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Orosius. — Lauderdale M.S. Page 8. 1–5.

re ieldran ealne þisne ymb hwyrft þyses
middangeardes cwæð orosius swa swa oceanus
utan ymb ligeþ þone garsecg hateð on þreo todæl
don ⁊ hie þa þrie dælas on þreo tonemdon. asiam ⁊
europem ⁊ affricam.

Id. Page 14. 26–31.

Ac he nyste hwæt þæs soþes wæs forþæm he hit self
ne geseah. þa finnas him þuhte ⁊ þa beormas spræ
con neah an geþeode. swiþost he for ðider to eacan
þæs landes sceawunge forþæm horschwælum for
ðæm hie habbað swiþe æþele ban on hiora toþum
þa teð hie brohton sume þæm cyninge ⁊ hiora hyd

A few of the Contractions.

æ · epel · con · cwæð · ma · na · per · pro · rum · ta · gus

RE YLDRAN EALNE
ÐYSNE YMB HYRFT
ÐYSES MIDDAN GEARDES · CƲÆÐ OROSIUS

ƿa ƿa oceanus ymbliʒeð utan ðone man ʒar
secʒ hatað. on ðreo todældon. 7 hi hý þa þry dælas on
ðreo tonemdon. asiam. 7 europam. 7 affricam.

Ac he nyste hƿæt þæs soðes ƿæs. for
ðæm he hit sylf ne ʒeseah. þa finnas him þuhte. 7 þa
beormas. spræcon neah anʒeðeode. Sƿiðost he for
ðyder to eacan þæs landes sceaƿunʒe. forðæm hors
hƿælum. forðæm hi habbað sƿiðe æþele ban. on
hyra toþū. þa teð hy brohton sume þæm cyninʒe
7 hyra hyd bið sƿiðe ʒod to sciprapum.

Contractions.

c̄ *con*

ꝑ *per*

uˀ, ˀ *us*

Id: fol. 10 a 20 – 25. &c.

KING

ALFRED'S ANGLO-SAXON VERSION

OF

THE COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THE WORLD

BY

OROSIUS.

CONTAINING,—

FACSIMILE SPECIMENS OF THE LAUDERDALE AND COTTON MSS.—
A PREFACE DESCRIBING THESE MSS. etc.—
AN INTRODUCTION—ON OROSIUS AND HIS WORK;
THE ANGLO-SAXON TEXT;
NOTES AND VARIOUS READINGS;
A LITERAL ENGLISH TRANSLATION, WITH NOTES;
MR. HAMPSON'S ESSAY ON KING ALFRED'S GEOGRAPHY, AND
A MAP OF EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA, ACCORDING TO OROSIUS AND ALFRED.

BY

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THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE WORK.

FACSIMILE SPECIMENS of the Lauderdale and Cotton MSS. Preface describing these MSS. etc. - p i—lxiv.

THE INTRODUCTION—An account of Orosius and his writings, p 10—17.

THE ANGLO-SAXON TEXT - - p 9—234.

NOTES, Various Readings, and Corrections - p 1—31.

THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION with Notes - p 15—198.

MR. HAMPSON'S ESSAY on King Alfred's Geography p 1—63.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATE I and II face each other, and are placed before the title.

THE FACSIMILE of p 12, from the Lauderdale MS., faces p. 34 of English translation, and p 14 naturally follows 13.

PLATE III faces p. 83 of English translation.

PLATE IV faces p. 33 of the Anglo-Saxon text.

THE MAP of Europe, Asia, and Africa has its left margin pasted on the outer margin of the right-hand cover, and unfolds to the right, that the whole may be visible while reading the work.

PREFACE.

History speaks of all ages and nations: it discourses of the present, and leads us back, through the wide space of past ages, to the very dawn of creation. It brings before us the scenes and events of more than five thousand years. History thus surveys not only our own vast dominions, and the whole extent of the Roman, the Grecian, the Persian, and the Assyrian empires, but it enables us to speak with our English Alfred, the Spanish Orosius, the Roman Livy, the Grecian Herodotus, and with the inspired Moses and the Prophets.

In this point of view, attractive as history is; yet, when taken as a whole, and studied in all its extent, with its complicated and minute details, it overwhelms and often leads to confusion. The mind throws off this unwieldy burden, and relieves itself by resting upon the most striking events, and upon the actions of the most eminent men. These events are viewed with interest and attention, in smaller and separate groups. History is thus naturally epitomized, and the chief events of history are deeply impressed on the memory.

The rise and fall of great men, as of nations, are often involved in an obscurity, which the unaided powers of the brightest intellect cannot remove. As a dense, black cloud, covering the sun, shrouds all nature in gloom, till a gleam, darting from behind, not only gilds the edge, but illuminates and cheers the whole scene; so Revelation throws a clear light on the dark page of history, by which the Divine Hand is seen reducing confusion to order, and introducing men and measures to promote "peace on earth, and goodwill toward men."

History thus receives light from revelation. Just such is the work before us—the epitome of Universal History, written in Latin by Orosius, and translated into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred the Great. General History, it must be confessed, is little else

than a narrative of the follies, crimes, and miseries of men. This was so evident, that heathen writers adduced it as an argument against Revelation, asserting that Christianity was the cause of increased misery in the world. To correct this perversion, the African Bishop, S. Augustine, induced his friend Orosius to write this abridgement of Universal History, upon Christian principles, to shew the real origin of the misery of the world; hence the work is entitled, *De miseriâ mundi*[1].

This History of the world, from the creation to A.D. 416, was very popular in the time of Alfred, and was held in the highest estimation for many ages. It was first printed at Vienna in 1471, from an excellent manuscript. Numerous editions were subsequently published by the most eminent printers, but the most important to us is the first edition of Schüszler, in folio, 1471, for it contains passages omitted by subsequent editors, which are retained in King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version. From this we may infer that Alfred translated from a copy of the MS. from which Schüszler printed his valuable text. Several instances might be quoted, but that relating to the quality of the fruit of Sodom will be sufficient:—"Illic poma virentia et formatos uvarum racemos, ut edentibus gignant cupiditatem, si carpas, fatiscunt in cinerem, fumumque excitant, quasi ardeant[2]."

This passage is omitted in subsequent editions, and it is not found in the critical text of Havercamp, but it is in Alfred's Anglo-Saxon.

A minute description of Schüszler's scarce and early printed folio volume of 1471 may afford some interest. It is printed in a round, thick letter, between German and Roman, to represent the MSS. of that age, and has spaces left for the insertion of illuminated capitals. The title, the name of the author, the publisher, and the date are at the end, as in the earliest printed books. It commences with the table of contents, consisting of 7 leaves, and begins—

"Regstrum pro capitulis tocius libri inquirendis. De miseria hominum ab initio per peccatum. Ca'pmum." It ends at the bottom of the thirteenth page with—"Vbi constātius comes gothos a narbona expulsos in hispaniam abire coegit ·xlvij"

1 In some manuscripts it is called, *Ormesia, Ormesta, Ormista, Hormesta,* and *Orchestra,* which seem to be corrupted contractions of De miseriâ mundi, or rather *Or*bis *miseria,* written contractedly *Or. misia,* and by ignorant scribes *Ormesia* etc. *Ormista* may be formed from *Or. m. ista,* an abbreviation for *Or*osii *m*undi *hi*storia.

2 *Schüszler in loco: Anglo-Sax. p* 27, 30—32; *Eng. p* 63, 9, *note* 1: *p* 77 *note* 1; *and p* 198 *note.*

Then follow two pages of what is called the Prologue, to which is prefixed—

"Pauli horosij presbiteri historiogphi discipl'i sancti
augustini epi· viri hispani generis eloquentissimi·
aduersū cristiani noīs q̃rulos prologus ī libros septē."

"Preceptis tuis parui beatissime pater augustīe" *The P, in Preceptis, is an illuminated red letter.* At the end is—

Finit prologus.

Then follow 122 leaves, containing the History, beginning with—

"Pauli horosij presbiteri historiographi discipl'i sancti· Augustini episcopi· aduersum cristiani nominis querulos libri numero septē incipiūt"

Capitulum primum"

The last, the left page of these 122 leaves, which are not numbered, closes with—

"Beati Pauli horosij presbiteri in xp̃iani noīs querulos libri nûo septem finiunt feliciter, Per Johannē Schúsʒler florentissime vrbis Auguste conciuē impressi, Anno a ptu virginis Marie salutifero· M° q̃dringētesimo et septuagesimo p'mo· [1471] Circit' iunij nonas septīas."

Another edition, in small folio, by Herman Levilapis (*Leichtenstein*), with the text revised from other MSS., was published at Vincenza in the north of Italy, without date [about 1475]. From this the nine Venice editions appear to have been printed. A description of that of 1500, which omits the sentence relating to the fruit of Sodom, will serve for the others. At the top of the first page, just above the dedication to S. Augustine, are the two following lines in small Roman Capitals—

"PAVLI OROSII VIRI DOCTISSIMI HISTORIARVM INITIVM AD AVRELIVM AVGVSTINVM. LIBER PRIMUS."

It is printed in Roman letters, with many contractions. There is not any table of contents, but short headings to the chapters, and the names of the chief persons and places in the margin. It consists of 79 leaves: the pages are not numbered, but PAVLI OROSII LIBER PRIMVS, SECVNDVS etc. is put as a head line. At the beginning of each chapter a space is left, and a small letter printed in the middle as a guide to the illuminator. These spaces, in the copy before me, the loan of the Rev. H. S. Trimmer, Vicar of Heston, Middlesex, are filled with large red letters, having very little ornament.

At the end of the history, on the right hand page, which is the 79th, is printed—

"Vt ipse titulus margine in primo docet.
Orosio nomen mihi est.
Librariorum quicquid erroris fuit.
Exemit Aeneas mihi.
Quod si situm orbis: siqʒ nostra ad tempora.
Ab orbis ipsa origine.
Quisq̃ tumultus: bellaqʒ: & cædes uelit.
Cladesqʒ nosse: me legat.

"Pauli Orosii uiri clarissimi Ad Aurelium Augustinum episcopum & doctorem eximium Libri septimi ac ultimi Finis. Impressi Venetiis: opera & expensis Bernardini Veneti de Vitalibus. Anno ab incarnatione domini .M.CCCCC. Die .XII. Mensis Octobris. Regnāte Domino Augustino Barbadico.

"Registrum

"Omnes sunt terni præter n qui est quaternus."

That is—all the signatures have three sheets of two leaves each, except n, the last signature, which has four sheets, or eight leaves.

The best edition of Orosius is that of Havercamp, Leyden, 4to. 1738 and 1767; the latter is apparently the same book with only a new title. It is well edited, and contains a great mass of valuable notes: to this edition reference is always made in this work.

The high esteem in which Orosius was held in the time of Alfred, and for the subsequent six or seven hundred years, is spoken of in the following Introduction; it need not, therefore, be here repeated. While his popularity must be admitted, it cannot be denied that he has defects. He is not free from the credulity of the age in which he lived, and his authorities for the facts and the chronology in his history are not always the best. He has been severely criticized by Lipsius and Casaubon, and has had able defenders. A summary of these will be found in a small and recent 12mo. vol. entitled—

De Orosii Vita ejusque Historiarum Libris septem adversos paganos. Scripsit Theodorus Mörner, Doctor Philos. Berolini, 1844.

The greater part of this work is employed in indicating the sources from which Orosius derived his historical knowledge; and he clearly shews that, besides referring to Grecian historians, especially to Herodotus and Polybius, he made ample use of Livy and Tacitus, and had the advantage of consulting Tubero and many other historians whose works are now in part or entirely lost. Though much may be said in favour of Orosius, it is not his reputation as an historian, or the propriety of his Latin style, that claim our regard, so much as the fact that he was the popular historian whom our intellectual and energetic Alfred selected for translating into his vernacular Anglo-Saxon, with the view of presenting to his people the best historical knowledge of his day. It is the clear style of Alfred, and the additional information that he imparts in a supplementary sentence or clause, which interest

us, as given from his own personal knowledge; such, for instance, as when speaking of the Romans fording the Thames, Alfred points out the exact place, by stating that it was at Wallingford.

