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## **The History Of The Decline And Fall Of The Roman Empire**

**Gibbon, Edward**

**Basil, M D CC LXXXVII[-M DCC LXXXIX]**

**Universitätsbibliothek Basel**

Shelf Mark: UBH AO II 16-28

Persistent Link: <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-87770>

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## C H A P. LV.

*The Bulgarians. — Origin, Migrations, and Settlement of the Hungarians. — Their Inroads in the East and West. — The Monarchy of Russia. — Geography and Trade. — Wars of the Russians against the Greek Empire. — Conversion of the Barbarians.*

U N D E R the reign of Constantine the grandson of Heraclius, the ancient barrier of the Danube, so often violated and so often restored, was irretrievably swept away by a new deluge of Barbarians. Their progress was favoured by the caliphs, their unknown and accidental auxiliaries: the Roman legions were occupied in Asia; and after the loss of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the Cæsars were twice reduced to the danger and disgrace of defending their capital against the Saracens. If in the account of this interesting people, I have deviated from the strict and original line of my undertaking, the merit of the subject will hide my transgression or solicit my excuse. In the East, in the West, in war, in religion, in science, in their prosperity, and in their decay, the Arabians press themselves on our curiosity: the first overthrow of the church and empire of the Greeks may be imputed to

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CHAP. their arms; and the disciples of Mahomet still  
 LV. hold the civil and religious sceptre of the Oriental  
 world. But the same labour would be unworthily  
 bestowed on the swarms of savages, who,  
 between the seventh and the twelfth century,  
 descended from the plains of Scythia, in transient  
 inroad or perpetual emigration<sup>1</sup>. Their names  
 are uncouth their origins doubtful, their actions  
 obscure, their superstition was blind, their valour  
 brutal, and the uniformity of their public and  
 private lives was neither softened by innocence  
 nor refined by policy. The majesty of the Byzan-  
 tine throne repelled and survived their disorderly  
 attacks; the greater part of these Barbarians has  
 disappeared without leaving any memorial of  
 their existence, and the despicable remnant  
 continues, and may long continue, to groan  
 under the dominion of a foreign tyrant. From  
 the antiquities of, I. *Bulgarians*, II. *Hungarians*,  
 and, III. *Russians*, I shall content myself with  
 selecting such facts as yet deserve to be remem-  
 bered. The conquests of the, IV. *NORMANS*,  
 and the monarchy of the, V. *TURKS*, will  
 naturally terminate in the memorable Crusades  
 to the Holy Land, and the double fall of the  
 city and empire of Constantine.

Emigration  
 of the Bul-  
 garians,  
 A. D. 680,  
 &c.

In his march to Italy, Theodoric<sup>2</sup> the Ostro-  
 goth had trampled on the arms of the Bulgarians.  
 After this defeat the name and the nation are  
 lost during a century and an half; and it may be  
 suspected that the same or a similar appellation  
 was revived by strange colonies from the Bory-

athenes, the Tanais, or the Volga. A king of the ancient Bulgaria<sup>3</sup> bequeathed to his five sons a last lesson of moderation and concord. It was received as youth has ever received the counsels of age and experience: the five princes buried their father; divided his subjects and cattle; forgot his advice; separated from each other; and wandered in quest of fortune, till we find the most adventurous in the heart of Italy, under the protection of the exarch of Ravenna<sup>4</sup>. But the stream of emigration was directed or impelled towards the capital. The modern Bulgaria, along the southern banks of the Danube, was stamped with the name and image which it has retained to the present hour: the new conquerors successively acquired, by war or treaty, the Roman provinces of Dardania, Thessaly, and the two Epirus<sup>5</sup>; the ecclesiastical supremacy was translated from the native city of Justinian; and, in their prosperous age, the obscure town of Lychnidus, or Achrida, was honoured with the throne of a king and a patriarch<sup>6</sup>. The unquestionable evidence of language attests the descent of the Bulgarians from the original stock of the Sclavonian, or more properly Slavonian, race<sup>7</sup>; and the kindred bands of Servians, Bosnians, Rascians, Croatians, Walachians<sup>8</sup>, &c. followed either the standard or the example of the leading tribe. From the Euxine to the Adriatic, in the state of captives, or subjects, or allies, or enemies, of the Greek empire, they overspread the land; and the national appellation of the SLAVES<sup>9</sup> has

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CHAP. been degraded by chance or malice from the  
 LV. signification of glory to that of servitude<sup>10</sup>.  
 Croats or Slavonians Among these colonies, the Chrobotians<sup>11</sup>, or  
 of Dalmatia, Croats, who now attend the motions of an  
 A. D. 900, Austrian army, are the descendants of a mighty  
 &c. people the conquerors and sovereigns of Dalma-  
 tia. The maritime cities, and of these the infant  
 republic of Ragusa, implored the aid and instruc-  
 tions of the Byzantine court: they were advised  
 by the magnanimous Basil to reserve a small  
 acknowledgment of their fidelity to the Roman  
 empire, and to appease, by an annual tribute,  
 the wrath of these irresistible Barbarians. The  
 kingdom of Croatia was shared by eleven *Zoupan*s,  
 or feudatory lords; and their united forces were  
 numbered at sixty thousand horse and one hundred  
 thousand foot. A long sea-coast, indented with  
 capacious harbours, covered with a string of  
 islands, and almost in sight of the Italian shores,  
 disposed both the natives and strangers to the  
 practice of navigation. The boats or brigantines  
 of the Croats were constructed after the fashion  
 of the old Liburnians: one hundred and eighty  
 vessels may excite the idea of a respectable navy;  
 but our seamen will smile at the allowance of  
 ten, or twenty, or forty, men for each of these  
 ships of war. They were gradually converted to  
 the more honourable service of commerce; yet  
 the Slavonian pirates were still frequent and  
 dangerous; and it was not before the close of  
 the tenth century that the freedom and sove-  
 reignty of the Gulf were effectually vindicated

by the Venetian republic <sup>12</sup>. The ancestors of these Dalmatian kings were equally removed from the use and abuse of navigation: they dwelt in the White Croatia, in the inland regions of Silesia and Little Poland, thirty days journey, according to the Greek computation, from the sea of darkness.

The glory of the Bulgarians <sup>13</sup> was confined to a narrow scope both of time and place. In the ninth and tenth centuries, they reigned to the south of the Danube; but the more powerful nations that had followed their emigration, repelled all return to the north and all progress to the West. Yet, in the obscure catalogue of their exploits, they might boast an honour which had hitherto been appropriated to the Goths; that of slaying in battle one of the successors of Augustus and Constantine. The emperor Nicephorus had lost his fame in the Arabian, he lost his life in the Slavonian, war. In his first operations he advanced with boldness and success into the centre of Bulgaria, and burnt the *royal court*, which was probably no more than an edifice and village of timber. But, while he searched the spoil and refused all offers of treaty, his enemies collected their spirits and their forces: the passes of retreat were insuperably barred; and the trembling Nicephorus was heard to exclaim: "Alas, alas! unless we could assume the wings of birds, we cannot hope to escape." Two days he waited his fate in the inactivity of despair; but, on the morning of the third, the Bulgarians surprised the

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First king-  
dom of the  
Bulgarians,  
A. D.

