eleven hundred and ninety-three, is darkly implied in the fable of Electra, the seventh of the Pleiads, who have been reduced to six since the time of the Trojan war. That nymph, the wife of Dardanus, was unable to support the ruin of her country: she abandoned the dances of her sister orbs, fled from the zodiac to the north pole, and obtained, from her dishevelled locks, the name of the comet. The third period expires in the year six hundred and eighteen, a date that exactly agrees with the tremendous comet of the Sibyl, and perhaps of Pliny, which arose in the West two generations before the reign of Cyrus. The fourth apparition, forty-four years before the birth of Christ, is of all others the most splendid and important. After the death of Caesar, a long-haired star was conspicuous to Rome and to the nations, during the games which were exhibited by young Octavian in honor of Venus and his uncle. The vulgar opinion, that it conveyed to heaven the divine soul of the dictator, was cherished and consecrated by the piety of a statesman; while his secret superstition referred the comet to the glory of his own times. ⁷⁹ The fifth visit has been already ascribed to the fifth year of Justinian, which coincides with the five hundred and thirty-first of the Christian aera. And it may deserve notice, that in this, as in the preceding instance, the comet was followed, though at a longer interval, by a remarkable paleness of the sun. The sixth return, in the year eleven hundred and six, is recorded by the chronicles of Europe and China: and in the first fervor of the crusades, the Christians and the Mahometans might surmise, with equal reason, that it portended the destruction of the Infidels. The seventh phenomenon, of one thousand six hundred and eighty, was presented to the eyes of an enlightened age. ⁸⁰ The philosophy of Bayle dispelled a prejudice which Milton's muse had so recently adorned, that the comet, "from its horrid hair shakes pestilence and war." ⁸¹ Its road in the heavens was observed with exquisite skill by Flamstead and Cassini: and the mathematical science of Bernoulli, Newton ^{*}, and Halley, investigated the laws of its revolutions. At the eighth period, in the year two thousand three hundred and fifty-five, their calculations may perhaps be verified by the astronomers of some future capital in the Siberian or American wilderness. [Footnote 74: The first comet is mentioned by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 190, 219) and Theophanes, (p. 154;) the second by Procopius, (Persic. l. ii. 4.) Yet I strongly suspect their identity. The paleness of the sun sum Vandal. l. ii. c. 14) is applied by Theophanes (p. 158) to a different year. Note: See Lydus de Ostentis, particularly c 15, in which the author begins to show the signification of comets according to the part of the heavens in which they appear, and what fortunes they prognosticate to the Roman empire and their Persian enemies. The chapter, however, is imperfect. (Edit. Neibuhr, p. 290.) - M.] [Footnote 75: Seneca's viith book of Natural Questions displays, in the theory of comets, a philosophic mind. Yet should we not too candidly confound a vague prediction, a venient tempus, &c., with the merit of real discoveries.] [Footnote 76: Astronomers may study Newton and Halley. I draw my humble science from the article Comete, in the French Encyclopedie, by M. d'Alembert.] [Footnote 77: Whiston, the honest, pious, visionary Whiston, had fancied for the aera of Noah's flood (2242 years before Christ) a prior apparition of the same comet which drowned the earth with its tail.] [Footnote 78: A Dissertation of Freret (Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 357-377) affords a happy union of philosophy and erudition. The phenomenon in the time of Ogyges was preserved by Varro, (Apud Augustin. de Civitate Dei, xxi. 8.) who quotes Castor, Dion of Naples, and Adastrus of Cyzicus - nobiles mathematici. The two subsequent periods are preserved by the Greek mythologists and the spurious books of Sibylline verses.] [Footnote 79: Pliny (Hist. Nat. ii. 23) has transcribed the original memorial of Augustus. Mairan, in his most ingenious letters to the P. Parennin, missionary in China, removes the games and the comet of September, from the year 44 to the year 43, before the Christian aera; but I am not totally subdued by the criticism of the astronomer, (Opuscules, p. 275)] [Footnote 80:

This last comet was visible in the month of December, 1680. Bayle, who began his *Pensees sur la Comete* in January, 1681, (*Oeuvres*, tom. iii.,) was forced to argue that a supernatural comet would have confirmed the ancients in their idolatry. Bernoulli (see his *Eloge*, in *Fontenelle*, tom. v. p. 99) was forced to allow that the tail though not the head, was a sign of the wrath of God.] [Footnote 81: *Paradise Lost* was published in the year 1667; and the famous lines (l. ii. 708, &c.) which startled the licenser, may allude to the recent comet of 1664, observed by Cassini at Rome in the presence of Queen Christina, (*Fontenelle*, in his *Eloge*, tom. v. p. 338.) Had Charles II. betrayed any symptoms of curiosity or fear?] [Footnote *: Compare Pingre, *Histoire des Cometes*. - M.] II. The near approach of a comet may injure or destroy the globe which we inhabit; but the changes on its surface have been hitherto produced by the action of volcanoes and earthquakes. ^82 The nature of the soil may indicate the countries most exposed to these formidable concussions, since they are caused by subterraneous fires, and such fires are kindled by the union and fermentation of iron and sulphur. But their times and effects appear to lie beyond the reach of human curiosity; and the philosopher will discreetly abstain from the prediction of earthquakes, till he has counted the drops of water that silently filtrate on the inflammable mineral, and measured the caverns which increase by resistance the explosion of the imprisoned air. Without assigning the cause, history will distinguish the periods in which these calamitous events have been rare or frequent, and will observe, that this fever of the earth raged with uncommon violence during the reign of Justinian. ^83 Each year is marked by the repetition of earthquakes, of such duration, that Constantinople has been shaken above forty days; of such extent, that the shock has been communicated to the whole surface of the globe, or at least of the Roman empire. An impulsive or vibratory motion was felt: enormous chasms were opened, huge and heavy bodies were discharged into the air, the sea alternately advanced and retreated beyond its ordinary bounds, and a mountain was torn from Libanus, ^84 and cast into the waves, where it protected, as a mole, the new harbor of Botrys ^85 in Phoenicia. The stroke that agitates an ant-hill may crush the insect-myriads in the dust; yet truth must extort confession that man has industriously labored for his own destruction. The institution of great cities, which include a nation within the limits of a wall, almost realizes the wish of Caligula, that the Roman people had but one neck. Two hundred and fifty thousand persons are said to have perished in the earthquake of Antioch, whose domestic multitudes were swelled by the conflux of strangers to the festival of the Ascension. The loss of Berytus ^86 was of smaller account, but of much greater value. That city, on the coast of Phoenicia, was illustrated by the study of the civil law, which opened the surest road to wealth and dignity: the schools of Berytus were filled with the rising spirits of the age, and many a youth was lost in the earthquake, who might have lived to be the scourge or the guardian of his country. In these disasters, the architect becomes the enemy of mankind. The hut of a savage, or the tent of an Arab, may be thrown down without injury to the inhabitant; and the Peruvians had reason to deride the folly of their Spanish conquerors, who with so much cost and labor erected their own sepulchres. The rich marbles of a patrician are dashed on his own head: a whole people is buried under the ruins of public and private edifices, and the conflagration is kindled and propagated by the innumerable fires which are necessary for the subsistence and manufactures of a great city. Instead of the mutual sympathy which might comfort and assist the distressed, they dreadfully experience the vices and passions which are released from the fear of punishment: the tottering houses are pillaged by intrepid avarice; revenge embraces the moment, and selects the victim; and the earth often swallows the assassin, or the ravisher, in the consummation of their crimes. Superstition involves the present danger with invisible terrors; and if the image of death may sometimes be subservient to the virtue or repentance of individuals, an affrighted people is more forcibly moved to expect the end of the world, or to deprecate with servile homage the wrath of an avenging Deity. [Footnote 82: For the cause of earthquakes, see Buffon, (tom. i. p. 502 - 536 Supplement a l'Hist. Naturelle, tom. v. p. 382-390, edition in 4to., Valmont de Bomare, (*Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle*, *Tremblemen de Terre*, Pyrites,) Watson, (*Chemical Essays*, tom. i. p. 181 - 209.)] [Footnote 83: The earthquakes that shook the Roman world in the reign of Justinian are described or mentioned by Procopius, (*Goth.* l. iv. c. 25 Anecdote. c. 18,) Agathias, (l. ii. p. 52, 53, 54, l. v. p. 145-152,) John Malala, (*Chron.* tom. ii. p. 140-146, 176, 177, 183, 193, 220, 229, 231, 233, 234,) and Theophanes, (p. 151, 183, 189, 191-196.) Note *: Compare Daubeny on Earthquakes, and Lyell's *Geology*, vol. ii. p. 161 et seq. - M] [Footnote 84: An abrupt height, a perpendicular cape, between Aradus and Botrys

(Polyb. l. v. p. 411. Pompon. Mela, l. i. c. 12, p. 87, cum Isaac. Voss. Observat. Maundrell, Journey, p. 32, 33. Pocock's Description, vol. ii. p. 99.) [Footnote 85: Botrys was founded (ann. ante Christ. 935 - 903) by Ithobal, king of Tyre, (Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 387, 388.) Its poor representative, the village of Patrone, is now destitute of a harbor.] [Footnote 86: The university, splendor, and ruin of Berytus are celebrated by Heineccius (p. 351 - 356) as an essential part of the history of the Roman law. It was overthrown in the xxvth year of Justinian, A. D 551, July 9, (Theophanes, p. 192;) but Agathias (l. ii. p. 51, 52) suspends the earthquake till he has achieved the Italian war.] III. Aethiopia and Egypt have been stigmatized, in every age, as the original source and seminary of the plague. ^87 In a damp, hot, stagnating air, this African fever is generated from the putrefaction of animal substances, and especially from the swarms of locusts, not less destructive to mankind in their death than in their lives. The fatal disease which depopulated the earth in the time of Justinian and his successors, ^88 first appeared in the neighborhood of Pelusium, between the Serbonian bog and the eastern channel of the Nile. From thence, tracing as it were a double path, it spread to the East, over Syria, Persia, and the Indies, and penetrated to the West, along the coast of Africa, and over the continent of Europe. In the spring of the second year, Constantinople, during three or four months, was visited by the pestilence; and Procopius, who observed its progress and symptoms with the eyes of a physician, ^89 has emulated the skill and diligence of Thucydides in the description of the plague of Athens. ^90 The infection was sometimes announced by the visions of a distempered fancy, and the victim despaired as soon as he had heard the menace and felt the stroke of an invisible spectre. But the greater number, in their beds, in the streets, in their usual occupation, were surprised by a slight fever; so slight, indeed, that neither the pulse nor the color of the patient gave any signs of the approaching danger. The same, the next, or the succeeding day, it was declared by the swelling of the glands, particularly those of the groin, of the armpits, and under the ear; and when these buboes or tumors were opened, they were found to contain a coal, or black substance, of the size of a lentil. If they came to a just swelling and suppuration, the patient was saved by this kind and natural discharge of the morbid humor. But if they continued hard and dry, a mortification quickly ensued, and the fifth day was commonly the term of his life. The fever was often accompanied with lethargy or delirium; the bodies of the sick were covered with black pustules or carbuncles, the symptoms of immediate death; and in the constitutions too feeble to produce an irruption, the vomiting of blood was followed by a mortification of the bowels. To pregnant women the plague was generally mortal: yet one infant was drawn alive from his dead mother, and three mothers survived the loss of their infected foetus. Youth was the most perilous season; and the female sex was less susceptible than the male: but every rank and profession was attacked with indiscriminate rage, and many of those who escaped were deprived of the use of their speech, without being secure from a return of the disorder. ^91 The physicians of Constantinople were zealous and skilful; but their art was baffled by the various symptoms and pertinacious vehemence of the disease: the same remedies were productive of contrary effects, and the event capriciously disappointed their prognostics of death or recovery. The order of funerals, and the right of sepulchres, were confounded: those who were left without friends or servants, lay unburied in the streets, or in their desolate houses; and a magistrate was authorized to collect the promiscuous heaps of dead bodies, to transport them by land or water, and to inter them in deep pits beyond the precincts of the city. Their own danger, and the prospect of public distress, awakened some remorse in the minds of the most vicious of mankind: the confidence of health again revived their passions and habits; but philosophy must disdain the observation of Procopius, that the lives of such men were guarded by the peculiar favor of fortune or Providence. He forgot, or perhaps he secretly recollected, that the plague had touched the person of Justinian himself; but the abstemious diet of the emperor may suggest, as in the case of Socrates, a more rational and honorable cause for his recovery. ^92 During his sickness, the public consternation was expressed in the habits of the citizens; and their idleness and despondence occasioned a general scarcity in the capital of the East. [Footnote 87: I have read with pleasure Mead's short, but elegant, treatise concerning Pestilential Disorders, the viiith edition, London, 1722.] [Footnote 88: The great plague which raged in 542 and the following years (Pagi, Critica, tom. ii. p. 518) must be traced in Procopius, (Persic. l. ii. c. 22, 23,) Agathias, (l. v. p. 153, 154,) Evagrius, (l. iv. c. 29,) Paul Diaconus, (l. ii. c. iv. p. 776, 777,) Gregory of Tours, (tom. ii. l. iv. c. 5, p 205,) who styles it Lues Inguinaria, and the Chronicles of Victor

Tunnunensis, (p. 9, in *Thesaur. Temporum*,) of Marcellinus, (p. 54,) and of Theophanes, (p. 153.)] [Footnote 89: Dr. Friend (*Hist. Medicin. in Opp.* p. 416 - 420, Lond. 1733) is satisfied that Procopius must have studied physic, from his knowledge and use of the technical words. Yet many words that are now scientific were common and popular in the Greek idiom.] [Footnote 90: See Thucydides, l. ii. c. 47 - 54, p. 127 - 133, edit. Duker, and the poetical description of the same plague by Lucretius. (l. vi. 1136 - 1284.) I was indebted to Dr. Hunter for an elaborate commentary on this part of Thucydides, a quarto of 600 pages, (Venet. 1603, apud Juntas,) which was pronounced in St. Mark's Library by Fabius Paullinus Utinensis, a physician and philosopher.] [Footnote 91: Thucydides (c. 51) affirms, that the infection could only be once taken; but Evagrius, who had family experience of the plague, observes, that some persons, who had escaped the first, sunk under the second attack; and this repetition is confirmed by Fabius Paullinus, (p. 588.) I observe, that on this head physicians are divided; and the nature and operation of the disease may not always be similar.] [Footnote 92: It was thus that Socrates had been saved by his temperance, in the plague of Athens, (Aul. Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* ii. 1.) Dr. Mead accounts for the peculiar salubrity of religious houses, by the two advantages of seclusion and abstinence, (p. 18, 19.)] Contagion is the inseparable symptom of the plague; which, by mutual respiration, is transfused from the infected persons to the lungs and stomach of those who approach them. While philosophers believe and tremble, it is singular, that the existence of a real danger should have been denied by a people most prone to vain and imaginary terrors. ^93 Yet the fellow-citizens of Procopius were satisfied, by some short and partial experience, that the infection could not be gained by the closest conversation: ^94 and this persuasion might support the assiduity of friends or physicians in the care of the sick, whom inhuman prudence would have condemned to solitude and despair. But the fatal security, like the predestination of the Turks, must have aided the progress of the contagion; and those salutary precautions to which Europe is indebted for her safety, were unknown to the government of Justinian. No restraints were imposed on the free and frequent intercourse of the Roman provinces: from Persia to France, the nations were mingled and infected by wars and emigrations; and the pestilential odor which lurks for years in a bale of cotton was imported, by the abuse of trade, into the most distant regions. The mode of its propagation is explained by the remark of Procopius himself, that it always spread from the sea-coast to the inland country: the most sequestered islands and mountains were successively visited; the places which had escaped the fury of its first passage were alone exposed to the contagion of the ensuing year. The winds might diffuse that subtle venom; but unless the atmosphere be previously disposed for its reception, the plague would soon expire in the cold or temperate climates of the earth. Such was the universal corruption of the air, that the pestilence which burst forth in the fifteenth year of Justinian was not checked or alleviated by any difference of the seasons. In time, its first malignity was abated and dispersed; the disease alternately languished and revived; but it was not till the end of a calamitous period of fifty-two years, that mankind recovered their health, or the air resumed its pure and salubrious quality. No facts have been preserved to sustain an account, or even a conjecture, of the numbers that perished in this extraordinary mortality. I only find, that during three months, five, and at length ten, thousand persons died each day at Constantinople; that many cities of the East were left vacant, and that in several districts of Italy the harvest and the vintage withered on the ground. The triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine, afflicted the subjects of Justinian; and his reign is disgraced by the visible decrease of the human species, which has never been repaired in some of the fairest countries of the globe. ^95 [Footnote 93: Mead proves that the plague is contagious from Thucydides, Lucretius, Aristotle, Galen, and common experience, (p. 10 - 20;) and he refutes (Preface, p. 2 - 13) the contrary opinion of the French physicians who visited Marseilles in the year 1720. Yet these were the recent and enlightened spectators of a plague which, in a few months, swept away 50,000 inhabitants (sur le Peste de Marseille, Paris, 1786) of a city that, in the present hour of prosperity and trade contains no more than 90,000 souls, (Necker, sur les Finances, tom. i. p. 231.)] [Footnote 94: The strong assertions of Procopius are overthrown by the subsequent experience of Evagrius.] [Footnote 95: After some figures of rhetoric, the sands of the sea, &c., Procopius (*Anecd.* c. 18) attempts a more definite account; that it had been exterminated under the reign of the Imperial demon. The expression is obscure in grammar and arithmetic and a literal interpretation would produce several millions of millions Alemannus (p. 80) and Cousin (tom. iii. p. 178) translate this

passage, "two hundred millions:" but I am ignorant of their motives. The remaining myriad of myriads, would furnish one hundred millions, a number not wholly inadmissible.]



Katilaz Ancestral Archive

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"ANCTIL ANCESTRAL ARCHIVE"

[Kettle, Axtell, Antill/Antle, Ancell/Ansell, McCaskill/MacAskill, Anquetil/Anctil]

Maintained by Eric R. Anctil (1998-1999)

Revision 1999-03-08

<http://www.kettlenet.demon.co.uk/kettle/viking/katilaz.htm>

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of

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 - viii. No%l Anctil, "G,n,alogie de la famille Alfred Anctil: ses anc^tres, ses descendants" [out of print] (1982)
 - X. Conclusions
- > Research Tools
-> Bibliography

=====

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 Anna Kettle
 Michel Anctil
 Faith Wallis
 New York State Library
 BibliothŠque Nationale du Quebec
 McGill University [McLennan-Redpath Social Sciences Library]

L'Universit, de Montr,al [BibliothŠque des Sciences Humaines]
Higginson Book Company
Maison des Noms

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Marcel Anctil
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fr.rec.genealogie
francom.genealogie
soc.genealogy.french
soc.genealogy.surnames.canada
soc.genealogy.surnames.usa
soc.genealogy.surnames
soc.genealogy.surnames.misc
soc.genealogy.surnames.global
soc.genealogy.surnames.britain
soc.genealogy.surnames.uk+ireland
soc.genealogy.medieval
soc.genealogy.nordic
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roots-l-request@rootsweb.com [subscribe roots-l]
gen-fr-l-request@rootsweb.com [subscribe]
gen-ff-l-request@rootsweb.com [subscribe]
gen-medieval-request@rootsweb.com [subscribe]
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ABSTRACT

[Preface]
February 10, 1999
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

Gentle reader,

Contained within this archived text file are the full contents of my research over the past year (1998-1999). I labored long and hard, days and nights, to produce a historical text that my fellow kin and descendants can consult when they are ready to learn about our family's unique history throughout the ages. I have tried my best to be accurate, but as one travels further and further back in history, facts become less certain and theorizing is often the most innovative tool to keep the trail from growing cold.

The Anctil family was not easy to research. Our ancestors did not have a literary tradition as did the Greeks and the Romans, but instead an oral tradition for telling their history from one generation to the next. Much of my research involved collecting and analyzing multiple sources from the most unusual places. I apologize for how disorganized my research notes must seem, but I hope you can understand my thought process better by seeing the same information as it was presented to me in sequence. Some of my theories about our surname origins could be wrong. If it is, I welcome you to prove it wrong and invite you to continue my research. Knowledge is power and "above all else to thine own self be true".

I suppose that researching my family has always been one of my many passions in life. I'm not a professional researcher, nor do I care for the "sport" of chasing information and compiling it. It is difficult work and kudos is definately in order to honor those who do it on a regular basis and pull it off so well.

From the time I was a boy, my father fascinated me with the little tidbits of information he had managed to collect himself when he had commissioned the Institut G,n,alogique Drouin to research the Anctil and Chabot family origins on January 4th, 1978. The compiled family trees were bound together into a genealogical booklet, engraved with these simple words: "D,di, ... Eric" ["dedicated to Eric"]. Since that time, I have almost seen it as my honor, duty, privilege, and destiny to research my roots. I have studied the culture, religion, language, politics, economics, genealogy, and art of my ancestors in the hope that through them I will better understand myself. It has definately been worth it because I learned two valuable lessons: (a) I am

very much like my ancestors in many ways for which I can be proud of this rich heritage and (b) I am still my own person with my own unique qualities.

* * *

[Introduction]

I started this project in the summer of 1998 after having seen Keith Antill's genealogical web site and contacting him by e-mail for correspondence on how our surnames sounded so similar. It was then that he put me in contact with Normand J. Anctil, an Anctil genealogist mentored by esteemed Anctil genealogist Joseph-Albert Anctil. Normand suggested that since I was studying Ancient Roman History at McGill University and had free access to academic resources at the McLennan-Redpath Social Sciences Library, I was the logical candidate to undertake a side project for him: tracing the Anctil family prior to Jean Louis Anctil's arrival in Quebec (1734 CE). I was up to the challenge after recently having completed some research on Scandinavia during the Roman Iron Age (1 CE - 400 CE) in early preparation for my Master's Degree thesis. At this time, I also had a passing familiarity with the history behind the Viking era. I took up the challenge and started immediately researching the Internet for information about the surname Anctil. I had accidentally found a reference in a book from an earlier class project on the Vikings to three earlier forms of the surname Anctil: Asketill, Anschetillus, and Anquetil. My father had informed me years ago that the Anquetil and Anctil were related so there was another connection. I found Dan Axtell's genealogical web site on the Axtells and how they connected to the Asketill line. I was thrilled to have found a connection between the Anctil of Quebec, the Anquetil of France, the Antill of the USA, and the Axtell of the USA. Of course, this was nothing new to Normand who was aware of this connection long before me from his own web surfing research.

I found a few more web sites and more books in the coming months that allowed me to fill in the blanks about the background social conditions that the Anctil likely had to undergo in the past. I spent my time tracing the geographic migrations of humankind in general, as well as that of my ancestors, throughout history. I even found Kate Monk's web site devoted to tracing the common surnames of various ancient cultures. Eventually, no news was left to be found and I wasn't much better off than when I had begun. Certainly, I had traced the family name as far back as the 10th century CE, but I was still left with more questions than when I started. The whole side project had grown far too complicated for me and began interfering with my studies, so I stopped working on it during the Christmas holidays while I rested.

I started off the New Year of 1999 without much thought to continuing the research I had begun. The enthusiasm of youth simply wasn't enough. I was tired and overworked by my studies as it was. I took on a smaller course load for that semester because I grew terribly ill over the holidays so I thought it best not to overwork myself. No sooner had I been but two weeks into the semester that I discovered Anna Kettle's genealogical web site and the answer to most of my questions. Not only had she put together one of the most comprehensive genealogical web sites on the Internet, but it almost seemed as if she had read my mind as far as my unanswered questions went. I finally had the connection between all of the "-ketill" suffix surnames I had uncovered (and foolishly ignored) throughout my research. Only recently have I revised my research to reflect this latest finding. Not only did it push back the origin barrier on our surname to about 200 BCE, but the new etymological and linguistic information greatly assisted the process of tracing the migration patterns of our ancestors. In turn, I was also able to do her a kind service in gratitude of the information she provided me with. A few new book sources came up in recent weeks and this has yielded even more cultural background information, including answers to questions concerning the role of the cauldron in the sacrificial rituals of the Norsemen.

I think that this archive I have put together for all of us is all that can be said of the Anctil name. If there is anything you feel should be modified, added, or removed then please let me know and I will do my best to accomodate you as I have indeed done in preparing this eternal living memory of our family.