As our chief interest is in the works of Alfred, and particularly in his translation of Orosius, it is unnecessary to prolong our remarks upon his original Latin, only repeating that Alfred appears to have translated from a MS. connected with that which was subsequently used by Schüszler in printing the first edition of 1471. Should any ask, what are the works or writings of Alfred? It may be answered generally, that, as it was the prevailing desire of Alfred to benefit his people, he was more anxious to improve their minds in what he wrote, than to exalt himself. Instead, therefore, of laying before them only his own compositions, he did not hesitate to select and translate the best and most popular works of his day. In translating, he exercised his own powerful mind, and freely used his sound judgment, not only in omitting what he deemed of little importance, but in giving his own opinions and experience, and adding his own remarks and illustrations; not unfrequently expanding a thought and illustrating a fact of the Latin text to such an extent, as to constitute him the original author of the most instructive Essays. These important additions and separate Essays are very interesting as the composition of Alfred. One of the longest of these is his description of Europe and the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, subsequently mentioned.

We shall now speak of his works generally, and endeavour to ascertain at what time they were written. Though a want of documents may prevent us from arriving at a certainty, a few dates are recorded by which an approximation may be made. Asser tells us[3] he was first introduced to Alfred in 884. Besides himself, the king had engaged others to read and converse with him in turn: these were Werefrith, bishop of Worcester, the translator of Gregory's Dialogues into Anglo-Saxon, Plegmund the Mercian, and his chaplains Æthelstan and Werewulf, the most learned men of that day. By their knowledge and teaching

3 Annales rerum gestarum Ælfredi Magni, auctore Asserio Menevensi, recensuit Franciscus Wise, A.M. Oxon. 1722. Small 8vo. p 47.

he was constantly improving. Night and day, whenever he had leisure, he had these men to read to him. He thus gained a general knowledge of books, though he could not read and study by himself[4]. Stimulated with the desire of imparting to his subjects sound knowledge, the substance of the best books, combined with his own opinions and experience in the common language of his people, Asser tells us that Alfred began on one and the same day to read and to interpret[5]; and again, that he was eager at once to read and to interpret in Saxon, that he might teach others[6].

If reliance be placed on Asser's Annals of Alfred's life[7], we know the exact time when he first began to translate from Latin into Anglo-Saxon. Asser gives not only the year 887, but the very day, the feast of S. Martin, (Nov. 11)[8]. From the commencement of his reading Latin in 887 to the invasion of Hastings in 893, there is an interval of 6 years' peace; and, from the expulsion of Hastings in 897 to the demise of Alfred in 901, there is another interval of peace for 4 years, making together only about 10 years in which Alfred was especially engaged in study and literary composition.

His capacious mind had been previously well stored by reading and conversing with Asser and his other friends; when, therefore, he began to translate, he would enter with all his accustomed energy upon his work. If Asser began his instruction in Latin in Nov. 887, and glossed Boethius to make the Latin more easy and intelligible to the king, as we are told by William of Malmsbury[9],

4 Asser is still more definite:—Die noctuque, quandocunque aliquam licentiam haberet, libros ante se recitare talibus imperabat; (non enim unquam sine aliquo eorum se esse pateretur) quapropter pene omnium librorum notitiam habebat, quamvis per seipsum aliquid adhuc de libris intelligere non posset; non enim adhuc aliquid legere inceperat. *p* 46.

5 *Asser, p* 55.

6 . . . Confestim legere, et in Saxonica lingua interpretari, atque inde perplures instituere studuit. *Asser, p* 56.

7 See the arguments against its authenticity in Mr. Wright's paper inserted in Vol. xxix of the Archæologia; and in his Biog. Brit. Lit. I. p 408—412: and for it in Lingard's Hist. of A.-S. Ch. II, 426: Pauli's Introd. to his life of Alfred, and Kemble's Sax. in Eng. II, p 42.

8 Hic . . . præsumpsit incipere in venerabili Martini solemnitate. *Asser, p* 57. *Anno* 887.

9 "Hic (Asser) sensum librorum Boetii De Consolatione planioribus verbis enodavit, quos rex ipse in Anglicam linguam vertit." *II*, § 122.

we may conclude that the translation of Boethius was the first fruits of Alfred's literary exertions. Industrious and indefatigable as he was, he would soon make great progress in this work, and possibly finish it the next year. It is, therefore, not improbable that the translation of Boethius appeared in 888.

As Alfred was always alive to everything which concerned his kingdom, and had a great predilection for historical knowledge, his early attention could not fail to be drawn to the celebrated historical work of Bede. Having first supplied his people with a work on morality, in his translation of Boethius, in which he had incorporated his own views and experience of life, his next wish would naturally be to give them an account of their own country. For this purpose he would select for his second publication the great work of his far-famed countryman, the "Historia Anglorum" of Bede. This being a more regular and extensive work, Alfred adheres more closely to the Latin text, in his Anglo-Saxon version, than in Boethius; he, however, with his accustomed freedom, omits those parts of Bede which he thought were not adapted for his people. It was probably finished about 890 or 891.

The active and comprehensive mind of Alfred not only induced him to patronize men of learning, but seafaring men, celebrated for their discoveries, attracted the king's notice[1]; if, therefore, he did not engage Ohthere and Wulfstan to undertake their voyages, he at least induced them to relate to him in detail what they had seen, which he wrote down from their dictation, and inserted the narrative in his translation of Orosius, together with his own description of Europe. The earnest desire which the king always manifested for encouraging naval enterprise, and his own partiality for the study of history and geography, render it probable that Orosius was the third work which he translated, and finished about 893, before the invasion of Hastings.

The harassing warfare with Hastings for the next 4 years, from 893 to 897, would leave little time and repose for uninterrupted study. On the expulsion of Hastings in the latter year, we may well suppose, from his previous habit of regular distribution and employment of time, that, after discharging his public duties, he

1 Wise's Asser, p 66.

would gladly take the first opportunity of resuming his studies, and of finishing, with the aid of his friends, the works which had been so long interrupted by the distractions of war.

Amongst these may possibly be placed "Gregory's Pastoral Care." We have more certain intimations as to the date of Alfred's translation of the Pastoral. We know it must have been published after 890; for, in the introduction, written by himself, Alfred speaks of the assistance he received from Archbishop Plegmund, Bishop Asser, and the presbyters Grimbold and John[2]. Now the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records the accession of Plegmund to the see of Canterbury in 890. As Alfred calls Plegmund his archbishop, in his introduction, it must have been written between the year of Plegmund's accession in 890, and that of Alfred's death in 901. It could hardly have been finished before the invasion of Hastings in 893, nor before his expulsion in 897; if so, it must have been finished between 897 and 901.

In all this, it must be allowed, there is much uncertainty. As the exact dates could not be ascertained, even after close investigation, it was thought that some would prefer what appears an approach to truth, to an entire silence on the subject. It is with this feeling alone that these remarks have been made upon the probable dates of Alfred's chief works.

Though there is an uncertainty as to the exact dates when Alfred translated Boethius, Bede, Orosius and the Pastoral, there can be none as to his being the translator of these works into Anglo-Saxon. They have always been ascribed to him. In the first sentence of the preface to Boethius, it is said, "Alfred, king, was translator of this book, and turned it from book-latin into English[3]." There are other expressions in this preface which could not have been properly used by any one except by the king himself.—The Anglo-Saxon version of Bede has always been ascribed to Alfred.—The fact is testified by the Church, for Ælfric, in his homily on S. Gregory, written about 990, and generally used in the Church, speaks of Bede's "Historia Anglo-

2 Ic hie geliornode æt Plegmunde minum ærce-biscepe, and æt Assere minum biscepe, and æt Grimbolde minum mæsse-prioste, and æt Johanne minum mæsse-preoste. *Introduction to Gregory's Pastorale, Oxford MS. Hatton* 20, *fol* 2.

3 Ælfred, Kuning, wæs wealhstod þisse bec, and hie of bec Ledene on Englisc wende. *Card. Boet. p* ii.

rum, which King Alfred turned from Latin into English[4]." There is the strongest internal evidence, in addition to the testimony of antiquity, that the Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius was made by the king. In introducing the Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan into his description of the north of Europe, he begins—"Ohthere told his lord, King Alfred, that he dwelt northmost of all Northmen." Again, "Ohthere said that the district . . . was called Halgoland." In proof that these voyages were written down by Alfred from the oral relation of these bold navigators, Wulfstan uses the language of personal narrative:—"We had, on our left, the land of the Burgundians," *etc.*—In Alfred's celebrated preface to Gregory's Pastoral Care, he distinctly states the manner in which he translated it. "Then began I, among other different and manifold affairs of this kingdom to turn into English the book, which is called in Latin *Pastoralis*, and in English *Herdsman's book*, one while word for word, another while meaning for meaning, as I learnt it from Plegmund my Archbishop[5]."

These translations vary much in style, according to the subject on which they treat. They are the best specimens of Anglo-Saxon prose. Boethius is natural and animated: his form of dialogue has the charm of lively ease and graceful freedom. It is an animated picture of Alfred's mind,—his opinions, feelings, and experience. Bede is more stately and historical. The Pastoral is literal, plain, and didactic, adhering closely to the Latin text. Orosius is a free, historical style, interspersed with lively narratives.

Having touched upon the original Latin text of Orosius, and his estimation as an historian, and noticed the interest and importance of Alfred's Anglo-Saxon versions, with the supposed dates of his various translations, especially of Orosius, probably finished about the year 890, we have arrived at a point when we must speak of the Manuscripts of Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius: these are the

4 Historia Anglorum, ða ðe Ælfred cyning of Ledene on Englisc awende. *Ælf. Hom. Thorpe, p* 118.

5 Ða óngan ic, óngemang oðrum mislicum and manigfealdum bisgum ðisses kynerices ða boc wendan ón Englisc, þe is genemned ón Læden Pastoralis, and ón Englisc Hierde bóc, hwilum word be word, hwilum andgit of andgite, swa swa ic hie geliornode æt Plegmunde minum Ærcebiscepe. *Oxford MS. Hatton* 20, *fol* 2.

LAUDERDALE, written about the end of the IXth century.
COTTON, in the Xth century.

Transcript of Cotton by JUNIUS, about 1658?	Transcript of Junius by *Elstob*, in 1698.
HAMPSON, finished June 8th 1841.	*Ballard*, in 1751.

A short history of each of these may be desirable, particularly of the older. There are only two old MSS. of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius, the Lauderdale and the Cotton. They are both of great antiquity; but, as there appear to be strong reasons for concluding that the L is the older, it has the first claim to a short historic record,—an investigation of its age and value,—and a brief description of its present state.

The LAUDERDALE MS. receives its name from its late possessor, the Duke of Lauderdale, a nobleman not less distinguished for his loyalty and energy in the cause of Charles II, than for his enlightened zeal in promoting literature. He was taken prisoner, in the civil war, at the battle of Worcester, in 1651, and was confined in the Tower of London for nine years. At the restoration in 1660, his fidelity and talents were acknowledged by Charles II, who, at once, made him Secretary of State, and President of the Council. Besides receiving many other proofs of the sovereign's favour, he was installed a Knight of the Garter, and appointed High Commissioner of Scotland; and, on May 2nd 1672, he was created Marquis of March, and Duke of Lauderdale, in Scotland; and enrolled among the Peers of England, 25 June 1674, as Baron Petersham and Earl of Guilford.

We avoid speaking of the great immorality prevailing in that most profligate age, in which the Duke and Duchess lived; but as Lord Macaulay[6], following the party bias of preceding historians, has painted the Duke's character in the darkest colours, scarcely throwing in one light shade, it seems necessary to cite some more just estimates of his conduct by those who neither spared his failings, nor the vices of the age, but who, while severely censuring his errors, had the candour to mention with praise the Duke's devotion to literature, and his patronage of learned men.

6 Hist. of England from the Accession of James II. 5th. Edn. 8vo. 1849: vol I, p 213: II, 575.

"As this great nobleman hath been most unjustly aspersed by some historians, we first give his character in the words of North, an author of reputation, who, though an English Historian, seems to have examined the whole line of his conduct without prejudice. He says—'It is well known that, by the prudent conduct of the Duke of Lauderdale, Scotland was in a posture, not only of safety, but of giving assistance to the king, if needed. He was an inexpugnable loyalist, and keeped the door of Scotland close shut, that no arm could get in or out there, while he was Commissioner, which, in the sense of the Earl of Shaftsbury and his party, was the worst of offences. In the meantime, all the party foul-mouths vented against him the utmost obloquy that could possibly be imagined, as if he had been the basest of men, and the modern time-serving historians chime in with it, though most injurious to the character and honour of the best and wisest of statesmen that England ever had[7].'"