640—1017.

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A. D. 811.

camp, and the Roman prince, with the great officers of the empire, were slaughtered in their tents. The body of Valens had been saved from insult; but the head of Nicephorus was exposed on a spear, and his skull, enchased with gold, was often replenished in the feasts of victory. The Greeks bewailed the dishonour of the throne; but they acknowledged the just punishment of avarice and cruelty. This savage cup was deeply tinged with the manners of the Scythian wilderness; but they were softened before the end of the same century by a peaceful intercourse with the Greeks, the possession of a cultivated region, and the introduction of the Christian worship. The nobles of Bulgaria were educated in the schools and palace of Constantinople; and Simeon<sup>14</sup>, a youth of the royal line, was instructed in the rhetoric of Demosthenes and the logic of Aristotle. He relinquished the profession of a monk for that of a king and warrior; and in his reign, of more than forty years, Bulgaria assumed a rank among the civilized powers of the earth. The Greeks, whom he repeatedly attacked, derived a faint consolation from indulging themselves in the reproaches of perfidy and sacrilege. They purchased the aid of the Pagan Turks; but Simeon, in a second battle, redeemed the loss of the first, at a time when it was esteemed a victory to elude the arms of that formidable nation. The Servians were overthrown, made captive, and dispersed; and those who visited the country before their restoration could discover no more than fifty

A. D.

888.—927,  
or 932.

vagrants, without women or children, who ex-  
 torted a precarious subsistence from the chase. On  
 classic ground, on the banks of the Achelous, the  
 Greeks were defeated; their horn was broken  
 by the strength of the Barbaric Hercules<sup>15</sup>. He  
 formed the siege of Constantinople; and, in a  
 personal conference with the emperor, Simeon  
 imposed the conditions of peace. They met with  
 the most jealous precautions: the royal galley was  
 drawn close to an artificial and well-fortified plat-  
 form; and the majesty of the purple was emulated  
 by the pomp of the Bulgarian. "Are you a  
 " Christian," said the humble Romanus, "it is  
 " your duty to abstain from the blood of your  
 " fellow-Christians. Has the thirst of riches seduced  
 " you from the blessings of peace; sheath your  
 " sword, open your hand, and I will satiate the  
 " utmost measure of your desires." The recon-  
 ciliation was sealed by a domestic alliance; the  
 freedom of trade was granted or restored; the first  
 honours of the court were secured to the friends  
 of Bulgaria, above the ambassadors of enemies or  
 strangers<sup>16</sup>; and her princes were dignified with  
 the high and invidious title of *Basileus*, or emperor.  
 But this friendship was soon disturbed: after  
 the death of Simeon the nations were again in  
 arms; his feeble successors were divided and  
 extinguished; and, in the beginning of the ele-  
 venth century, the second Basil, who was born in  
 the purple, deserved the appellation of conqueror  
 of the Bulgarians. His avarice was in some measure  
 gratified by a treasure of four hundred thousand

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A. D. 950,

&amp;c.

CHAPTER LV. pounds sterling (ten thousand pound weight of gold), which he found in the palace of Lychnidus. His cruelty inflicted a cool and exquisite vengeance on fifteen thousand captives who had been guilty of the defence of their country. They were deprived of sight, but to one of each hundred a single eye was left, that he might conduct his blind century to the presence of their king. Their king is said to have expired of grief and horror; the nation was awed by this terrible example; the Bulgarians were swept away from their settlements, and circumscribed within a narrow province; the surviving chiefs bequeathed to their children the advice of patience and the duty of revenge.

Emigration  
of the Turks  
or Hunga-  
rians,  
A. D. 884.

II. When the black swarm of Hungarians first hung over Europe, about nine hundred years after the Christian æra, they were mistaken by fear and superstition for the Gog and Magog of the scriptures, the signs and forerunners of the end of the world<sup>17</sup>. Since the introduction of letters, they have explored their own antiquities with a strong and laudable impulse of patriotic curiosity<sup>18</sup>. Their rational criticism can no longer be amused with a vain pedigree of Attila and the Huns; but they complain that their primitive records have perished in the Tartar war; that the truth or fiction of their rustic songs is long since forgotten; and that the fragments of a rude chronicle<sup>19</sup> must be painfully reconciled with the contemporary though foreign intelligence of the Imperial geographer<sup>20</sup>. *Magiar* is the national

and oriental denomination of the Hungarians; but, among the tribes of Scythia, they are distinguished by the Greeks under the proper and peculiar name of *Turks*, as the descendants of that mighty people who had conquered and reigned from China to the Volga. The Pannonian colony preserved a correspondence of trade and amity with the eastern Turks on the confines of Persia; and after a separation of three hundred and fifty years, the missionaries of the king of Hungary discovered and visited their ancient country near the banks of the Volga. They were hospitably entertained by a people of Pagans and Savages who still bore the name of Hungarians; conversed in their native tongue, recollected a tradition of their long-lost brethren, and listened with amazement to the marvellous tale of their new kingdom and religion. The zeal of conversion was animated by the interest of consanguinity; and one of the greatest of their princes had formed the generous, though fruitless design, of replenishing the solitude of Pannonia by this domestic colony from the heart of Tartary<sup>21</sup>. From this primitive country, they were driven to the west by the tide of war and emigration, by the weight of the more distant tribes, who at the same time were fugitives and conquerors. Reason or fortune directed their course towards the frontiers of the Roman empire; they halted in the usual stations along the banks of the great rivers; and in the territories of Moscow, Kiow, and Moldavia, some vestiges have been discovered of their temporary residence. In

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CHAP. this long and various peregrination, they could  
 LV. not always escape the dominion of the stronger; and the purity of their blood was improved or sullied by the mixture of a foreign race: from a motive of compulsion or choice, several tribes of the Chazars were associated to the standard of their ancient vassals; introduced the use of a second language; and obtained by their superior renown the most honourable place in the front of battle. The military force of the Turks and their allies marched in seven equal and artificial divisions; each division was formed of thirty thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven warriors, and the proportion of women, children, and servants, supposes and requires at least a million of emigrants. Their public counsels were directed by seven *vayvods* or hereditary chiefs, but the experience of discord and weakness recommended the more simple and vigorous administration of a single person. The sceptre which had been declined by the modest Lebedias, was granted to the birth or merit of Almus and his son Arpad, and the authority of the supreme khan of the Chazars confirmed the engagement of the prince and people; of the people to obey his commands, of the prince to consult their happiness and glory.

Their Fennic  
 origin.