Sk1l,

Eric R. Anctil

N.B. D,sol,, mais je n'ai pas le temps ni la patience pour traduire ces documents comprenant ma recherche complet en français. Si quelqu'un a la volont,e de faire ces travaux, je laisse l'effort ... quelqu'un plus capable. J'espŠre que les branches francophones du famille Anctil/Anquetil peuvent appr,cier cette arrangement.

P.S. I express my thanks and eternal gratitude to my fellow colleagues, Joseph-Albert Anctil and Normand J. Anctil. I dedicate this body of research to them for without their enthusiasm and assistance, this project would never have been made possible.

"To tell our stories is an honor and a duty."
- Jean Anctil dit St-Jean, farmer at Ste-Anne-de-la-PocatiŠre

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I. SURNAME SEPTS DATABASE: ERIC R. ANCTIL

[Book: "From Viking to Crusader: Scandinavia and Europe 800-1220"]
Asketill
Asketil
Anschetillus
Anquetil
Eskil
Brunketil
Ormketil
Steinketil
Ulfketil
Thorketil
Turquetil

[Scroll: "Ancient Family History of the Distinguished Surname Anctil"]
Anctil
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Anketell
Ankettle
Ankill
Anschetillus

[Web: Keith Antill]

Anquetil
Anschetill
Anchetill
Anchetil
Anketyll
Anketell
Anktyll
Anctil
Antell
Antle
Antill
Anschetillus
Anctil-dit-Saint-Jean
Antel
Anthill
Andle
d'Aunteil
Antil
Anketyl

[Web: Dan Axtell]

Asketill
Askel
Oscytyl
Asktill
Akstill
Akstell
Axtell
Ashkettle
Askell
Astell
Astil
Astill
Eskell
Haskel
Haskell
Anschetill
Anketill
Anquetin
Asketin
MacAsgill
McCaskill
Castell
Aschil
Anschil
Osketel
Asketillus

Aschetillus
Asketell
Ansketill
Osketill
Axcil
Asketil
Axtel
Axtelle
Axstyl
Axail
Axell
Axtil
Axtill
Axstell
Akstyl
Akstyle
Axstyl
Ackstyl
Ackstell
Extell
Extil
Extill

[E-Mail: Normand J. Anctil]

Anctil
Antill
Anctil-dit-St-Jean
St-Jean
St-John
Anquetil

[Web: Maison des Noms - <http://www.maisondesnoms.com/>]

Anquetel
Anquetell
Anquetill
Ansel
Ansell
Antle
Arkil
Arkill
Arktel
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Ankatell
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Kitle
Kittel
Kittle
Käseler
Kässeler
Kässler
Katelwell
Kaudel
Kaudell
Kaudil
Kaudill

[Web: Kate Monk]

Katli
Ketill
Arkel
Arnkell
Arnketil
Arkil
Ask
Askel
Askell
Asketill
Hunketill
Ketilbiorn
Ketilgrimr
Kelli
Keti
Ketil
Ketilmund
Ketilvast
Thorkel
Thorkeld
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Thorketill
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Thurkil
Torkell
Ulfkell
Ulfketel
Ulfketill
Ulfkil
Ketiloy
Arnkatla
Oscytell
Otkell
Grimkel
Grimkell
Gudkell
Hallkel

Hrafnkel
Hrosskel
Iokell
Kotkel
Odkell
Skamkel
Steinkel
Tasgall
Taskill
Ancelin
Ancelot
Anselet
Ansell
Ansellus
Aunsellus
Anchitel
Anketel
Anketil
Anketin
Anquetil
Anquetin
Anschetillus
Anschitillus
Ansketil
Anskettell
Anstill
Archel
Archetel
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Ketilgrimr
Steinkel
Stenkil
Thorkel
Thorkeld
Thorkell
Thorketill
Thorketl
Thurkil
Ulfkell
Ulfketel
Ulfketill
Ulfkil

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Saint-Jean
Saint-John
Antille
Ansketell
Anquetil
Anctil

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Cetil
Citel
Cytel
Chetill
Cetel
Cietel
Keááil
Keááel
Kessel
Katils
K'til
Catillus
Catinus
Katil
C'til
Ce'til
Ceatil
Archil
Arkell
Arnkell
Arnketil
Arkettle
Ashkettle
Cadell
Caittil
Cattel
Cattela
Cattell
Cattle
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Cedall
Cettel
Cettele
Chell
Chetel
Chetil
Chettle

Chetyll
Cytel
Goettel
Grimkel
Grimkell
Grimkettle
Grinchel
Keatle
Keatyll
Keddell
Keddle
Kedell
Keetle
Keettel
Keftell
Kegell
Kekell
Kell
Ketel
Ketell
Ketettle
Kethe
Ketil
Ketill
Kettle
Kettleborough
Kettleborrow
Kettle
Kettal
Kettall
Kettel
Kettele
Kettell
Kettelle
Kettie
Kettill
Ketting
Kettle
Kettleborough
Kettleborow
Kettleborrowe
Kettlele
Kettlely
Kettles
Kettless
Ketter
Kettey
Ketyl
Kettyle
Ketyll
Kidal
Kidale
Kidall
Kiddal
Kiddale
Kiddall
Kiddel
Kiddell
Kidder
Kiddill
Kiddle
Kidel
Kidell

Kidil
Kidle
Kitell
Kitlborow
Kitle
Kitlel
Kitless
Kittel
Kittele
Kittell
Kitterall
Kittiel
Kittle
Kittleborrow
Kittsall
Klette
Kydel
Kydle
Kyteler
Kytle
Kyttle
Oskell
Oskettle
Quitel
Steinchetel
Steinkell
Steinkettle
Stenkil
Teakettle
Thirkettle
Thurcetel
Thurkle
Ulchel
Ulchetel
Ulfcetel
Ulfkil
Uncle
Unckle
Unkell
Ulfkell
Vonkettler
Wulfkettle
Thorkel
Osketil
Asketil
Steinketil
Thurketil
Ulfketil
Wulfketil
Ketele
Kettelog
Steinkel
Kotkel
Askel
Thorkatla
Hallkel
Otkel
Ketilbjorn
Skamkel
Hallkatla
Hrafinkel
Brafinkel
Oscytel

Oscetel
Thurkytel
Thurketel
Thurcetel
Grimcetel
Ulfketel
'lfketel
Alfketill
Ansketill
Ulfcytel
Thorckill
Aschetil
Anschetil
Asketel
Askil
Anschill
Arkil
Ar(n)kil
AEr(n)kil
Erkil
Architellus
Asketill
An(s)chetil(l)us
Ancell
Archell
Arkell
Arkle
Arkwell

[Eric R. Anctil]

Anctil
Anquetil
Anschetillus
Antill
Axtell
Ancell
Kettle
Katilaz
Kissel
Kjetil

[Web: GenForum - <http://genforum.familytreemaker.com/>]

St-John-dit-Anctil
St-Jean-dit-Anctil
Antle
Antil

[Book: "An Icelandic-English Dictionary based on the MS. collections of the late Richard Cleasby. 1874 ed."]

Ketill
Ketil-björn
Katla
Ketil-ridr [pronounced: "ketil-rithur"]
Askell
Arnkell
Grimkell
Hallkell
Steinkell
Ulfkell
Thorkell
V,kell
Hallkatla
Thorkatla

[E-Mail: Peter Andersen - bomann@home.com]

Anquetil
Anketil
Anctil
Ehrenketil
Jerneketil

[Web: Chris MacAskill]

McCaskill
McKaskle
Taegail
Thaegail
Taskail
Taskill
Torquil
Torcuill
MacCaskile

[Web: Kindred Konnections - <http://www.kindredkonnections.com/>]

Ancall
Ancel
Ancell
Ancelle
Anchetil
Ancil
Ancill
Ancille
Ancitel [historical: Count of Bayeux]
Anctil
Anctille-dit-St-Jean
Anctil-dit-St-Jean
Ankatell
Anketel
Anqell
Anquetil
Anscell
Anschetil
Anschitil
Ansel
Ansell
Ansill
Anskill
Antel
Antell
Antil
Antill
Antille
Antle

[Magazine: National Geographic Volume 134 Number 4, April 1970
"The Vikings"]

Arnketill

II. SURNAME ETYMOLOGY: ERIC R. ANCTIL

1. Katilaz (from late Latin word "catillus", a diminutive word of "catus")
[ca. 1000 BCE - 200 BCE, Germanic]
2. Ketel
[ca. 449 CE, Old Saxon]
3. Cetel

[ca. 700 CE, Anglo-Saxon - Mercian & Northumbrian dialects]

Ketill

[ca. 700 CE, Old Norse]

4. Asketill [*]

[ca. 10th century CE, Old Norwegian]

5. Anschetillus

[11th century CE, Medieval Latin]

6. Anquetil

[ca. 12th century CE, modern Norman French]

7. Anctil [#]

[ca. late 17th century, modern Norman French variant]

[Old Norse Phonetics & Elder Futhark Runic Writing]

* Asketill is pronounced in phonetics as OW-KS-EH-T-ILL [Elder Futhark runic],

meaning "divine title given to the tribe's chieftain-godi, practitioner of the holy cauldron at sacrifices to the gods". The capital "A" in Asketill is an Old Norse rune drawn as a capital "A" with a distinct French "accent aigue" above it ("A" acute in English).

In the Norse Elder Futhark, the acute "A" symbol of the surname Asketill is represented by a symbolic diagonal "F" rune called the Ansuz, meaning "transformer of spiritual power". Ansuz is associated with ancestor immortality, inspiration, magic, poetry, prophecy, writing, spoken word knowledge, creative expression, and compassion. The Elder Futhark are associated with the Germanic pagans, the Aesir cult.

The derivative split of Anctil from Anquetil likely took place during the 17th century when either Louis Anctil's father was the first Anquetil to change his surname to Anctil or Louis Anctil (father of Jean Anctil) himself

changed his last name from Louis Anquetil.

This theory came about with the discovery of François Julien Anctil's god-parents, Julien (le) Chevalier and Françoise Anquetil. François Julien Anctil is the second child of Louis Anctil and Marguerite L,vesque, the parents of our progenitor Jean Anctil.

In the Christian tradition of this time, it was likely that a relative was chosen to act as a god-parent to the newborn, baptized child.

Julien (le) Chevalier was probably a great-uncle/uncle/cousin (more likely to be an uncle) on the maternal side while Françoise Anquetil was probably the great-aunt/aunt/cousin (more likely to be an aunt) on the paternal side.

Also noteworthy is the fact that the name Anquetil/Anctil was becoming less of a personal first name and more of a patronym or surname around this time.

This is not surprising as the sacred knight is replaced by the secular soldier. Names and language becomes more standardized as the emergence of the state begins to overtake the old monarchy and Church monopolies.

[Surname Linguistics & Ethnicity]

ITALIC

Latin: Catillus, Catinus

GERMANIC

Germanic (Common Teutonic): Katilaz

West Germanic (Continental Germanic): Katil, C'til, Ce'til, Ceatil

Gothic (East Germanic): Katils

Old Saxon: Ketel

West Saxon: Cietel

Anglo-Saxon (Old English): Cetel, Cytel

Old Norse (North Germanic, Old or Common Scandinavian): As-, Asketill, -ketill,

-kell

Old Norwegian: Arnkell

Old Swedish: 'r(n)kil, Erkil, -k'til
Swedish: -kettel
Old Danish: Arnketil, Arkil, -kael, -kil, -ketil
Danish: -kj'del
Scottish (English): MacAsgill, McCaskill
Manx: Castell
Old French (Frankish): Ask-, Anq-
Norman French (langue d'"il): Ans-, Ank-
Medieval Latin: Anschetillus
Middle English: -chetel
Middle Dutch: -ketel
Old High German: -keááil, -kezil
Middle High German: -keááel
French: Anq-, Anc-
English: -ketel, -kettle, Ax-, Ant-, -kel, -chell
Dutch: -ketel
German: -kessel

INDO-IRANIAN -> INDO-ARYAN
Old Indian: Katchevah

* What must be realized when examining the surname septs is that it is the linguistic names and not the cultural lineage that is transient. A surname variation does not necessarily indicate blood relation. Just as the Indo-Europeans were a linguistically unified and racially diverse movement, so too function the surname septs.

[Surname Etymological Analysis]

Due to the fact that Old Norse is effectively a dead language [close derivatives that are still spoken today are Icelandic and Faroese], determining the exact meaning of the name Asketill can be confusing. My definition, "divine title given to the tribe's chieftain-godi, practitioner of the holy cauldron at sacrifices to the gods", is perhaps the best conflated definition I could come up with given the diversity of research material acquired on the subject.

As for the second part of the name (ketill), it seems to have remained a popular Nordic given name and surname in the past and present.

ACCURATE DEFINITIONS

- (a) "An honorific name given to someone who kept the sacrificial kettle (ketill) in which blood was caught during sacrifices to the gods (As)."
- Dan Axtell
- (b) Asketill Origin and Meaning: "God + cauldron"
Ask Religious Definition: "first man"
ass Definition: "god"
aska Definition: "ashes"
katli/ketill Definition: "sacrificial cauldron"
-Kate Monk

INACCURATE DEFINITIONS

- (a) "Anquetil is an ancient Norse/Germanic name. 'Ans' was a divine title taken by the warlords of the Goths. 'Ketell' means 'cauldron'."
- Normand J. Anctil
- (b) "Fisherman Jean Anquetil, of the French town of Auderville, probably descends from Vikings named Arnketill - "eagle's kettle."
- National Geographic Volume 134 Number 4, April 1970
- (c) "Axtell is of Anglo-Saxon origin. One legend says that the name may have meant 'ash kettle' and, thus, early ancestors may have been soap makers."
- Dan Axtell
- (d) Ansketell: "rempli de spiritualit,"

["full of spirituality"]

"Ans, nom de divinité, païenne et Ketell, chaudron."

["Ans, name of a pagan deity and Ketell, cauldron."]

- Marcel Anctil

- (e) Antill: "The earliest form of the name is the Norse/Germanic name, 'Anquetil,' and these Gothic invaders did once swarm over the British countryside in as unstoppable a form as their insect namesakes, so perhaps an ant hill on the Antill crest would not be such a bad idea."

- Mary S. Van Deusen

1. AS(S)- [Old Norse] / AN(S)- [Norman French derivative]:

This term clearly refers to the Norse mythological, polytheist pantheon of gods. The tribes that worshipped these gods were obviously pagans and they also tended to practice animism [especially true of all Germanic tribes], which usually meant that they would sacrifice an animal in a ritualistic ceremony to the gods.

Old Norse & Germanic surnames always tended to carry a tribal meaning or social position attached to them, usually by means of a compound name.

(a) THE CHIEFTAIN-GODI DEFINITION

Divine political title taken by the tribal military leader (either a chieftain or jarl of the aristocratic, upper-class) and religious position held by the same person (military, political, and religious positions are all one and the same) in tribal ritual, usually for animal sacrifice during a seasonal cult festival or religious celebration after a military victory.

2. -KETILL [Old Norse]:

There are three general terms associated with this word, listed below.

They all seem to carry some sort of political-religious connotation to them, implying a dual use of the "ketill" in battle and then as religious/social implement (a cooking pot).

On an additional note, the suffix -ketill is generally ascribed as the surname or compound surname of males. Females were instead often given the

suffix -katla. This segregation of the genders appears to have died out soon after the Viking Era (ca. 1000 CE) when Christianity instituted stronger patriarchal practices into a previously (for the most part) egalitarian Scandinavian culture.

Interestingly enough, a theory among etymologists suggests that the suffix -ketill was originally imported from Anglo-Saxon England to Scandinavia before England was reinfused with the Germanic name after the Norman invasion in 1066.

The etymological root meaning for the Germanic word "kettle" derives itself from the late Latin word "catillus" (kettle) which is a diminutive word for the earlier Latin word "catinus", meaning "large pot". In other words, the term kettle was merely an oral synonym appended onto the existing terminology of a traditional cooking tool. As is widely known of ancient civilizations, tools were the cornerstone of a society in prehistory which explains how this simple tool takes on religious significance later on.

After all, many ancient societies made food offerings to their gods in order to maintain the celestial balance between the heavens and the Earth, humankind and the gods.

Another fact remains is that the middle-class Scandinavians (karls) during the Viking Era used kettles as vessels of boiling water to cook meat and fish.

- * (a) used for cooking, as a kettle ("vessel for boiling water")
May have been used to cook the sacrificial animal in its own blood for the sacred meals shared by the tribes during cult festivals (feasts and games generally accompanied the ritual

ceremony).

- ** (b) cauldron: cooking by fire and sacred ritual connotations.
- (c) sacrificial kettle: blood of sacrificial animals was collected into the sacred kettle as form of worship to the pagan gods.
- (d) Viking (leather) helmet worn only by bravest tribal warriors.
- (e) Germanic tribes used the kettle as a pot for the "boiling water test". The accused in a crime was to put his/her arm in a pot of boiling water to remove a rod of hot iron, if the

accused

was a man, or a hot stone, if the accused was a woman, at the bottom of the kettle.

The arm was bandaged for "x" number of days. After this period, the bandages were removed to reveal the burnt flesh beneath.

Innocence was only guaranteed if the injury had healed and left no scar. Our primary example of this comes from the Salian Law first practiced by the Franks, however we do know that the Scandinavians practiced this because the ordeal of ketill-tak is one of their earliest written laws.

["Dit" Surnames & "Anctil dit St-Jean"]

"Dit" in French means 'say' and in this context, it means 'called'. These 'dit' surname extensions added to or replaced a surname to distinguish a family from another family of the same name living nearby, used as a sort of nickname (often picked up during service as a soldier), referred to the place in France where the family originated, was the mother's surname, or was the father's first name. Future generations might then keep the original surname or they might use the 'dit' surname. A surname and its 'dit' name may be hyphenated. In fact, one can generally assume that a hyphenated surname (before 1950, anyway) is the surname plus 'dit' name. Some surnames have had several different "dit" names and some 'dit' names are attached to various surnames. One should be aware that usually a different 'dit' name indicates a different family." (Linda W. Jones, 1998)

"A 'dit name' is an alias given to a family name. Compared to other aliases that are given to one specific person, the dit names will be given to many persons. It seems the usage exists almost only in France, New France [Quebec] and in Scotland where we find clans or septs. Dit names are chosen for the following reasons: surname used in the army, place of origin, land owned or inhabited by an ancestor, the full name of the ancestor, the first name of an ancestor, keeping the original name (in local language) during the process of standardizing names to French, etc." (Denis Beauregard, 1997)

In the case of the Anctil family surname, "-dit St-Jean" is often added to the last name. The likely theory as to why the Anctil surname has the "-dit St-Jean" extension probably has to do with a military honorable name, a soldier's nickname, land held by an early ancestor in Normandy, or a religious significance such as close living proximity to a church or military name sanctified by the Catholic Church (knights were often named according to their local church diocese). I have ruled out the possibility that "-dit St-Jean" was used as a reminder of a place of ancestral origin since at least three families are on record as having that dit name: Anctil dit St-Jean, Forton dit St-Jean, and Langlois dit St-Jean. This is especially true since the surname Langlois has a geo-historical counterpart.

[Surname Septs' Geographic Settlements]

ANQUETIL / ANCTIL (DIT ST-JEAN): France (Normandy) -> Canada (Quebec), USA
ANTILL / ANTLE: England (Derby, Leicester, Surrey, Gloucester, Devon) -> USA
(Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, California), Australia
AXTELL: England (London, Somerset, Hertford) -> USA (Massachusetts)
ANCELL: England (Oxford) -> USA (Massachusetts, Virginia, Missouri, Kentucky)
MACASKILL: Scotland (Isle of Skye) -> Scotland (Inverness), USA (North Carolina, South Carolina), Canada, New Zealand, Australia, etc.

KETTLE: England (Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex), Canada (Newfoundland), USA, etc.

III. SCANDINAVIAN CULTURE OF THE VIKING ERA: ERIC R. ANCTIL

[Political Hierarchy]

It is also likely that the Asketill were worshippers of Odin as the As- prefix of the surname betrays its aristocratic significance. The patron god of the upper, noble class was Odin.

Pagan society worked according to the following principles and schematics, as listed in detail below:

1. Jarls (Earls): upper-class, warrior aristocracy, worshipped Odin on Wednesdays, spent time feasting in winter and planning campaigns, led attacks, council (known as the "Thing") elects chieftain (king after 872 CE)

to

lead tribe [*].

2. Karls (Freedmen): middle-class and lower-class, farmers and merchants, generally (for the most part, but not necessarily) worshipped Thor on Thursdays, spent time doing work and dealing with everyday life (family, social ties, etc).
3. Thralls (Slaves): classless group, manual labor slaves (usually foreign prisoners or traded slaves), not allowed a patron deity to worship, generally treated fairly by masters, could earn their freedom, spent time doing unskilled manual labor on the lands of their karl or jarl masters.

* While the elected chieftain of a tribe was still of the same socio-economic class as the jarls (after all, he was elected from the jarls), he was often considered "first among equals" [like the princeps of Imperial Rome]. The chieftain was elected by a group of jarls through majority vote based on military prestige and wealth. The chieftain's right of rule lasted only so long as he remained successful militarily and rewarded his soldiers well with booty from campaigns. If he didn't or was unable to, he lost honor and therefore, his newly acquired rank. Chieftains also commissioned the building of settlements, usually located as centers of international trade.

[Society & Culture]

Scandinavian society lived by a code of honor and warfare similar to the better known Scottish clan warfare code. For all early Germanic peoples, this system was known as the blood feud. Under this code, injustices within society were regulated by the community as a whole, not by a state structure. The major disadvantages of this system were twofold: (a) from this system, blood feuds between families erupted frequently in public acts of violence and (b) justice was never served in victimless crimes [where there was no accuser or defense, which was more of a problem later on in medieval law]. Wergeld was created during the Middle Ages to deal with the former problem of public vigilantes. With wergeld, instead of an individual or entire family taking violent vengeance for being wronged, the accused instead paid off his criminal debt to the wronged person or family by means of volunteer work (i.e.

become the victim's slave for a fixed period of time), bribery (money or material possessions), or even merely an apology to the victim and his/her family. In the case of rape, the rapist was often forced to marry the victim by the victim's family under the rules of wergeld. Wergeld was very useful during the Middle Ages at stopping needless "clan" warfare and bloodshed during a time when royal and ecclesiastical courts were not yet established in Germanic territories. Once again, a good example of wergeld in written law comes from the Salian Law of the Franks during the early medieval period.

[Pagan Religion]

Our ancestors likely were worshippers of Odin, the god of poetry, wisdom, and victory. The day of worship for followers of Odin was Wednesday. Followers of Odin likely slaughtered an animal to act as a sacrificial offering to give the god strength in order to bring peace to the land, as well

as getting drunk on mead in Odin's honor on this sacred day of worship to the god of the wind.

Odin was known in southern Scandinavia as Woden or Wotan and was the discoverer of the Elder Futhark. He gave both the Elder Futhark, which are magical inscriptions of protection, and skaldic mead, a strong honey flavored wine drink that makes anyone who tastes it a poet, to humankind. Odin was also known to be enigmatic in the sense that his character in the sagas was never defined as absolute good or absolute evil. The point in believing in Odin was that while you love and fear him simultaneously because he has ultimate power over life and death, Odin, in exchange, also gives the devotee wisdom and strength to face any adversity of daily life. Odin tended to be worshipped by both earls (jarls) and skaldic poets who praised the god at various annual pagan festivals by reading epic mythological poetry. Odin was even worshipped as an ancestor of a powerful line of Viking earls of Lade in Norway.

As later Christian missionaries discovered about pagan religion, it was a religion without a (separate) priest class. The Vikings did hold their religion dear as a personal, private affair. While this may have been true, the jarls likely exerted a predominant role in public annual sacrifices and feasts known as blot [pronounced as "bloat"] witnessed by all classes of Viking society, which in effect gave them a sacred aura not unlike that of the Christian priest class. Many rich and successful jarls were able to claim divine ancestry on these principles. Of course, for the Vikings and the afterlife, they were more concerned with how they were remembered in this life by those living (literary immortality) than in how or when the Viking warrior was destined to die. After all, the Vikings lived under a doomed fate according to their popular mythology.

When it came to death, the Vikings were quite the same about last rites as exists in our culture today. They either cremated the bodies or they buried them, usually with ornate possessions for their passage into the realm of the afterlife. It was more common for Vikings to bury their dead than to cremate them, but overall both seem to have been done (more or less) equally. Usually, the form of ritual for the dead depended on the culture of the person being dealt their last rites. It varied between the Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes.