Mr. Malcolm Laing[8], though he does not spare immorality, has the candour to speak thus of the Duke:—"During a long imprisonment his mind had been carefully improved by study, and impressed with a sense of religion, which was soon effaced on his return to the world. His learning was extensive and accurate; in public affairs his experience was considerable, and his elocution copious, though unpolished and indistinct."

Having given these estimates of the Duke's character, we may allude to his love of literature and of books, as evidenced in his patronage of learned men, and in the collection of an extensive and valuable library, both of printed books and of MSS. The latter was enriched by the oldest MS. of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius. In the midst of all his honours, luxury, and indulgence, he did not forget literature, which had been his chief resource and consolation in his long and dreary imprisonment, nor did he disregard the just claims of learned men. Amongst those whom he patronized was the learned septentrional scholar, George Hickes, who accompanied the Duke to Scotland, as his chaplain, in 1677. Dr. Hickes mentions

7 British Family Antiquity, by Wm. Playfair, Esq. 4to. 1809: vol III, p 324.
8 History of Scotland, 8vo. 1804: vol IV, p 33.

the Lauderdale MS. of Orosius in his Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon MSS. published in 1688[9]. From their intimacy, there is no doubt that Dr. Hickes had seen this MS. in the Duke's library, and ascertained something of its history, but he only enables us to trace it back to the preceding century, by incidentally stating that it was formerly the property of Dr. John Dee.

Dr. Dee was a celebrated mathematician, and in great favour with Queen Elizabeth. Though holding some absurd opinions on astrology, he was a most diligent and liberal collector of MSS.[1], for, it is said, he expended upwards of three thousand pounds on his collection[2], a large sum, in those days, for a person of very limited income. According to Lilly[3], Dr. Dee died in 1608, "at Mortlake in Surrey, very poor, enforced many times to sell some book or other to buy his dinner with, as Dr. Napier, of Linford in Buckinghamshire, oft related, who knew him very well." In some of his difficulties, it is probable that this fine old Anglo-Saxon MS. of Orosius was sold. As it is not found in the catalogue of his MSS., written, as he states, Sep. 6th 1583, it must have been disposed of before that year[4]. It has not been ascertained through how many hands it passed before it came into the possession of the Duke of Lauderdale. For nearly a century, we cannot find any record of it. All that we know is, that it had been in the possession of Dr. Dee, who had disposed of it before 1583, when he made his Catalogue. It must have

9 Liber A. S. in *Bibl. Lauderdaliana. Orosii* Historia. Hic Cod. olim fuit peculium Johannis Dee, M.D. Vide, Catalogus veterum librorum septentrionalium, p 167: appended to—Grammaticæ Islandicæ Rudimenta, per Runolphum Jonam Islandum; Oxoniæ 1688. In 1705 Wanley's Catalogus Librorum septentrionalium, tam manuscriptorum quam impressorum, was published. With his wonted honesty and accuracy Wanley says, pref. p v,—nihil in hoc Catalogo Librorum Diplomatumve esse descriptum, quod manibus oculisque non usurpavi, exceptis libris, qui sequuntur; *scil.* Codex *Joannis* Ducis *Lauderiæ*, qui memoratur in pag. 303. *etc.* As he had not seen it, he there merely states on the authority of Hickes: *In Bibliotheca* Lauderdaliana *Nuper extabat.* 1. Orosii historia Saxonice, olim peculium Johannis Dee.

1 Speaking of the Lauderdale MS. Wanley says—qui quondam fuerat peculium doctissimi viri *Joannii Dee*, M.D. cujus vigilanti curæ debent eruditi, quod multorum Cod. antiquorum beneficio adhuc fruuntur, quorum jactura alias deploranda foret. *Catal.* p 85.

2 Pref. p viii. to Dr. Dee's Diary and Catalogue of his MSS. by James Orchard Halliwell, Esq., 4to. Camden Society for 1842. Mr. D'Israeli has given a correct view of Dr. Dee's character in his "Amenities of Literature."

3 Life of William Lilly, written by himself in 1668. 1 vol. 8vo. 1774.

4 Dr. Dee's Diary and Catalogue of his MSS. by Mr. Halliwell, p 65.

passed into the hands of the Duke of Lauderdale, probably from the Hatton collection, before 1682, as the Duke died in that year. We are told it was collated with the Junian transcript of the Cotton MS. by Dr. Marshall[5], Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford; that must have been done some time before 1685, as that is the recorded year of his demise. In 1688 Dr. Hickes speaks of it as the Lauderdale MS.[6], and Wanley gives it the same designation in 1704.

There are, however, intimations that this MS. was once in the Hatton collection; for what has been called the Hatton Anglo-Saxon MS. of Orosius, appears to be only that which is now known as the Lauderdale. Hickes, in 1688[7], says that the MS. of Orosius, which was in the Hatton Library not long ago, could not then be found. There is not any evidence that either he or Elstob had ever seen the, so-called, Hatton MS.; yet Elstob gives various readings from what he calls Codex Hattonianus. As every one of these various readings is exactly the same as the Lauderdale, it is presumed that the Lauderdale and Hatton MS. is one and the same. This MS., then, must have been sold from the Hatton MSS. before they were purchased by the Bodleian, Oxford, as Hickes could not find it there, nor is it contained in the MS. Catalogue of the Hatton MSS. in the Bodleian, dated 1686. If these facts and intimations be duly weighed, they seem to sanction the following conclusions:—That this MS. passed from the library of Dr. Dee before 1583; that it was, for some time, in the Hatton library, but was removed from that depository, probably by sale, to the Duke of Lauderdale, as it was in his library sometime before his death in 1682.

The subsequent history of this MS. must be traced through the connexion that was formed between the Duke of Lauderdale, and the family of Tollemache, one of the oldest in Suffolk, and of Anglo-Saxon origin, as the name indicates, for Tollemache is derived from the Anglo-Saxon tol, *toll or tribute*, and maca, *a mate, companion, or fellow, one connected with the revenues*. The

5 Wanley's Catal. p 85.

6 See note 1, Hickes's Catal. 4to. 1688, p 145, and Wanley, p 85.

7 Notandum quod inter Codd. *Hatton.* desiderantur: . . . *Orosius*, cum tractatulo de mensibus et Chronico *Abindonensi, etc.* . . . quæ omnia *non ita pridem* extitere in *Hatton.* Bibl. *Hickes's Catal.* 4to. Oxon. 1688, p 139.

Tollemaches have flourished in Suffolk, in uninterrupted male succession, from the first arrival of the Saxons in England, for more than thirteen centuries. Their early arrival with a Saxon tribe is indicated by an inscription on the Manor-house at Bentley, Suffolk :—

> *Before* the Normans into England came,
> Bentley was my seat, and Tollemache my name.

The Duke of Lauderdale, having obtained the highest honours, united himself to the ancient family of Tollemache by marrying in 1672, for his second wife, Elizabeth, the older of the two daughters and co-heiress of William Murray, Earl of Dysart, and widow of Sir Lionel Tollemache, of Helmingham Hall, Suffolk, the third Baronet. The Duke died without male issue in 1682, when the Dukedom and all his other personal honours expired, while those of his family devolved upon his brother Charles, who then became the third Earl of Lauderdale.

The Duchess, who was a lady of great energy and talent, and "whose literary accomplishments were beyond her sex[8]," survived her husband fifteen years. Soon after the Duke's death, a dispute[9] arose between his brother Charles and the Duchess, in which the valuable library of MSS. and printed books was involved. When it was found expedient to dispose of the library[1],

8 Laing's Hist. of Scotland, 8vo. 1804, vol IV, p 57.

9 "The Duke's library, which was of considerable extent and value, was sold, at successive intervals, (see next note) by public auction in London, probably in consequence of the litigation which took place between the Duchess and his brother Charles, who succeeded to the Earldom." Evelyn, in a letter to Samuel Pepys, dated 12 Aug. 1689, says :—"The Duke of Lauderdaile's (library) is yet intire, choicely bound, and to be sold by a friend of mine to whom they are pawn'd." *Evelyn's Memoirs*, 4to. vol II, p 287 : 8vo. vol IV, p 319.—*The Bannatyne Miscellany*, 4to. *Edin.* 1836. *In this Miscellany, vol II, p* 153—158, *there is*—Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum e Bibliothecâ Joannis Ducis de Lauderdale M.DC.XCII., *with an Introduction, p* 151, 152, *by the Right Honourable J. G. Craig.*

1 The printed books were sold in London, at two sales in May 1690, but the MSS. were not sold for nearly two years, in Jan. 1692, as will be seen by the Titles of the following catalogues.—1, "Bibliotheque de feu Monseigneur le Duc de Lauderdale," &c. (French, Italian, and Spanish Books) May 14th 1690, 4to. pp 28.—2, The English part of the Library of the Duke of Lauderdale, &c., May 27th 1690, 4to. pp 16.—3, Bibliotheca Instructissima *etc.* Cui adjicitur Bibliotheca Manuscripta Lauderdaliana, *etc.* Cujus auctio habebitur Londini apud *Tom's Coffee House*, prope *Ludgate*, adjacentem vico vulgo dicto *Ludgate Hill*, die 25 Januarii 169½, per Jo. Bullord, Bibl. 4to. A set of these Catalogues, from the library of the late Mr. Heber, is now in the possession of James T. Gibson Craig, Esq. Bannatyne Miscellany, 4to. Edin. 1836, vol II, p 151.

the Duchess, knowing how highly some of the MSS. were valued by the late Duke, was naturally anxious, from her affectionate regard for him, to retain those which he considered his greatest treasures. Among these was the Anglo-Saxon MS. of Orosius, which she rightly judged could not fail to be most interesting and of the highest value to the Tollemaches, one of the oldest Anglo-Saxon families in England. This reservation and care of the MS. will account for its not being in the sale of the Duke's other MSS., and for its omission in the catalogue of the sale, reprinted in the Bannatyne Miscellany, as stated in the preceding notes. The Duchess died in 1697, and was succeeded in all her own honours by the eldest son of her first husband, Sir Lionel Tollemache, who then became second Earl of Dysart. He inherited the Suffolk estates, with Helmingham Hall, and the library containing this MS. It descended with the Helmingham and Cheshire estates in 1837 to its present owner, John Tollemache, Esquire, M.P., son of the late Admiral Tollemache, and nephew of the fifth Earl of Dysart. It has been in the library at Helmingham Hall since the death of the Duke, and has been little used for more than a century and a half. On July 17th 1850, I was invited to Helmingham to examine this MS., and ascertain how it could be made available in improving the Anglo-Saxon text of my proposed edition of Orosius. It was then, with a kindness and confidence that I can never forget, most unexpectedly placed in my hands, and I had the possession and unrestrained use of it till July 27th 1854, on which day it was returned, and it is now securely kept in the library at Helmingham Hall.

Having given this brief and imperfect history of the Lauderdale MS. of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius, it is of the first importance to use every means to ascertain its age and value as a translation. The writing is a fine specimen of the free and expeditious hand, adopted by scribes towards the latter part of King Alfred's reign. The letters are rather small, but very clear, and the contractions not numerous. The table of contents is in rather a larger and bolder hand than the remainder of the MS. The letters and accents are all written in the same hand and ink, without any coloured letters or illuminations. The

only ornamental part of the writing is at the beginning of the first five books, where the initial letters are formed in elegant devices[2], which, being drawn in the brown-black ink of the MS., produce a very pleasing effect. From the style and general appearance of the writing, the particular form of the letters, and of the contractions, this MS. seems to have been written about the close of the ninth century, or the beginning of the tenth.

The two forms of the letter *y*, as seen in their transition state, indicate the early date of L. In the first line of Pl. I, we have *y*mb hw*y*rft, where the two forms of *y* are seen: the early *y*, without a dot, in *y*mb; and the transition form, with the incipient dot, in hw*y*rft. The *y* in hw*y*rft is formed by beginning the top of the first stroke on the right, with a hair line, making it gradually thick in the curve, and finer as it descends till it terminates, as it began, with a hair line. The second stroke is taken out of the middle or thick part of the first, and is terminated, on the right, with a pressure of the pen, forming a dot. To make the top of the first stroke agree with the closing dot of the second, the pen must be placed there again, and a dot made. As it required a quick sight, a steady hand, and great care to place the dot exactly at the fine beginning of the first stroke, a space was very often seen between the dot and the fine stroke. To remove this difficulty, the first stroke of the y was made of the same thickness, and the dot placed above to the right. This may, perhaps, account for the dot over the y, which subsequently came into general use. Every y, in the facsimile of the Cotton MS. Pl. II, will serve as an example of this ẏ with a point or dot over it.