With this narrative we might be reasonably content, if the penetration of modern learning had not opened a new and larger prospect of the antiquities of nations. The Hungarian language stands alone, and as it were insulated, among the Slavonian dialects; but it bears a close and clear

affinity to the idioms of the Fennic race<sup>22</sup>, of an obsolete and savage race, which formerly occupied the northern regions of Asia and Europe. The genuine appellation of *Ugri* or *Igours* is found on the western confines of China<sup>23</sup>; their migration to the banks of the Irtilsh is attested by Tartar evidence<sup>24</sup>; a similar name and language are detected in the southern parts of Siberia<sup>25</sup>; and the remains of the Fennic tribes are widely, though thinly, scattered from the sources of the Oby to the shores of Lapland<sup>26</sup>. The consanguinity of the Hungarians and Laplanders would display the powerful energy of climate on the children of a common parent; the lively contrast between the bold adventurers, who are intoxicated with the wines of the Danube, and the wretched fugitives who are immersed beneath the snows of the polar circle. Arms and freedom have ever been the ruling, though too often the unsuccessful, passion of the Hungarians, who are endowed by nature with a vigorous constitution of soul and body<sup>27</sup>. Extreme cold has diminished the stature and congealed the faculties of the Laplanders, and the Arctic tribes, alone among the sons of men, are ignorant of war, and unconscious of human blood: an happy ignorance, if reason and virtue were the guardians of their peace<sup>28</sup>!

It is the observation of the Imperial author of the *Tactics*<sup>29</sup>, that all the Scythian hords resembled each other in their pastoral and military life, that they all practised the same means of subsistence, and employed the same instruments of destruction.

*Tactics and manners of the Hungarians and Bulgarians, A. D. 500, &c.*

CHAP. But he adds, that the two nations of Bulgarians  
LV. and Hungarians were superior to their brethren,  
and similar to each other, in the improvements,  
however rude, of their discipline and government;  
their visible likeness determines Leo to confound  
his friends and enemies in one common descrip-  
tion; and the picture may be heightened by  
some strokes from their contemporaries of the  
tenth century. Except the merit and fame of  
military prowess, all that is valued by mankind  
appeared vile and contemptible to these Barbarians,  
whose native fierceness was stimulated by the  
consciousness of numbers and freedom. The tents  
of the Hungarians were of leather, their garments  
of fur; they shaved their hair and scarified their  
faces: in speech they were slow, in action prompt,  
in treaty perfidious; and they shared the common  
reproach of Barbarians, too ignorant to conceive  
the importance of truth, too proud to deny or  
palliate the breach of their most solemn engage-  
ments. Their simplicity has been praised; yet  
they abstained only from the luxury they had  
never known; whatever they saw, they coveted;  
their desires were insatiate, and their sole industry  
was the hand of violence and rapine. By the  
definition of a pastoral nation, I have recalled a  
long description of the œconomy, the warfare,  
and the government that prevail in that stage of  
society; I may add, that to fishing as well as to  
the chase, the Hungarians were indebted for a  
part of their subsistence, and since they *seldom*  
cultivated the ground, they must, at least in their

new settlements, have sometimes practised a slight and unskilful husbandry. In their emigrations, perhaps in their expeditions, the host was accompanied by thousands of sheep and oxen, who increased the cloud of formidable dust, and afforded a constant and wholesome supply of milk and animal food. A plentiful command of forage was the first care of the general, and if the flocks and herds were secure of their pastures, the hardy warrior was alike insensible of danger and fatigue. The confusion of men and cattle that overspread the country exposed their camp to a nocturnal surprize, had not a still wider circuit been occupied by their light cavalry, perpetually in motion to discover and delay the approach of the enemy. After some experience of the Roman tactics, they adopted the use of the sword and spear, the helmet of the soldier, and the iron breast-plate of his steed: but their native and deadly weapon was the Tartar bow: from the earliest infancy, their children and servants were exercised in the double science of archery and horsemanship; their arm was strong; their aim was sure; and in the most rapid career, they were taught to throw themselves backwards, and to shoot a volley of arrows into the air. In open combat, in secret ambush, in flight, or pursuit, they were equally formidable: an appearance of order was maintained in the foremost ranks, but their charge was driven forwards by the impatient pressure of succeeding crowds. They pursued, headlong and rash, with loosened reins and horrific outcries,

CHAP. but if they fled, with real or dissembled fear, the  
 LV. ardour of a pursuing foe was checked and chastised  
 by the same habits of irregular speed and sudden  
 evolution. In the abuse of victory, they astonished  
 Europe, yet smarting from the wounds of  
 the Saracen and the Dane: mercy they rarely  
 asked, and more rarely bestowed; both sexes  
 were accused as equally inaccessible to pity, and  
 their appetite for raw flesh might countenance  
 the popular tale; that they drank the blood and  
 feasted on the hearts of the slain. Yet the Hun-  
 garians were not devoid of those principles of  
 justice and humanity, which nature has implanted  
 in every bosom. The licence of public and pri-  
 vate injuries was restrained by laws and punish-  
 ments; and in the security of an open camp, theft  
 is the most tempting and most dangerous offence.  
 Among the Barbarians, there were many, whose  
 spontaneous virtue supplied their laws and cor-  
 rected their manners, who performed the duties,  
 and sympathised with the affections, of social  
 life.

Establish-  
 ment and in-  
 roads of the  
 Hungarians,  
 A. D. 889.

After a long pilgrimage of flight or victory,  
 the Turkish hords approached the common limits  
 of the French and Byzantine empires. Their first  
 conquests and final settlements extended on either  
 side of the Danube above Vienna, below Belgrade,  
 and beyond the measure of the Roman province  
 of Pannonia, or the modern kingdom of Hun-  
 gary<sup>30</sup>. That ample and fertile land was loosely  
 occupied by the Moravians, a Slavonian name  
 and tribe, which were driven by the invaders

into the compass of a narrow province. Charlemagne had stretched a vague and nominal empire as far as the edge of Transylvania; but, after the failure of his legitimate line, the dukes of Moravia forgot their obedience and tribute to the monarchs of Oriental France. The bastard Arnulph was provoked to invite the arms of the Turks; they rushed through the real or figurative wall, which his indiscretion had thrown open; and the king of Germany has been justly reproached as a traitor to the civil and ecclesiastical society of the Christians. During the life of Arnulph, the Hungarians were checked by gratitude or fear; but in the infancy of his son Lewis they discovered and invaded Bavaria; and such was their Scythian speed, that in a single day a circuit of fifty miles was stript and consumed. In the battle of Augsburgh the Christians maintained their advantage till the seventh hour of the day: they were deceived and vanquished by the flying stratagems of the Turkish cavalry. The conflagration spread over the provinces of Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia; and the Hungarians promoted the reign of anarchy, by forcing the stoutest barons to discipline their vassals and fortify their castles. The origin of walled towns is ascribed to this calamitous period; nor could any distance be secure against an enemy, who, almost at the same instant, laid in ashes the Helvetian monastery of St. Gall, and the city of Bremen, on the shores of the northern ocean. Above thirty years the Germanic empire or

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LV.

A. D. 900,  
&c.

CHAPTER  
LV. kingdom was subject to the ignominy of tribute; and resistance was disarmed by the menace, the serious and effectual menace, of dragging the women and children into captivity, and of slaughtering the males above the age of ten years. I have neither power nor inclination to follow the Hungarians beyond the Rhine; but I must observe with surprise, that the southern provinces of France were blasted by the tempest, and that Spain, behind her Pyrenees, was astonished at the approach of these formidable strangers<sup>32</sup>.