Another important aspect of Norse religion was the choice of patron gods. In an earlier section is illustrated the social classes of Viking society and which god was usually their patron god, however the exception was often the rule. Especially true for the karls but sometimes also of the jarls, there was a variety in choice of a patron god or goddess (usually in the case of women) mainly because while each had their unique divine properties, the entire pantheon largely overlapped itself on some of the more important aspects of Viking culture: strength, courage, honor, family, freedom, and happiness. For example, Odin and Thor were both gods of war because of the harsh climate the Vikings had to fight every winter in their homeland to stay alive. The environmental realities of living in Scandinavia also probably shaped their mythology, which would explain its philosophy on inevitable fate.

No matter how much someone fights against the elements, it is winter that perpetually wins against the human spirit. Vikings certainly would have agreed with the old adage "what doesn't kill you will make you stronger".

One important religious ritual performed annually was the blot, a ceremony devoted to strengthening the power of the gods which, in turn, is good for their human followers because it guaranteed them another year of peace and prosperity [many prehistoric civilizations have this kind of belief

system]. To accomplish this, followers slaughtered pigs and horses and let them bleed all over the ground. The blood of the dead animal was considered sacred to the gods. Meanwhile, nearby stood the sacrificial cauldron where the dead animal was to be boiled in this vessel of water in order to cook the food that would nourish the tribe during the subsequent feasting. There was also much drinking of mead to the point of reaching a euphoric state of drunkenness, which was considered a special state of enlightenment. The blot rituals were carried out by the political chieftain or earl of the tribe, known for its religious role under the title of godi [pronounced as "gothi"]. As was the case in many pagan ceremonies, there were court poets or skalds who were on hand to read heroic epic poetry about gods and mortals, usually told to emphasize ideal Viking values.

IV. HERALDRY: ERIC R. ANCTIL

"On a gold background, there are three green leaves." - Maison des Noms

[Migration Theory #1: Indirect Route]

Interestingly enough, the modern coat-of-arms for the municipality of Stavanger within the province of Rogaland in Norway has three gold leaves imposed over a light blue background.

It is possible that ancestors of the Anctils came from the province of Rogaland based on the geographic migration between Norway and Normandy, France. Stavanger is the largest and historically one of the most important towns in Rogaland. Of course, the fact remains that a settlement existed nearby the modern city at the time of the Viking migrations to France and that Stavanger is ideally located in a bay, making it the perfect port to launch a serious sea voyage from.

Of course, one cannot be entirely certain of when Stavanger was founded. It is suspected to have been founded late in the Viking Era, around 1200 CE which would eliminate it as a possible launch point.

[Migration Theory #2: Direct Route]

The problem with the above theory is that by this path, the emigration

from Norway was not a direct route, instead passing through the North Sea past the Orkney Islands, the Shetland Islands, the west coast of England, the Isle of Man, and the east coast of Ireland before arriving on the northwestern coast of Normandy. It is widely known that Rollo was a Norwegian Viking who was exiled from Norway for being too much of an outlaw even in his native land. He was working for the Danes when he terrorized northern France and then subsequently colonized Eastern Normandy [Norwegians & Danish] in 911 CE before Central Normandy [Anglo-Danish] was added in 926 CE and finally Western Normandy [Celtic-Norwegians] was included in 933 CE.

Nonetheless, he was the eldest son and heir to the earl of Orkney so perhaps he did depart from the Orkney Islands instead of directly from Norway. If indeed the route of emigration was a direct path, then its likely origin point

was Kaupang [or Sciringesheal], already a well established international trade center during the 9th century CE.

V. GENEALOGY: JOSEPH-ALBERT ANCTIL, NORMAND J. ANCTIL, VERONIQUE ANCTIL, ERIC R. ANCTIL

?. Michelle Anctille

married on November 29th, 1664 at Quebec City, Quebec, Quebec, Canada
[to ???]

1. Louis Anctil (dit St-Jean)

born at Avranches, Manche, Normandy, France

married at France

Jeanne Fontaine

born at Avranches, Manche, Normandy, France

François-Robert L,vesque

born on February 12th, 1680 at Rivišre-Ouelle, Bas-St-Laurent,
Quebec, Canada

christened on February 14th, 1680 at L,vis-Lauzon, Chaudišre-
Appalaches, Quebec, Canada

married on November 7th, 1701 at Rivišre-Ouelle, Bas-St-Laurent,
Quebec, Canada

died on October 7th, 1765 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec,
Canada

buried on October 8th, 1765 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec,
Canada

Marie (-Charlotte) Aubert

born on January 31st, 1683 at Chfteau-Richer, Quebec, Quebec, Canada

christened on January 31st, 1683 at Chfteau-Richer, Quebec, Quebec,
Canada

died on March 25th, 1765 at Rivišre-Ouelle, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec,
Canada

buried on March 26th, 1765 at Rivišre-Ouelle, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec,
Canada

Julien (le) Chevalier ["the knight"], (Sir)

Françoise Anquetil

buried on May 7th, 1731 at Ducey, Manche, Normandy, France

2. Jean Louis Anctil (dit St-Jean)

christened on January 25th, 1708 at Ducey, Manche, Normandy, France

married on November 25th, 1738 at Rivišre-Ouelle, Bas-St-Laurent,
Quebec, Canada

died on April 22nd, 1787 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec,
Canada

Marguerite L,vesque (L,všque) (Lev^que)

born on October 15th, 1713 at Rivišre-Ouelle, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec,
Canada

christened on November 5th, 1713 at Rivišre-Ouelle, Bas-St-Laurent,
Quebec, Canada

died on August 12th, 1806 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec,
Canada

François Julien Anctil (dit St-Jean)

christened in 1711 at Ducey, Manche, Normandy, France

3. Jean-Baptiste Anctil (dit St-Jean)

born on September 23rd, 1745 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec,
Canada

married on February 18th, 1765 at L'Islet-sur-Mer, Chaudišre-
Appalaches, Quebec, Canada

died on December 10th, 1820 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec,
Canada

*** FATHERED 8 MARRIED SONS ***

lisabeth Fournier

born on September 5th, 1743 at St-Jean-Port-Joli, Chaudišre-
Appalaches, Quebec, Canada

died on August 13th, 1817 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec,
Canada

Marie-Josšphe Anctil (dit St-Jean), Sr.

born on October 4th, 1739 at Rivišre-Ouelle, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

christened on October 4th, 1739 at Rivišre-Ouelle, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

married on July 28th, 1760 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada [to Joseph (-Augustin) Dionne]

Jeanne-Louise Anctil (dit St-Jean)

christened on October 17th, 1741 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

Anne Anctil (dit St-Jean)

christened on August 1st, 1743 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

died on January 4th, 1760 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

buried on January 5th, 1760 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

Marguerite Anctil (dit St-Jean)

christened on October 8th, 1747 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

Marie-Judith Anctil (dit St-Jean)

christened on October 17th, 1749 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

married on February 18th, 1765 at L'Islet-sur-Mer, Chaudišre-Appalaches, Quebec, Canada [to Franřois Fournier, Jr.]

Marie-Catherine Anctil (dit St-Jean)

born on February 1st, 1752 at Rivišre-Ouelle, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

christened on February 2nd, 1752 at Rivišre-Ouelle, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

married on January 15th, 1770 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada [to Joseph-Romain Duval]

??? Anctil (dit St-Jean) [nouveau-n,, anonyme / "newborn baby", "anonymous"]

born & buried on June 2nd, 1755 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

4. Joseph Anctil (dit St-Jean)

born on February 9th, 1772 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

married [1st] on February 28th, 1791 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada [to Marie-Claire Pelletier]

married [2nd] on November 19th, 1816 at St-Roch-des-Aulnaies, Chaudišre-Appalaches, Quebec, Canada [to Marguerite St-Pierre]

died on January 7th, 1858 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

*** FATHERED 11 CHILDREN IN TOTAL FROM BOTH MARRIAGES ***

Marie-Claire Pelletier

born on October 24th, 1760 at St-Roch-des-Aulnaies, Chaudišre-Appalaches, Quebec, Canada

christened on October 24th, 1760 at St-Roch-des-Aulnaies, Chaudišre-Appalaches, Quebec, Canada

died on July 25th, 1815 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

Jean-Louis Anctil (dit St-Jean)

born on December 31st, 1765 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

christened on January 1st, 1766 at La Pocatišre, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

married [1st] on November 12th, 1787 at St-Jean-Port-Joli, Chaudišre-Appalaches, Quebec, Canada [to Marie-Josette Miville dit Desch^nes]

married [2nd] on August 3rd, 1807 at St-Jean-Port-Joli, Chaudišre-Appalaches, Quebec, Canada [to Genevišve B, langer]

*** FATHERED 19 CHILDREN IN TOTAL FROM BOTH MARRIAGES ***

No%l Anctil (dit St-Jean)
born about 1771 at Quebec, Canada
married [to Marie Beaulieu]
married on June 6th, 1796 at Rivišre-Ouelle, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec,
Canada [to Marie-Modeste L,vesque, Jr.]
married [to Malvina Pelletier]

5. Pierre Anctil (Antille) (dit St-Jean)
born on March 7th, 1803 at Rivišre-Ouelle, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec,
Canada

married on February 24th, 1824 at St-Roch-des-Aulnaies, Chaudišre-
Appalaches, Quebec, Canada

died on November 7th, 1879 at St-Roch-des-Aulnaies, Chaudišre-
Appalaches, Quebec, Canada

Marguerite Blanchette (Blanchet)

6. Prudent Anctil (Antille)

born on October 19th, 1841 at St-Roch-des-Aulnaies, Chaudišre-
Appalaches, Quebec, Canada

married on October 22nd, 1873 at Ste-Louise, Chaudišre-Appalaches,
Quebec, Canada

died on March 18th, 1909 at St-M,dard, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec, Canada

Agnšs B,langier

born on June 15th, 1855 in Quebec, Canada

died on July 7th, 1926 at St-Christophe-d'Arthabaska, Mauricie-Bois-
Francs, Quebec, Canada

7. Georges (Etienne) Anctil (dit St-Jean), Sr.

christened on March 13th, 1880 at St-M,dard, Bas-St-Laurent, Quebec,
Canada

married on August 27th, 1907 at Warwick, Mauricie-Bois-Francs,
Quebec, Canada

died on March 16th, 1922 at Warwick, Mauricie-Bois-Francs, Quebec,
Canada

Florine Croteau

died about 1923 at Warwick, Mauricie-Bois-Francs, Quebec, Canada

8. Georges Arthur Anctil, Jr.

christened on February 5th, 1916 at Warwick, Mauricie-Bois-Francs,
Quebec, Canada

married on August 17th, 1944 at Warwick, Mauricie-Bois-Francs,
Quebec, Canada

separated about 1990 at Longueuil, Mont,r,gie, Quebec, Canada

Annette Chabot

Clayton Strnad

born on August 7th, 1914 at Cleveland, Cuyahoga, Ohio, USA

married about 1947 at Cleveland, Cuyahoga, Ohio, USA [to Thelma
Louise Gilbert]

died in May 1981 at Cleveland, Cuyahoga, Ohio, USA

buried in 1981 at Independence, Ohio, USA

Thelma Louise Gilbert

born about December 13th, 1917 at Pennsylvania, USA

married [1st] at Pennsylvania, USA [to Simon Kliskey]

2 sons: Alan Kliskey (born at Pennsylvania, USA), Dale
Kliskey (born at Pennsylvania, USA)

married [2nd] about 1947 at Cleveland, Cuyahoga, Ohio, USA [to
Clayton Strnad]

1 son, 1 daughter: David Charles Strnad (born on March 12th,
1948 at Cleveland, Cuyahoga, Ohio, USA), Susan Marie Strnad (born on February
16th, 1953 at Cleveland, Cuyahoga, Ohio, USA)

9. Michel Wilfrid Anctil, Ph.D.

christened on June 18th, 1945 at Warwick, Mauricie-Bois-Francs,
Quebec, Canada

married on March 30th, 1974 at Santa Barbara, California, USA

Susan Marie Strnad

born on February 16th, 1953 at Cleveland, Cuyahoga, Ohio, USA

Suzanne Anctil
 christened on June 29th, 1947 at Victoriaville (Arthabaska),
 Mauricie-Bois-Francs, Quebec, Canada
 married after 1970 at Longueuil, Mont,r,gie, Quebec, Canada [to Ren,
 Ouellet]
 1 son: Philippe Ouellet (born about 1975 at Longueuil,
 Mont,r,gie, Quebec, Canada)
 divorced after 1985 at Longueuil, Mont,r,gie, Quebec, Canada
 Yvon Anctil
 born at Mauricie-Bois-Francs, Quebec, Canada
 married before 1970 at Quebec, Canada [to Persanne ???]
 1 daughter, 1 son, 1 daughter: ??? Anctil (born before 1972
 at Longueuil, Mont,r,gie, Quebec, Canada), Julien Anctil (born about 1972 at
 Longueuil, Mont,r,gie, Quebec, Canada), Analou Anctil (born after 1972 at
 Longueuil, Mont,r,gie, Quebec, Canada) [1 son: ??? (born after 1995 at
 Quebec, Canada)]
 divorced after 1985 at Longueuil, Mont,r,gie, Quebec, Canada
 Christiane C,line Anctil
 christened on October 8th, 1949 at Victoriaville (Arthabaska),
 Mauricie-Bois-Francs, Quebec, Canada
 married before 1975 at California, USA [to ???]
 annuled before 1975 at California, USA
 10. Eric R,my Anctil
 born on November 20th, 1977 at Mont-Royal, Montreal, Quebec, Canada

 Tristan Marc Anctil
 born on September 7th, 1980 at Pointe-Claire, Montreal, Quebec,
 Canada

VI. HISTORY & GEOGRAPHY: ERIC R. ANCTIL

1. ca. 5,000,000 BCE - ca. 1,500,000 BCE
 HOMO AUSTRALOPITHECUS : Ethiopia, Africa
- ca. 1,500,000 BCE - ca. 100,000 BCE
 HOMO ERECTUS (PITHECANTHROPUS): Africa / Eurasia / Indonesia [Java]
- ca. 100,000 BCE - ca. 40,000 BCE
 HOMO SAPIENS (NEANDERTHALENSIS): Africa / Eurasia
- ca. 40,000 BCE - ca. 4000 BCE
 HOMO SAPIENS SAPIENS : Western Europe / Near East
2. ca. 8000 BCE - ca. 3000 BCE
 PROTO-NORSE : Norway
 [Stone Age nomadic presence - hunting & gathering society and rock
 carvings]
- ca. 3000 BCE - ca. 2500 BCE
 PROTO-NORSE : Norway
 [agricultural sedentary settlements begin in eastern Norway]
3. ca. 4000 BCE - ca. 1000 BCE
 INDO-EUROPEANS : Eurasia (Near East -> Southern Steppes, Asia ->
 Russia -> Eastern Europe -> Central Europe ->
 Northern Europe)
- ca. 1000 BCE - ca. 200 BCE
 GERMANIC : Scandinavia (Northern Europe -> Jutland, Denmark ->
 Southern Sweden -> Southern Norway)
4. ca. 200 BCE - ca. 500 CE [*]
 ANCIENT NORSE : Norway
 [tribal civil wars within modern Norwegian borders using hill forts]
- ca. 500 CE - ca. 700 CE
 ANCIENT NORSE : Norway
 [tribal civil wars contained within Norway due to territorial tension
 between chieftains]

5. ca. 700 CE - ca. 1000 CE
 NORWEGIAN VIKINGS : Hebrides Islands / Scotland / England /
 Isle of Man / Ireland / Shetland Islands /
 Faroe Islands / Iceland / Greenland / Orkney
 Islands / Normandy, France / France / Spain /
 North Africa (Morocco) / Italy / Sicily, Italy
 [chieftains begin to consolidate their territorial holdings into
 pseudo-monarchies as elected kings]
6. ca. 833 CE - 1809 CE
 BRITISH : United Kingdom (England / Scotland / Africa [Mauritius] /
 Australia / Canada) / United States of America
 ca. 911 CE - 1734 CE
 NORMANS : Normandy, France [#] / France / England / Nouvelle France
 (Quebec) / Lower Italy (Apulia, Calabria, Sicily) /
 Ireland / Asia Minor (Neapel-Sicily, Lebanon, Syria) /
 Canary Islands
7. 1734 CE - ???? CE
 FRENCH : Canada / France
 1809 CE - ???? CE
 ENGLISH : United Kingdom (England / Scotland / Australia) /
 United States of America / Canada

[The Iron Age Norwegians during the Barbarian Migrations]

* There is still a lack of consensus as to how involved the Norwegian people were at this time in the Barbarian Migrations. On this question, there have been three situations presented by various sources: Ken Aldrich (Germanic scholar, theory #1), Normand J. Anctil (genealogist, theory #2), and Faith Wallis (medieval historian & professor, theory #3).

1. the Asketill were of the Rugian tribe, which is suspected to have originated in southwestern Norway (Rogaland). This scenario is logical considering the etymological theory that the Holmrugii [Rugians] are related

in name to the land of their (supposed) confederate origin: Rogaland.

2. the Asketill were of the Goth barbarian confederacy which may or may not have absorbed the Rugians at some point in their travels and joined with the Ostrogoth faction in 487 CE after the Goth confederacy had split. This theory is not likely as the Goths originated in southern Sweden and border contact between the Norwegians and the Swedes was blocked by a dense forest. Also, the surname phonetics don't seem to correlate to the Goths but the fact that they were a large multi-ethnic confederacy does open up more possibilities to this theory. Another complication comes from trying to determine the origin point of these migrating Goths. The few primary sources that exist on the topic [Jordanes, Procopius, Cassiodorus] suggest that the Goths originated from Scandia (southern Sweden), G'tland, and the Jutland peninsula (northern Denmark). However, little mention is given of southern Norway and one should not make assumptions based on the suggestive descriptions of ancient historians that were relying on guesswork about Northern European geography.

3. the Asketill were like many of the Scandinavians during the Barbarian Migrations: they never left Norway, however were likely involved in localized tensions happening within Norway against other small local tribes. This scenario has been shared among most medieval scholars internationally for some time now and is the most likely theory to date. It would appear that the Norwegians, as well as the other Scandinavians were too preoccupied by local, internal instabilities happening throughout

Norway

and Sweden at this time to bother getting involved further south.

It is interesting to note that some medieval scholars theorize that tribes from Scandinavia who did participate in the Barbarian Migrations likely did so for a few reasons: (a) there were too many "kingdoms" back in Norway so these jarls decided to search for territory of their own, (b) it was largely a movement of warriors led by a jarl in search of more power, military glory, and wealth, (c) overpopulation and lack of fertile arable

land in Norway (cause unknown) forced the Norwegians to seek out new agricultural lands, logically in a warmer climate zone, which made the Continent in the south an obvious choice.

[Christian Vikings: The Normans]

During the Viking Era, the duchy of Normandy was settled by both the Norwegians and the Danes. Normandy's first duke, Rollo the Ganger (called by

his nickname "the Ganger" because he was too tall to ride a horse so he always had to travel on foot, his girth also being a complication in his burial) or Gungu-Hrolf or Raoul (ca. 860 CE - 921 CE) was a Norwegian noble-class pirate whose father Rognwald was the earl of Orkney and jarl of Mori, Norway.

As the territory of the duchy expanded further west from 911 CE to 933 CE, new colonials moved in from Scandinavia and nearby Brittany, namely many Celtic-Norwegians in the Contentin region of Normandy.

It is also noteworthy to state that in the case of Norman migrations, the Normans participated in the Crusades during the Middle Ages by founding or conquering the kingdoms of Neapel-Sicily, Lebanon, and Syria between 1095 CE -

1099 CE and remained in Asia Minor until 1402 CE, when one Norman knight established his own kingdom in the Canary Islands. The Normans invaded England in 1066 CE, as well as the establishing the combined kingdoms of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily together (1057 CE -1085 CE) in Southern Italy.

As a side note, the above history does not reflect the views of all Norman historians. There are the Anti-Norse historians who believe that the Norse colonial settlement concept is a theorized myth in order to give Normandy a proud patriotic legend, much like the Arthurian legends boosted British nationalism. It is the opinion of this author that these "historians" have little credibility due to the overwhelming primary material on the Norse invasions of France and England. It is highly unlikely that the authors of these Norman primary sources were involved in some sort of revisionist conspiracy as they wrote as events were happening and didn't even know each other.

[The Scandinavian Vikings]

One of the most important distinctions to be made about Viking history

and culture is the differences between each of the Scandinavian societies contributing to the Viking phenomenon. Some raided, others traded, while still others did both whenever it suited them. Of course, due to climatic concerns, raids like full-scale military campaigns were seasonal during the summer. During the rest of the year, the raiding Vikings would return to their

homeland to tend their farm lands during harvest times and essentially "hibernate" during the long winters.

The Norwegian Vikings generally embarked on their campaigns of raid and trade from both Norway's western and southern coastlines. They acquired territory in the British Isles (Orkney Islands, Shetland Islands) and left behind a linguistic legacy from their holdings in the Faroe Islands. The Norwegians discovered and colonized Iceland and Greenland late in the Viking Age before making inroads to North America (Helluland, Vinland, Markland) as the land's first European colonists. They founded Dublin in Ireland as a trading center and colonized the Hebrides Islands and some of northern Scotland, as well as much of northern and eastern England before making their way further south to France. They terrorized the northwestern coastline of France, but soon moved inland via the Seine river to attack Paris.

Eventually,

the French king Charles the Simple granted the duchy of Normandy in 912 CE to the Norwegian exile Rollo in exchange for an end to the raids and feudal protection duties after being baptized as Robert. These first Norwegian

colonists were christened into the Catholic Christian faith as a sign of good faith, peace, and friendship between the Norwegian and French peoples. Some of the Norwegian Vikings sailed further on to raid Spain (Seville, Cordova), North Africa (Morocco), and Italy even to the point of temporarily conquering Sicily. The North African and Sicilian raids were the former bread baskets of the Roman Empire, thus made for rich plunders.

The Swedish Vikings tended to be traders or merchants rather than raiders. They took an eastern approach by using their territory in what is now Finland to acquire tributary goods from the Finns and Saami aboriginal peoples in order to exchange them for more exotic imports from the Byzantine Empire and Islam. They sailed north over Finland into the Volga River which permitted the Vikings to travel inland into modern Russia, where they established trading outpost cities such as Novgorod and Kiev. From these outposts of international trade, the Vikings were able to use inland rivers to travel to Constantinople and Baghdad and vice versa if merchants and emissaries from other countries wanted to reciprocate. The Swedish Vikings served a valuable role in the Middle Ages: as intermediary merchants trading goods between two great civilizations that were too hostile toward one another to conduct business relations between one another directly. The Swedish Vikings thus brought eastern exotic goods to Christian Europe, while at the same time bringing European innovations to the Muslims of the Near East. Of course, the Swedish Vikings were not mere traders. They also emigrated to the Norwegian colony of Normandy in France as the area developed.

The Danish Vikings were probably the archetype of violence that the Vikings were notorious for in early histories of this era. More often than not, it was the Danes who were far more interested in economic gains made by pillage than by fair trade. They concentrated on Western Europe, particularly in terrorizing England, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Eventually, as kings began to consolidate centralized kingdoms at home, Danish Vikings fled and started campaigning all year round. This meant that they were enduring the winter abroad which explains why the Danes participated in colonization efforts. One example of this lies in the shared settlement of Normandy between its initial colonists the Norwegians, followed by the Danes and then the Swedes.

VII. ARTICLES: [Various Authors]

"Were the Vikings traders or raiders?"
by Eric R. Anctil (November 1997)

In the due course of history, there has been much debate over the very nature and intent of the Scandinavian Vikings during the period from 700 CE to 1100 CE in terms of what motivated their expansion into Europe and beyond: to raid other civilizations or to trade with them? This dissertation shall attempt to answer this question and perhaps engage further debate over past knowledge and contemporary realizations available on the subject. The primary narrative describes the political, economical, and social reasons which likely caused the Vikings to travel abroad toward foreign lands and expand beyond the borders of their native Scandinavia. Secondly, Viking colonization is brought into focus by targeting their entry into England and France, particularly concerning their activities while engaged there. The last discourse covers Viking trade from a depiction of trade in their local port cities to the mystery of the Rus and Varangian trade routes in the East, namely in the

Russian, the Byzantine, and Islamic territories. All of this is to be discussed in greater detail, focusing with emphasis on Viking raiding as a strategic motivation for a superior trade position within Europe, while paying

attention to historical parallels between the archeological evidence and the contemporary literature as analyzed by modern historians.