The contractions in L are generally such as prevailed in the ninth century, as may be seen in Pl. I. Much stress, however, must not be laid on their use, as indicating the date, especially where the Runic character or letter[3], named éþel, is written as a contraction for the word éþel. The names of the Runes, or of the indigenous pagan alphabet, like the names of the Hebrew letters, are significant words. In this instance, the name of the Anglo-Saxon Rune or pagan letter is éþel, which

2 A specimen, but not the best, may be seen in the initial letter of Pl. I.
3 L p 103, 4 *d*: Bk IV, ch 5, § 3, p 82, 20 *b*.

signifies *native land, birth place.* The Runic letter éþel is used twice in Beowulf, instead of the word éþel, 1035: 1819[4]. Other Runes[5] are found in MSS. written at a later period than L.

The Cotton MS. has been ascribed to the tenth[6] century; but, from the form and character of the writing, it does not appear to be so old as the Lauderdale. The L must be older than C, if the latter copied from L; and some evidence may be adduced to make it appear probable that C did copy from L, or that they both copied from one and the same old MS. The former is more probable, for the omissions of L are omitted by C. Some of the omissions of C are just such as would be made by a copier of L, and some of the errors of L seem to be copied by C. These points are now to be examined.

The copy of a MS. would naturally have the same omissions, as that from which it was copied. This is just the relation that subsists between C and L; for, in the table of contents, the scribe of L neglected to write the title of Book V: Ch. VIII; and this title is omitted by C[7]. It is therefore probable that one of these MSS. was copied from the other.

There are other omissions, which seem to indicate the MS. that was copied from the other. All, who have been accustomed to copying, must have observed how liable they have been to omit intervening words, clauses, and even sentences, when the eye has caught the same word or words immediately or at some distance below. Such omissions occur in C.—In p 17, 21 *h–k* on þæt sand occur in L, and the scribe of C, seeing the same words just below, omits the intervening clause 21 *k*–22 *c*, and writes the first — on þæt sand, 21 *h–k*, and goes on and þær 22 *gh*. The following is a still longer and more striking example. The L gives a minute account of the Amazons p 33, 39 *a*–p 34, 4 *e*. The first line of this account ends with earme wíf, and nine lines forward the line closes with earman wíf. The

4 Mr. Kemble on A. S. Runes, Archæologia, vol XXVIII, p 344.—Hickes's Thes. vol I, p 135.

5 Codex Exoniensis, p 50, *etc.* Hickes's Thes. vol II, p 3—5: Tab. IIII—VI: Archæol. vol XXVIII, p 360—365.

6 "Not later than the tenth century." *Thorpe's Oros. pref. p vi.* In Mr. Planta's Catalogue of the Cotton MSS. in the Brit. Mus. fol 1802, p 34, it is assigned to the xith century.

7 See the printed A. S. text, p 13, 23 *a*—24 *c*: and the L, p 6: C fol 4, and fol 81 b.

scribe of C, after writing earme wíf, caught his eye upon earman wíf below, and went on,—men hie swa tintredon, omitting the whole nine intervening lines, 33, 40 *i*—p 34, 4 *b*: L p 33, 26 *a*—p 34, 3 *j*: C fol. 23.—It seems to be evident, from these examples, that L was not copied from C, for then L would not have had the passages omitted by C; but that C copied from L, as the same word or words occur twice in L, below each other, so as to catch the eye of the scribe, while they occur only once in C.

This is rendered more probable, when the very errors of L are copied by C. In L p 125, the scribe carelessly wrote,—Lapidus Mutius wæs consul, making the names of the two consuls as one. The scribe of C, fol. 79, minutely copied the error of L, instead of writing correctly, Lepidus and Mucius wæron consulas[8]. In L p 38, 18 *b* the scribe first wrote the defective word mæse; but, perceiving his error, he put ian above in small letters, making the proper word mæsiane; C, observing only the larger and more perceptible letters, and passing over the small superscribed ian, copied the erroneous word mæse[9].

But there may be such omissions, and a copy of such peculiar errors as prove, almost beyond a doubt, which was copied from the other. Such is the following:—At the end of sheet IIII, and at the bottom of p 62 of the Lauderdale MS., the scribe had only room to write Læcede-; and in taking another sheet, and in beginning the next page, he omitted -monia, the concluding part of Læcede-monia, and began p 63 with the next complete word ealdor-man; instead, therefore, of writing Læcede-monia ealdor-man, he only wrote Læcede ealdor-man. This was a very possible and natural omission of L, at the conclusion of a page, when the usual attention was diverted by taking and beginning a new sheet. The scribe of C copied the incomplete word Læcede, just as L left it, without the same reason for leaving it incomplete, as it does not conclude a sheet, nor come at the end of a line in C. It seems hardly possible, then, that such a glaring mistake could have been made in C, if it had not been copied from L[1].

8 See note to Oros. p 98, 10 *c-f*, and the A. S. printed text.

9 Note, p 37, 16 *a*.

1 A. S. printed text, p 54, 28 *a* and note: L p 62, 63: C fol. 41 b.

It seems clear, from these examples, that L and C are so closely connected as to lead to the conclusion that one was the copy of the other. But the more ample text of L could not be copied from C, as the deficient clauses and sentences of the latter testify. If, then, one was a copy of the other, and L did not copy from C, it follows that C copied from L; and, if the scribe of the Cotton did copy from the Lauderdale, the latter must be the older, as previously intimated.

This conclusion is not invalidated by the fact, that a few words and clauses, and one short sentence [p 9, 2 *a*—3 b], have been found in C, and omitted in L. These are merely explanatory, and such as might be inserted by a scribe acquainted with the A. S. idiom, such as the writer of the Cotton MS., whose alterations from the L seem to lead to the belief that he was an Anglo-Saxon, or at least, judging from his orthography, that he was familiar with the cultivated language of the West Saxons. There are, however, so many instances of great carelessness in the scribe of C, as to lead a casual observer to say, it is the "work of an illiterate scribe." The various omissions and errors in C and L are pointed out in the Notes and Various Readings.

It is not only the antiquity of the Lauderdale MS. for which it is distinguished, but for its use of accents, its grammatical forms, and important readings. The accents are neither numerous nor regular; but, when applied, they are generally correct. In the inflection of words and the construction of sentences, great care has been manifested. It is more accurate than C, in distinguishing the terminations of -an and -on, both in nouns and verbs. In C, there is great confusion in these terminations; while in L, they are generally correct: thus, where C has for the infinitive, standon and habbon; and for the perfect plural, stódan and hæfdan; for the *ac.* and *dat. pl.* þone sweoron, fisceran, fugeleran, huntan p 20, 5; L has properly standan, habban; stódon and hæfdon; þone sweoran; fiscerum, fugelerum and huntum.—In the *pl.* of the subjunctive mood, especially of the perfect tense, L affords many examples of the distinctive termination -en; as hæbben, næbben, hæfden, wæren, næren, mosten and mehten. C retains a few of these, as oferdrifen p 30, 27 *h*, sometimes omitting the n, as mihte Bk I: ch. xiv

§ 2, p 37, 31 *d*: L mehten.—In addition to greater accuracy in grammatical forms, L has often better readings than C. L has generally cyning, sometimes contracted cyng, while C uses the impure and later forms, kyning, kyninge, kynge, and cynge.—L, by a single word, frequently restores the sense to a passage, which had been involved in difficulty by the faulty reading of C. In Bk V: ch. x § 4, p 109, 5 *b*, C has gesettan, *appeased, allayed*, as gesette, in Bk IV: ch. xi § 6, p 98, 2 *c*, altering the meaning: on turning to L, the true reading is found, ge-iecton *added to, increased, strengthened*, and thus the sense is restored.

L, however, has a predilection for the use of certain letters. The radical g, after a vowel, an r or l, is always retained at the end of words in L, instead of being changed into h, as in C. Thus, L has beág, wág, beorg, burg, and the regular gen. beáges, wáges, beorges, burge; while C has beáh, wáh, beorh, burh, and the gen. as above, beáges, *etc.* Also slog *slew*, búg *bow*, on-wealg *sound*, instead of sloh, búh, on-wealh.—L generally substitutes ie for i, í, y or ý, as fiend, giet, gegierwan, hie, hiene, hierde, iernende, for fynd, gyt, gegyrwan, hí, hý, hine, hyrde, yrnende.—The a is often changed into o, especially before m and n: thus, L generally writes gelomp, lond, mon, monig, ond, sond, while C more frequently has gelamp, land, man, manig, and, sand.—L sometimes uses an for on, [L *p* 83, 15 *a*: 93, 30 *i*: 130, 3 *f*.]

Having given a brief history of the Lauderdale MS., and advanced some reasons for concluding that it is the oldest MS. of Orosius now known to exist, and shewn its superiority in its grammatical forms, and the value of its readings, and also noticed its predilection for the use of certain letters, we may now be permitted to enter upon some minor details, and to give a brief notice of the present condition of this MS.

The parchment of L is clear and good, but age has given it a rather dark colour. The size of the parchment is $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$; the writing occupies $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. each page, consisting of 31 lines. The MS. is divided into portions or sheets of eight leaves. The ·III·rd, *p* 46 ·IIII·, *p* 62 ·V·, *p* 78 ·VI·, *p* 94 ·VII·, *p* 110 ·VIII·, *p* 126 and ·VIIII·th, *p* 142[2] portions or sheets of eight

2 The pages, following the Roman numerals, refer to the pages of the L manuscript, where the sheet ends. The place, where one sheet of L ends and another begins, may be

leaves are all thus marked at the foot of the last page of each sheet; the x·th, *p* 143 sheet, however, is marked at the foot of its first page, while the 1st sheet and xith, which contains only seven leaves, are not visibly marked. The whole MS., therefore, consists of ten sheets of eight leaves, and the xith sheet of seven leaves, making a total of 87 leaves, (10×8+7=87) or 174 pages. The sheets are now all complete, except the second. This second sheet of eight leaves, from page 15[3] to 30 both inclusive, has unfortunately been torn out, at an early period, and the chasm filled up by the insertion of eight leaves of modern parchment, on which there was a very imperfect transcript from C of the missing leaves. The writing was not only incorrect, but so small that it filled only twelve of the sixteen pages, leaving four blank. Altogether the imperfection of this transcript was so great, that I was most anxious to have a facsimile copy from C of those pages wanting in L. I was enabled to gratify my desire, and to engage Messrs. Netherclift and Son to make the facsimiles by the liberality of the owner of the L. In using the greatest exertion to secure accuracy, every letter was carefully compared with C, and revised three times[4] by myself at the British Museum. A facsimile copy was then printed on parchment, which has been carefully inserted into the L with this explanatory note written at the top of the first facsimile page.—"The following eleven leaves are a facsimile copy of the Cotton MS. They contain the same matter as the eight missing leaves, mentioned at the foot of the preceding page[5], and they are now inserted by Joseph Bosworth, LL.D., at the request of John Tollemache, Esq. M.P. Helmingham Hall, September 29th, 1856." The insertion of this facsimile from the C, makes the L as complete as possible,

found in the notes by turning to L *p* 46, L *p* 62 *etc.* In the text above ·IIIrd *p* 46 denote that *the third sheet of L* ends with page 46 of L. The place in the printed text where each sheet ends is referred to in the notes, thus page 46 of L refers to 43, 12 *c*, that is in page 43, line 12, word *c* or 3, the third sheet of L ends, and the fourth begins.

3 The first leaf of L being filled with irrelevant matter, the paging of Orosius begins on the second leaf of the first sheet, hence there are only seven leaves or fourteen pages of manuscript in the first sheet, and therefore the paging of the second sheet is from 15 to 30 inclusive.

4 The smallest error or omission of a stroke is noticed at the end of Notes and Various Readings to Orosius.

5 This note is copied from L and given in Notes and Various Readings to Book I: ch. I, § 14: *p* 20, 18 *c*.

now it has its deficiency supplied from the only MS. of nearly its own age.