A. D. 900.

The vicinity of Italy had tempted their early inroads; but, from their camp on the Brenta, they beheld with some terror the apparent strength and populousness of the new-discovered country. They requested leave to retire; their request was proudly rejected by the Italian king; and the lives of twenty thousand Christians paid the forfeit of his obstinacy and rashness. Among the cities of the west, the royal Pavia was conspicuous in fame and splendour; and the pre-eminence of Rome itself was only derived from the relics of the apostles. The Hungarians appeared; Pavia was in flames; forty-three churches were consumed; and, after the massacre of the people, they spared about two hundred wretches, who had gathered some bushels of gold and silver (a vague exaggeration) from the smoking ruins of their country. In these annual excursions from the Alps to the neighbourhood of Rome and Capua, the churches, that yet escaped, resounded with a fearful litany:

A. D. 924.

“ O save and deliver us from the arrows of the  
 “ Hungarians ! ” But the saints were deaf or  
 inexorable; and the torrent rolled forwards, till  
 it was stopped by the extreme land of Calabria <sup>32</sup>.  
 A composition was offered and accepted for the  
 head of each Italian subject; and ten bushels of  
 silver were poured forth in the Turkish camp. But  
 falsehood is the natural antagonist of violence;  
 and the robbers were defrauded both in the  
 numbers of the assessment and the standard of  
 the metal. On the side of the East the Hungarians  
 were opposed in doubtful conflict by the equal  
 arms of the Bulgarians, whose faith forbade an  
 alliance with the Pagans, and whose situation  
 formed the barrier of the Byzantine empire. The  
 barrier was overturned; the emperor of Constantinople beheld the waving banners of the Turks;  
 and one of their boldest warriors presumed to  
 strike a battle-axe into the golden gate. The arts  
 and treasures of the Greeks diverted the assault;  
 but the Hungarians might boast in their retreat,  
 that they had imposed a tribute on the spirit of  
 Bulgaria and the majesty of the Cæsars <sup>33</sup>. The  
 remote and rapid operations of the same cam-  
 paign, appear to magnify the power and numbers  
 of the Turks; but their courage is most deser-  
 ving of praise; since a light troop of three or  
 four hundred horse would often attempt and  
 execute the most daring inroads to the gates  
 of Thessalonica and Constantinople. At this  
 disastrous æra of the ninth and tenth centuries,  
 Europe was afflicted by a triple scourge from

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A. D. 924

CHAPTER. the North, the East, and the South: the Norman,  
 LV. the Hungarian, and the Saracen, sometimes trod  
 the same ground of desolation; and these savage  
 foes might have been compared by Homer to  
 the two lions growling over the carcase of a  
 mangled stag<sup>35</sup>.

Victory of  
 Henry the  
 Fowler,  
 A. D. 935.

The deliverance of Germany and Christendom  
 was achieved by the Saxon princes, Henry  
 the Fowler and Otho the Great, who, in two  
 memorable battles, for ever broke the power of  
 the Hungarians<sup>36</sup>. The valiant Henry was  
 roused from a bed of sickness by the invasion of  
 his country: but his mind was vigorous and his  
 prudence successful. "My companions," said he  
 on the morning of the combat, "maintain your  
 ranks, receive on your bucklers the first arrows  
 of the Pagans, and prevent their second dis-  
 charge by the equal and rapid career of your  
 lances." They obeyed and conquered: and  
 the historical picture of the castle of Merseburgh,  
 expressed the features, or at least the character,  
 of Henry, who, in an age of ignorance, entrusted  
 to the finer arts the perpetuity of his name<sup>37</sup>.  
 At the end of twenty years, the children of the  
 Turks who had fallen by his sword invaded the  
 empire of his son; and their force is defined, in  
 the lowest estimate, at one hundred thousand  
 horse. They were invited by domestic faction;  
 the gates of Germany were treacherously unlocked,  
 and they spread far beyond the Rhine and the  
 Meuse, into the heart of Flanders. But the vigour  
 and prudence of Otho dispelled the conspiracy;

Of Otho the  
 Great,  
 A. D. 955.

the princes were made sensible, that unless they were true to each other, their religion and country were irrecoverably lost; and the national powers were reviewed in the plains of Augsburgh. They marched and fought in eight legions, according to the division of provinces and tribes; the first, second, and third, were composed of Bavarians; the fourth of Franconians; the fifth of Saxons, under the immediate command of the monarch; the sixth and seventh consisted of Swabians; and the eighth legion, of a thousand Bohemians. The resources of discipline and valour were fortified by the arts of superstition, which, on this occasion, may deserve the epithets of generous and salutary. The soldiers were purified with a fast; the camp was blessed with the relics of saints and martyrs; and the Christian hero girded on his side the sword of Constantine, grasped the invincible spear of Charlemagne, and waved the banner of St. Maurice, the prefect of the Thebæan legion. But his firmest confidence was placed in the holy lance<sup>32</sup>, whose point was fashioned of the nails of the cross, and which his father had extorted from the king of Burgundy, by the threats of war and the gift of a province. The Hungarians were expected in the front; they secretly passed the Lech, a river of Bavaria that falls into the Danube; turned the rear of the Christian army; plundered the baggage, and disordered the legions of Bohemia and Swabia. The battle was restored by the Franconians;

C H A P.  
LV.

CHAP. whose duke, the valiant Conrad, was pierced  
 LV. with an arrow as he rested from his fatigues: the Saxons fought under the eyes of their king; and his victory surpassed, in merit and importance, the triumphs of the last two hundred years. The loss of the Hungarians was still greater in the flight than in the action; they were encompassed by the rivers of Bavaria; and their past cruelties excluded them from the hope of mercy. Three captive princes were hanged at Ratisbon, the multitude of prisoners was slain or mutilated, and the fugitives, who presumed to appear in the face of their country, were condemned to everlasting poverty and disgrace<sup>39</sup>. Yet the spirit of the nation was humbled, and the most accessible passes of Hungary were fortified with a ditch and rampart. Adversity suggested the counsels of moderation and peace: the robbers of the West acquiesced in a sedentary life; and the next generation was taught by a discerning prince, that far more might be gained by multiplying and exchanging the produce of a fruitful soil. The native race, the Turkish or Fennic blood, was mingled with new colonies of Scythian or Slavonian origin<sup>40</sup>; many thousands of robust and industrious captives had been imported from all the countries of Europe<sup>41</sup>; and after the marriage of Geisa with a Bavarian princess, he bestowed honours and estates on the nobles of Germany<sup>42</sup>. The son of Geisa was invested with the regal title, and the house of Arpad reigned three hundred years in the

A. D. 972.

kingdom of Hungary. But the freeborn Barbarians were not dazzled by the lustre of the diadem, and the people asserted their indefeasible right of chusing, deposing, and punishing the hereditary servant of the state. C H A P.  
LV.