As it stood with many civilizations of the age, there was a certain amount of pressure within to expand outward to other territories. The Vikings were a seafaring civilization and thus their superior transportation allowed them to travel further to places previously inaccessible by sea. In fact, British ship design of the period was influenced by the Viking longship model.

With regards to exploration and expansion, Viking politics played a large part

in the raiding and trading. The Vikings originate from migrating, nomadic Germanic barbarian tribes who eventually settled in the Scandinavian peninsula. The political system adopted by the Vikings was basically the same as that used by first century barbarians which held a hierarchy of three main classes: the chiefs, the earls (jarls), and the lowly bondsmen. Somewhere in the middle of this class system, there were the peasants who were among the majority in population. A group of earls elected the chieftain or king and the

king served more as a tribal leader than as a royal, however this soon changed

around 800 CE in a shift to a pseudo-monarchy. Politically, none of the modern Scandinavian states were unified and so there were lots of kings (chiefs) for each given territory. For example, Denmark had many kings each occupying their distinct, consolidated territories. These kings held armies together under their banner so long as they provided their soldiers with the necessary rewards and glory in battle. If an earl or royal usurper lost favor with the king and was exiled, chances are they would try to regain honor by claiming new territory from outside Scandinavia by means of raiding in order to compensate for what honor and territory they had lost. Another thing to note about kings was that they also commissioned towns to be founded (and subsequently, under royal authority), usually for trade purposes. Ribe, Hedeby, Sigtuna, Trondheim, Kaupang, and Birka are all clear examples of this.

Later on, when Christianity was getting a foothold in Scandinavia, churches were often built in cities that handled international trade, such as Birka which could be reached fairly easily during the summer months by sailing into the Baltic Sea into the eastern coast of Sweden where Birka held port. During the winter months, inland trade could be handled easily among the Vikings because they could travel within Scandinavia with ease due to the snow and ice

where Europeans from the Continent and England couldn't because of icebergs in

the sea. Now from the economical standpoint, it was in the Vikings best interests to trade rather than to plunder. War and raiding were solely political mechanisms to bestow or maintain honor for the chieftains. Trading was a different mechanism by which the Viking merchants could achieve first contact with new civilizations (in a more peaceful and civilized manner) and enabled the Viking merchants to gain riches as their raiding counterparts did.

This wealth also allowed the merchants to gain prominence in terms of class, almost as much as the chiefs and earls. The Vikings were largely self-sufficient so they didn't depend a lot on imports as some other cultures did. They were mainly into exporting and because of enhanced seafaring, they could reach more exotic places and could obtain, through trade, rare and luxury items of value to their traditional trade partners such as the Franks and the English. An example of this would be how the Vikings were able to do business inland with the Muslims of the Near East so as to acquire silver, spices, and silk which the European aristocracy couldn't gain access to because of the conflict between the Christian and Islamic territories. In

return, the Vikings could supply the Muslims with slaves, wax and honey. The advantage in being pagans served the Vikings well for a time, but eventually Christianity pervaded the Scandinavian peninsula. The new religion spread with fervent popularity into such villages because "merchants and raiders south were bound to learn something of the religion practised there and report it along with other curiosities back home" and it even reached the Viking colony of Greenland where Erik the Red's wife Trojild built a small church next to their farm. It was Christian values and influence from the rest of Europe that ultimately affected the politics and culture of the Scandinavian people and largely ended the raids, however slow change happened. By the end of the Viking age, the Scandinavians had become some of the most sought out merchants in Europe and parts of Asia. To better understand how this commerce network happened, it would be prudent to study where the particular Viking tribes went in search of riches and glory.

The most prominent case of dense Viking infiltration lies in England and France, which involves the Danes and Norwegians. The Swedes tended to take the east route to Russia and then south to the Muslim Near East by around 780 CE, establishing themselves as the Rus or Varangians in their relations with the indigenous peoples, but more on that later. From the standpoint of economics, the Viking trade between the British and Franks focused on the export in items of great value and even greater demand comprising of furs, timber, herring, fish, walrus ivory, and Eastern import specialties from the Near East like silk, spices, and silver. In return, the Vikings imported wine, animal skins, salt (for preserving food such as herring exports, for example), tin, honey, and wheat. Wool from England was well sought by the Vikings because it was of finer quality and of stronger texture for making clothes. Walrus tusks were also highly in demand because of the recent lack of elephant ivory in Europe. Trade between the Vikings and the English flourished especially during the reigns of Knut after his father Sven Forkbeard's conquest of England in 1013 CE (recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle) and that of Duke William of Normandy in 1066 CE (recorded in the Bayeux Tapestry), a province in France originally colonized by the Norwegians. As for the Franks, they had more direct contact with the Vikings after taking Saxony under possession during Charlemagne's reign. The Danes' military efforts conflicted and contradicted with this content model of peaceful trade by raiding monasteries and trade villages with light legion forces sent to pillage and quickly return home. The Danes eventually increased pressure by sending small armies down to England and France on plundering expeditions with the troops remaining in the country for longer periods of time and terrorizing the rural peasants while they camped. These campaigns had become more organized and stayed in the same raiding area for extended periods of time. Eventually, large-scale Viking armies were sent in to tackle the Frankish and British armies who opposed their conquering efforts and even colonized specific territories of both England and France, namely the Danelaw (covering Northumbria) and Normandy (surrounding the estuary of the Seine river) respectively. The Norwegians invaded Ireland and the northern tip of Scotland, as well as the Isle of Man and the Faroe Islands. They also colonized Iceland in this time, as well. However, the Norwegians didn't just stop there and raided widely, covering areas of France, Spain, North Africa, and Italy. The important change that was taking place at the time of these conquests was that it was no longer just disgruntled earls going on minor raids, but kings

leading the onslaught in the name of conquest for honor, consolidation of holdings, and the spoils of victory. One of such spoils was a more favorable trade position or arrangement in goods and services imported by the Vikings from the newly conquered territory, of which places like Normandy and England came to be loosely integrated into a weak Scandinavian empire still not really

united. The facade of union occurred in Norway as Harold Finehair (860 CE - 933 CE) became the first monarch of Norway in 872, but some earls didn't like the idea of a single king and split off from Norway to form their independent factions elsewhere. Denmark also tied itself into a pseudo-empire after Knut became king of England by clustering his holdings in England, Denmark, and Sweden together. Despite all this being said, "it is unlikely that Knut had a theory of empire impelling him to add Norway (and some say Sweden) to his realms of England and Denmark". Eventually, Scandinavia would achieve real political unity (in terms of a collective body of political independent countries rather than territories in dispute among various chieftains) and this took place after the Viking Age when the Church took a more important social role. After reviewing Viking raiding and conquest in the context of a political means to an economic end, however now is the time to turn back to a general survey of trade to see how it operated within the Baltic region and how it trickled out in all directions to Europe, Asia, and westward in the Atlantic Ocean.

The goods traded by the Scandinavian Vikings were both valuable commodities and imports necessary for consumption by both the Christian and Islamic worlds, which gave the Vikings a profitable trade market on two fronts.

To begin, trade within Scandinavia involved one crucial element: the Finns or Saami and the Lapps. While most Scandinavians lived in the southern parts of Norway and Sweden with the Danes settled on their little peninsula, the Lapps and Finns were the Viking occupants of the Baltic region above the Arctic circle who hunted and trapped to survive in northern Sweden and Norway (and what would become Finland which was territory held by the Swedes). The Finns and Lapps had an arrangement with the Vikings in the south to supply them with

furs, animal skins, and walrus tusks as tribute to chieftains. Another remarkable thing about the Vikings was their degree of self-sufficiency because "the needs of one region could be met by another". Trade with the Scandinavians began fairly early on in their history as there has been some proof of trade between the Romans and the Scandinavians during the Iron Age. This early trade was done with middle men so that neither side ever saw the other and involved the importation of marble from the Romans. The Scandinavians would later show themselves to the Byzantines as Rus and would buy silk, fruit, spices, jewelry, and wine from Byzantium. These Rus were said

(in primary historical sources) to come from what is modern Russia and were likely to originally have emigrated from Sweden, according to the Russian Primary Chronicle. A Muslim witness, Ibn Fadlan, also beheld the Rus in 922 CE

while visiting Russia and described them in his work *Risala* as "... perfect physical specimens, tall as date palms, blond and ruddy...". From what is known of the Rus, they occupied trade cities like Novgorod and Kiev in Russia and made their way inland and by sea down as far as Baghdad to trade with the Muslims. The western trade routes, namely to Iceland, Greenland, and beyond worked differently. For awhile, these colonies were mostly dependent on Scandinavia for resources to survive, but gradually these colonies began forging a name for themselves with the discovery of important materials that the Vikings could use at home and in trade relations with other civilizations.

Iceland provided a nice surplus to the trade of fish, fats (for preservation of foods), and wool to make clothing. Greenland seemed like a frozen wasteland

at first, but the advantage of its Arctic demeanor became all too clear when walrus tusks were found there and their ivory tusks soon became a valuable

supplement to the lacking inventory of elephant ivory in Western Europe. As expected, animal hides and furs were also to be found indigenous of animals living in the cold climate of Greenland. Wood and furs were found at Vinland, but were never extensively exploited. The reason behind this is still a mystery, but it seems likely from archeological evidence that the Vikings used

the settlement at L'Anse-aux-Meadows as a temporary establishment. Some historians theorize that these same adventurous Vikings sailed further south along the eastern coast of the North American continent and may have settled in New England (Markland), but nothing absolute has been proven about this so it remains shrouded in theory for now.

In conclusion, it should be prudent to note that the question posed by this dissertation doesn't have an actual answer for it depends on how one reads and interprets the ambiguous evidence. The Scandinavians were steeped in a pagan code of personal honor and glory system which suggests a savage barbaric civilization that terrorized and raided without reason or purpose, but that is simply not true. While the Vikings were raiders, they were also farmers and merchants. The excuse for their disposition has to be made in the fact that their isolation from the Continent made them who they were. Christianity was slow to reach Scandinavia, but when it did, it brought the Scandinavians in contact with Rome and the European way. After Christianity prevailed in Scandinavia, one may notice that Scandinavia became even more active and more peaceful in Europe, much as it is today in modern times. The argument of this term paper was not to disprove that the answer to the initial

question "were the Vikings traders or raiders?" is "both", but rather to try to approach the question differently than merely as a reconstructive effort. Rather, it attempts to prove through revisionist or interpretive means that there is a fine line between a society's (in this case, the Vikings as a divided society) military motives and economic considerations. The dissertation also set out to show the correlation between military expansionism (raiding) and commercial rank (trading).

* * *

"The Ancient History of the Distinguished Surname Anctil"
by Maison des Noms (Summer 1998)

Gallic tribes occupied Normandy in the north of France. The distinguished name Anctil is considered to have its origins in this ancient land. In the 1st century BCE, the Romans invaded. With their departure in the 4th century CE, the area became chaotic. Wandrille united the duchy in the 6th century CE and became the first Count of Normandy. The duchy was firmly established after the year 911 CE when Rollo, Earl of Orkney, invaded the territory. He forced the French king Charles the Simple to concede Normandy. Rollo was the first Duke of Normandy. The name Anctil was first found in Normandy where this distinguished family were seated since ancient times.

Changes of spelling have occurred in most surnames. Usually a person spoke his version of his name phonetically to a scribe, a priest, or a recorder. This depended on accent and local accents frequently changed the spelling of a name. Some variables were adopted by different branches of the family name. Hence, we have variations in your name Anctil, some of which are Anctill, Anquetil, Antil, Antile, Antille, Anctille, Anctile, Anquatile, Anquatile, d'Anctill, d'Anctille, d'Anctil, d'Anquetil, d'Antil, d'Antile, d'Antille, Danctill, Danctil, Danctile, Danctille, Danquetil, Anktill, Anktille, Anktile, Antel, Antle, Antell, many of which are still used today.

When William, duke of Normandy, conquered England in 1066 CE, Normandy became part of the crown. Normandy passed into the royal dynasty of the

Plantagenets along with England in the 12th century CE. In the 12th century CE, Henry II of England, Duke of Normandy, married Eleanor of Aquitaine, thus acquiring her lands. The sovereignty of Normandy, Brittany, and Aquitaine was the major cause of the Hundred Years War. Henry III finally conceded his Continental claims in 1259 CE.

The family name Anctil became influential in Normandy, where this ancient family was seated with lands, estates, and manors. It is in the region of Normandy where the name is also mentioned in the somewhat different form of "Anschetillus", who was a Domesday tenant under the reign of William the Conqueror in the county of Essex in 1066 CE. Very early in the century, the family lent their name to the city Anctiville in the diocese of Coutances situated in Normandy and there they were well established. For centuries, Normandy was part of the domain of the House of Blois, the dukes of Normandy, who were the kings of England and so it was considered as an English possession. From the time of the Norman invasion of 1066 CE, the family was granted lands, manors, estates in the British Isles where the family spelled their name as Anketell, Ankettle, Anquetil, Ankill, Antell, and Antill. The family, as a noble family of France, confirmed with letters of patent and heraldic cap, contributed largely to the political as well as cultural scene of the regions in which they settled throughout the centuries. In return for their contributions, many of the different branches were granted titles of nobility. In the Isle of Guernsey and Jersey, the family held lands as the Anquetil, Antil in Kent and Antle in Dorset. The Antles of Britain and France settled very early into Newfoundland, Canada. Notably amongst the family in this period was Anctil of Anctiville.

France became aware of her European leadership in the early 16th century CE. The New World beckoned. The explorers led missionaries to North American settlements along the eastern seaboard, including New France, New England, New Holland, and New Spain. Jacques Cartier made the first three voyages to New France, starting in 1534 CE. Champlain came in 1608 CE. His plans for development in Quebec fell quite short of the objectives of the company of New France. Champlain brought the first true migrant Louis Hebert, a Parisian apothecary, and his family, who arrived in 1617 CE.

In 1643 CE, 109 years after the first landing by Cartier, there were only about 300 people in Quebec. Migration was slow. Early marriage was desperately encouraged among the immigrants. The fur trade attracted migrants, both noble and commoner. 15,000 explorers left Montreal in the late 17th and 18th centuries CE. By 1675 CE, there were 7,000 French in Quebec. By the same year, the Acadian presence in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island had reached 500. In 1755 CE, 10,000 French Acadians refused to take an oath of allegiance to the king of England and were deported to England. The French founded Lower Canada, thus becoming one of two great founding nations of Canada.

Amongst the settlers in North America, with this distinguished name Anctil, were Robert Antle or Antill who settled in Newfoundland by the year 1835 CE. William Antle settled in the same province by the year 1836 CE, as well as George Antell and Barney Antle who settled there by the year 1871 CE. Thomas Antle reached that province in 1886 CE.

The distinguished family name Anctil has made significant contributions to the culture, arts, sciences, and religion of France and New France. For example, Dr. Marc-Andr, Anctil of Quebec City and the fashion designer Pierre Anctil, of Quebec.

During the course of our research, we also determined the most ancient coat-of-arms recorded for this family name of Anctil.

The coat-of-arms for the family name of Anctil was: "On a gold background, there are three green leaves."

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"A Brief History of the French-Canadian Anctils in Quebec (1734-????)"
by Normand J. Anctil

Our ancestor, Jean Anctil, was an educated sailor who could read and write. His wife was not educated, but all his children were literate and so were their children and so on. They had a very distinct advantage in a world where the majority signed their "X" on the bottom line.

With very few exceptions, all of those who immigrated to the U.S. in the late 1800's had a farming background and were attracted to good paying manufacturing jobs in New England. At first, most of them would live in large dorms (as many as 300 per dorm) until they had saved enough money to move to better quarters.

A lot of them came back home to marry their childhood sweethearts and returned to the U.S. where both of them would work, buy a home, and start a family. Soon, brothers and sisters would come to stay with them and a new cycle would start. Popular centres were Nashua, NH.; Manchester, NH.; Fall River, MA.; Lewiston, ME.; and West Warwick, RI [most of this came from census data]. In each of them, they sort of circled their wagons and lived in closely knit communities, often a whole bunch of them on the same street.

From these most humble beginnings came several doctors, pharmacists, dentists, engineers, etc. One of them, Donald Paul Anctil was the chief engineer on the development of the 747 transporter of the Shuttles for NASA. He is now working on the testing and development of a manned payload vehicle which they will slingshot into space, dump their payload and return to earth saving millions of dollars in rocket hardware.

VIII. NOTES & ANECDOTES: [Various Authors]

"With the complete support and assistance of my mentor, Abb, Joseph-Albert Anctil and since retiring in 1989, I have been exchanging data with Joseph-Albert who has been tracing and recording our ancestors in Canada and the U.S.

With his assistance and that of hundreds of Anctil respondents, my database has grown to over 10,500 members of Anctil, Anctil-dit-St-Jean, St-Jean and St-John. The base of which is 638 hand-written copies of sheets (one for each family) of data accumulated and so generously provided by Joseph-Albert. In return, being bilingual, I reserved my activities almost exclusively to the United States and he in Quebec; we both have been exchanging all the data we come across since 1989.

The database goes back to the birth place of Jean Anctil in St-Pair de Ducey, Arrondissement d'Avranches, D,partement de La Manche, Normandy, France. It covers in great detail the 8 branches which forms our family. Each of the branches are headed by one of the 8 married sons of Jean-Baptiste Anctil, the only son of Jean Anctil-dit-St-Jean who landed in Canada in 1734. The bottom line is that we, Joseph-Albert and I, have perhaps the most comprehensive index of the Anctil families in Canada and the United States. I come from family #1 that of Jean-Louis who married twice and had 19 children and you come from the family #3 that of Joseph (who also married twice) and sired 11 children.

In 1994, through Antonio Anctil of Rochester, NH., a young French girl by the name of Veronique Anctil visiting Florida made contact with me wanting to know if our families were linked. She was returning to France and offered to look into things there. So I gave here all the data on the birth of Jean Anctil and his place of birth. While home, she undertook personally to go to St-Pair. She came back with loads of data, photocopies of very old authentic documents, including the birth certificate of Jean Anctil. The material included lists of births 1701-1770, marriages 1711-1785, and Sepulcres

1600-1791. A French governmental document attesting that the number of families living in France at the time was 20 and consisting of 49 members using the name Anctil/Anquetil, 22 of which used Anctil.

As it turned out she possibly found a link to both our families, but this would have to be verified by corroborating evidence. 'François Julien', the younger brother of Jean, was baptised in 1711 in St-Pair. His god-parents were 'Françoise Anquetil' and 'Julien le Chevalier' [?]. A 'Francoise Anquetil'

was buried in the same parish on 7 May 1731. Was she the god-mother? Lack of documents is blamed for this missing link if there is one. It should be noted that much of the documentation of the time could have disappeared during the French Revolution, following wars, etc."

- Normand J. Anctil

* * *

"The Rugians (known to other Germanic-speaking tribes as 'Holmruugii') are thought to have migrated first from the province of Rogaland in western Norway to the mouth of the Oder River between 200 and 150 BCE. From the Oder, they moved east into the lands of the Vandals who forced them to move south where they settled until the arrival of the Goths during the first century of the current era. After the arrival of the Goths, the Rugians migrated westward

and by about 200 CE, occupied the island Ruegen, still named after them.

During the fourth century CE, the Rugians traveled along the Vistula until they arrived south of the Carpathian mountains where they again settled until the arrival of the Huns. The Huns conquered the Rugians who later accompanied them as auxiliary troops in raids against the Eastern Roman Empire. In 451, the Rugians marched with the Huns into France.

In 476, the Rugians joined forces with the Erulians to conquer the last West Roman Emperor, Romulus Augustulus, who had held the post for less than a year. By 487, The Rugians banded with the Goths in a decisive battle against their former allies the Erulians and then migrated into Italy.

After this time, the migrations of the Rugians are vague but they appear at the end of the fourth century CE in Western Europe, accompanying the

Eruli and the Saxonians in raids on England. During the fifth century CE, the Rugians are said to have returned to Rogaland when the Slavs invaded west of the Oder."

- Ken Aldrich

"The Ancient Germans: The Rugians"

1996

* * *

"Indicative of where we start from, these two examples are twelfth-century charters from the cartulary of Garendon Abbey [BL Lansdowne MS 415]. We will continue to concentrate on charters, but later in the course considering some other classes of document. Our first priority, however, is to become proficient with the diplomatic, Latin and palaeography of charters from the twelfth through to the early fourteenth centuries."

3.

clesie sancti andree eiusdem uille Preterea concessi predictis monachis et hac mea carta confirmauit donationem Hugonis et Asketilli filii eius/

the church of Saint Andr, of the same village besides having given the aforesaid monk and this, my charter, confirms this gift to Hugo and his son, Asketill

4.

Hugo de Berges et Asketillus filius eius nepos meus deo et ecclesie sancte MARIE de Gerold', tres uidelicet/

Hugo of Berges and his son Asketill, my god-son, and the holy church Mary of Gerold, three obvious

4.

ecclesie inde aliquam iniuriam intulit ego Turstanus et fratres mei cum predicto nepote nostro Aske-/

the church thenceforth unjust within, I Thurstan (?) and my brother predict our descendent Asketill

- Dr. D.A. Postles

"Medieval Palaeography: Transcriptions and Translations of Charters" [web] 1998

English translation provided by Anna Kettle & Eric R. Anctil

* * *

1. (Sir) Anskill of Sparshot, Abbot of Abingdon (Berkshire), Lord of Seacourt [knight]

born before 1080 CE

married before 1100

died before 1100 CE

Ansfrida of Gauder [former mistress to Henry I Beauclerc, King of England]

born before 1070 CE

buried at Abingdon Abbey

2. Guillaume ["William"] of Sparshot

married to the daughter of Hugh le Despenser

- David N. Ford

"The History of Abingdon, Berkshire" [web] 1998

"Genealogy Data" [web - offline] 1998

* * *

"The family of Gray or Grey, says Burke in his peerages, claims descent from Rollo (born 860 A.D.). John, Lord of Gray, whose son Anschetil de Gray was one of William the Conquerors companions in arms at the battle of Hastings, and was recorded in the Domesday Book (a record compiled by a royal commission set up by William in 1085-86), as lord of many manors and lordships

in the counties of Oxford and Buckingham. Anschetil de Gray had two sons, both

named John. The elder John de Gray had a son, Henry de Gray, who was in high favor with King Richard I and King John."

"untitled" [web] 1995

* * *

"... in the Cotentin one of my knights called Alfred with all his land, and another called Anschetil with his land, Borel and Modol with their whole alod ... also Godebold the knight and all his brothers, with the whole of their alod, but not the beneficium which they hold in Le Talou and in the Pays de Caux." [Cited by Chibnall, 1982, p. 67]

- Erich J. Richter

"Norman Sources of Feudalism", Reed College thesis [web] 1993, 1996

IX. ETEXTS: [Various Authors]

"An Icelandic-English Dictionary based on the MS. collections of the late Richard Cleasby" [excerpt: pages 337-338] (1874)

KETILL, m., dat, katli, pl. katlar, [Goth. katils = Mark vii.4; A.S. cytel; Engl. kettle; O.H.G. kezil; Germ. kessel; Swed. kettel; Dan. kj'del]:-a kettle, cauldron, Eb.198; i elda-husinu var eldr mikill ok katlar yfir, Eg.238, Bs.i.342, ii.135, B.K.52, Fms.vi.364, Edda 28; elda undir katli, kljufa vid undir ketil, Fbr.72 new Ed., Fs.150; var honum goldinn k. mikill ok godr, porst.Sidu H.171; budar-k., Eb.198; eir-k., Eg.; jarn-k., stein-k., an iron, an earthen kettle, O.H.223: in old usage as a general name for every kettle, boiler, cauldron; in mod. usage, esp. of a kettle of a certain shape or of a small kettle, kaffe-k., a coffee kettle; but pottar = cauldron; the same distinction is made in Dipl.v.4,-sex katlar, tiu pottar: katla-mals skjola, a measure, Grag.i.501: the phrase e-m fellr allr ketill i eld, one's kettle falls into the fire, of consternation. 2. the earliest northern eccl. law prescribed an ordeal for a woman to take hot stones out of a boiling kettle, whereas a man had to take up hot iron; ganga til ketils, taka i ketil, Gkv.3.7, (the ordeal being called ketil-tak, n.); beri karlmadr jarn en kona taki i ketil, N.G.L.i. 152; karlmadr skal ganga til arins-jarns en kona til ketiltaks, 389; edr berr hon jarn edr tekr hon i ketil, Grag.i.381. II. as a pr. name of men, Ketill, Ketil-björn; of women, Katla, Ketil-ridr: but chiefly used as the latter part in compd. names of men, contr. into 'kel,' As-kell, Arn-kell, Grim-kell, Hall-kell, Stein-kell, Ulf-kell, Por-kell, V,-kell; of women, Hall-katla, Por-katla. In poets of the 10th century the old uncontracted form was still used, but the contracted form occurs in verses of the beginning of the 11th century, although the old form still occurs now and then. The freq. use of these names is no doubt derived from the holy cauldron at sacrifices, as is indicated by such names as V,-kell, Holy kettle; cp. Ketilby in Yorkshire.