The same lithographic artists also prepared facsimiles of the three pages of L, comprehending King Alfred's Description of Europe, and the first part of Ohthere's voyage[6]. A few copies of these facsimiles of L, and of C, intended chiefly for presents, were printed upon tinted paper to resemble the colour of the manuscripts, with the following title :—A description of Europe and the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, written in Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred the Great; containing,—1 A facsimile copy of the whole A. S. text from C, and as far as it exists in L; together sixteen facsimile pages,—2 A printed A. S. text, based on these MSS.,—3 Notes and various readings,—4 A literal English translation and notes,—5 A map of Europe in the time of Alfred.— It was printed in large 4to. to accord with the size of the MSS.

The first leaf of sheet I does not contain any matter referring to Orosius, the paging, therefore, begins with the first page of the second leaf, where the MS. of Orosius commences. It ends at the bottom of the right hand page of the seventh and last leaf of sheet XI, having the last, or left hand page, filled with a nearly obliterated account of the dimensions of Noah's ark, the age of the patriarch, and of his sons. Thus, three pages,—the two pages of the first leaf, and the last page,—being taken from 174, —the pages in the entire MS. will leave 171 pages filled with MS. of King Alfred's A. S. version of Orosius.

The first leaf is of the same parchment as the rest of the MS., but both of its pages are occupied with irrelevant devices. In the first page, there are emblematical representations of the four Evangelists, drawn with the pen in the same brown-black ink as the MS. Towards the left upper corner, within a circle, formed by a rough outline of a coiled serpent, over whose head is a small square with the letter T in red, there is a neat outline of an eagle with a rough stroke of red under the eye, extending to the end of the beak. Above its head is written aquila, iohā, that is, Iohannes. Within a smaller circle, a little to the right of the last, a lamb is represented having the horns, and a square between the fore-feet, painted red, and Marcus written over its

6 Orosius, Bk I: ch. I, § 11—14: *p* 18, 20 *a*—*p* 20, 18 *c*.

back, and Agnus Dei over its head. A little below, and to the right of the circle of Marcus, is an ox, without any circle, but with Lucus inscribed on its side. In a single line, below Aquila and Agnus Dei, a curious Runic alphabet extends nearly the width of the page, each Rune being accompanied with the small common letter, that represents the Rune. A little lower, and to the left of the middle of the page, there is a parallelogram filled with a rough, flourishing and fanciful drawing, some of the most prominent parts of which are painted red. Over the parallelogram is written,—Vinea Domini. In the right-hand lower corner, is a human figure with a glory surrounding the head, and with hands extended holding a globe. The face, the shoulder, and the globe are touched with red. Mattheus is written on the neck and over the head. The second page contains only an enlarged, rude and more recent outline of the figure last described, with Fulgens written over its head.

The MS. upon the whole is in a fair state of preservation, though there are a few worm holes, perforating the first eight leaves, and some small cuts and injuries in the subsequent leaves. There is about an inch torn out of the middle of the foot of page 33, but it does not touch the writing. In *p* 39, there is a slit in the parchment about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch long, and very narrow. It must have been an original cut in the skin, as the scribe writes to the left edge, and then skips over the slit, and continues his writing on the right side, as if the parchment had been perfect. In p 41 there was an original defect in the parchment, which has been extended to two inches by a subsequent rend. In p 43, there is a small oval hole about one eighth of an inch long. The parchment is quite perfect from p 43 to 107. In p 107 there is another original hole, of oval form, one inch long and half an inch wide. In the margin of p 115, there is an irregular cut about five eighths of an inch by one quarter. At the foot of p 119, there is a small rend. In the middle of p 121, there is a round hole not quite a quarter of an inch in diameter, which is made to represent the body of a frog, the head and other parts being neatly drawn in outline round the hole with a pen and the same ink as that used for the MS. On the other side of the leaf (p 122) the same hole is surrounded with a frill, at the upper

part of which a dog's head is drawn. Twelve lines below, in the same 122nd page, round the margin of two small holes, is a very good outline of a dog's head and fore-feet, in profile, the upper hole representing the eye. These were original defects in the parchment, which the scribe attempted to turn into ornaments. A piece about an inch and a half long, and three quarters of an inch broad, is torn out of the middle of the margin of p 133. In p 148, at the beginning of Book VI, there is not the usual ornamental letter, but merely a blank space; indicating that such a letter was intended. At the beginning of many of the chapters in this book, there are also blank spaces, indicating that they were intended to be filled with the same sort of letters, as those which were used in the preceding five books. At the foot of p 165, there is a rend in the parchment about an inch long. In p 169, there is an original cut in the skin about half an inch by a quarter. The last leaf is a little shrivelled, apparently from having been pasted on the cover, and, at some early period, in taking it off, five holes have been made in the parchment. The largest is about three quarters by half an inch, and at the beginning, and between the lines 3 and 5 taking away 3 letters in line 4, leaving only þu unade, for þurhwunade, and the upper part of two letters in line 5. The second hole is in line 13, and egg shaped, not quite a quarter of an inch long, but taking away the corner of the contraction for and, and the h in hiene. The other three are very small and do not deface any letters. In other respects the parchment is quite perfect, and in good preservation.

The Cotton MS. Little or nothing has been discovered to enable us to ascertain the history of the Cotton MS. of King Alfred's A. S. version of Orosius [Tiberius B 1.], before it found a secure resting-place in the Cotton library. An Anglo-Saxon MS. of Orosius is mentioned in the catalogue of the Glastonbury Library of the year 1248[7]; but means have been wanting to trace either the L or C to this library. Dr. Caius, founder of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, must have seen a MS. of Alfred's version of Orosius before 1568; for, when speaking

7 *Liber Orosii 2 Latina Lingua; tertius in Anglica,* [i.e. Saxonica] *vetusti sed legibiles.* Wanley's Catal. Pref. *p* viii.

of Hibernia in the King's time, he refers to it, in his Antiquity of the University of Cambridge, 1568, in these words,—

. . . "*Ætate Alphredi regis, Hiberni vulgo dicebantur Scoti. Eam ob caussam, vbicunque apud Orosium occurrebat Hibernus, Aluredus vertit Scotte*[8]."

In "Catalogus Scriptorum, quibus vsus est duobus hisce libris Londinensis," which follows *p* 360, he cites—"*Orosius Hispanus, quem Aluredus vertit*[9]."

Though we cannot assert, that the MS., which Caius consulted before 1568, was that which was subsequently purchased by Sir Robert Cotton, we have evidence that it was the very copy, which Lambarde employed in translating Ohthere's Voyages, published by Hakluyt in 1598; for, in the margin, are notes in the hand-writing of Lambarde. Further proofs will be subsequently produced, when we come to speak of Ohthere's voyages. This MS. of Orosius was probably one of the first possessed by Sir Robert Cotton, who is said to have begun his collection so early as 1588 or 1590. In this case, it would have been in his hands eight or ten years, during which time, Lambarde might have had access to it to make the translation for Hakluyt. It is expressly mentioned, in the first published Catalogue of the Cotton Library in 1696, compiled by Dr. Thomas Smith at the request of Sir John Cotton, grandson of Sir Robert[1]. Dr. Smith describes it,—

"Tiberius, B. I. 1 Orosius, Saxonice, ex interpretatione R. Alfredi:" with *two* other distinct works. *p* 22.

This valuable MS. followed the fate of the Cotton Library[2]. In 1700, an Act was passed to secure the Library for the public benefit, in the name of the Cottons. Queen Anne bought Cotton House, Westminster, in 1706, for the Royal as well as the Cottonian Library. The House and Library were vested in trustees,

8 De antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiæ, *etc.* Excvsvm Londini 1568. Very small 8vo. *p* 233, 9—12.

9 The 4to. Ed. of 1574 by John Day, *p* 172, 19—21.

1 Catalogus librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ. Cui præmittuntur illustris viri, D. Roberti Cottoni, Equitis Aurati et Baronetti, vita: et Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ historia et synopsis. Scriptore Thoma Smitho, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbytero. Oxonii, e Theatro Sheldoniano MDCXCVI.

2 The History of the Cotton Library will be found in Dr. Smith's Catal. 1696: Biographia Britannica; and Knight's Biography in the English Cyclopœdia under Cotton; and in the Pref. to Planta's Catal.

for the public. In 1712, the Library was removed to Essex House, Essex St., Strand, and in 1730 to Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, where a fire broke out, on Oct. 23rd 1731, and 111 most precious manuscripts were burnt or lost, and 99 rendered imperfect. What remained were removed to the new building, intended for the dormitory of Westminster school, and in 1757 they were transferred to the secure keeping of the British Museum. The Cotton MS. of Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius, happily escaped the ravages of the fire, and remains in a perfect state in the British Museum to the present day.

The accurate Wanley gives a more correct description of this MS. in 1704[3], than Dr. Smith in 1696. Wanley says,—

"Tiberius, B. I. *Cod. membr. in fol. min. in quo continentur*—I. fol 1. Her onginneð seo boc þe man Orosius nemneð. *In hoc Cod. prima Ohtheri Periplus fol 7 b, habetur; secunda autem fol* 11: *Wulfstani etiam fol* 11 *b: from fol* 1 *to* 109 *b:* with *three* other distinct works, which need not be described." *See Wanley p* 219.

Mr. Joseph Planta, keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, finished his Catalogue in 1796, which was published in 1802[4]. Planta judiciously copies verbatim Wanley's description of this MS., but adds, without apparent authority, that it was of the xith century, which rather appears to be about the middle of the xth[5].

It is one of the very best specimens of Anglo-Saxon writing, and is altogether a very beautiful and precious MS., though the scribe has made some sad blunders. It deserves a minute description. Even at the present time, the parchment, which is thick and good, is generally clear and light, for its age. Its size is $11\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$. The lines vary a little in length, but they are mostly $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. From the beginning to folio 33 a there are twenty-five lines in a page. In folio 33 a, and from thence to the end, there are twenty-seven lines in a page. These twenty-seven lines, being closer together, fill the same space as

3 Humphredi Wanleii Librorum vett. Septentrionalium . . . . . Catalogus. fol. Oxon. MDCCV.

4 A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cotton Library, deposited in the British Museum, *etc.* 2 vols fol. 1802. *p* 34, col. 2.

5 From the character of the writing, I should rather say, it was written about the middle of the xth century. See Astle *p* 108, No. 5.—Mr. Thorpe says,—"Not later than the tenth century." *Pref. to Oros. p VI.*

the preceding twenty-five lines. Thus, the writing occupies in each page 9 inches by $5\frac{1}{4}$, leaving a margin at the top of $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch, and at the bottom of $1\frac{3}{8}$ in.: the outer margin is $1\frac{3}{8}$ in., and the inner margin is only $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch.

This beautiful manuscript is written in one hand, except four pages and a half, from folio 30 b, *p* 41, 41 *c*, to fol 32 b, 13 *d*, *p* 44, 14 *h*, where there is a change in the form of the letters and accents, as will be seen by comparing Plate III with Plate II.

The accents, which seem to be of the same age as the MS. are made with a fine upstroke of the pen, and with a greater or a less pressure, forming a large or small dot at the top, as seen in Plates III and II. There are other accents formed by the upstroke of the pen, and sometimes a little curved, but without a dot. These, like the recent alterations in the words, appear to have been made several centuries after the original writing, and are so irregular, and often so incorrect, as to be useless.

Much of the punctuation is by a later hand, apparently by the same which made the recent and faulty accents and the interlinear alterations in the words. The stops, especially those like our inverted semicolon, are so incorrect, that they have been omitted, as quite useless, or rather because they frequently pervert the sense.

The JUNIAN TRANSCRIPT of the Cotton MS. [Tiberius B. I.] Francis Junius or du Jou the younger, was born at Heidelberg in 1589, where his father, Francis Junius, was Professor of Divinity, and author of many learned works, but he is best known by his translation of the Scriptures into Latin in conjunction with Tremellius. While his son was a child, the professor removed to Holland, and occupied the divinity chair at Leyden with great credit and advantage to the protestants, till his death by the plague in 1602. His son was educated at Leyden, and was some time in the army; but at the close of the war, he devoted himself to literature as his profession, and in 1620 came to England, where he was occupied as librarian to the Earl of Arundel from 1621 to 1651, a period of thirty years. He was a most diligent and successful student of the Teutonic languages, and sedulous in searching for Anglo-Saxon MSS., and in copying them. Among these, one of the

most valuable is his beautiful transcript of Orosius from the Cotton MS. It is written in a very neat, and legible, but in a small hand, on 102 pages of a coarse, small folio, paper, $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$. Its history is soon told, though it is difficult to ascertain the time when it was written, probably about 1654. His numerous MSS. were his richest treasures, kept with diligent care. To secure their preservation, he bequeathed them to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and after his demise at Windsor, in the house of his nephew, Isaac Vossius, in 1678, Orosius was safely deposited, with his other MSS. in the archives of the Bodleian. It is marked Junius 15.