III. The name of RUSSIANS<sup>33</sup> was first divulged, in the ninth century, by an embassy from Theophilus, emperor of the East, to the emperor of the West, Lewis, the son of Charlemagne. The Greeks were accompanied by the envoys of the great duke, or chagan, or *czar*, of the Russians. In their journey to Constantinople, they had traversed many hostile nations; and they hoped to escape the dangers of their return by requesting the French monarch to transport them by sea to their native country. A closer examination detected their origin: they were the brethren of the Swedes and Normans, whose name was already odious and formidable in France; and it might justly be apprehended that these Russian strangers were not the messengers of peace, but the emissaries of war. They were detained, while the Greeks were dismissed; and Lewis expected a more satisfactory account, that he might obey the laws of hospitality or prudence, according to the interest of both empires<sup>34</sup>. This Scandinavian origin of the people, or at least the princes, of Russia, may be confirmed and illustrated by the national annals<sup>35</sup> and the general history of the North. The Normans, who had so long been concealed by a veil of impenetrable darkness, suddenly

Origin of the  
Russian mo-  
narchy.  
A. D. 839.

CHAP. burst forth in the spirit of naval and military  
 LV. enterprise. The vast, and, as it is said, the  
 populous, regions of Denmark, Sweden, and  
 Norway, were crowded with independent chief-  
 tains and desperate adventurers, who sighed in  
 the laziness of peace, and smiled in the agonies  
 of death. Piracy was the exercise, the trade,  
 the glory, and the virtue, of the Scandinavian  
 youth. Impatient of a bleak climate and narrow  
 limits, they started from the banquet, grasped  
 their arms, founded their horn, ascended their  
 vessels, and explored every coast that promised  
 either spoil or settlement. The Baltic was the  
 first scene of their naval achievements; they  
 visited the eastern shores, the silent residence of  
 Fennic and Sclavonian tribes, and the primitive  
 Russians of the lake Ladoga paid a tribute, the  
 skins of white squirrels, to these strangers, whom  
 they saluted with the title of *Varangians* " or  
 Corsairs. Their superiority in arms, discipline,  
 and renown, commanded the fear and reverence  
 of the natives. In their wars against the more  
 inland savages, the Varangians condescended to  
 serve as friends and auxiliaries, and gradually,  
 by choice or conquest, obtained the dominion  
 of a people whom they were qualified to protect.  
 Their tyranny was expelled, their valour was  
 again recalled, till at length, Ruric, a Scandi-  
 navian chief, became the father of a dynasty  
 which reigned above seven hundred years. His  
 brothers extended his influence: the example  
 of service and usurpation was imitated by his

A. D. 862.

companions in the southern provinces of Russia; and their establishments, by the usual methods of war and assassination, were cemented into the fabric of a powerful monarchy. C H A P.  
LV.

As long as the descendants of Ruric were considered as aliens and conquerors, they ruled by the sword of the Varangians, distributed estates and subjects to their faithful captains, and supplied their numbers with fresh streams of adventurers from the Baltic coast<sup>77</sup>. But when the Scandinavian chiefs had struck a deep and permanent root into the soil, they mingled with the Russians in blood, religion, and language, and the first Waladimir had the merit of delivering his country from these foreign mercenaries. They had seated him on the throne; his riches were insufficient to satisfy their demands; but they listened to his pleasing advice, that they should seek, not a more grateful, but a more wealthy, master; that they should embark for Greece, where, instead of the skins of squirrels, silk and gold would be the recompence of their service. At the same time the Russian prince admonished his Byzantine ally to disperse and employ, to recompense and restrain, these impetuous children of the North. Contemporary writers have recorded the introduction, name, and character, of the *Varangians*: each day they rose in confidence and esteem; the whole body was assembled at Constantinople to perform the duty of guards; and their strength was recruited by a numerous band of their countrymen from

The Varangians of Constantinople.

CHAP. the island of Thule. On this occasion, the vague  
 LV. appellation of Thule is applied to England; and  
 the new Varangians were a colony of English  
 and Danes who fled from the yoke of the  
 Norman conqueror. The habits of pilgrimage  
 and piracy had approximated the countries of  
 the earth; these exiles were entertained in the  
 Byzantine court; and they preserved, till the  
 last age of the empire, the inheritance of spotless  
 loyalty, and the use of the Danish or English  
 tongue. With their broad and double-edged  
 battle-axes on their shoulders, they attended the  
 Greek emperor to the temple, the senate, and  
 the hippodrome; he slept and feasted under their  
 trusty guard, and the keys of the palace, the  
 treasury, and the capital, were held by the firm  
 and faithful hands of the Varangians \*.

Geography  
 and trade of  
 Russia,  
 A. D. 950.

In the tenth century, the geography of Scythia  
 was extended far beyond the limits of ancient  
 knowledge; and the monarchy of the Russians  
 obtains a vast and conspicuous place in the map  
 of Constantine \*\*. The sons of Ruric were  
 masters of the spacious province of Wolodomir,  
 or Moscow; and, if they were confined on that  
 side by the hords of the East, their western  
 frontier in those early days was enlarged to the  
 Baltic sea and the country of the Prussians. Their  
 northern reign ascended above the sixtieth degree  
 of latitude, over the Hyperborean regions, which  
 fancy had peopled with monsters, or clouded  
 with eternal darkness. To the south they fol-  
 lowed the course of the Borysthenes, and

approached with that river the neighbourhood of the Euxine sea. The tribes that dwelt, or wandered, in this ample circuit were obedient to the same conqueror, and insensibly blended into the same nation. The language of Russia is a dialect of the Slavonian; but, in the tenth century, these two modes of speech were different from each other; and, as the Slavonian prevailed in the South, it may be presumed that the original Russians of the North, the primitive subjects of the Varangian chief, were a portion of the Fennic race. With the emigration, union, or dissolution, of the wandering tribes, the loose and indefinite picture of the Scythian desert has continually shifted. But the most ancient map of Russia affords some places which still retain their name and position; and the two capitals, Novogorod<sup>50</sup> and Kiow<sup>51</sup>, are coeval with the first age of the monarchy. Novogorod had not yet deserved the epithet of great, nor the alliance of the Hanseatic league, which diffused the streams of opulence and the principles of freedom. Kiow could not yet boast of three hundred churches, an innumerable people, and a degree of greatness and splendour, which was compared with Constantinople by those who had never seen the residence of the Cæsars. In their origin, the two cities were no more than camps or fairs, the most convenient stations in which the Barbarians might assemble for the occasional business of war or trade. Yet even these assemblies announce some progress in the