* * *

Nordic Council of Ministers, "From Viking to Crusader: Scandinavia and Europe 800-1220" [excerpts: pages 93, 107-108] (1992)

Some examples of Scandinavian personal names in Normandy

Scandinavian form	11th-century Latin form	Modern French form
Asbjörn	Osbernus	Auber
Asfridr	Ansfridus	Anfray
Asgautr	Ansgotus	Angot
Asketill	Anschetillus	Anquetil
Asmundr	Osmundus	Osmond
Thorgautr	Turgotus	Turgot
Thorgisl	Turgisus	Turgis
Thorsteinn	Turstinus	Toutain
Thorvaldr	Tuoldus	Thouroude

Fig. 2. Signpost in Normandy, France. The place-name La Houlgate occurs with varying spellings in many parts of Normandy. The name is of Scandinavian origin and originally meant 'hollow road'. The name of the commune Bi,ville-Qu,ti,ville is the result of the amalgamation of two settlements with Frankish names, the second of which contains the Scandinavian personal name Ketil.

In England Scandinavian personal names established themselves more securely and many new names developed on English soil, for example by-names such as Broklaus 'trouserless', Serklaus 'shirtless' and Snarri 'the swift one'. Many of the recorded names which end in -ketil such as Brunketil, Ormketil, Steinketil and Ulfketil may also have arisen in England and been carried back from there to the Scandinavian homelands. In England, however, the Norman conquest in 1066 sounded the death-knell for Scandinavian personal names, and by 1200 practically everyone in England had a forename of Frankish or biblical origin. A few Scandinavian personal names have survived to the present day in the colonies where the Scandinavian language has dropped into disuse. Olga is still one of the most popular forenames in Russia, for example, and the forename Somhairle (Sumarlithi) and the surname Macauley (son of Olaf) are current in the Hebrides. In Normandy, Angot (Asgaut), Anquetil (Asketil), Toutain (Thorstein) and Turquetil (Thorketil) survive as surnames (cf.p.93), while in England names such as Harald and Eric received a literary renaissance in the nineteenth century.

* * *

M. Jackson Crispin. "Falaise roll recording prominent companions of William, duke of Normandy at the conquest of England" [excerpts: pages 4, 116] (1938)

ANQUETIL DE ROS. The name Ros is derived from the parish of Ros, now Rots, near Caen. The family was numerous at the time of the conquest, when five of the name, Anquetil, Ansgot, Goisfried, Serlo, and Guillaume, followed duke William to England. All are entered in Domesday, but their relationship has not been determined. William, to whom the Conqueror gave a small barony in Sussex with the abbey of F, camp in 1079, of which he became the third abbot, was the only tenant-in-chief; the others were under-tenants. Anquetil was an under-tenant of the bishop of Bayeux in the counties of Kent and Surrey, and possessed the manor of Holtune. He held in Herefordshire under Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury and from Alain, count of Brittany, in the same country which depended also from the archbishop. He was also a sub-tenant of Robert de Guernon in this county.

Cle., III, 50. Nor. Peo., 382. Rech. Domesd., 161 and fol.

ANCHETIL DE GRAI. From Grai between Bayeux and Caen. M. de Ste-Marie in Recherches sur le Domesday states that this Anchetil belonged to a family of considerable importance in the Bessin, who were sires of Luc and Grai. In 1082 Gisla, daughter of Turstin de Grai, made a donation to Holy Trinity at Caen, which convent she entered. He was the son of Hugh, brother of another Turstin de Grai who remained in Normandy, both sons of Turgis. Anchetil came to England with the Conqueror and held lands in Oxford, 1086 (Domesday), viz. Redrefield (Rotherfield) and five other lordships from William Fitz Osberne (Domesday). Columbanus de Gray, his son, witnessed a charter of Raoul de Limesay, temp. Henry I, whose sons Robert and Roger held extensive lands in 1165 as recorded in the Liber Niger. Hence the lords of Grey, earls of Kent and Stamford, marquesses of Dorset, dukes of Suffolk and the Greys, earls of Tancarville. The Greys were also the ancestors of lady Jane Grey. The claimed Grey descent from Arlette's father said to have held the castle of Croy in Picardy is incorrect.

Rech. Domesd., 163-70. Nor. Peo., 270. Cle., II, 87.

Gall. Christ., XI, Instr. 71. Mon., i, 331.

* * *

William Nelson, "Edward Antill, a New York merchant of the seventeenth century,

and his descendants : Edward Antill, 2d, of Piscataway, New Jersey,
Lieutenant
Colonel Edward Antill, 3d, of Quebec and Montreal, Dr. Lewis Antill, of Perth
Amboy, and Major John Antill, of New York" (1899)

-- More -- [to be included in separate file NELSON.TXT, 35 pages]

* * *

R.V. Pockley, "The Antill family, England 833-America 1680, Australia 1809"
(1978)

-- More -- [to be included in separate file POCKLEY.TXT, 278 pages]

* * *

"A short history, with notes and references, of the ancient and honorable
family of Ancketill or Ancetell" (1901)

-- More -- [to be included in separate file ANCETELL.TXT, 60 pages]

* * *

Joseph-Albert Anctil, "A la m,moire de David Anctil de Saint-Philippe-de
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La Pocatišre" (1986)

-- More -- [to be included in separate file JAANCTIL.TXT, 177 pages]

* * *

No%l Anctil, "G,n,alogie de la famille Alfred Anctil: ses anc^tres, ses
descendants" (1982)

-- More -- [to be included in separate file NOANCTIL.TXT, 163 pages]

X. CONCLUSIONS: ERIC R. ANCTIL

Anctil is the modern French surname derivative of a Germanic root
personal name which has its origins in Northern Europe around 200 BCE
(Katilaz).

The name was exported to England by the invading Saxons in 449 CE where it
developed many new phonetic variations and was imported by the Norwegian
Vikings to Norway when they raided England around 700 CE. These Norwegian
Vikings later settled in the Contentin (western) region of Normandy, France
around 933 CE where the name evolved from Asketill (10th century CE) to
Anschetillus (11th century CE) to Anquetil (12th century CE) to Anctil
(17th century CE).

In 1734 CE, Jean Louis Anctil dit St-Jean emigrated from Avranches,
Normandy, France to Nouvelle France (Quebec, Canada) and established a family
line, where the surname today is predominate. The Anctil family name can be
found throughout the United Kingdom (former colonies included) and even most
of the world today. Popular surname septs that remain in existence today for
the Anctil surname are the following: Anquetil/Anctil, Ancell/Ansell,
Antill/Antle, McCaskill/MacAskill, Axtell, Kettle.

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michael@emcee.com, mikecooley@aol.com

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Last update 10 March 1999

Kettle Genealogy home page

<http://life.bio.sunysb.edu/ee/msr/Ethno/gendate4.html>

REF REC START END GENS L LOCATION A COMMENTS

*12 24 250 267 N E. Heruli G Sea of Azov Q From S: Smaland, Halland, Blekinge.
{12- 23} 900 560 250 375 A E. Heruli G {Sea of Azov}
{12-24} L For consistency with (12-24) & (11-66). 11 131 267 276 N E. Heruli G Bosphorus, Aegean & Asia
Minor. N From Sea of Azov. *{12-24}* 1 14 268 # N E. Heruli G R, BG, GR A From Sea of Azov. *{12-24}* 11
66 375 # N E. Heruli G Balkans beyond Dnepr R & Danube M From Sea of Azov. *{12-24}* Not clear whether
they stayed there between 375 and ca 450 AD and then moved to E A & S Moravia or whether they moved there
right away. 900 561 375 451 A E. Heruli G {Balkans beyond Dnepr R & Danube} L *{11-66}* For consistency
with (11-66) & (1-37). From Sea of Azov. *{12-24}* Not clear whether they stayed there between 375 and ca 450
AD and then moved to E A & S Moravia or whether they moved there right away. 1 37 451 # N E. Heruli G S
Moravia & Lower A W of March R M up to Vienna. Also betw March and Eipel (Ipel) RR (in Slovakia; acc/to ref
(12-26)). From Balkans beyond Dnepr R & Danube. *{11- 66}* Not clear whether they stayed there between 375
and ca 450 AD and then moved to E A & S Moravia or whether they moved there right away. Beaten and dispersed
by Lombards in 508, N of L. Balaton. But R. Much cites 494 for this event. 900 562 451 508 A E. Heruli G {S
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(12-26)).} *{1-37}* For consistency with (1-37) & (30-6), (133- 32). Ref (12-26) notes a rapid numerical increase.
12 27 473 508 A E. Heruli G Pannonia, Noricum A From S Moravia & Lower A W of March R up to Vienna. Also
betw March and Eipel (Ipel) RR (in Slovakia; acc/to ref (12- 26)). *{1-37}* 12 28 508 512 A E. Heruli G Dacia
Ripensis RP Q Parts of E. Eruli, beaten by Lombards, mistreated by Gepids, resettled by Romans. They provided
many mercenaries for the Roman armies. From S Moravia & Lower A W of March R up to Vienna. Also betw
March and Eipel (Ipel) RR (in Slovakia; acc/to ref (12-26)). *{1-37}* 30 6 508 # A E. Heruli G Vaestergoetland Q
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majority of the E. Heruli. 133 32 508 # N E. Heruli G Moesia Inferior RP Q Part of people. From S Moravia &
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37}* 148 10 508 510 N E. Heruli G Tisza R area Q From S Moravia & Lower A W of March R up to Vienna. Also
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Heruli G {Dacia Ripensis RP} *{12-28}* L For consistency with (12-28) & (12-30). 12 30 550 # A E. Heruli G
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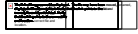
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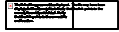
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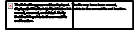
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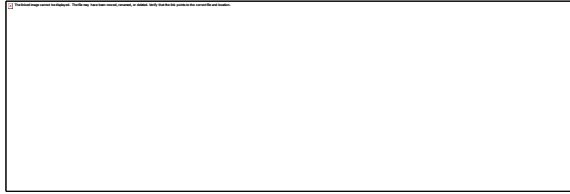
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JORDANES ON THE EMIGRATION OF THE GOTHs, GEPIDÆ, AND HERULIANS.

THE MIGRATION SAGA OF THE BURGUNDIANS. TRACES OF AN ALAMANNIC MIGRATION SAGA.



The most populous and mighty of all the Teutonic tribes was during a long period the *Gothic*, which carried victorious weapons over all eastern and southern Europe and Asia Minor, and founded kingdoms between the Don in the East and the Atlantic ocean and the Pillars of Hercules in the West and South. The traditions of the Goths also referred the cradle of the race to Scandinavia. Jordanes, a Romanised Goth, wrote in the sixth century the history of his people. In the North, he says, there is a great ocean, and in this ocean there is a large island called Scandza, out of whose loins our race burst forth like a swarm of bees and spread over Europe. In its capacity as cradle of the Gothic race, and of other Teutonic tribes, this island Scandza is clearly of great interest to Jordanes, the more so since he, through his father Vamod or Alano-Vamut, regarded himself as descended from the same royal family as that from which the Amalians, the famous royal family of the East Goths, traced their ancestry. On this account Jordanes gives as complete a description of this island as possible. He first tells what the Greek and Roman authors Claudius Ptolemy and Pomponius Mela have written about it, but he also reports a great many things which never before were known in literature, unless they were found in the lost *Historia Gothorum* by Cassiodorus - things which either Jordanes himself or Cassiodorus had learned from Northmen who were members of the large Teutonic armies then in Italy. Jordanes also points out, with an air of superiority, that while the geographer Ptolemy did not know more than seven nations living on the island Scandza, he is able to enumerate many more. Unfortunately several of the Scandinavian tribe-names given by him are so corrupted by the transcriber that it is useless to try to restore them. It is also evident that Jordanes himself has had a confused notion of the proper geographical or political application of the names. Some of them, however, are easily recognisable as the names of tribes in various parts of Sweden and Norway, as, for instance, Vagoth, Ostrogothæ, Finnaithæ (inhabitants of Finved), Bergio, Hallin, Raumaricii, Ragnaricii, Rani. He gives us special accounts of a Scandinavian people, which he calls sometimes Svehans and sometimes Svethidi, and with these words there is every reason to believe that he means the Swedes in the wider or more limited application of this term. This is what he tells about the Svehans or Svethidi: The Svehans are in connection with the Thuringians living on the continent, that Teutonic people which is particularly celebrated for their excellent horses. The Svehans are excellent hunters, who kill the animals whose skins through countless hands are sent to the Romans, and are treasured by them as the finest of furs. This trade cannot have made the Svehans rich. Jordanes gives us to understand that their economical circumstances were not brilliant, but all the more brilliant were their clothes. He says they dressed *ditissime*. Finally, he has been informed that the Svethidi are superior to other races in stature and corporal strength, and that the Danes are a branch of the Svethidi. What Jordanes relates about the

excellent horses of the Swedes is corroborated by the traditions which the Icelanders have preserved. The fact that so many tribes inhabited the island Scandza strengthens his conviction that this island is the cradle of many of the peoples who made war on and invaded the Roman Empire. The island Scandza, he says, has been *officina gentium, vagina nationum* - the source of races, the mother of nations. And thence - he continues, relying on the traditions and songs of his own people - the Goths, too, have emigrated. This emigration occurred under the leadership of a chief named Berig, and he thinks he knows where they landed when they left their ships, and that they, like the Longobardians, on their progress came in conflict with the Vandals before they reached the regions north of the Black Sea, where they afterwards founded the great Gothic kingdom which flourished when the Huns invaded Europe.

10

The saga current among the Goths, that they had emigrated from Scandinavia, ascribed the same origin to the Gepidæ. The Gepidæ were a brave but rather sluggish Teutonic tribe, who shared the fate of the Goths when the Huns invaded Europe, and, like the Goths, they cast off the Hunnish yoke after the death of Attila. The saga, as Jordanes found it, stated that when the ancestors of the Goths left Scandza, the whole number of the emigrants did not fill more than three ships. Two of them came to their destination at the same time; but the third required more time, and therefore the first-comers called those who arrived last Gepanta (possibly Gepaita), which, according to Jordanes, means those tarrying, or the slow ones, and this name changed in course of time into Gepidæ. That the interpretation is taken from Gothic traditions is self-evident.

11

Jordanes has heard a report that even the warlike Teutonic Herulians had come to Germany from Scandinavia. According to the report, the Herulians had not emigrated voluntarily from the large island, but had been driven away by the Svethidi, or by their descendants, the Danes. That the Herulians themselves had a tradition concerning their Scandinavian origin is corroborated by history. In the beginning of the sixth century, it happened that this people, after an unsuccessful war with the Longobardians, were divided into two branches, of which the one received land from the emperor Anastasius south of the Danube, while the other made a resolve, which has appeared strange to all historians, viz., to seek a home on the Scandinavian peninsula. The circumstances attending this resolution make it still more strange. When they had passed the Slavs, they came to uninhabited regions - uninhabited, probably, because they had been abandoned by the Teutons, and had not yet been occupied by the Slavs. In either case, they were open to the occupation of the Herulians; but they did not settle there. We misunderstand their character if we suppose that they failed to do so from fear of being disturbed in their possession of them. Among all the Teutonic tribes none were more distinguished than the Herulians for their indomitable desire for war, and for their rash plans. Their conduct furnishes evidence of that thoughtlessness with which the historian has characterised them. After penetrating the wilderness, they came to the landmarks of the Varinians, and then to those of the Danes. These granted the Herulians a free passage, whereupon the adventurers, in ships which the Danes must have placed at their disposal, sailed over the sea to the island "Thule," and remained there. Procopius, the East Roman historian who records this (*De Bello Goth.*, ii. 15), says that on the immense island Thule, in whose northern part the midnight sun can be seen, thirteen large tribes occupy its inhabitable parts, each tribe having its own king. Excepting the Ski-Finns, who clothe themselves in skins and live from the chase, these Thulitic tribes, he says, are scarcely to be distinguished from the people dwelling farther south in Europe. One of the largest tribes is the Gauts (the Götär). The Herulians went to the Gauts and were received by them.

Some decades later it came to pass that the Herulians remaining in South Europe, and dwelling in Illyria, were in want of a king. They resolved to send messengers to their kinsmen who had settled in Scandinavia, hoping that some descendant of their old royal family might be found there who was willing to assume the dignity of king among them. The messengers returned with two brothers who belonged to the ancient family of rulers, and these were escorted by 200 young Scandinavian Herulians.

As Jordanes tells us that the Herulians actually were descended from the great northern island, then this seems to me to explain this remarkable resolution. They were seeking new homes in that land which in their old songs was described as having belonged to their fathers. In their opinion, it was a return to the country which contained the ashes of their ancestors. According to an old middle age source, *Vita Sigismundi*, the Burgundians also had old traditions about a Scandinavian origin. As will be shown further on, the Burgundian saga was connected with the same emigration chief as that of the Saxons and Franks (see No. 123).

Reminiscences of an Alamannic migration saga can be traced in the traditions found around the Vierwaldstädter Lake. The inhabitants of the Canton Schwitz have believed that they originally came from Sweden. It is fair to assume that this tradition in the form given to it in literature has suffered a change, and that the chroniclers, on account of the similarity between Sweden and Schwitz, have transferred the home of the Alamannic Switzians to Sweden, while the original popular tradition has, like the other Teutonic migration sagas, been satisfied with the more vague idea that the Schwitzians came from the country in the sea north of Germany when they settled in their Alpine valleys. In the same regions of Switzerland popular traditions have preserved the memory of an exploit which belongs to the Teutonic mythology, and is there performed by the great archer Ibor (see No. 108), and as he reappears in the Longobardian tradition as a migration chief, the possibility lies near at hand, that he originally was no stranger to the Alamannic migration saga.

19.

THE TEUTONIC EMIGRATION SAGA FOUND IN TACITUS.

The migration sagas which I have now examined are the only ones preserved to our time on Teutonic ground. They have come down to us from the traditions of various tribes. They embrace the East Goths, West Goths, Longobardians, Gepidæ, Burgundians, Herulians, Franks, Saxons, Swabians, and Alamannians. And if we add to these the evidence of Hrabanus Maurus, then all the German tribes are embraced in the traditions. All the evidences are unanimous in pointing to the North as the Teutonic cradle. To these testimonies we must, finally, add the oldest of all - the testimony of the sources of Tacitus from the time of the birth of Christ and the first century of our era.

The statements made by Tacitus in his masterly work concerning the various tribes of Germany and their religion, traditions, laws, customs, and character, are gathered from men who, in Germany itself, had seen and heard what they reported. Of this every page of the work bears evidence, and it also proves its author to have been a man of keen observation, veracity, and wide knowledge. The knowledge of his reporters extends to the myths and heroic songs of the Teutons. The latter is the characteristic means with which a gifted people, still leading their primitive life, makes compensation for their lack of

written history in regard to the events and exploits of the past. We find that the man he interviewed had informed himself in regard to the contents of the songs which described the first beginning and the most ancient adventures of the race, and he had done this with sufficient accuracy to discover a certain disagreement in the genealogies found in these songs of the patriarchs and tribe heroes of the Teutons - a disagreement which we shall consider later on. But the man who had done this had heard nothing which could bring him, and after him Tacitus, to believe that the Teutons had immigrated from some remote part of the world to that country which they occupied immediately before the birth of Christ - to that Germany which Tacitus describes, and in which he embraces that large island in the North Sea where the seafaring and warlike Sviones dwelt. Quite the contrary. In his sources of information Tacitus found nothing to hinder him from assuming as probable the view he expresses - that the Teutons were aborigines, autochthones, fostered on the soil which was their fatherland. He expresses his surprise at the typical similarity prevailing among all the tribes of this populous people, and at the dissimilarity existing between them on the one hand, and the non-Teutonic peoples on the other; and he draws the conclusion that they are entirely unmixed with other races, which, again, presupposes that the Teutons from the most ancient times have possessed their country for themselves, and that no foreign element has been able to get a foothold there. He remarks that there could scarcely have been any immigrations from that part of Asia which was known to him, or from Africa or Italy, since the nature of Germany was not suited to invite people from richer and more beautiful regions. But while Tacitus thus doubts that non-Teutonic races ever settled in Germany, still he has heard that people who desired to exchange their old homes for new ones have come there to live. But these settlements did not, in his opinion, result in a mixing of the race. Those early immigrants did not come by land, but in fleets over the sea; and as this sea was the boundless ocean which lies beyond the Teutonic continent and was seldom visited by people living in the countries embraced in the Roman empire, those immigrants must themselves have been Teutons. The words of Tacitus are (*Germ.*, 2): *Germanos indigenas crediderim minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitibus mixtos, quia nec terra olim sed classibus advehebantur qui mutare sedes quærebant, et immensus ultra atque ut sic dixerim, adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur.* "I should think that the Teutons themselves are aborigines, and not at all mixed through immigrations or connection with non-Teutonic tribes. For those desiring to change homes did not in early times come by land, but in ships across the boundless and, so to speak, hostile ocean - a sea seldom visited by ships from the Roman world." This passage is to be compared with, and is interpreted by, what Tacitus tells when he, for the second time, speaks of this same ocean in chapter 44, where he relates that in the very midst of this ocean lies a land inhabited by Teutonic tribes, rich not only in men and arms, but also in fleets (*præter viros armaque classibus valent*), and having a stronger and better organisation than the other Teutons. These people formed several communities (*civitates*). He calls them the Sviones, and describes their ships. The conclusion to be drawn from his words is, in short, that those immigrants were Northmen belonging to the same race as the continental Teutons. Thus traditions concerning immigrations from the North to Germany have been current among the continental Teutons already in the first century after Christ.



But Tacitus' contribution to the Teutonic migration saga is not limited to this. In regard to the origin of a city then already ancient and situated on the Rhine, Asciburgium (*Germ.*, 3), his reporter had heard that it was founded by an ancient hero who had come with his ships from the German Ocean, and had sailed up the Rhine a great distance beyond the Delta, and had then disembarked and laid the foundations of Asciburgium. His reporter had also heard such stories about this ancient Teutonic hero that persons acquainted with

the Greek-Roman traditions (the Romans or the Gallic neighbours of Asciburgium) had formed the opinion that the hero in question could be none else than the Greek Ulysses, who, in his extensive wanderings, had drifted into the German Ocean and thence sailed up the Rhine. In weighing this account of Tacitus we must put aside the Roman-Gallic conjecture concerning Ulysses' visit to the Rhine, and confine our attention to the fact on which this conjecture is based. The fact is that around Asciburgium a tradition was current concerning an ancient hero who was said to have come across the northern ocean with a host of immigrants and founded the above-named city on the Rhine, and that the songs or traditions in regard to this ancient hero were of such a character that they who knew the adventures of Ulysses thought they had good reason for regarding him as identical with the latter. Now, the fact is that the Teutonic mythology has a hero who, to quote the words of an ancient Teutonic document, "was the greatest of all travellers," and who on his journeys met with adventures which in some respects remind us of Ulysses'. Both descended to Hades; both travelled far and wide to find their beloved. Of this mythic hero and his adventures see Nos. 96-107, and No. 107 about Asciburgium in particular.