There is one great defect in the transcript of Junius, the omission of accents. In other respects, he took some liberties in transcribing, as Elstob, in copying this manuscript of Junius about forty years afterwards, and referring to a judicious correction, makes this general remark,—

"Obiter notandum esse puto, Junium pro suo judicio, ubi voces obiter scribendas esse crediderit, mutasse, et lectionem quæ verissima illi visa est, substituisse." *A note in the margin of Elstob's transcript of Junius, p* 6.

At the top of the first page of this Junian transcript, is written, in the hand of Dr. Marshall, Rector of Lincoln College, from 1672 to his death in 1685,—

"Hanc Orosii versionem Saxonicam ex manuscripto Cottoniano descripsit clarissimus Franciscus Junius, Francisci filius. Postmodùm apographum collatum erat cum codice manuscripto e bibliothecâ Latherdalianâ petito; qui olim fuit Johannis Dee M.D. peculium."

About twenty-five years after Dr. Marshall wrote this, Wanley in 1704, gives the following title and description of this transcript,—

"JVN. 15. Pauli Orosii historia HORMESTA, sive de Miseriis *mundi* paraphrastice ab Ælfredo Rege in linguam Saxonicam traducta.

"Apographum hoc descripsit Cl. *Junius*, ex Cod. Cottoniano, qui inscribitur, TIBERIVS, B. I. eundem vero postea contulit vir Cl. *Tho. Mareschallus* cum Cod. Bibliothecæ *Lauderdalianæ*, qui quondam fuerit peculium doctissimi viri *Joannii Dee M.D. etc.* p 85.

Dr. Marshall, the intimate friend of Junius, and joint editor of the Mœso-Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels, of 1665, gave the various readings of the Lauderdale MS. in the Junian copy, by

making dots, or drawing a line under the letters of the word in Junius, and writing the letters or word of the Lauderdale above. Words or sentences in L, which are not in Junius, have their place of omission denoted by a caret, and the omitted words are written above the line or in the margin. Letters or words above the line or in the margin of Junius are, therefore, the readings of L given by Dr. Marshall, who also wrote the references to the original Latin of Orosius.

The ELSTOB transcript of the Junian copy. This is a copy of a copy, made by William Elstob, when he was a very young man. His literary career was short, but distinguished for its energy and success. He was born in 1673, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where he received his early education, and was afterwards sent to Eton, and from thence to Catherine Hall, Cambridge. Being dissatisfied with his position at Cambridge, and the air not agreeing with his delicate constitution, he removed to Queen's College, Oxford, Dec. 2, 1691. Here he found a society of young men, full of literary zeal, devoting themselves to the study of Anglo-Saxon.—Edmund Gibson, afterwards Bishop of London, was one of the most energetic and successful of these students. His edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, with a Latin translation and notes, in 1692, was a marvellous work for a young man of twenty-three years of age, who had just taken the degree of B.A. A succession of the most valuable books in Anglo-Saxon was given to the world by men of this learned body. Edward Thwaites published his Heptateuchus in 1698: his Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica in 1711:—Christopher Rawlinson, Boethius in 1698.—Thomas Benson published, Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum, Lexico Gul. Sumneri magna parte auctius in 1701, when he was only B.A.—William Nicolson, subsequently archbishop of Cashel, wrote the learned preface to Wilkins's Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ in 1719;—and George Smith, in 1722, completed his father's splendid folio edition of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, in Latin and Anglo-Saxon. These distinguished men were all of the same college as Mr. Elstob, and most of them being his associates and friends, naturally turned his attention from the study of the oriental to the northern languages. In 1696 Elstob

was chosen a fellow of University College, generally associated with the name of King Alfred, as its founder. Here he received a fresh stimulus to his Anglo-Saxon studies, from his friend Humphrey Wanley, who was also a fellow of this college. Mr. Elstob had already made very extensive preparations for an edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws; and, during his residence in University College, he transcribed the whole of Orosius, in a small 4to vol. 9 inches by 7, consisting of 166 pages. He finished it at the age of twenty-five, as we learn by comparing the date of the following title with the year of his birth:—

HORMESTA
PAVLI OROSIJ.
QUAM OLIM
PATRIO SERMONE DONAVIT
ÆLFRÆDUS MAGNUS.
Anglo-Saxonum Rex doctissimus.

HVNC LIBRVM EX APOGRAPHO IV
NIANO PROPRIA MANV DESCRIP
SI.
OXONIAE.
IN BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA ANNO
DOMINI. MDCXCVIII.

In the printed proposals for publishing Orosius, issued by Mr. Elstob in the following year, he copies the preceding title, but adds after doctissimus; ad exemplar Junianum, edidit Wilhelmus Elstob, A.M. et Coll. Univ. Soc. Oxoniæ e Theatro Sheldoniano, An. Dom. MDCIC.

Elstob's transcript is written in a very neat and small hand, without any accents. He has even omitted the almost solitary accent of Junius on sǽ[6], and has defaced his transcript by some gross errors[7].

The various readings of L, written in the Junian copy by Dr. Marshall, are placed at the foot of each page. Mr. Elstob collated his own copy with the Cotton, and noted its readings on the outer margin. At the top of the page, opposite the title, he gives the following explanation of the marks he used in the collations:—

6 Table of Contents *p* 9, 21 *ab* Readan sǽ, Bk I: ch I, § VII.

7 Table of Contents *p* 11, 35 *e-g* sæ mæra Alexander, instead of se Mæra Alexander. Junius and C have se: Bk IV: ch V.

"Quære an voces istæ, quæ habent lineam Stibii sive Oleastrensis subductam, non ideo notantur istiusmodi lineâ subnotatâ, quod eas Codex Hattonianus [Lauderdalianus ?][8] non agnoscit. Quæras itidem an quæ lineâ Stibii supra notantur non sunt ex eodem codice addenda atque supplenda."

The Rev. Samuel Pegge, D.C.L. concludes, that he wrote notes upon the Anglo-Saxon text of Orosius, on these grounds,—

"Mr. Elstob, speaking of the method he had used in translating the Homily of S. Gregory, says, in writing to his sister, he had done it . . . iisdem ferè verbis repositis quæ in Saxonica olim transfusa. . . . *Eadem* plane ratione, *qua jam pridem* OROSIUM *a nobis elucubratum scis*[9]. Whence it would seem, he had added a body of notes upon Orosius in a volume separate from the copy he had made of the Saxon Version, for nothing of the kind appears in the copy. Perhaps they were intended to be transcribed into the blank leaves at the end of the copy, which are numerous[1]."

If he ever wrote such notes, not the slightest trace of them has yet been discovered.

An allusion having been made to his sister, the celebrated Anglo-Saxon scholar, it would be ungracious to allow her name to pass without a short notice. Miss Elizabeth Elstob was ten years younger than her brother, who affectionately calls her—"dulcis et indefessa studeorum meorum comes[2]." While her brother was in Oxford she mostly resided in that city, and joined him in his studies. She was justly held in great esteem by the most eminent Anglo-Saxon scholars of that age, and published in 1709 the Homily on S. Gregory's birth-day with the Anglo-Saxon text, and an English translation, with a very learned preface and notes. In 1715, she wrote and printed the first Anglo-Saxon Grammar in English. A beautiful miniature portrait of her will be found in the initial letter of the Homily and of the Grammar. After the death of her brother her circumstances were so reduced, that she had the greatest difficulty in supporting herself by keeping a small day school at Evesham in Worcestershire. Her depressed condition was made generally known by Mr. George Ballard, and Queen Caroline granted her

8 Is the Hatton MS. the Lauderdale ? See reasons for the supposition in page xv.

9 The dedication of his Latin Version of the Homily on S. Gregory to his Sister ; p iv.

1 Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica. Nichols, London, 4to. 1790. Antiquities in Kent, vol I. Textus Roffensis *p* 20, note 3.

2 Wm. Elstob's dedication of his Latin Version of the Homily on S. Gregory to his Sister ; *p* iv.

a pension of £20 a-year. After the Queen's death, the pension ceased, but the Duchess Dowager of Portland took Miss Elstob into her family as governess to her children, where she continued till her death, May 30, 1756, at the age of 73, and was buried at S. Margaret's Westminster[3].

The dean and chapter of Canterbury presented Mr. Elstob to the Rectory of S. Swithin, London, in 1702, where he remained till his death in 1715, at the age of 42. His copy of Orosius and other MSS. came into the hands of his uncle, Dr. Charles Elstob, prebendary of Canterbury; and, when he died in 1721, they were purchased by Mr. Joseph Ames, secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, London, whose name appears at the top of the title page of Orosius. Mr. Ames had an intention of publishing it, but he died in 1759, and it was sold the following year. Dr. Samuel Pegge says "I bought it at his [Ames's] auction, anno 1760[4]." Dr. Pegge offered it to Owen Manning; but, on his declining to print it, Daines Barrington was permitted to make the same use of it for his edition published in 1773. The MS. was subsequently in the library of Richard Gough, Esquire, who bequeathed to the University of Oxford all his printed books and manuscripts on Saxon and Northern literature, *etc.*; this MS. of Orosius ought, therefore, to have been sent with them to the Bodleian. By some mistake it was detained and sold with Mr. Gough's other books in 1810 or 1812, as we learn from a note written by Sir Henry Ellis. "When I bought it at Mr. Gough's sale, it was unbound, and dirty, having been passed through the printer's hands by Daines Barrington." A note written by Dr. Ingram in p 167, the first blank page at the end of this transcript, tells us, that it was given to him by Sir Henry Ellis of the British Museum, on the 11th of January 1813. On the death of Dr. Ingram, in 1850, he left it with his manuscripts and books to his college, as the following note testifies, written, on a blank page at the beginning, by the friendly hand of the Rev. John Wilson, D.D. F.S.A., now (1858) President, and one of the executors:—

3 Bibliotheca Topog. Britan., vol I, Text. Roffen. *p* 11—28.—Nichols's Lit. Anecdotes, vol IV, *p* 112—140, with additions by Sir Henry Ellis.—Knight's Cyclop. of Biog. under Elstob.

4 Bibliotheca Topog. Britan., vol I, Text. Roff. *p* 11.

Liber Collegii Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis in Academia Oxon; e legatis Jacobi Ingram, S.T.P. nuper Præsidentis, 1850.

It has been neatly bound, and I am indebted to the kindness of the President and Fellows of Trinity College for the loan of it, and the interleaved copy of Barrington's Orosius, during the whole time that my edition of Orosius has been going through the press. The interleaved copy contains many valuable notes, written by Dr. Ingram, when he was Professor of Anglo-Saxon.

The BALLARD transcript, like that of Mr. Elstob, is copied from the Junian MS.; it is, therefore, merely a copy of a copy. It is very neatly written, on thick quarto paper, a little larger than what was used by Elstob. The title bears the date of 1751. Mr. Ballard wrote a long preface upon the use and advantages of Anglo-Saxon, in which, speaking of his manuscript, he says—

"The transcript, I have taken, is done from one made by Mr. Junius, in Bodley's Archives, which was collated by Dr. Marshall with the Lauderdale manuscript. The various readings I have added at the bottom of each page." *p* 47.

Mr. Ballard bequeathed this MS. to Dr. Charles Lyttleton, Bishop of Carlisle, then Dean of Exeter, to whom it is dedicated. It was left by the Bishop to the Society of Antiquaries, of which he was President; and it is there safely preserved for the use of the Fellows. Through the liberality of the Society, I have had the possession of this MS. during the greater part of the time in which I have been preparing the present edition. For critical purposes, it is of little value, as in following Junius it has the fatal error of omitting the accents. It is, however, a work manifesting great care and industry, and a lasting monument of a man, who raised himself from obscurity, by his zeal and perseverance in the acquisition of knowledge, under great difficulties; for George Ballard, a native of Campden, in Gloucestershire, was brought up as a stay and habit maker, and after the labour of the day was over, he devoted many hours, stolen from sleep, to the improvement of his mind, and to the study of Anglo-Saxon. His abilities, diligence, and learning attracted the notice of lord Chedworth and his friends, and they generously offered him an annuity of £100 a-year; but he modestly told them, that £60 would amply supply all his wants. He then

went to Oxford, "for the benefit of the Bodleian library; and Dr. Jenner, president of Magdalen College, made him one of the eight Clerks, which furnished him with chambers and commons. Being thus a gremial, he was afterwards chosen one of the University bedels." In 1752, he published in 4to. by subscription—

"Memoirs of British Ladies, who have been celebrated for their writings, or skill in the learned Languages, Arts and Sciences." This interesting and excellent book was republished in 8vo. in 1775, but the impressions being small, both editions are now scarce.