CHAP. arts of society; a new breed of cattle was im-  
LV. ported from the southern provinces; and the  
spirit of commercial enterprise pervaded the sea  
and land from the Baltic to the Euxine, from  
the mouth of the Oder to the port of Constanti-  
nople. In the days of idolatry and barbarism,  
the Slavonic city of Julin was frequented and  
enriched by the Normans, who had prudently  
secured a free mart of purchase and exchange<sup>52</sup>.  
From this harbour, at the entrance of the Oder,  
the corsair, or merchant, sailed in forty-three  
days to the eastern shores of the Baltic, the most  
distant nations were intermingled, and the holy  
groves of Curland *are said* to have been decorated  
with *Grecian* and *Spanish gold*<sup>53</sup>. Between the  
sea and Novogorod an easy intercourse was dis-  
covered; in the summer, through a gulf, a lake,  
and a navigable river; in the winter season,  
over the hard and level surface of boundless  
snows. From the neighbourhood of that city,  
the Russians descended the streams that fall into  
the Borysthenes; their canoes, of a single tree,  
were laden with slaves of every age, furs of  
every species, the spoil of their bee-hives, and  
the hides of their cattle; and the whole produce  
of the North was collected and discharged in the  
magazines of Kiow. The month of June was  
the ordinary season of the departure of the fleet:  
the timber of the canoes was framed into the  
oars and benches of more solid and capacious  
boats; and they proceeded without obstacle down  
the Borysthenes, as far as the seven or thirteen

ridges of rocks, which traverse the bed, and precipitate the waters, of the river. At the more shallow falls it was sufficient to lighten the vessels; but the deeper cataracts were impassable; and the mariners, who dragged their vessels and their slaves six miles over land, were exposed in this toilsome journey to the robbers of the desert<sup>54</sup>. At the first island below the falls, the Russians celebrated the festival of their escape; at a second, near the mouth of the river, they repaired their shattered vessels for the longer and more perilous voyage of the Black Sea. If they steered along the coast, the Danube was accessible; with a fair wind they could reach in thirty-six or forty hours the opposite shores of Anatolia; and Constantinople admitted the annual visit of the strangers of the North. They returned at the stated season with a rich cargo of corn, wine, and oil, the manufactures of Greece, and the spices of India. Some of their countrymen resided in the capital and provinces; and the national treaties protected the persons, effects, and privileges, of the Russian merchant<sup>55</sup>.

But the same communication which had been opened for the benefit, was soon abused for the injury, of mankind. In a period of one hundred and ninety years, the Russians made four attempts to plunder the treasures of Constantinople: the event was various, but the motive, the means, and the object, were the same in these naval expeditions<sup>56</sup>. The Russian traders had seen the magnificence and tasted the luxury of

CHAP.  
IV.

Naval expeditions of the Russians against Constantinople.

CHAP. the city of the Cæsars. A marvellous tale, and  
 LV. a scanty supply, excited the desires of their savage  
 countrymen: they envied the gifts of nature  
 which their climate denied; they coveted the  
 works of art which they were too lazy to imitate  
 and too indigent to purchase: the Varangian  
 princes unfurled the banners of piratical adventure,  
 and their bravest soldiers were drawn from the  
 nations that dwelt in the northern isles of the  
 ocean<sup>57</sup>. The image of their naval armaments  
 was revived in the last century, in the fleets of  
 the Cossacks, which issued from the Borystheneſes,  
 to navigate the same seas, for a similar pur-  
 pose<sup>58</sup>. The Greek appellation of *monoxyla*, or  
 single canoes, might be justly applied to the bot-  
 tom of their vessels. It was scooped out of the  
 long stem of a beech or willow, but the slight  
 and narrow foundation was raised and continued  
 on either side with planks, till it attained the  
 length of sixty, and the height of about twelve,  
 feet. These boats were built without a deck,  
 but with two rudders and a mast; to move with  
 sails and oars; and to contain from forty to  
 seventy men, with their arms, and provisions  
 of fresh water and salt fish. The first trial of the  
 Russians was made with two hundred boats;  
 but when the national force was exerted, they  
 might arm against Constantinople a thousand or  
 twelve hundred vessels. Their fleet was not  
 much inferior to the royal navy of Agamemnon,  
 but it was magnified in the eyes of fear to ten  
 or fifteen times the real proportion of its strength  
 and

and numbers. Had the Greek emperors been endowed with foresight to discern, and vigour to prevent, perhaps they might have sealed with a maritime force the mouth of the Borysthenes. Their indolence abandoned the coast of Anatolia to the calamities of a piratical war, which, after an interval of six hundred years, again infested the Fluxine; but as long as the capital was respected, the sufferings of a distant province escaped the notice both of the prince and the historian. The storm which had swept along from the Phasis and Trebizond, at length burst on the Bosphorus of Thrace; a streight of fifteen miles, in which the rude vessels of the Russian might have been stopped and destroyed by a more skillful adversary. In their first enterprise<sup>59</sup> under the princes of Kiow, they passed without opposition, and occupied the port of Constantinople in the absence of the emperor Michael, the son of Theophilus. Through a crowd of perils, he landed at the palace-stairs, and immediately repaired to a church of the Virgin Mary<sup>60</sup>. By the advice of the patriarch, her garment, a precious relic, was drawn from the sanctuary and dipped in the sea; and a seasonable tempest, which determined the retreat of the Russians, was devoutly ascribed to the mother of God<sup>61</sup>. The silence of the Greeks may inspire some doubt of the truth, or at least of the importance, of the second attempt by Oleg the guardian of the sons of Ruric<sup>62</sup>. A strong barrier of arms and fortifications

C H A P.  
LV.

The first,  
A. D. 865.

The second,  
A. D. 907.

CHAP.  
LV.

The third,  
A. D. 941.

defended the Bosphorus: they were eluded by the usual expedient of drawing the boats over the isthmus; and this simple operation is described in the national chronicles, as if the Russian fleet had sailed over dry land with a brisk and favourable gale. The leader of the third armament, Igor, the son of Ruric, had chosen a moment of weakness and decay, when the naval powers of the empire were employed against the Saracens. But if courage be not wanting, the instruments of defence are seldom deficient. Fifteen broken and decayed galleys were boldly launched against the enemy; but instead of the single tube of Greek fire usually planted on the prow, the sides and stern of each vessel were abundantly supplied with that liquid combustible. The engineers were dextrous; the weather was propitious; many thousand Russians, who chose rather to be drowned than burnt, leaped into the sea; and those who escaped to the Thracian shore were inhumanly slaughtered by the peasants and soldiers. Yet one third of the canoes escaped into shallow water; and the next spring Igor was again prepared to retrieve his disgrace and claim his revenge<sup>63</sup>. After a long peace, Jaroslaus, the great-grandson of Igor, resumed the same project of a naval invasion. A fleet, under the command of his son, was repulsed at the entrance of the Bosphorus by the same artificial flames. But in the rashness of pursuit the vanguard of the Greeks was encompassed by an irresistible multitude of boats and men; their provision of

The fourth,  
A. D. 1043.

fire was probably exhausted; and twenty-four galleys were either taken, sunk, or destroyed<sup>64</sup>.

Yet the threats or calamities of a Russian war were more frequently diverted by treaty than by arms. In these naval hostilities, every disadvantage was on the side of the Greeks: their savage enemy afforded no mercy; his poverty promised no spoil; his impenetrable retreat deprived the conqueror of the hopes of revenge; and the pride or weakness of empire indulged an opinion, that no honour could be gained or lost in the intercourse with Barbarians. At first their demands were high and inadmissible, three pounds of gold for each soldier or mariner of the fleet: the Russian youth adhered to the design of conquest and glory; but the counsels of moderation were recommended by the hoary sages. "Be content," they said, "with the liberal offers of Casar, is it not far better to obtain without a combat, the possession of gold, silver, silks, and all the objects of our desires? Are we sure of victory? Can we conclude a treaty with the sea? We do not tread on the land; we float on the abyss of water, and a common death hangs over our heads<sup>65</sup>." The memory of these Arctic fleets that seemed to descend from the Polar circle, left a deep impression of terror on the Imperial city. By the vulgar of every rank, it was asserted and believed, that an equestrian statue in the square of Taurus, was secretly inscribed with a prophecy, how the Russians, in the last days,

C H A P.