It lies outside the limits of the present work to investigate whether these traditions contain any historical facts. There is need of caution in this respect, since facts of history are, as a rule, short-lived among a people that do not keep written annals. The historical songs and traditions of the past which the Scandinavians recorded in the twelfth century do not go further back in time than to the middle of the ninth century, and the oldest were already mixed with stories of the imagination. The Hellenic historical records from a pre-literary time were no older; nor were those of the Romans. The question how far historically important emigrations from the Scandinavian peninsula and Denmark to Germany have taken place should in my opinion be considered entirely independent of the old migration traditions if it is to be based on a solid foundation. If it can be answered in the affirmative, then those immigrations must have been partial returns of an Aryan race which, prior to all records, have spread from the South to the Scandinavian countries. But the migration traditions themselves clearly have their firmest root in myths, and not in historical memories; and at all events are so closely united with the myths, and have been so transformed by song and fancy, that they have become useless for historical purposes. The fact that the sagas preserved to our time make nearly all the most important and most numerous Teutonic tribes which played a part in the destiny of Southern Europe during the Empire emigrants from Scandinavia is calculated to awaken suspicion.



The wide diffusion this belief has had among the Teutons is sufficiently explained by their common mythology - particularly by the myth concerning the earliest age of man or of the Teutonic race. As this work of mine advances, I shall find opportunity of presenting the results of my investigations in regard to this myth. The fragments of it must, so to speak, be exhumed from various mounds, and the proofs that these fragments belong together, and once formed a unit, can only be presented as the investigation progresses. In the division "The Myth concerning the Earliest Period and the Emigrations from the North," I give the preparatory explanation and the general résumé (Nos. 20-43). For the points which cannot there be demonstrated without too long digressions the proofs will be presented in the division "The Myth concerning the Race of Ivaldi" (Nos. 96-123).

38.

THE WORLD WAR (continued).
THE WAR IN MIDGARD BETWEEN HALFDAN'S SONS.
GROA'S SONS AGAINST ALVEIG'S.
LOKI'S APPEARANCE ON THE STAGE. HADDING'S YOUTHFUL
ADVENTURES.

The conflict between the gods has its counterpart in, and is connected with, a war between all the Teutonic races, and the latter is again a continuation of the feud between Halfdan and Svipdag. The Teutonic race comes to the front fighting under three race-representatives - (1) Yngvi-Svipdag, the son of Orvandel and Groa; (2) Gudhorm, the son of Halfdan and Groa, consequently Svipdag's half-brother; (3) Hadding, the son of Halfdan and Alveig (in Saxo called Signe, daughter of Sumbel), consequently Gudhorm's half-brother.

The ruling Vans favour Svipdag, who is Freyja's husband and Frey's brother-in-law. The banished Asas support Hadding from their place of refuge. The conflict between the gods and the war between Halfdan's successor and heir are woven together. It is like the Trojan war, where the gods, divided into parties, assist the Trojans or assist the Danai. Odin, Thor, and Heimdall interfere, as we shall see, to protect Hadding. This is their duty as kinsmen; for Heimdall, having assumed human nature, was the lad with the sheaf of grain who came to the primeval country and became the father of Borgar, who begat the son Halfdan. Thor was Halfdan's associate father; hence he too had duties of kinship toward Hadding and Gudhorm, Halfdan's sons. The gods, on the other hand, that favour Svipdag are, in Hadding's eyes, foes, and Hadding long refuses to propitiate Frey by a demanded sacrifice (Saxo, *Hist.*, 49, 50).

This war, simultaneously waged between the clans of the gods on the one hand, and between the Teutonic tribes on the other, is what the seeress in *Völuspá* calls "the first great war in the world". She not only gives an account of its outbreak and events among the gods, but also indicates that it was waged on the earth. Then -

Sá hún valkyrjur,
vitt um komnar,
görvar að ríða
til Goðþjóðar.

Saw she valkyries
far travelled
equipped to ride
to Godthjod.

Godthjod is the Teutonic people and the Teutonic country.

When Svipdag had slain Halfdan, and when the Asas were expelled, the sons of the Teutonic patriarch were in danger of falling into the power of Svipdag. Thor interested himself in their behalf; and brought Gudhorm and Hadding to Jotunheim, where he concealed them with the giants Hafli and Vagnhofdi - Gudhorm in Hafli's rocky gard and Hadding in Vagnhofdi's. In Saxo, who relates this story, the Asa-god Thor appears partly as *Thor deus* and *Thoro pugil*, Halfdan's protector, whom Saxo himself identifies as the god Thor (*Hist.*, 324), and partly as *Brac* and *Brache*, which name Saxo formed from Thor's epithet, *Asa-Bragr*. It is by the name *Brache* that Thor appears as the protector of Halfdan's sons. The giants Hafli and Vagnhofdi dwell, according to Saxo, in "Svetia" probably, since Jotunheim, the northernmost Sweden, and the most distant east were called *Svíþjóð*

in kalda. [Filii Gram, Guthormus et Hadingus, quorum alterum Gro, alterum Signe enixa est, Svipdagero Daniam obtinente, per educatorem suum Brache nave Svetiam deportati, Vagnopho et Haphlio gigantibus non solum alendi, verum etiam defensandi traduntur (Saxo, Hist., 34).]*

Svipdag waged war against Halfdan, since it was his duty to avenge the disgrace of his mother Groa, and also that of his mother's father, and, as shall be shown later, the death of his father Orvandel (see Nos. 108, 109). The revenge for bloodshed was sacred in the Teutonic world, and this duty he performed when he with his irresistible sword felled his stepfather. But thereby the duty of revenge for bloodshed was transferred to Halfdan's sons - less to Gudhorm, who is himself a son of Groa, but with all its weight to Hadding, the son of Alveig, and it is his bounden duty to bring about Svipdag's death, since Svipdag had slain Halfdan. Connecting itself with Halfdan's robbery of Groa, the goddess of growth, the red thread of revenge for bloodshed extends throughout the great hero-saga of Teutonic mythology.

Svipdag makes an effort to cut the thread. He offers Gudhorm and Hadding peace and friendship, and promises them kingship among the tribes subject to him. Groa's son, Gudhorm, accepts the offer, and Svipdag makes him ruler of the Danes; but Hadding sends answer that he prefers to avenge his father's death to accepting favours from an enemy (Saxo, *Hist.*, 35, 36).

Svipdag's offer of peace and reconciliation is in harmony, if not with his own nature, at least with that of his kinsmen, the reigning Vans. If the offer to Hadding had been accepted, we might have looked for peace in the world. Now the future is threatened with the devastations of war, and the bloody thread of revenge shall continue to be spun if Svipdag does not prevent it by overpowering Hadding. The myth may have contained much information about the efforts of the one camp to capture him and about contrivances of the other to frustrate these efforts. Saxo has preserved a partial record thereof. Among those who plot against Hadding is also Loki (*Lokerus* - Saxo, *Hist.*, 40, 41), [* The form *Loki* is also duplicated by the form *Lokr*. The latter is preserved in the sense of "effeminated man," found in myths concerning Loki. Compare the phrase "*veykr Lokr*" with "*hinn veyki Loki*".] the banished ally of Aurboða. His purpose is doubtless to get into the favour of the reigning Vans. Hadding is no longer safe in Vagnhofdi's mountain home. The lad is exposed to Loki's snares. From one of these he is saved by the Asa-father himself. There came, says Saxo, on this occasion a rider to Hadding. He resembled a very aged man, one of whose eyes was lost (*grandævus quidam altero orbus oculo*). He placed Hadding in front of himself on the horse, wrapped his mantle about him, and rode away. The lad became curious and wanted to see whither they were going. Through a hole in the mantle he got an opportunity of looking down, and found to his astonishment and fright that land and sea were far below the hoofs of the steed. The rider must have noticed his fright, for he forbade him to look out any more.

The rider, the one-eyed old man, is Odin, and the horse is Sleipnir, rescued from the captured Asgard. The place to which the lad is carried by Odin is the place of refuge secured by the Asas during their exile *í Manheimum*. In perfect harmony with the myths, Saxo refers Odin's exile to the time preceding Hadding's juvenile adventures, and makes Odin's return to power simultaneous with Hadding's great victory over his enemies (*Hist.*, 42-44). Saxo has also found in his sources that sword-slain men,

whom Odin chooses during "the first great war in the world," cannot come to Valhall. The reason for this is that Odin is not at that time the ruler there. They have dwelling-places and plains for their warlike amusements appointed in the lower world (*Hist.*, 51).

The regions which, according to Saxo, are the scenes of Hadding's juvenile adventures lie on the other side of the Baltic down toward the Black Sea. He is associated with "Curetians" and "Hellespontians," doubtless for the reason that the myth has referred those adventures to the far east.

The one-eyed old man is endowed with wonderful powers. When he landed with the lad at his home, he sang over him prophetic incantations to protect him (*Hist.*, 40), and gave him a drink of the "most splendid sort," which produced in Hadding enormous physical strength, and particularly made him able to free himself from bonds and chains. (Compare *Hávamál* 149, concerning Odin's freeing incantations by which "fetters spring from the feet and chains from the hands".) A comparison with other passages, which I shall discuss later, shows that the potion of which the old man is lord contains something which is called "Leifnir's flames," and that he who has been permitted to drink it, and over whom freeing incantations have simultaneously been sung, is able with his warm breath to free himself from every fetter which has been put on his enchanted limbs (see Nos. 43, 96, 103).

The old man predicts that Hadding will soon have an opportunity of testing the strength with which the drink and the magic songs have endowed him. And the prophecy is fulfilled. Hadding falls into the power of Loki. He chains him and threatens to expose him as food for a wild beast - in Saxo a lion, in the myth presumably some one of the wolf or serpent prodigies that are Loki's offspring. But when his guards are put to sleep by Odin's magic song, though Odin is far away, Hadding bursts his bonds, slays the beast, and eats, in obedience to Odin's instructions, its heart. (The saga of Sigurd Fafnisbani has copied this feature. Sigurd eats the heart of the dragon Fafnir and gets wisdom thereby.)

Thus Hadding has become a powerful hero, and his task to make war on Svipdag, to revenge on him his father's death, and to recover the share in the rulership of the Teutons which Halfdan had possessed, now lies before him as the goal he is to reach.

Hadding leaves Vagnhofdi's home. The latter's daughter, Hardgrip, who had fallen in love with the youth, accompanies him. When we next find Hadding he is at the head of an army. That this consisted of the tribes of Eastern Teutondom is confirmed by documents which I shall hereafter quote; but it also follows from Saxo's narrative, although he has referred the war to narrower limits than were given to it in the myth, since he, constructing a Danish history from mythic traditions, has his eyes fixed chiefly on Denmark. Over the Scandian tribes and the Danes rule, according to Saxo's own statement, Svipdag, and as his tributary king in Denmark his half-brother Gudhorm. Saxo also is aware that the Saxons, the Teutonic tribes of the German lowlands, on one occasion were the allies of Svipdag (*Hist.*, 34). From these parts of Teutondom did not come Hadding's friends, but his enemies; and when we add that the first battle which Saxo mentions in this war was fought among the Curetians east of the Baltic, then it is clear that Saxo, too, like the other records to which I am coming later, has conceived the forces under Hadding's banner as having been gathered in the East. From this it is evident that the war is

one between the tribes of North Teutondom, led by Svipdag and supported by the Vans on the one side, and the tribes of East Teutondom, led by Hadding and supported by the Asas on the other. But the tribes of the western Teutonic continent have also taken part in the first great war of mankind. Gudhorm, whom Saxo makes a tributary king in Yngvi-Svipdag's most southern domain, Denmark, has in the mythic traditions had a much greater empire, and has ruled over the tribes of Western and Southern Teutondom, as shall be shown hereafter.

39.

THE WORLD WAR (continued).

THE POSITION OF THE DIVINE CLANS TO THE WARRIORS.

The circumstance that the different divine clans had their favourites in the different camps gives the war a peculiar character. The armies see before a battle supernatural forms contending with each other in the starlight, and recognise in them their divine friends and opponents (*Hist.*, 48). The elements are conjured on one and the other side for the good or harm of the contending brother-tribes. When fog and pouring rain suddenly darken the sky and fall upon Hadding's forces from that side where the fylkings of the North are arrayed, then the one-eyed old man comes to their rescue and calls forth dark masses of clouds from the other side, which force back the rain-clouds and the fog (*Hist.*, 53). In these cloud-masses we must recognise the presence of the thundering Thor, the son of the one-eyed old man.

Giants also take part in the conflict. Vagnhofdi and Hardgref, the latter in a man's attire, contend on the side of the foster-son and the beloved Hadding (*Hist.*, 45, 38). From Icelandic records we learn that Hafli and the giantesses Fenja and Menja fight under Gudhorm's banners. In the *Gróttasong* (13-14) these maids sing:

En	við	síðan
á		Svíþjóðu
framvísar		tvær
í	fólk	stigum;
beiddum		björnu,
en	brutum	skjöldu,
gengum	í	gegnum
gráserkjað		lið.
Steyptum		stilli,
studdum		annan,
veittum		góðum
Gothormi lið.		

That the giant Hafli fought on the side of Gudhorm is probable from the fact that he is his foster-father, and it is confirmed by the fact that Thor paraphrased (*Grett.*, 30) is called *fangvinr Hafli*, "he who wrestled with Hafli". Since Thor and Hafli formerly were friends - else the former would not have trusted Gudhorm to the care of the latter - their appearance afterwards as foes can hardly be explained otherwise than by the war between Thor's protégé Hadding and Hafli's foster-son Gudhorm. And as Hadding's foster-father, the giant Vagnhofdi, faithfully supports the young chief whose childhood he protected, then the myth could scarcely avoid giving a

similar part to the giant Hafli, and thus make the foster-fathers, like the foster-sons, contend with each other. The heroic poems are fond of parallels of this kind.

When Svipdag learns that Hadding has suddenly made his appearance in the East, and gathered its tribes around him for a war with Gudhorm, he descends from Asgard and reveals himself in the primeval Teutonic country on the Scandian peninsula, and requests its tribes to join the Danes and raise the banner of war against Halfdan's and Alveig's son, who, at the head of the eastern Teutons, is marching against their half-brother Gudhorm. The friends of both parties among the gods, men and giants, hasten to attach themselves to the cause which they have espoused as their own, and Vagnhofdi among the rest abandons his rocky home to fight by the side of his foster-son and daughter.

This mythic situation is described in a hitherto unexplained strophe in the Old English song concerning the names of the letters in the runic alphabet. In regard to the rune which answers to *I* there is added the following lines:

Ing vās ærest mid Eástdenum
geseven secgum oð he siððan eást
ofer væg gevât. Væn æfter ran;
þus Hearingas þone hāle nemdon.

"Yngvi (Ingi) was first seen among the East-Danes.
Then he betook himself eastward over the sea.
Vagn hastened to follow:
Thus the Hearings called this hero."

The Hearings are the Haddings - that is to say, Hadding himself, the kinsmen and friends who embraced his cause, and the Teutonic tribes who recognised him as their chief. The Norse *Haddingr* is to the Anglo-Saxon *Hearing* as the Norse *haddr* to the Anglo-Saxon *heard*. Vigfusson, and before him J. Grimm, have already identified these forms.

Ing is Yngvi-Svipdag, who, when he left Asgard, "was first seen among the East-Danes". He calls Swedes and Danes to arms against Hadding's tribes. The Anglo-Saxon strophe confirms the fact that they dwell in the East, separated by a sea from the Scandian tribes. Ing, with his warriors, "betakes himself eastward over the sea" to attack them. Thus the armies of the Swedes and Danes go by sea to the seat of war. What the authorities of Tacitus heard among the continental Teutons about the mighty fleets of the Swedes may be founded on the heroic songs about the first great war not less than on fact. As the army which was to cross the Baltic must be regarded as immensely large, so the myth, too, has represented the ships of the Swedes as numerous, and in part as of immense size. A confused record from the songs about the expedition of Svipdag and his friends against the East Teutons, found in Icelandic tradition, occurs in *Fornaldarsögur*, pp. 406-407, where a ship called Gnoð, and capable of carrying 3000 men, is mentioned as belonging to a King Asmund. Odin did not want this monstrous ship to reach its destination, but sank it, so it is said, in the Lessö seaway, with all its men and contents. The Asmund who is known in the heroic sagas of heathen times is a son of Svipdag and a king among the Sviones (Saxo, *Hist.*, 44). According to Saxo, he has given brilliant proofs of his bravery in the war against Hadding, and fallen by the weapons of Vagnhofdi and

Hadding. That Odin in the Icelandic tradition appears as his enemy thus corresponds with the myth. The same Asmund may, as Gisli Brynjulfsson has assumed, be meant in *Grímnismál* (49), where we learn that Odin, concealing himself under the name *Jálkr*, once visited Asmund.

The hero Vagn, whom "the Haddings so called," is Hadding's foster-father, Vagnhofdi. As the word *höfði* constitutes the second part of a mythic name, the compound form is a synonym of that name which forms the first part of the composition. Thus *Svarthöfði* is identical with *Svartr*, *Surtr*. In *Hyndluljóð* 33 (*Völuspá* in *skamma* 5), all the mythical sorcerers (*seiðberendur*) are said to be sprung from *Svarthöfði*. In this connection we must first of all think of Fjalar, who is the greatest sorcerer in mythology. The story about Thor's, Thjalfi's, and Loki's visit to him is a chain of delusions of sight and hearing called forth by Fjalar, so that the Asa-god and his companions always mistake things for something else than they are. Fjalar is a son of *Surtr* (see No. 89). Thus the greatest agent of sorcery is descended from *Surtr*, *Svartr*, and, as *Hyndluljóð* states that all magicians of mythology have come of some *Svarthöfði*, *Svartr* and *Svarthöfði* must be identical. And so it is with Vagn and Vagnhöfði; they are different names for the same person.

When the Anglo-Saxon rune-strophe says that Vagn "made haste to follow" after Ing had gone across the sea, then this is to be compared with Saxo's statement (*Hist.*, 45), where it is said that Hadding in a battle was in greatest peril of losing his life, but was saved by the sudden and miraculous landing of Vagnhofdi, who came to the battle-field and placed himself at his side. The Scandian fylkings advanced against Hadding's; and Svipdag's son Asmund, who fought at the head of his men, forced his way forward against Hadding himself, with his shield thrown on his back, and with both his hands on the hilt of a sword which felled all before it. Then Hadding invoked the gods who were the friends of himself and his race (*Hadingo familiarium sibi numinum praesidia postulante subito Vagnophtus partibus ejus propugnaturus advehitur*), and then Vagnhofdi is brought (*advehitur*) by some one of these gods to the battle-field and suddenly stands by Hadding's side, swinging a crooked sword [*] against Asmund, while Hadding hurls his spear against him. This statement in Saxo corresponds with and explains the old English strophe's reference to a quick journey which Vagn made to help *Hardingas* against *Ing*, and it is also illustrated by a passage in *Grímnismál* 49, which, in connection with Odin's appearance at Asmund's, tells that he once by the name *Kjalar* "drew *Kjalki*" (*mig hétu Jálk að Ásmundar, en þá Kjalar, er eg Kjálka dró*). The word and name *Kjálki*, as also *Sleði*, is used as a paraphrase of the word and name *Vagn*. [**] Thus Odin has once "drawn Vagn" (wagon). The meaning of this is clear from what is stated above. Hadding calls on Odin, who is the friend of him and of his cause, and Odin, who on a former occasion has carried Hadding on Sleipnir's back through the air, now brings, in the same or a similar manner, Vagnhofdi to the battle-field, and places him near his foster-son. This episode is also interesting from the fact that we can draw from it the conclusion that the skalds who celebrated the first great war in their songs made the gods influence the fate of the battle, not directly but indirectly. Odin might himself have saved his favourite, and he might have slain Svipdag's son Asmund with his spear *Gungnir*; but he does not do so; instead, he brings Vagnhofdi to protect him. This is well calculated from an epic standpoint, while *dii ex machina*, when they appear in person on the battle-field with their superhuman strength, diminish the effect of the deeds of mortal heroes, and deprive every

distress in which they have taken part of its more earnest significance. Homer never violated this rule without injury to the honour either of his gods or of his heroes.

[* The crooked sword, as it appears from several passages in the sagas, has long been regarded by our heathen ancestors as a foreign form of weapon, used by the giants, but not by the gods or by the heroes of Midgard.]

[** Compare Fornaldarsögur, ii. 118, where the hero of the saga cries to *Gusi*, who comes running after him with "2 hreina ok vagn" -
Skríð *þú* *af* *kjálka,*
kyrr *þú* *hreina,*
seggr *síðförull,*
seg hvattú heitir!]

40.

THE WORLD WAR (continued).

HADDING'S DEFEAT. LOKI IN THE COUNCIL AND ON THE BATTLE-FIELD.

HEIMDAL THE PROTECTOR OF HIS DESCENDANT HADDING.

The first great conflict in which the warriors of North and West Teutondom fight with the East Teutons ends with the complete victory of Groa's sons. Hadding's fylkings are so thoroughly beaten and defeated that he, after the end of the conflict, is nothing but a defenceless fugitive, wandering in deep forests with no other companion than Vagnhofdi's daughter, who survived the battle and accompanies her beloved in his wanderings in the wildernesses. Saxo ascribes the victory won over Hadding to Loki. It follows of itself that, in a war whose deepest root must be sought in Loki's and Aurboða's intrigues, and in which the clans of gods on both sides take part, Loki should not be excluded by the skalds from influence upon the course of events. We have already seen that he sought to ruin Hadding while the latter was still a boy. He afterwards appears in various guises as evil counsellor, as an evil intriguer, and as a skilful arranger of the fylkings on the field of battle. His purpose is to frustrate every effort to bring about reconciliation, and by means of persuasion and falsehoods to increase the chances of enmity between Halfdan's descendants, in order that they may mutually destroy each other (see below). His activity among the heroes is the counterpart of his activity among the gods. The merry, sly, cynical, blameworthy, and profoundly evil Mefisto of the Teutonic mythology is bound to bring about the ruin of the Teutonic people like that of the gods of the Teutons.

In the later Icelandic traditions he reveals himself as the evil counsellor of princes in the forms of Blind illi, Blind bölvísi (in Saxo Bolvisus); *Bikki*; in the German and Old English traditions as Sibich, Sifeca, Sifka. *Bikki* is a name-form borrowed from Germany. The original Norse Loki-epithet is *Bekki*, which means "the foe," "the opponent". A closer examination shows that everywhere where this counsellor appears his enterprises have originally been connected with persons who belong to Borgar's race. He has wormed himself into the favour of both the contending parties - as Blind illi with King Hadding - whereof Hromund Greipson's saga has preserved a distorted record - as *Bikki*, *Sibeke*, with King Gudhorm (whose identity with Jormunrek shall be established below). As Blind bölvísi he lies in waiting for and

seeks to capture the young "Helgi Hundingsbani," that is to say, Halfdan, Hadding's father (Helg. Hund. ii.). Under his own name, Loki, he lies in waiting for and seeks to capture the young Hadding, Halfdan's son. As a cunning general and cowardly warrior he appears in the German saga-traditions, and there is every reason to assume that it is his activity in the first great war as the planner of Gudhorm's battle-line that in the Norse heathen records secured Loki the epithets *sagna hrærir* and *sagna sviptir*, the leader of the warriors forward and the leader of the warriors back - epithets which otherwise would be both unfounded and incomprehensible, but they are found both in Thjodolf's poem *Haustlaug*, and in Eilif Gudrunarson's *Pórsdrápa*. It is also a noticeable fact that while Loki in the first great battle which ends with Hadding's defeat determines the array of the victorious army - for only on this basis can the victory be attributed to him by Saxo - it is in the other great battle in which Hadding is victorious that Odin himself determines how the forces of his protégé are to be arranged, namely, in that wedge-form which after that time and for many centuries following was the sacred and strictly preserved rule for the battle-array of Teutonic forces. Thus the ancient Teutonic saga has mentioned and compared with one another two different kinds of battle-arrays - the one invented by Loki and the other invented by Odin.