He died, in the prime of life, in 1755. His numerous manuscript collections are in the Bodleian Library.

The HAMPSON transcript of the Cotton MS. of Orosius. Mr. Robert Thomas Hampson had a strong predilection for literature and science from his early youth. Deep literary research was his delight. Though he could write popular articles with great ease and despatch, there was always some allusion to antiquity in what he wrote, that indicated the vast resources and great research of the writer. The chief part of his early life was spent in the acquisition of knowledge; and, for more than thirty of his latter years, he was professionally engaged in supplying leading and popular articles to the periodical press. While thus employed in writing papers, in a neat and captivating style, on the absorbing topics of the day, always on sound moral principles, and full of matter, he never failed to have some literary subject before him, which required close and laborious investigation. A very short account of his life, and of his chief works, published with his name, will be the best evidence of the fact. For this purpose I avail myself of the communication of one of his literary friends, without touching, in the least, upon the political bias of the papers in which he wrote. "Mr. Hampson was born in Liverpool on July 9, 1793, and belonged to a good Lancashire family, which at that time was settled in Manchester. After the termination of the great Continental war, during the troubled period when agitation for Reform commenced, Mr. Hampson became correspondent to the *Morning Chronicle*, then under the management of Mr. Perry, and trans-

mitted regular accounts to that journal of the violent scenes in the north of England, of which he was an eye-witness. On the expiration of his engagement he wrote for various newspapers, and afterwards, for five or six years, assisted the late Mr. Baines, M.P., of Leeds, who was collecting materials for his *History of Lancashire*. For some years afterwards he contributed to various metropolitan and provincial newspapers in the Liberal cause, and finally entered into an engagement upon the *Morning Advertiser*, for which paper he has constantly written for upwards of sixteen years. In 1841, Mr. Hampson published his principal work, in two volumes, *Medii Ævi Kalendarium; or, Dates, Charters, and Customs of the Middle Ages*. This was followed, in 1846, by *Origines Patriciæ; or, A Deduction of European Titles of Nobility and Dignified Offices from their Primitive Sources*. Both books obtained the highest praise of the press in England and on the Continent, and are alike distinguished for an extent of erudition and a depth of research which are to be found in few modern works. In 1850, Mr. Hampson published a small pamphlet, entitled *Religious Deceptions of the Church of Rome Exposed*, and he is also the author of several minor works, in all of which an unusual amount of learning and of reasoning are displayed. Philological inquiries formed the especial delight of Mr. Hampson, and in that branch of study he succeeded in throwing a light upon many points which were hidden in obscurity. He had a most extensive acquaintance with languages, and was familiar with Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, old Norman, and Sanskrit literature. A few years ago, he contributed an essay, on the Geography of King Alfred, to a work on Anglo-Saxon literature written by Dr. Bosworth. Mr. Hampson died, at his residence in Swinton-street, Gray's Inn-road, London, Feb. 7th 1858. In private life Mr. Hampson's habits were very retiring, and for many years, until within five days of his death, he devoted himself almost unintermittingly to study to the great injury of his health."

Though my copy of the Cotton MS. had been thrice collated with the original, Tiberius B. I, in the British Museum, I found, in fixing the reading of my Anglo-Saxon text for the press, that it was frequently necessary to refer to the original. To save this

constant trouble and expense, I asked the loan of Mr. Hampson's copy, and of the index or vocabulary; that, in case of doubt, I might have the authority of his copy in confirmation of my own. I give his generous reply in his own words, from his letter of March 22, 1853,—

"With respect to the MSS. pray do me the favour to accept of them. I can always see Orosius in the Museum, so that, in reality, I have no need of the transcript. I should not offer it if I were not certain that it is a correct copy. The index or vocabulary is properly your own. At least, I took all the explanations from your dictionary."

Some apology is due for inserting my reply, but I do so, as I know not how I could better introduce Mr. Hampson's own explanation of the unusual care he took in making his exact copy.

"I cannot sufficiently express my obligation for the honour conferred upon me by the gift of your very neat and valuable transcript of King Alfred's A. S. version of Orosius; and your most useful Index. They are the most acceptable present I could have received. Formerly, I was indebted to you for solving many difficulties in Ohthere's Voyages, and the Geography of King Alfred, as regards his Germania, and for very learned and satisfactory illustrations of my brief notes, on these subjects: now, you have increased my obligation by handsomely presenting your MSS. to me. They will be kept as the greatest treasures; and, when I have completed my A. S. Text of Orosius, I will have them bound in the best style.—I will, however, previously ask you for an account of your transcript, that I may give a short history of it, and of your other literary works."

The following is Mr. Hampson's satisfactory answer:—

"In 1839 or 1840 I had a copy of Barrington, which I believe had belonged to the Rev. Dr. Whitaker, the historian of Whalley, Richmondshire, and other topographical works. As I did not expect to meet with Barrington on sale, and being one of the editors of the Courier, with much time on my hands, I made a short hand transcript and returned the book. This did not take up much time. On writing it in long hand, I found much to be dissatisfied with, such as manifest corruptions of the text, besides interpolations from some MS., which I thought was a modern transcript. I, therefore, determined to have a fair copy of Tiberius B. I. This was very readily accomplished by comparing Barrington with the Cotton MS. and retaining nothing which was not in the latter. It is possible that the whole labour occupied the afternoons, and very likely some of the evenings of an entire year. When I had made the copy, which I am quite happy to learn is of some use to you, I again carefully compared it with the Cotton MS., correcting the punctuation, and adding the accents, some of which, from the fading of the old ink, may not be quite exact.

The coloured letters are an imitation of the form of the Saxon letters in that

MS.; and, I think, they ought to be preserved as an ancient mode of dividing subjects. The paints used were of a very common kind, sold in shilling and half-crown boxes. The red, I think, was red ink, and that colour is used only where it was used in the MS. The first letter U, which is richly ornamented in the MS., was above my skill. I have preserved only the general appearance.

Some time afterwards, I conceived another design—that of publishing the copy as you have it, with a glossarial index of the words with Dr. Bosworth's explanations, and referring readers to his lexicon for the correlatives in the other Teutonic languages; but this was not all, my intention was to trace as many of the words as possible to the Sanskrit, Persic, and Caucasian languages, for which I made great preparations, and should have attempted to write an essay on the philological part of the subject by way of preface to the glossary. This, I imagined, might show makers of etymological dictionaries of English, that there is something else to be done than turning over the pages of other dictionaries for words of similar form and orthography. I wrote to Mr. Pickering of Piccadilly about the publication, but he was fearful that it would not defray the cost, being adapted 'only to the few.' I, therefore, abandoned the whole project without much regret; for labour of this kind is never without great use to the mind, and it furnishes a pleasure *sui generis*. It is most gratifying to me, that you have accepted and found the transcript of service."

From this detailed history of the two old manuscripts, and the four transcripts of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius, it is manifest that the king's translation has been highly appreciated, from the ninth century to the present day. It may, then, be well to ascertain what use has been made of these manuscripts, in giving them a wider circulation through the press. The dawn of the reformation cast a light upon Anglo-Saxon literature and the Church. Archbishop Parker, and Fox, the martyrologist, defended their doctrines by an appeal to Anglo-Saxon writers, and John Joscelyn, chaplain to the Archbishop, proved the protestant view of the Sacrament to be that of the early Church by publishing in 1567 the first Anglo-Saxon book ever printed—"A Sermon on Easter Day," in Anglo-Saxon with an English version. While divines diligently sought for what enabled them to defend their principles, Caius, Lambarde, Camden and Spelman, though not neglecting divinity, had their chief attention drawn to the historical works of King Alfred. Orosius attracted most notice, because it contained longer specimens of Alfred's own writing, than are to be found in any of his other works. This was well known to Caius, Lambarde, Spelman *etc:* they observed, that when Alfred had translated from Latin into Anglo-

Saxon all that Orosius had written about Asia and Africa, the king, being dissatisfied with what was said about Europe, left Orosius, and gave all the particulars he could collect from the best authorities of his age, and thus filled up the chasm between the time of Orosius and his own, that is, between the commencement of the fifth century and the end of the ninth. Alfred also wrote a minute account of three voyages, in the ninth century, from the reports of two Northern Navigators, Ohthere and Wulfstan. These important additions deserve especial notice both as to their matter, and as being the original composition of the king. They naturally divide themselves into the three following parts. 1 The Description of Europe. 2 The two voyages of Ohthere. 3 The voyage of Wulfstan.

1st. We have [§ 11 and 12] Alfred's description of Europe; or, as he calls it, Germania, for at that time Germania comprised the whole of Europe located between the Don on the east,—the Rhine and the sea on the west,—the Danube on the south,—and the White-sea on the north [See notes 3 and 4].

We have so little information concerning the Geography and the political state of northern Europe, in the middle ages, that a detail of what the king had collected from the best sources, in his own age, must be extremely valuable.—He first speaks of the East-Franks, and soon hastens to the Old-Saxons and Angles, being most interesting to Alfred as his progenitors, England having derived not only its name but the greater part of its inhabitants from these tribes. [See note 60]. He then describes other parts of Europe, and passes over into the Danish islands;—and, proceeding east and north, speaks of the Danes, the Esthonians, the Swedes, the Finns, and Northmen or Norwegians. He thus naturally introduces the personal adventures of a Norwegian Navigator, and gives the information Ohthere acquired in his exploring voyages. This brings us to the second part of Alfred's description of Europe.

2ly. The two voyages of Ohthere, § 13—19.

Ohthere was a man of great wealth and influence [§ 15], and he had made himself so celebrated by his voyages, as to attract the notice of King Alfred. Ohthere is induced to give a detail of his adventures, and such is the simplicity of the narrative, that it bears the impress of truth. It commences:—"Ohthere told his lord, King Alfred, that he dwelt northmost of all Northmen," in Halgoland on the coast of Norway.—"He said, that, at a certain time, he wished to find out how far the land lay due north, or whether any man dwelt north of him" [§ 13]. For this purpose, and for the sake of taking the Walrus, he sailed northward, on the coast of Norway, and round the North Cape into the White Sea, [§ 13—17 and note 39.] He relates the particulars of his voyage, and his strict adherence to truth in his narrative is confirmed by his refusing to vouch for any thing of which he could not bear personal testimony. He says: "The Biarmians told him many stories both about their

own land, and about the countries which were around them; but *he knew not what was true, because he did not see it himself.*"

Ohthere's second voyage [§ 18, 19] was to the south. He sailed from his home in Halgoland, along the west and south coast of Norway, to the Bay of Christiana, on the south of this land, where Sciringesheal stood. From thence, he sailed to Schleswig in South Jutland, Denmark.

3ly. Wulfstan's Voyage, [§ 20—23.]

This voyage was confined to the Baltic, being from Schleswig to Truso in Prussia. Forster, in p. 53 of his Northern voyages, hesitates not to say: "There was a Jutlander of the name of Wulfstan, who gave an account of his travels to the king." Wulfstan relates many interesting particulars of the Esthonians as it regards their mode of living and their funeral rites.

These narratives have a precision and life, which could only be imparted by those who were eye witnesses of what they relate. They give a lively picture of the countries, and of the people they visited. Their simplicity and evident love of truth deepen the impression made by their description of the manners, customs, and political condition of the northern nations, in the ninth century. Such a faithful and graphic picture cannot be obtained from any other contemporary source.

These original Anglo-Saxon documents, written by one so eminent as King Alfred, claim and have received the attention not only of Englishmen but of foreigners, as the following detail of the various editions, and the notes upon them, will prove.

HAKLUYT, 1598.—These documents were not, at first, published entire, but only such parts selected as were adapted to the work, in which they were printed. Ohthere and Wulfstan's voyages were, therefore, very properly first taken, and published in the second edition of

The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation, ... by Richard Haklvyt, Master of Arts, and sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford. Fol. Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker. Vol I, 1598: vol II, 1599: vol III, 1600.—A new edition with additions, edited by R. H. Evans, Esq. London, 1809—12, royal 4to. 5 vols.