LV

Negotiations  
and prophecy.

CHAP. should become masters of Constantinople<sup>66</sup>. In  
 LV. our own time, a Russian armament, instead of  
 failing from the Borysthenes, has circumnavigated  
 the continent of Europe; and the Turkish capi-  
 tal has been threatened by a squadron of strong  
 and lofty ships of war, each of which, with its  
 naval science and thundering artillery, could  
 have sunk or scattered an hundred canoes such  
 as those of their ancestors. Perhaps the present  
 generation may yet behold the accomplishment  
 of the prediction, of a rare prediction, of which  
 the style is unambiguous and the date unques-  
 tionable.

Reign of  
 Swatoflaus,  
 A. D.  
 955—973.

By land the Russians were less formidable  
 than by sea; and as they fought for the most  
 part on foot, their irregular legions must often  
 have been broken and overthrown by the  
 cavalry of the Scythian hords. Yet their grow-  
 ing towns, however slight and imperfect, pre-  
 sented a shelter to the subject and a barrier to  
 the enemy: the monarchy of Kiow, till a  
 fatal partition, assumed the dominion of the  
 North; and the nations from the Volga to the  
 Danube were subdued or repelled by the arms  
 of Swatoflaus<sup>67</sup>, the son of Igor, the son of  
 Oleg, the son of Ruric. The vigour of his mind  
 and body was fortified by the hardships of a  
 military and savage life. Wrapt in a bear-skin,  
 Swatoflaus usually slept on the ground, his head  
 reclining on a saddle; his diet was coarse and  
 frugal, and, like the heroes of Homer<sup>68</sup>, his  
 meat (it was often horseflesh) was broiled or

roasted on the coals. The exercise of war gave stability and discipline to his army; and it may be presumed, that no soldier was permitted to transcend the luxury of his chief. By an embassy from Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, he was moved to undertake the conquest of Bulgaria, and a gift of fifteen hundred pounds of gold was laid at his feet to defray the expence, or reward the toils, of the expedition. An army of sixty thousand men was assembled and embarked; they sailed from the Borysthenes to the Danube; their landing was effected on the Mælian shore, and, after a sharp encounter, the swords of the Ruffians prevailed against the arrows of the Bulgarian horse. The vanquished king sunk into the grave; his children were made captive; and his dominions, as far as mount Hæmus, were subdued or ravaged by the northern invaders. But instead of relinquishing his prey, and performing his engagements, the Varagian prince was more disposed to advance than to retire; and, had his ambition been crowned with success, the seat of empire in that early period might have been transferred to a more temperate and fruitful climate. Swatoslaus enjoyed and acknowledged the advantages of his new position, in which he could unite, by exchange or rapine, the various productions of the earth. By an easy navigation he might draw from Ruffia the native commodities of furs, wax, and hydromel: Hungary supplied him with a breed of horses and the spoils of the West; and Greece abounded

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CHAP. with gold, silver, and the foreign luxuries, which his poverty had affected to disdain. The bands of Patzinacites, Chozars, and Turks, repaired to the standard of victory; and the ambassador of Nicephorus betrayed his trust, assumed the purple, and promised to share with his new allies the treasures of the Eastern world. From the banks of the Danube the Russian prince pursued his march as far as Adrianople; a formal summons to evacuate the Roman province was dismissed with contempt; and Swatoflaus fiercely replied, that Constantinople might soon expect the presence of an enemy and a master.

His defeat  
by John Zimisces,  
A. D.  
970—973.

Nicephorus could no longer expel the mischief which he had introduced; but his throne and wife were inherited by John Zimisces<sup>66</sup>, who, in a diminutive body, possessed the spirit and abilities of an hero. The first victory of his lieutenants deprived the Russians of their foreign allies, twenty thousand of whom were either destroyed by the sword, or provoked to revolt, or tempted to desert. Thrace was delivered, but seventy thousand Barbarians were still in arms; and the legions that had been recalled from the new conquests of Syria, prepared, with the return of the spring, to march under the banners of a warlike prince, who declared himself the friend and avenger of the injured Bulgaria. The passes of mount Hæmus had been left unguarded; they were instantly occupied; the Roman vanguard was formed of the *immortals* (a

proud imitation of the Persian style); the emperor led the main body of ten thousand five hundred foot; and the rest of his forces followed in slow and cautious array with the baggage and military engines. The first exploit of Zimisces was the reduction of Marcianopolis, or Peristh-laba<sup>70</sup>, in two days: the trumpets sounded; the walls were scaled; eight thousand five hundred Ruffians were put to the sword; and the sons of the Bulgarian king were rescued from an ignominious prison, and invested with a nominal diadem. After these repeated losses, Swatoslaus retired to the strong post of Dristra, on the banks of the Danube, and was pursued by an enemy who alternately employed the arms of celerity and delay. The Byzantine gallies ascended the river; the legions completed a line of circumvallation; and the Ruffian prince was encompassed, assaulted, and famished, in the fortifications of the camp and city. Many deeds of valour were performed; several desperate sallies were attempted; nor was it till after a siege of sixty-five days that Swatoslaus yielded to his adverse fortune. The liberal terms which he obtained announce the prudence of the victor, who respected the valour, and apprehended the despair, of an unconquered mind. The great duke of Ruffia bound himself by solemn imprecations to relinquish all hostile designs; a safe passage was opened for his return; the liberty of trade and navigation was restored; a measure of corn was distributed to each of his soldiers; and the allow-

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ance of twenty-two thousand measures attests the loss and the remnant of the Barbarians. After a painful voyage, they again reached the mouth of the Borysthenes; but their provisions were exhausted; the season was unfavourable; they passed the winter on the ice; and, before they could prosecute their march, Swatoslaus was surprised and oppressed by the neighbouring tribes, with whom the Greeks entertained a perpetual and useful correspondence<sup>71</sup>. Far different was the return of Zimisces, who was received in his capital like Camillus or Marius, the favourites of ancient Rome. But the merit of the victory was attributed by the pious emperor to the mother of God; and the image of the Virgin Mary, with the divine infant in her arms, was placed on a triumphal car, adorned with the spoils of war and the ensigns of Bulgarian royalty. Zimisces made his public entry on horseback; the diadem on his head, a crown of laurel in his hand; and Constantinople was astonished to applaud the martial virtues of her sovereign<sup>72</sup>.

Conversion  
of Russia,  
A. D. 864.