□

During his wanderings in the forests of the East Hadding has had wonderful adventures and passed through great trials. Saxo tells one of these adventures. He and Hardgrip, Vagnhofdi's daughter, came late one evening to a dwelling where they got lodgings for the night. The husband was dead, but not yet buried. For the purpose of learning Hadding's destiny, Hardgrip engraved speech-runes (see No. 70) on a piece of wood, and asked Hadding to place it under the tongue of the dead one. The latter would in this wise recover the power of speech and prophecy. So it came to pass. But what the dead one sang in an awe-inspiring voice was a curse on Hardgrip, who had compelled him to return from life in the lower world to life on earth, and a prediction that an avenging Niflheim demon would inflict punishment on her for what she had done. A following night, when Hadding and Hardgrip had sought shelter in a bower of twigs and branches which they had gathered, there appeared a gigantic hand groping under the ceiling of the bower. The frightened Hadding waked Hardgrip. She then rose in all her giant strength, seized the mysterious hand, and bade Hadding cut it off with his sword. He attempted to do this, but from the wounds he inflicted on the ghost's hand there issued matter or venom more than blood, and the hand seized Hardgrip with its iron claws and tore her into pieces (Saxo, *Hist.*, 36 ff.).

□

When Hadding in this manner had lost his companion, he considered himself abandoned by everybody; but the one-eyed old man had not forgotten his favourite. He sent him a faithful helper, by name *Liserus* (Saxo, *Hist.*, 40). Who was *Liserus* in our mythology?

□

First, as to the name itself: in the very nature of the case it must be the Latinising of some one of the mythological names or epithets that Saxo found in the Norse records. But as no such root as *lis* or *lís* is to be found in the old Norse language and as Saxo interchanges the vowels *i* and *y*, [*] we must regard *Liserus* as a Latinising of *Lýsir*, "the shining one," "the one giving light," "the bright one". When Odin sent a helper thus described to Hadding, it must have been a person belonging to Odin's circle and subject to him. Such a person and described by a similar epithet is *inn hvíti áss*, *hvítastr ása* (Heimdall). In Saxo's account, this shining messenger is

particularly to oppose Loki (*Hist.*, 40). And in the myth it is the keen-sighted and faithful Heimdall who always appears as the opposite of the cunning and faithless Loki. Loki has to contend with Heimdall when the former tries to get possession of Brísingamen, and in Ragnarok the two opponents kill each other. Hadding's shining protector thus has the same part to act in the heroic saga as the whitest of the Asas in the mythology. If we now add that Heimdall is Hadding's progenitor, and on account of blood kinship owes him special protection in a war in which all the gods have taken part either for or against Halfdan's and Alveig's son, then we are forced by every consideration to regard *Liserus* and Heimdall as identical (see further, No. 82).

[* Compare the double forms *Trigo, Thrygir; Ivarus, Yvarus; Sibbo, Sybbo; Siritha, Syritha; Sivardus, Syvardus; Hiberniu, Hybernia; Isora, Ysora.*]

41.

THE WORLD WAR (continued). HADDING'S JOURNEY TO THE EAST. RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE ASAS AND VANS."THE HUN WAR." HADDING RETURNS AND CONQUERS. RECONCILIATION BETWEEN GROA'S DESCENDANTS AND ALVEIG'S.

LOKI'S PUNISHMENT.

Some time later there has been a change in Hadding's affairs. He is no longer the exile wandering about in the forests, but appears once more at the head of warlike hosts. But although he accomplishes various exploits, it still appears from Saxo's narrative that it takes a long time before he becomes strong enough to meet his enemies in a decisive battle with hope of success. In the meanwhile he has succeeded in accomplishing the revenge of his father and slaying Svipdag (*Saxo, Hist.*, 42) - this under circumstances which I shall explain below (No. 106). The proof that the hero-saga has left a long space of time between the great battle lost by Hadding and that in which he wins a decided victory is that he, before this conflict is fought out, has slain a young grandson (son's son) of Svipdag, that is, a son of Asmund, who was Svipdag's son (*Saxo, Hist.*, 46). Hadding was a mere boy when Svipdag first tried to capture him. He is a man of years when he, through decided successes on the battlefield, acquires and secures control of a great part of the domain over which his father, the Teutonic patriarch, reigned. Hence he must have spent considerable time in the place of refuge which Odin opened for him, and under the protection of that subject of Odin, called by Saxo *Liserus*.

In the time intervening important events have taken place in the world of the gods. The two clans of gods, the Asas and Vans, have become reconciled. Odin's exile lasted, according to Saxo, only ten years, and there is no reason for doubting the mythical correctness of this statement. The reconciliation must have been demanded by the dangers which their enmity caused to the administration of the world. The giants, whose purpose it is to destroy the world of man, became once more dangerous to the earth on account of the war among the gods. During this time they made a desperate effort to conquer Asgard occupied by the Vans. The memory of this expedition was preserved during the Christian centuries in the traditions

concerning the great Hun war. Saxo (*Hist.*, 231 ff.) refers this to *Frotho* III's reign. What he relates about this *Frotho*, son of *Fridlevus* (Njord), is for the greatest part a historicised version of the myth about the Vana-god Frey (see No. 102); and every doubt that his account of the war of the "Huns" against Frotho has its foundation in mythology, and belongs to the chain of events here discussed, vanishes when we learn that the attack of the Huns against Frotho-Frey's power happened at a time when an old prophet, by name *Uggerus*, "whose age was unknown, but exceeded every measure of human life," lived in exile, and belonged to the number of Frotho's enemies. *Uggerus* is a Latinised form of Odin's name *Yggr*, and is the same mythic character as Saxo before introduced on the scene as "the old one-eyed man," Hadding's protector. Although he had been Frotho's enemy, the aged *Yggr* comes to him and informs him what the "Huns" are plotting, and thus Frotho is enabled to resist their assault. [* *Deseruit eum (Hun) quoque Uggerus vates, vir ætatis incognitæ et supra humanum terminum prolixæ; qui Frothonem transfugæ titulo petens quidquid ab Hunis parabatur edocuit (Hist., 238).*]



When Odin, out of consideration for the common welfare of mankind and the gods, renders the Vans, who had banished him, this service, and as the latter are in the greatest need of the assistance of the mighty Asa-father and his powerful sons in the conflict with the giant world, then these facts explain sufficiently the reconciliation between the Asas and the Vans. This reconciliation was also in order on account of the bonds of kinship between them. The chief hero of the Asas, Thor, was the stepfather of Ull, the chief warrior of the Vans (Younger Edda, i. 252). The record of a friendly settlement between Thor and Ull is preserved in a paraphrase, by which Thor is described in *Þórsdrápa* as "*gulli Ullar*," he who with persuasive words makes Ull friendly. Odin was invited to occupy again the high-seat in Asgard, with all the prerogatives of a paterfamilias and ruler (Saxo, *Hist.*, 44). But the dispute which caused the conflict between him and the Vans was at the same time manifestly settled to the advantage of the Vans. They do not assume in common the responsibility for the murder of Gullveig-Angurboða. She is banished to the Ironwood, but remains there unharmed until Ragnarok, and when the destruction of the world approaches, then Njord shall leave the Asas threatened with the ruin they have themselves caused and return to the "wise Vans" (*í aldar rök hann mun aftur koma heim með vísun vönum - Vafþrúðnismál 39*).



The "Hun war" has supplied the answer to a question, which those believing in the myths naturally would ask themselves. That question was: How did it happen that Midgard was not in historical times exposed to such attacks from the dwellers in Jotunheim as occurred in antiquity, and at that time threatened Asgard itself with destruction? The "Hun war" was in the myth characterised by the countless lives lost by the enemy. This we learn from Saxo. The sea, he says, was so filled with the bodies of the slain that boats could hardly be rowed through the waves. In the rivers their bodies formed bridges, and on land a person could make a three days' journey on horseback without seeing anything but dead bodies of the slain (*Hist.*, 234, 240). And so the answer to the question was, that the "Hun war" of antiquity had so weakened the giants in number and strength that they could not become so dangerous as they had been to Asgard and Midgard formerly, that is, before the time immediately preceding Ragnarok, when a new fimbul-winter is to set in, and when the giant world shall rise again in all its ancient might. From the time of the "Hun war" and until then, Thor's hammer is able to keep the growth of the giants' race within certain limits, wherefore Thor in *Hárbarðsljóð* 23 explains his attack on

giants and giantesses with *mikil mundi ætt jötna, ef allir lifði, vætr mundi manna undir Miðgarði*.

Hadding's rising star of success must be put in connection with the reconciliation between the Asas and Vans. The reconciled gods must lay aside that seed of new feuds between them which is contained in the war between Hadding, the favourite of the Asas, and Gudhorm, the favourite of the Vans. The great defeat once suffered by Hadding must be balanced by a corresponding victory, and then the contending kinsmen must be reconciled. And this happens. Hadding wins a great battle and enters upon a secure reign in his part of Teutondom. Then are tied new bonds of kinship and friendship between the hostile races, so that the Teutonic dynasties of chiefs may trace their descent both from Yngvi (Svipdag) and from Borgar's son Halfdan. Hadding and a surviving grandson of Svipdag are united in so tender a devotion to one another that the latter, upon an unfounded report of the former's death, is unable to survive him and takes his own life. And when Hadding learns this, he does not care to live any longer either, but meets death voluntarily (Saxo, *Hist.*, 59, 60).

After the reconciliation between the Asas and Vans they succeed in capturing Loki. Saxo relates this in connection with Odin's return from Asgard, and here calls Loki *Mitothin*. In regard to this name, we may, without entering upon difficult conjectures concerning the first part of the word, be sure that it, too, is taken by Saxo from the heathen records in which he has found his account of the first great war, and that it, in accordance with the rule for forming such epithets, must refer to a mythic person who has had a certain relation with Odin, and at the same time been his antithesis. According to Saxo, *Mitothin* is a thoroughly evil being, who, like Aurboða, strove to disseminate the practice of witchcraft in the world and to displace Odin. He was compelled to take flight and to conceal himself from the gods. He is captured and slain, but from his dead body arises a pest, so that he does no less harm after than before his death. It therefore became necessary to open his grave, cut his head off, and pierce his breast with a sharp stick (*Hist.*, 43).

These statements in regard to *Mitothin's* death seem at first glance not to correspond very well with the mythic accounts of Loki's exit, and thus give room for doubt as to his identity with the latter. It is also clear that Saxo's narrative has been influenced by the medieval stories about vampires and evil ghosts, and about the manner of preventing these from doing harm to the living. Nevertheless, all that he here tells, the beheading included, is founded on the mythic accounts of Loki. The place where Loki is fettered is situated in the extreme part of the hell of the wicked dead (see No. 78). The fact that he is relegated to the realm of the dead, and is there chained in a subterranean cavern until Ragnarok, when all the dead in the lower world shall return, has been a sufficient reason for Saxo to represent him as dead and buried. That he after death causes a pest corresponds with Saxo's account of *Ugarthilocus*, who has his prison in a cave under a rock situated in a sea, over which darkness broods for ever (the island *Lyngvi* in Amsvartnir's sea, where Loki's prison is - see No. 78). The hardy sea-captain, Thorkil, seeks and finds him in his cave of torture, pulls a hair from the beard on his chin and brings it with him to Denmark. When this hair afterwards is exposed and exhibited, the awful exhalation from it causes the death of several persons standing near (*Hist.*, 432, 433). When a hair from the beard of the tortured Loki ("a hair from the evil one") could produce this effect, then his whole body removed to the kingdom of death must work even

greater mischief, until measures were taken to prevent it. In this connection it is to be remembered that Loki, according to the Icelandic records, is the father of the feminine demon of epidemics and diseases, of her who rules in Niflheim, the home of the spirits of disease (see No. 60), and that it is Loki's daughter who rides the three-footed steed, which appears when an epidemic breaks out (see No. 67). Thus Loki is, according to the Icelandic mythic fragments, the cause of epidemics. Lokasenna also states that he lies with a pierced body, although the weapon there is a sword, or possibly a spear (*þig á hjörvi skulu binda goð* - Lokasenna 49). That Mitothin takes flight and conceals himself from the gods corresponds with the myth about Loki. But that which finally and conclusively confirms the identity of Loki and Mitothin is that the latter, though a thoroughly evil being and hostile to the gods, is said to have risen through the enjoyment of divine favour (*cælesti beneficio vegetatus*). Among male beings of his character this applies to Loki alone.



In regard to the statement that Loki after his removal to the kingdom of death had his head separated from his body, Saxo here relates, though in his own peculiar manner, what the myth contained about Loki's ruin, which was a logical consequence of his acts and happened long after his removal to the realm of death. Loki is slain in Ragnarok, to which he, freed from his cave of torture in the kingdom of death, proceeds at the head of the hosts of "the sons of destruction". In the midst of the conflict he seeks or is sought by his constant foe, Heimdall. The shining god, the protector of Asgard, the original patriarch and benefactor of man, contends here for the last time with the Satan of the Teutonic mythology, and Heimdall and Loki mutually slay each other (*Loki á orustu við Heimdall, og verðr hvárr annars bani* - Younger Edda, 192). In this duel we learn that Heimdall, who fells his foe, was himself pierced or "struck through" to death by a head (*svá er sagt, að hann var lostinn manns höfði í gögnum* - Younger Edda, 264 ; *hann var lostinn í hel með manns höfði* - Younger Edda, 100, ed. Res). When Heimdall and Loki mutually cause each other's death, this must mean that Loki's head is that with which Heimdall is pierced after the latter has cut it off with his sword and become the bane (death) of his foe. Light is thrown on this episode by what Saxo tells about Loki's head. While the demon in chains awaits Ragnarok, his hair and beard grow in such a manner that "they in size and stiffness resemble horn-spears" (*Ugarthilocus . . . cujus olentes pili tam magnitudine quam rigore corneas æquaverant hastas* - *Hist.*, 431, 432). And thus it is explained how the myth could make his head act the part of a weapon. That amputated limbs continue to live and fight is a peculiarity mentioned in other mythic sagas, and should not surprise us in regard to Loki, the dragon-demon, the father of the Midgard-serpent (see further, No. 82).

42.

HALFDAN AND HAMAL, FOSTER-BROTHERS. THE AMALIANS FIGHT IN BEHALF OF HALFDAN'S SON HADDING. HAMAL AND THE WEDGE-FORMED BATTLE-ARRAY.



THE ORIGINAL MODEL OF THE BRAVALLA BATTLE.

The mythic progenitor of the Amalians, *Hamall*, has already been mentioned above as the foster-brother of the Teutonic patriarch, Halfdan (Helgi Hundingsbani). According to Norse tradition, Hamal's father, *Hagall*, had been Halfdan's foster-father (Helg. Hund. ii.), and thus the devoted friend of Borgar. There being so close

a relation between the progenitors of these great hero-families of Teutonic mythology, it is highly improbable that the Amalians did not also act an important part in the first great world war, since all the Teutonic tribes, and consequently surely their first families of mythic origin, took part in it. In the ancient records of the North, we discover a trace which indicates that the Amalians actually did fight on that side where we should expect to find them, that is, on Hadding's, and that Hamal himself was the field-commander of his foster-brother. The trace is found in the phrase *fylkja Hamalt*, occurring several places (Sig. Faf, ii. 23 ; Har. Hardr, ch. 2; Fornalds. Saga, ii. 40; Fornm., xi. 304). The phrase can only be explained in one way, "arranged the battle-array as Hamall first did it". To Hamal has also been ascribed the origin of the custom of fastening the shields close together along the ship's railing, which appears from the following lines in Harald Hardradi's Saga, 63:

Hamalt syndiz mér hömlur
hildings vinir skilda.



We also learn in our Norse records that *fylkja Hamalt*, "to draw up in line of battle as Hamal did," means the same as *svínfylkja*, that is, to arrange the battalions in the form of a wedge. [*] Now Saxo relates (*Hist.*, 52) that Hadding's army was the first to draw the forces up in this manner, and that an old man (Odin) whom he has taken on board on a sea-journey had taught and advised him to do this. [**] Several centuries later Odin, according to Saxo, taught this art to Harald Hilditönn. But the mythology has not made Odin teach it twice. The repetition has its reason in the fact that Harald Hilditönn, in one of the records accessible to Saxo, was a son of Halfdan Borgarson (*Hist.*, 361; according to other records a son of Borgar himself - *Hist.*, 337), and consequently a son of Hadding's father, the consequence of which is that features of Hadding's saga have been incorporated into the saga produced in a later time concerning the saga-hero Harald Hilditönn. Thereby the Bravalla battle has obtained so universal and gigantic a character. It has been turned into an arbitrarily written version of the battle which ended in Hadding's defeat. Swedes, Goths, Norsemen, Curians, and Esthionians here fight on that side which, in the original model of the battle, was represented by the hosts of Svipdag and Gudhorm; Danes (few in number, according to Saxo), Saxons (according to Saxo, the main part of the army), Livonians, and Slavs fight on the other side. The fleets and armies are immense on both sides. Shield-maids (amazons) occupy the position which in the original was held by the giantesses Hardgrep, Fenja, and Menja. In the saga description produced in Christian times the Bravalla battle is a ghost of the myth concerning the first great war. Therefore the names of several of the heroes who take part in the battle are an echo from the myth concerning the Teutonic patriarchs and the great war. There appear *Borgar* and *Behrgar* the wise (Borgar), *Haddir* (Hadding), *Ruthar* (*Hrútr*-Heimdal, see No. 28a), *Od* (*Óður*, a surname of Freyja's husband, Svipdag, see Nos. 96-98, 100, 101), *Brahi* (*Brache*, *Asa-Bragr*, see No. 102), *Gram* (Halfdan), and *Ingi* (Yngvi), all of which names we recognise from the patriarch saga, but which, in the manner in which they are presented in the new saga, show how arbitrarily the mythic records were treated at that time.

[* Compare the passage, *Eiríkr konungr fylkti svá liði sínu, að rani* (the swine-snout) *var á framan á fylkingunni, ok lukt allt utan með skjaldbjorg*, (Fornm., xi. 304), with the passage quoted in this connection: *hildingr fylkti Hamalt liði miklu*.]

[** The saga of Sigurd Fafnisbani, which absorbed materials from all older sagas, has also incorporated this episode. On a sea-journey Sigurd takes on board a man

who calls himself *Hnikarr* (a name of Odin). He advises him to "*fylkja Hamalt*" (Sig. Fafn. ii. 16-23).]

The myth has rightly described the wedge-shaped arrangement of the troops as an ancient custom among the Teutons. Tacitus (*Germ.*, 6) says that the Teutons arranged their forces in the form of a wedge (*acies per cuneos componitur*), and Cæsar suggests the same (*De Bell. Gall.*, i. 52: *Germani celeriter ex consuetudine sua phalange facta...*). Thus our knowledge of this custom as Teutonic extends back to the time before the birth of Christ. Possibly it was then already centuries old. The Aryan-Asiatic kinsmen of the Teutons had knowledge of it, and the Hindooic law-book, called *Manus'*, ascribes to it divine sanctity and divine origin. On the geographical line which unites Teutondom with Asia it was also in vogue. According to Ælianus (*De instr. ac.*, 18), the wedge-shaped array of battle was known to the Scythians and Thracians.

The statement that Harald Hilditönn, son of Halfdan Borgarson, learned this arrangement of the forces from Odin many centuries after he had taught the art to Hadding, does not disprove, but on the contrary confirms, the theory that Hadding, son of Halfdan Borgarson, was not only the first but also the only one who received this instruction from the Asa-father. And as we now have side by side the two statements, that Odin gave Hadding this means of victory, and that Hamal was the first one who arranged his forces in the shape of a wedge, then it is all the more necessary to assume that these statements belong together, and that Hamal was Hadding's general, especially as we have already seen that Hadding's and Hamal's families were united by the sacred ties which connect foster-father with foster-son and foster-brother with foster-brother.

43.

EVIDENCE THAT DIETERICH "OF BERN" IS HADDING. THE DIETERICH SAGA THUS HAS ITS ORIGIN IN THE MYTH CONCERNING THE WAR BETWEEN MANNUS-HALFDAN'S SONS.

The appearance of Hamal and the Amalians on Hadding's side in the great world war becomes a certainty from the fact that we discover among the descendants of the continental Teutons a great cycle of sagas, all of whose events are more or less intimately connected with the mythic kernel: that Amalian heroes with unflinching fidelity supported a prince who already in the tender years of his youth had been deprived of his share of his father's kingdom, and was obliged to take flight from the persecution of a kinsman and his assistants to the far East, where he remained a long time, until after various fortunes of war he was able to return, conquer, and take possession of his paternal inheritance. And for this he was indebted to the assistance of the brave Amalians. These are the chief points in the saga cycle about Dieterich of Bern (*Þjóðrekr*, *Thidrek*, *Theodericus*), and the fortunes of the young prince are, as we have thus seen, substantially the same as Hadding's.

When we compare sagas preserved by the descendants of the Teutons of the Continent with sagas handed down to us from Scandinavian sources, we must constantly bear in mind that the great revolution which the victory of Christianity over Odinism produced in the Teutonic world of thought, inasmuch as it tore down

the ancient mythical structure and applied the fragments that were fit for use as material for a new saga structure - that this revolution required a period of more than eight hundred years before it had conquered the last fastnesses of the Odinic doctrine. On the one side of the slowly advancing borders between the two religions there developed and continued a changing and transformation of the old sagas, the main purpose of which was to obliterate all that contained too much flavour of heathendom and was incompatible with Christianity; while, on the other side of the borders of faith, the old mythic songs, but little affected by the tooth of time, still continued to live in their original form. Thus one might, to choose the nearest example at hand, sing on the northern side of this faith-border, where heathendom still prevailed, about how Hadding, when the persecutions of Svipdag and his half-brother Gudhorm compelled him to fly to the far East, there was protected by Odin, and how he through him received the assistance of *Hrútr-Heimdall*; while the Christians, on the south side of this border, sang of how Dieterich, persecuted by a brother and the protectors of the latter, was forced to take flight to the far East, and how he was there received by a mighty king, who, as he could no longer be Odin, must be the mightiest king in the East ever heard of - that is, Attila - and how Attila gave him as protector a certain Rüdiger, whose very name contains an echo of Ruther (Heimdall), who could not, however, be the white Asa-god, Odin's faithful servant, but must be changed into a faithful vassal and "markgrave" under Attila. The Saxons were converted to Christianity by fire and sword in the latter part of the eighth century. In the deep forests of Sweden heathendom did not yield completely to Christianity before the twelfth century. In the time of Saxo's father there were still heathen communities in Smaland on the Danish border. It follows that Saxo must have received the songs concerning the ancient Teutonic heroes in a far more



original form than that in which the same songs could be found in Germany.

Hadding means "the hairy one," "the fair-haired"; Dieterich (*Þjóðrekr*) means "the ruler of the people," "the great ruler". Both epithets belong to one and the same saga character. Hadding is the epithet which belongs to him as a youth, before he possessed a kingdom; Dieterich is the epithet which represents him as the king of many Teutonic tribes. The *Vilkinasaga* says of him that he had an abundant and beautiful growth of hair, but that he never got a beard. This is sufficient to explain the name Hadding, by which he was presumably celebrated in song among all Teutonic tribes; for we have already seen that Hadding is known in Anglo-Saxon poetry as *Harding*, and, as we shall see, the continental Teutons knew him not only as Dieterich, but also as *Hartung*. It is also possible that the name "the hairy" has in the myth had the same purport as the epithet "the fair-haired" has in the Norse account of Harald, Norway's first ruler, and that Hadding of the myth was the prototype of Harald, when the latter made the vow to let his hair grow until he was king of all Norway (*Harald Harfagri's Saga*, 4). The custom of not cutting hair or beard before an exploit resolved upon was carried out was an ancient one among the Teutons, and so common and so sacred that it must have had foothold and prototype in the hero-saga. Tacitus mentions it (*Germania*, 31); so does Paulus Diaconus (*Hist.*, iii. 7) and Gregorius of Tours (v. 15).



Although it had nearly ceased to be heard in the German saga cycle, still the name *Hartung* has there left traces of its existence. "*Anhang des Heldenbuchs*" mentions King *Hartung* "aus Reüssenlant"; that is to say, a King *Hartung* who came from some land in the East. The poem "*Rosengarten*" (variant D; cp. W. Grimm, *D.*

Heldensage, 139, 253) also mentions Hartung, king *von Riuzen*. A comparison of the different versions of "Rosengarten" with the poem "Dieterichs Flucht" shows that the name Hartung *von Riuzen* in the course of time becomes Hartnit *von Riuzen* and Hertnit *von Riuzen*, by which form of the name the hero reappears in *Vilkinasaga* as a king in Russia. If we unite the scattered features contained in these sources about Hartung we get the following main outlines of his saga:

- (a) Hartung is a king and dwells in an eastern country (all the records).
- (b) He is not, however, an independent ruler there, at least not in the beginning, but is subject to Attila (who in the Dieterich's saga has supplanted Odin as chief ruler in the East). He is Attila's man ("Dieterichs Flucht").
- (c) A Swedish king has robbed him of his land and driven him into exile.
- (d) The Swedish king is of the race of elves, and the chief of the same race as the celebrated Velint - that is to say, Volund (Wayland) - belonged to (*Vilkinasaga*). As shall be shown later (see Nos. 105, 109), Svipdag, the banisher of Hadding, belongs to the same race. He is Volund's nephew (brother's son).
- (e) Hartung recovers, after the death of the Swedish conqueror, his own kingdom, and also conquers that of the Swedish king (*Vilkinasaga*).

All these features are found in the saga of Hadding. Thus the original identity of Hadding and Hartung is beyond doubt. We also find that Hartung, like Dieterich, is banished from his country; that he fled, like him, to the East; that he got, like him, Attila the king of the East as his protector; that he thereupon returned, conquered his enemies, and recovered his kingdom. Hadding's, Hartung's and Dieterich's sagas are, therefore, one and the same in root and in general outline. Below it shall also be shown that the most remarkable details are common to them all.

I have above (No. 42) given reasons why Hamal (Amala), the foster-brother of Halfdan Borgarson, was Hadding's assistant and general in the war against his foes. The hero, who in the German saga has the same place under Dieterich, is the aged "master" Hildebrand, Dieterich's faithful companion, teacher, and commander of his troops. Can it be demonstrated that what the German saga tells about Hildebrand reveals threads that connect him with the saga of the original patriarchs, and that not only his position as Dieterich's aged friend and general, but also his genealogy, refer to this saga? And can a satisfactory explanation be given of the reason why Hildebrand obtained in the German Dieterich saga the same place as Hamal had in the old myth?

Hildebrand is, as his very name shows, a Hilding, [*] like Hildeger who appears in the patriarch saga (Saxo, *Hist.*, 356-359). Hildeger was, according to the tradition in Saxo, the half-brother of Halfdan Borgarson. They had the same mother Drott, but not the same father; Hildeger counted himself a Swede on his father's side; Halfdan, Borgar's son, considered himself as belonging to the South Scandinavians and Danes, and hence the dying Hildeger sings to Halfdan (*Hist.*, 357):

Danica te tellus, me Sveticus edidit orbis.
Drot tibi maternum, quondam distenderat uber;
Hac genitrici tibi pariter collacteus exto. [**]

[* In nearly all the names of members of this family, Hild- or -brand, appears as a part of the compound word. All that the names appear to signify is that their owners belong to the Hilding race. Examples:

Old High German fragment: Herbrand - Hildebrand - Hadubrand.

Wolfdieterich: Berchtung - Herbrand - Hildebrand.

Vilkinasaga: Hildebrand - Alebrand.

A Popular Song about Hildebrand: Hildebrand - The Younger Hildebrand.

Fundinn Noregur: Hildir - Hildebrand - Hildir & Herbrand.

Flateyjarbok, i. 25: Hildir - Hildebrand - Vigbrand - Hildir & Herbrand.

Asmund Kappabani's Saga: Hildebrand - Helgi - Hildebrand.]

[** Compare in Asmund Kappabani's Saga the words of the dying hero:

<i>þig</i>	<i>Drótt</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>bar</i>
<i>af</i>			<i>Danmörku,</i>
<i>en</i>	<i>mig</i>		<i>sjálfan</i>
<i>á Svíþjóðu.]</i>			

In the German tradition Hildebrand is the son of Herbrand. The Old High German fragment of the song, about Hildebrand's meeting with his son Hadubrand, calls him *Heribrantes sunu*. Herbrand again is, according to the poem "Wolfdieterich," Berchtung's son (concerning Berchtung, see No. 6). In a Norse tradition preserved by Saxo we find a Hilding (Hildegger) who is Borgar's stepson; in the German tradition we find a Hilding (Herbrand) who is Borgar-Berchtung's son. This already shows that the German saga about Hildebrand was originally connected with the patriarch saga about Borgar, Halfdan, and Halfdan's sons, and that the Hildings from the beginning were akin to the Teutonic patriarchs. Borgar's transformation from stepfather to the father of a Hilding shall be explained below.

Hildegger's saga and Hildebrand's are also related in subject matter. The fortunes of both the kinsmen are at the same time like each other and the antithesis of each other. Hildegger's character is profoundly tragic; Hildebrand is happy and secure. Hildegger complains in his death-song in Saxo (cp. Asmund Kappabani's saga) that he has fought within and slain his own beloved son. In the Old High German song-fragment Hildebrand seeks, after his return from the East, his son Hadubrand, who believed that his father was dead and calls Hildebrand a deceiver, who has taken the dead man's name, and forces him to fight a duel. The fragment ends before we learn the issue of the duel; but Vilkinasaga and a ballad about Hildebrand have preserved the tradition in regard to it. When the old "master" has demonstrated that his Hadubrand is not yet equal to him in arms, father and son ride side by side in peace and happiness to their home. Both the conflicts between father and son, within the Hilding family, are pendants and each other's antithesis. Hildegger, who passionately loves war and combat, inflicts in his eagerness for strife a deep wound in his own heart when he kills his own son. Hildebrand acts wisely, prudently, and seeks to ward off and allay the son's love of combat before the duel begins, and he is able to end it by pressing his young opponent to his paternal bosom. On the other hand, Hildegger's conduct toward his half-brother Halfdan, the ideal of a noble and generous enemy, and his last words to his brother, who, ignorant of the kinship, has given him the fatal wound, and whose mantle the dying one wishes to wrap himself in (Asmund Kappabani's saga), is one of the touching scenes in the grand poems about our earliest ancestors. It seems to have proclaimed that blood revenge was inadmissible, when a kinsman, without being aware of the kinship, slays a kinsman, and when the latter before he died declared his devotion to his slayer. At all events

we rediscover the aged Hildebrand as the teacher and protector of the son of the same Halfdan who slew Hildeger, and not a word is said about blood revenge between Halfdan's and Hildeger's descendants.

The kinship pointed out between the Teutonic patriarchs and the Hildings has not, however, excluded a relation of subordination of the latter to the former. In "Wolfdieterich" Hildebrand's father receives land and fief from Dieterich's grandfather and carries his banner in war. Hildebrand himself performs toward Dieterich those duties which are due from a foster-father, which, as a rule, show a relation of subordination to the real father of the foster-son. Among the kindred families to which Dieterich and Hildebrand belong there was the same difference of rank as between those to which Hadding and Hamal belong. Hamal's father Hagal was Halfdan's foster-father, and, to judge from this, occupied the position of a subordinate friend toward Halfdan's father Borgar. Thus Halfdan and Hamal were foster-brothers, and from this it follows that Hamal, if he survived Halfdan, was bound to assume a foster-father's duties towards the latter's son Hadding, who was not yet of age. Hamal's relation to Hadding is therefore entirely analogous to Hildebrand's relation to Dieterich.

The pith of that army which attached itself to Dieterich are Amelungs, Amalians (see "Biterolf"); that is to say, members of Hamal's race. The oldest and most important hero, the pith of the pith, is old master Hildebrand himself, Dieterich's foster-father and general. Persons who in the German poems have names which refer to their Amalian birth are by Hildebrand treated as members of a clan are treated by a clan-chief. Thus Hildebrand brings from Sweden a princess, Amalgart, and gives her as wife to a son of Amelolt serving among Dieterich's Amelungs, and to Amelolt Hildebrand has already given his sister for a wife.

The question as to whether we find threads which connect the Hildebrand of the German poem with the saga of the mythic patriarchs, and especially with the Hamal (Amala) who appears in this saga, has now been answered. Master Hildebrand has in the German saga-cycle received the position and the tasks which originally belonged to Hamal, the progenitor of the Amalians.

The relation between the kindred families - the patriarch family, the Hilding family, and the Amal family - has certainly been just as distinctly pointed out in the German saga-cycle as in the Norse before the German met with a crisis, which to some extent confused the old connection. This crisis came when Hadding-Þjóðrekr of the ancient myth was confounded with the historical king of the East Goths, Theoderich. The East Goth Theoderich counted himself as belonging to the Amal family, which had grown out of the soil of the myth. He was, according to Jordanes (*De Goth. Orig.*, 14), a son of Thiudemur, who traced his ancestry to Amal (Hamal), son of Augis (Hagal). [* The texts of Jordanes often omit the aspirate and write Eruli for Heruli, &c. In regard to the name-form Amal, Closs remarks, in his edition of 1886: AMAL, sic. *Ambr. cum Epit. et Pall, nisi quod hi Hamal aspirate.*] The result of the confusion was:

- (a) That Hadding-Þjóðrekr became the son of Thiudemur, and that his descent from the Teuton patriarchs was cut off.
- (b) That Hadding-Þjóðrekr himself became a descendant of Hamal, whereby the distinction between this race of rulers - the line of Teutonic patriarchs begun with

Ruther-Heimdall - together with the Amal family, friendly but subject to the Hadding family, and the Hilding family was partly obscured and partly abolished. Dieterich himself became an "Amelung" like several of his heroes. (c) That when Hamal thus was changed from an elder contemporary of Hadding-*Þjóðrekr* into his earliest progenitor, separated from him by several generations of time, he could no longer serve as Dieterich's foster-father and general; but this vocation had to be transferred to master Hildebrand, who also in the myth must have been closely connected with Hadding, and, together with Hamal, one of his chief and constant helpers. (d) That Borgar-Berchtung, who in the myth is the grandfather of Hadding-*Þjóðrekr*, must, as he was not an Amal, resign this dignity and confine himself to being the progenitor of the Hildings. As we have seen, he is in Saxo the progenitor of the Hilding Hildeger.

Another result of Hadding-*Þjóðrekr*'s confusion with the historical Theoderich was that Dieterich's kingdom, and the scene of various of his exploits, was transferred to Italy: to Verona (Bern), Ravenna (Raben), &c. Still the strong stream of the ancient myths became master of the confused historical increments, so that the Dieterich of the saga has but little in common with the historical Theoderich.

After the dissemination of Christianity, the hero saga of the Teutonic myths was cut off from its roots in the mythology, and hence this confusion was natural and necessary. Popular tradition, in which traces were found of the historical Theoderich-Dieterich, was no longer able to distinguish the one Dieterich from the other. A writer acquainted with the chronicle of Jordanes took the last step and made Theoderich's father Thiudemer the father of the mythic Hadding-*Þjóðrekr*.

Nor did the similarity of names alone encourage this blending of the persons. There was also another reason. The historical Theoderich had fought against Odoacer. The mythic Hadding-*Þjóðrekr* had warred with Svipdag, the husband of Freyja, who also bore the name *Óðr* and *Óttar* (see Nos. 96-100). The latter name-form corresponds to the English and German *Otter*, the Old High German *Otar*, a name which suggested the historical *Otacher* (Odoacer). The Dieterich and Otacher of historical traditions became identified with *Þjóðrekr* and *Óttar* of mythical traditions.

As the Hadding-*Þjóðrekr* of mythology was in his tender youth exposed to the persecutions of Ottar, and had to take flight from them to the far East, so the Dieterich of the historical saga also had to suffer persecutions in his tender youth from Otacher, and take flight, accompanied by his faithful Amalians, to a kingdom in the East. Accordingly, Hadubrand says of his father Hildebrand, that, when he betook himself to the East with Dieterich, *floh her Otachres nîd*, "he fled from Otacher's hate". Therefore, Otacher soon disappears from the German saga-cycle, for Svipdag-Ottar perishes and disappears in the myth, long before Hadding's victory and restoration to his father's power (see No. 106.)

Odin and Heimdall, who then, according to the myth, dwelt in the East and there became the protectors of Hadding, must, as heathen deities, be removed from the Christian saga, and be replaced as best they could by others. The famous ruler in the East, Attila, was better suited than anyone else to take Odin's place, though

Attila was dead before Theoderich was born. Ruther-Heimdall was, as we have already seen, changed into Rüdiger.

The myth made Hadding dwell in the East for many years (see above). The ten-year rule of the Vans in Asgard must end, and many other events must occur before the epic connection of the myths permitted Hadding to return as a victor. As a result of this, the saga of "Dieterich of Bern" also lets him remain a long time with Attila. An old English song preserved in the Exeter manuscript, makes *Theodric* remain *þrittig wintra* in exile at *Mæringaburg*. The song about Hildebrand and Hadubrand make him remain in exile, *sumarô enti wintrô sehstic*, and *Vilkinasaga* makes him sojourn in the East thirty-two years.

Mæringaburg of the Anglo-Saxon poem is the refuge which Odin opened for his favourite, and where the former dwelt during his exile in the East. *Mæringaburg* means a citadel inhabited by noble, honoured, and splendid persons: compare the Old Norse *mæringr*. But the original meaning of *mærr*, Old German *mâra*, is "glittering" "shining" "pure," and it is possible that, before *mæringr* received its general signification of a famous, honoured, noble man, it was used in the more special sense of a man descended from "the shining one," that is to say, from Heimdall through Borgar. However this may be, these "mæringar" have, in the Anglo-Saxon version of the Hadding saga, had their antitheses in the "baningar," that is, the men of Loki-Bicke (Bekki). This appears from the expression *Bekka veöld Baningum*, in *Codex Exoniensis*. The Banings are no more than the Mærings, an historical name. The interpretation of the word is to be sought in the Anglo-Saxon *bana*, the English *bane*. The Banings means "the destroyers," "the corrupters," a suitable appellation of those who follow the source of pest, time all-corrupting Loki. In the German poems, *Mæringaburg* is changed to Meran, and Borgar-Berchtung (Hadding's grandfather in the myth) is Duke of Meran. It is his fathers who have gone to the gods that Hadding finds again with Odin and Heimdall in the East.

Despite the confusion of the historical Theoderich with the mythic Hadding-*Þjóðrekr*, a tradition has been handed down within the German saga-cycle to the effect that "Dieterich of Bern" belonged to a genealogy which Christianity had anathematised. Two of the German Dieterich poems, "Nibelunge Noth" and "Klage," refrain from mentioning the ancestors of their hero. Wilhelm Grimm suspects that the reason for this is that the authors of these poems knew something about Dieterich's descent, which they could not relate without wounding Christian ears; and he reminds us that, when in the *Vilkinasaga* Thidrek (Dieterich) teases Högni (Hagen) by calling him the son of an elf, Högni answers that Thidrek has a still worse descent, as he is the son of the devil himself. The matter, which in Grimm's eyes is mystical, is explained by the fact that Hadding-*Þjóðrekr*'s father in the myth, Halfdan Borgarson, was supposed to be descended from Thor, and in his capacity of a Teutonic patriarch he had received divine worship (see Nos. 23 and 30). *Anhang des Heldenbuchs* says that Dieterich was the son of a "böser geyst".

It has already been stated (No. 38) that Hadding from Odin received a drink which exercised a wonderful influence upon his physical nature. It made him *recreatum vegetiori corporis firmitate*, and, thanks to it and to the incantation sung over him by Odin, he was able to free himself from the chains afterwards put on him by Loki. It has also been pointed out that this drink contained something called Leifnir's or

Leifin's flames. There is every reason for assuming that these "flames" had the effect of enabling the person who had partaken of the potion of Leifnir's flames to free himself from his chains with his own breath. Groa (Gróugaldur 10) gives her son Svipdag "Leifnir's fires" in order that if he is chained, his enchanted limbs may be liberated (*leifnis elda læt eg þér fyr legg um kveðinn*). The record of the giving of this gift to Hadding meets us in the German saga, in the form that Dieterich was able with his breath to burn the fetters laid upon him (see "Laurin"), nay, when he became angry, he could breathe fire and make the cuirass of his opponent red-hot. The tradition that Hadding by eating, on the advice of Odin, the heart of a wild beast (Saxo says of a lion) gained extraordinary strength, is also preserved in the form, that when Dieterich was in distress, God sent him *eines löwen krafft von herczenlichen zoren* ("Ecken Ausfarth").

Saxo relates that Hadding on one occasion was invited to descend into the lower world and see its strange things (see No. 47). The heathen lower world, with its fields of bliss and places of torture, became in the Christian mind synonymous with hell. Hadding's descent to the lower world, together with the mythic account of his journey through the air on Odin's horse Sleipnir, were remembered in Christian times in the form that he once on a black diabolical horse rode to hell. This explains the remarkable dénouement of the Dieterich saga; namely, that he, the magnanimous and celebrated hero, was captured by the devil. Otto of Friesingen (first half of the twelfth century) states that *Theodoricus vivus equo sedens ad inferos descendit*. The Kaiser chronicle says that "many saw that the devils took Dieterich and carried him into the mountain to Vulcan".

In Saxo we read that Hadding once while bathing had an adventure which threatened him with the most direful revenge from the gods (see No. 106). Manuscripts of the Vilkinasaga speak of a fateful bath which Thidrek took, and connects it with his journey to hell. While the hero was bathing there came a black horse, the largest and stateliest ever seen. The king wrapped himself in his bath towel and mounted the horse. He found, too late, that the steed was the devil, and he disappeared for ever.

Saxo tells that Hadding made war on a King Handuanus, who had concealed his treasures in the bottom of a lake, and who was obliged to ransom his life with a golden treasure of the same weight as his body (*Hist.*, 41, 42, 67). Handuanus is a Latinised form of the dwarf name *Andvanr*, *Andvani*. The Sigurd saga has a record of this event, and calls the dwarf *Andvari* (Sig. Fafn., ii.) The German saga is also able to tell of a war which Dieterich waged against a dwarf king. The war has furnished the materials for the saga of "Laurin". Here, too, the conquered dwarf-king's life is spared, and Dieterich gets possession of many of his treasures.

In the German as in the Norse saga, Hadding-*Þjóðrekr*'s rival to secure the crown was his brother, supported by *Otacher-Ottar* (Svipdag). The tradition in regard to this, which agrees with the myth, was known to the author of *Anhang des Heldenbuchs*. But already in an early day the brother was changed into uncle on account of the intermixing of historical reminiscences.

The brother's name in the Norse tradition is *Gudhormr*, in the German *Ermenrich* (*Ermanaricus*). *Ermenrich-Jörmunrekr* means, like *Þjóðrekr*, a ruler over many people, a great king. Jordanes already has confounded the mythic *Jörmunrekr*-

Gudhormr with the historical Gothic King *Hermanaricus*, whose kingdom was destroyed by the Huns, and has applied to him the saga of Svanhild and her brothers *Sarus* (*Sörli*) and *Ammius* (*Hamðir*), a saga which originally was connected with that of the mythic *Jörmunrek*. The Sigurd epic, which expanded with plunder from all sources, has added to the confusion by annexing this saga.

In the Roman authors the form *Herminones* is found by the side of *Hermiones* as the name of one of the three Teutonic tribes which descended from Mannus. It is possible, as already indicated, that *-horm* in *Gudhorm* is connected with the form *Hermio*, and it is probable, as already pointed out by several linguists, that the Teutonic *irmin* (*jörmun*, Goth. *airmana*) is linguistically connected with the word *Hermino*. In that case, the very names *Gudhormr* and *Jörmunrekr* already point as such to the mythic progenitor of the *Hermiones*, *Herminones*, just as *Yngvi-Svipdag*'s name points to the progenitor of the *Ingvæones* (*Ingævones*), and possibly also *Hadding*'s to that of the *Istævones* (see No. 25). To the name *Hadding* corresponds, as already shown, the Anglo-Saxon *Hearding*, the old German *Hartung*. The *Hasdingi* (*Asdingi*) mentioned by *Jordanes* were the chief warriors of the *Vandals* (Goth. *Orig.*, 22), and there may be a mythic reason for rediscovering this family name among an East Teutonic tribe (the *Vandals*), since *Hadding*, according to the myth, had his support among the East Teutonic tribes. To the form *Hasdingi* (Goth. *Hazdigós*) the words *istævones*, *istvæones*, might readily enough correspond, provided the vowel *i* in the Latin form can be harmonised with *a* in the Teutonic. That the vowel *i* was an uncertain element may be seen from the genealogy in *Codex La Cava*, which calls *Istævo Ostius*, *Hostius*.

As to geography, both the Roman and Teutonic records agree that the northern Teutonic tribes were *Ingævones*. In the myths they are *Scandiniavians* and neighbours to the *Ingævones*. In the *Beowulf* poem the king of the Danes is called *eodor Inguina*, the protection of the *Ingævones*, and *freâ Inguina*, the lord of the *Ingævones*. *Tacitus* says that they live nearest to the ocean (*Germ.*, 2); *Pliny* says that *Cimbrians*, *Teutons*, and *Chaucians* were *Ingævones* (*Hist. Nat.*, iv. 28). *Pomponius Mela* says that the land of the *Cimbrians* and *Teutons* was washed by the *Codan bay* (iii. 3). As to the *Hermiones* and *Istævones*, the former dwelt along the middle *Rhine*, and of the latter, who are the East Teutons of mythology, several tribes had already before the time of *Pliny* pressed forward south of the *Hermiones* to this river.

The German saga-cycle has preserved the tradition that in the first great battle in which *Hadding-Bjóðrekr* measured his strength with the North and West Teutons he suffered a great defeat. This is openly avowed in the *Dieterich* poem "Die Klage". Those poems, on the other hand, which out of sympathy for their hero give him victory in this battle ("the *Raben battle*") nevertheless in fact acknowledge that such was not the case, for they make him return to the East after the battle and remain there many years, robbed of his crown, before he makes his second and successful attempt to regain his kingdom. Thus the "*Raben battle*" corresponds to the mythic battle in which *Hadding* is defeated by *Ingævones* and *Hermiones*. Besides the "*Raben battle*" has from a Teutonic standpoint a trait of universality, and the German tradition has upon the whole faithfully, and in harmony with the myth, grouped the allies and heroes of the hostile brothers. *Dieterich* is supported by East Teutonic warriors, and by non-Teutonic people from the East - from Poland,

Wallachia, Russia, Greece, &c.; Ermenrich, on the other hand, by chiefs from Thuringia, Swabia, Hessen, Saxony, the Netherlands, England, and the North, and, above all, by the Burgundians, who in the genealogy in the St. Gaelen Codex are counted among the Hermiones, and in the genealogy in the La Cava Codex are counted with the Ingævones. For the mythic descent of the Burgundian dynasty from an uncle of Svipdag I shall present evidence in my chapters on the Ivaldi race.

11

The original identity of Hadding's and Dieterich's sagas, and their descent from the myth concerning the earliest antiquity and the patriarchs, I now regard as demonstrated and established. The war between Hadding-Dieterich and Gudhorm-Ermenrich is identical with the conflict begun by Yngvi-Svipdag between the tribes of the Ingævones, Hermiones, and Istævones. It has also been demonstrated that Halfdan, Gudhorm's and Hadding's father, and Yngvi-Svipdag's stepfather, is identical with Mannus. One of the results of this investigation is, therefore, that *the songs about Mannus and his sons, ancient already in the days of Tacitus, have, more or less influenced by the centuries, continued to live far down in the middle ages, and that, not the songs themselves, but the main features of their contents, have been preserved to our time, and should again be incorporated in our mythology together with the myth in regard to the primeval time, the main outline of which has been restored, and the final episode of which is the first great war in the world.*

12

The Norse-Icelandic school, which accepted and developed the learned hypothesis of the middle age in regard to the immigration of Odin and his Asiamen, is to blame that the myth, in many respects important, in regard to the olden time and its events in the world of gods and men - among Aryan myths one of the most important, either from a scientific or poetic point of view, that could be handed down to our time - was thrust aside and forgotten. The learned hypothesis and the ancient myth could not be harmonised. For that reason the latter had to yield. Nor was there anything in this myth that particularly appealed to the Norse national feeling, and so could claim mercy. Norway is not at all named in it. Scania, Denmark, Svithiod (Sweden), and continental Teutondom are the scene of the mythic events. Among the many causes co-operating in Christian times, in giving what is now called "Norse mythology" its present character, there is not one which has contributed so much as the rejection of this myth toward giving "Norse mythology" the stamp which it hitherto has borne of a narrow, illiberal town mythology, which, built chiefly on the foundation of the Younger Edda, is, as shall be shown in the present work, in many respects a caricature of the real Norse, and at the same time in its main outlines Teutonic, mythology.

13

In regard to the ancient Aryan elements in the myth here presented, see Nos. 82 and 111.

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