Photius of Constantinople, a patriarch whose ambition was equal to his curiosity, congratulates himself and the Greek church on the conversion of the Russians<sup>73</sup>. Those fierce and bloody Barbarians had been persuaded by the voice of reason and religion, to acknowledge Jesus for their God; the Christian missionaries for their teachers, and the Romans for their friends and brethren. His triumph was transient and premature. In the various fortune of their

piratical adventures, some Russian chiefs might allow themselves to be sprinkled with the waters of baptism; and a Greek bishop with the name of metropolitan, might administer the sacraments in the church of Kiow, to a congregation of slaves and natives. But the seed of the Gospel was sown on a barren soil: many were the apostates, the converts were few; and the baptism of Olga may be fixed as the æra of Russian Christianity<sup>74</sup>. A female, perhaps of the basest origin, who could revenge the death, and assume the sceptre, of her husband Igor, must have been endowed with those active virtues which command the fear and obedience of Barbarians. In a moment of foreign and domestic peace, she sailed from Kiow to Constantinople; and the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus has described with minute diligence the ceremonial of her reception in his capital and palace. The steps, the titles, the salutations, the banquet, the presents, were exquisitely adjusted, to gratify the vanity of the stranger, with due reverence to the superior majesty of the purple<sup>75</sup>. In the sacrament of baptism, she received the venerable name of the empress Helena; and her conversion might be preceded or followed by her uncle, two interpreters, sixteen damsels, of an higher, and eighteen of a lower rank, twenty-two domestics or ministers, and forty-four Russian merchants; who composed the retinue of the great princess Olga. After her return to Kiow and Novogorod, she firmly persisted in her new religion; but her labours in the

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Baptism of  
Olga.

A. D. 955.

CHAP. LV. propagation of the Gospel were not crowned with success; and both her family and nation adhered with obstinacy or indifference to the gods of their fathers. Her son Swatoflaus was apprehensive of the scorn and ridicule of his companions; and her grandson Wolodomir devoted his youthful zeal to multiply and decorate the monuments of ancient worship. The savage deities of the North were still propitiated with human sacrifices: in the choice of the victim, a citizen was preferred to a stranger, a Christian to an idolater; and the father, who defended his son from the sacerdotal knife, was involved in the same doom by the rage of a fanatic tumult. Yet the lessons and example of the pious Olga had made a deep, though secret, impression on the minds of the prince and people: the Greek missionaries continued to preach, to dispute, and to baptise; and the ambassadors or merchants of Russia compared the idolatry of the woods with the elegant superstition of Constantinople. They had gazed with admiration on the dome of St. Sophia; the lively pictures of saints and martyrs, the riches of the altar, the number and vestments of the priests, the pomp and order of the ceremonies; they were edified by the alternate succession of devout silence and harmonious song; nor was it difficult to persuade them, that a choir of angels descended each day from heaven to join in the devotion, of the Christians<sup>76</sup>. But the conversion of Wolodomir was determined or hastened by his desire of a Roman bride. At

of Wolodomir,  
 A. D. 988.

the same time, and in the city of Cherson, the rites of baptism and marriage were celebrated by the Christian pontiff: the city he restored to the emperor Basil, the brother of his spouse; but the brazen gates were transported, as it is said, to Novogorod, and erected before the first church as a trophy of his victory and faith<sup>77</sup>. At his despotic command, Peroun, the god of thunder, whom he had so long adored, was dragged through the streets of Kiow; and twelve sturdy Barbarians battered with clubs, the misshapen image, which was indignantly cast into the waters of the Borysthenes. The edict of Wolodomir had proclaimed, that all who should refuse the rites of baptism would be treated as the enemies of God and their prince; and the rivers were instantly filled with many thousands of obedient Ruffians, who acquiesced in the truth and excellence of a doctrine which had been embraced by the great duke and his boyars. In the next generation, the relics of paganism were finally extirpated; but as the two brothers of Wolodomir had died without baptism, their bones were taken from the grave, and sanctified by an irregular and posthumous sacrament.

In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries of the Christian æra, the reign of the gospel and of the church, was extended over Bulgaria, Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Ruffia<sup>78</sup>. The triumphs of apostolic zeal were repeated in the iron age of Christianity; and the northern and eastern regions

Christianity  
of the North,  
A. D.  
800—1100.

CHAP. of Europe submitted to a religion, more different  
LV. in theory than in practice, from the worship of  
their native idols. A laudable ambition excited  
the monks, both of Germany and Greece, to  
visit the tents and huts of the Barbarians: poverty,  
hardships, and dangers, were the lot of the first  
missionaries; their courage was active and patient;  
their motive pure and meritorious; their present  
reward consisted in the testimony of their consci-  
ence and the respect of a grateful people; but the  
fruitful harvest of their toils was inherited and  
enjoyed by the proud and wealthy prelates of  
succeeding times. The first conversions were free  
and spontaneous: an holy life and an eloquent  
tongue were the only arms of the missionaries;  
but the domestic fables of the Pagans were silenced  
by the miracles and visions of the strangers; and  
the favourable temper of the chiefs was accelerated  
by the dictates of vanity and interest. The leaders  
of nations, who were saluted with the titles of  
kings and saints", held it lawful and pious to  
impose the Catholic faith on their subjects and  
neighbours: the coast of the Baltic, from Holstein  
to the gulf of Finland, was invaded under the  
standard of the cross; and the reign of idolatry  
was closed by the conversion of Lithuania in the  
fourteenth century. Yet truth and candour must  
acknowledge, that the conversion of the North  
imparted many temporal benefits both to the old  
and the new Christians. The rage of war, in-  
herent to the human species, could not be healed  
by the evangelic precepts of charity and peace;

and the ambition of Catholic princes has renewed in every age the calamities of hostile contention. But the admission of the Barbarians into the pale of civil and ecclesiastical society delivered Europe from the depredations, by sea and land, of the Normans, the Hungarians, and the Russians, who learned to spare their brethren and cultivate their possessions". The establishment of law and order was promoted by the influence of the clergy; and the rudiments of art and science were introduced into the savage countries of the globe. The liberal piety of the Russian princes engaged in their service the most skilful of the Greeks, to decorate the cities and instruct the inhabitants: the dome and the paintings of St. Sophia were rudely copied in the churches of Kiow and Novogorod: the writings of the fathers were translated into the Slavonic idiom; and three hundred noble youths were invited or compelled to attend the lessons of the college of Jaroslaus. It should appear that Russia might have derived an early and rapid improvement from her peculiar connection with the church and state of Constantinople, which in that age so justly despised the ignorance of the Latins. But the Byzantine nation was servile, solitary, and verging to an hasty decline: after the fall of Kiow, the navigation of the Borysthenes was forgotten, the great princes of Wologodmir and Moscow were separated from the sea and Christendom; and the divided monarchy was oppressed by the ignominy and blindness of

CHAP.

LV.

CHAP. Tartar fervitude<sup>81</sup>. The Slavonic and Scandi-  
EV. navian kingdoms, which had been converted by  
the Latin missionaries, were exposed, it is true,  
to the spiritual jurisdiction and temporal claims  
of the popes<sup>82</sup>; but they were united, in lan-  
guage and religious worship, with each other,  
and with Rome; they imbibed the free and ge-  
nerous spirit of the European republic, and gra-  
dually shared the light of knowledge which arose  
on the western world.