These Voyages contain an English translation from the Anglo-Saxon of Alfred's entire detail of Ohthere's voyages [§ 13—19]. The English translator has prefixed the following sentence to Ohthere's first voyage. It is the same as the first sentence of the second voyage [§ 18],—" *Octher* said, that the country wherein he dwelt was called *Helgoland.*" It then reads on, as in our translation [§ 13],—" Ohthere told his lord, King Alfred."—

Hakluyt has only the first part of Wulfstan's voyage, [§ 20]; for he omits the account of the funeral rites of the Esthonians, which is more than half of what Wulfstan related to Alfred. Hakluyt gives the titles to these three voyages thus:—

"1 The Voyage of *Octher* made to the northeast parts beyond *Norway*, reported by himselfe vnto *Alfred* the famous king of *England*, about the yere 890. Vol I, *p* 4.

2 The Voyage of *Octher* out of his countrey of *Halgoland* into the sound of *Denmarke* vnto a port called *Hetha*, which seemeth to be *Wismer* or *Rostorke*. *id. p* 5.

3 *Wolstans* nauigation in the East sea, from *Hetha* to *Trusco*, which is about *Dantzig*."—*Hakluyt's extract ends with* § 20—"but of mead there is plentie." *id. p* 6.

It has been supposed that Dr. John Caius, founder of the College bearing his name at Cambridge, supplied Hakluyt with this translation; but that is scarcely possible, for Hakluyt, who was born in 1553, was only twenty years old and an undergraduate of Christ Church, Oxford, at the time when Dr. Caius died at Cambridge in 1573, as Master of his own College. This translation was not inserted in Hakluyt's first edition of 1589, but in his second of 1598; hence it was not printed till twenty-five years after the demise of Caius. It is, therefore, not probable that Hakluyt should have received the translation from Caius, or if he had received it, that it should have been kept twenty-five years for his second edition, when, if it had been in his possession, he might have published it nine years before in his first edition. It could not have been translated by Sir John Spelman; for, in his English life of Alfred, he quotes the translation of Hakluyt, and speaks of the Cotton MS., and says—"This I attended sometime to have seen." . . . "What that record itself is, I know not." It is thus clear that Sir John had not even seen the MS. Nor was it likely, without his knowledge, to have been translated by his father, Sir Henry, who died only two years before his son. Archbishop Parker's death occurred in 1575, and his chaplain, John Joscelyn, died before the Archbishop, and Fox, the martyrologist, in 1587,—all died before Hakluyt's first edition was published. Lisle and Whelock were not sufficiently matured scholars for the translation, before 1598: the first Anglo-Saxon work of Lisle was published in 1623, and of

Whelock in 1644. Junius is out of the question, being only nine years old in 1598. Wm. Lambarde, a pupil of Laurence Nowell, a contemporary of Hakluyt for forty-eight years, was one of the most eminent Anglo-Saxon scholars of that age, and most likely to be the translator of these voyages. He had published his Ἀρχαιονομία or the Anglo-Saxon Laws in 1568, thirty years before the translation of Ohthere's voyages appeared, and was, therefore, one of the most competent scholars for the task. Being in London, he had ready access to the Cotton MS. of Orosius, in which he made marginal and interlinear notes, as stated by Elstob[5], who, in his transcript of Orosius, quoting one of these notes on Angle, *i. e.* "Anglia in Germania," distinctly states, that it was—"*mânu recenti Lambardi*," thus shewing Lambarde's intimate acquaintance with this part of the MS. Mr. Hampson, a man of close investigation, speaking of Ohthere's voyages in Hakluyt, adds,—"The English version and notes are said to have been written by Lambarde[6]."

I asked his authority for this statement, and in his answer, alluding to the identity of some of the notes in Lambarde's handwriting on the MS. and those on the margin of Hakluyt, he says—"I have the fact, that Lambarde translated these voyages, from the margin of the old Ed. of Hakluyt's Voyages, vol I, in the British Museum." There can, therefore, be little doubt that Lambarde was the translator of Ohthere and Wulfstan's voyages, first published by Hakluyt.

Somner in 1659 published the latter part of Wulfstan's voyage, which had been omitted by Hakluyt [§ 21—23]. It is given in Anglo-Saxon, with a Latin translation, under the word Gedrync in his

Dictionarivm Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum, *etc.* Opera et studio Guliel. Somneri Cantuariensis. Fol. Oxonii, Anno Dom. M.DC.LIX.

His extract *begins with*—and þær is mid Estum ðeaw . . . *and ends,*—hy wyrcað þone cyle hine on.—*Orientalibus etiam mos est . . . a frigore in eos inducto.* Somner omits the last sentence [*p* 23, 8 *e*—10 *e.*]

Somner has the honour of being the first to publish a part of

5 Elstob's transcript of Orosius, p 13, on the right hand margin.

6 Mr. Hampson's Essay on King Alfred's Geography and northern voyages of Ohthere, p 4.

these voyages in the original Anglo-Saxon, though that was only the latter half of Wulfstan's voyage in the Baltic.

Alumni Oxonienses 1678. We are indebted for their publication in the original Anglo-Saxon, with a Latin translation, to the Rev. Obadiah Walker, D.D., Master of University College from 1676 to 1688, and to the Fellows of the same college, who have given them entire from the Cotton MS. in the appendix to their splendid folio bearing this title,—

Ælfredi Magni Anglorum Regis invictissimi vita tribus Libris comprehensa, a clarissimo Dno. Johanne Spelman, Henrici F. primum Anglice conscripta, dein Latine reddita, et annotationibus illustrata ab Ælfredi in Collegio Magnæ Aulæ Universitatis Oxoniensis Alumnis[7]. Fol. Oxonii M.DC.LXXVIII.

In the Appendix VI, we have these voyages, occupying four pages [205—208], with this title,—

"In Præfatione ad Traductionem Orosii ab Ælfredo Rege in Linguam Saxonicam." In Præfatione is a mistake, as Alfred did not write a preface to Orosius, as he did to Gregory's Pastoral, quoted in Appendix III, p 196, 197, by these Alumni, but the narrative of these voyages was naturally introduced into the first chapter of Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius, when the king was giving his own description of the north of Europe; and these voyages are taken from this first chapter. They are, for the first time, here printed entire from the Cotton MS.

There are two columns in a page. The left column contains the text, in what is called the Anglo-Saxon character, as below; and, in the parallel column on the right, there is a Latin translation. The very brief Latin notes are printed below across the page.

The Appendix begins—

Ohthæꞃe ꞅæꝺe hiꞅ hlaꞅoꞃꝺe Ælꞅꞃeꝺe Kyninczȝe þæꝛ he ealꞃa Noꞃðmanna Noꞃðmeꞅꝛ buꝺe; *p* 205.

OHtherus dixit Domino suo Ælfredo Regi; se omnium Northmannorum locis maxime septentrionalibus habitare.

It ends—

ꝛ þeah man aꞅeꝛꝛe ꝛþeȝen ꞅæꝛelꞅ ꞅull ealað oððe ꝑæꝛeꞃeꞅ· hy ȝeꝺoð· ꝥ oþeꞃ bið oꞅeꞃ ꞅꞃoꞃen· ꞅam hiꝛ ꞅẏ ꞅummoꞃ ꞅam ꝑinꝛeꞃ· *p* 208.

Et si quis ponat duo vascula cerevisiæ vel aquæ, efficere possunt, ut utrumque glacietur, sive sit æstas sive hyems.

The Anglo-Saxon text is so incorrectly printed, as to lead to the conclusion, that the sheets could not have been seen by any one in the least acquainted with Anglo-Saxon:—þ *th* and ꝑ *w*, are very frequently and absurdly used, one for the other: thus, we find ꝛeꝑ for ꝛeþ, ꝑa for þa, ꞅꝛoþum for ꞅꝛoꝑum. Other letters

7 "Alumni, *i.e. Magister et Socii Collegii Magnæ Aulæ Universitatis Oxoniensis.*"—Wanley's Catal. *p* 70.

are interchanged, þ *th* and p; p *w* and p *r*; ð *d* and ð *dh*; as,—papum for papum; þæp for þæp; hapaþ for hapað, ðeop for ðeop. The last letter of one word is prefixed to the next, as bi ðon for bið on, *etc.* The first word Ohthæpe should be Ohthepe.

This is a very handsome volume, with several well engraved portraits of Alfred, and five folio plates of coins. It is an evidence of what may be done by a College, under the influence of an energetic head. We are told by Thomas Hearne[8], that the translation was made by Christopher Wase, the Esquire Bedel of Law in the University, and the notes written by the learned Obadiah Walker, Master of the College. Though he was the chief writer, he must have been assisted by some of the Fellows, who were less acquainted with the subject than the Master. In a note[9] these voyages are properly said to have been taken from the first chapter of Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version, but in the table of contents and in the Appendix[1] they are carelessly referred to the Preface, which does not exist. The translation follows Sir John Spelman, who has only extracted from Hakluyt the first part of Ohthere's voyage, but the editors have, with great judgment, given the entire voyages in an Appendix. As Alfred used the English of his day, and Sir John Spelman wrote the king's life in English, some regret that it was first published in a Latin version, and not in its original English. Latin was then the current language of the Literati in Europe, and this life, with the specimen of Alfred's prose composition in Anglo-Saxon, or primitive English, made known to the world, that Alfred was not only great as a King, but as a writer. The attention of Europe was thus called to the earliest form of the English tongue, in the Anglo-Saxon, and the learning of the best Scandinavian and German scholars was exercised in the explanation and illustration of these voyages. The important assistance that we have derived from the generous aid of foreigners will be most clearly shewn by the following brief account of the chief editions published by them. These are given in their chronological order. Before we speak of the editions of Bussæus, and Langebek,

8 See the extract from Hearne, in the following notice of his ed. of Alfred's life, *p* xlvi.

9 In capite primo Orosii, *Note a, p* 113.

1 In Præfatione ad traductionem Orosii ab Ælfredo rege in Linguam Saxonicam. *Appendix VI, p* 205.

founded on the Appendix to the Oxford folio, the original English Ed. by Sir John Spelman must be mentioned, as it has priority in date.

SPELMAN 1709.—We have seen that Hakluyt first published these voyages in an English translation in 1598, and that the attention of foreigners was little excited till 1678, nearly a century afterwards, when the original Anglo-Saxon and the Latin translation were published by the Master and Fellows of University College. While foreigners availed themselves of these and the Latin version of Alfred's life, we, as Englishmen, could not be satisfied without possessing

"The Life of Ælfred the Great, by Sir John Spelman Kt. from the original Manuscript in the Bodlejan Library: with considerable additions, and several historical remarks, by the publisher Thomas Hearne, M.A. 8vo. Oxford, 1709."

Mr. Hearne will give the best account of his editorial labours,—

"*I have printed this* History *of* Ælfred the Great, *which I have faithfully transcrib'd from the* Original *in the* . . Bodleian *Library*. . . . *This* Life *was several years since* [1678] *translated into* Latin *by the ingenious Mr.* Christopher Wase, Superior Beadle *of the* Civil Law *in* Oxford, *and publish'd from the* Theater *Press in a thin* Folio, *with a* Commentary, *by the Reverend and Learned Mr.* Obadiah Walker, *Master of* University College; *but some Persons having been of opinion that more* Justice *would be done to the* Author's *Memory to have it publish'd in the same* Language *in which it was written, in complyance to their* Sentiments, *I have accordingly sent it abroad in it's own* Natural Dress, *not doubting but that 'twill meet with a* Reception *worthy of it's* admirable Author." . . . p 225.

Sir John Spelman speaks of Alfred and the voyage of Ohthere in these terms :—

"And to shew the Latitude of the King's Mind and Genius, in all Dimensions truly Royal and August, there is (as I have been informed) in Sir *Thomas Cotton's* Library an old Memorial of a Voyage of one *Octher* a *Dane*, [? Norwegian] performed at King Ælfred's Procurement, for the discovery of some North-East-Passage. This I attended sometime to have seen, but it being no more than two or three Leaves, and, upon some Removal of Books and Papers, displaced, and not readily to be found, I had no hope of obtaining it before a general Review and sorting of the Papers. What that Record it self is, I know not, but to imagine the least, and to judge it to be no more than that which is published concerning *Octher* by Mr. Hakluyt, and Mr. Purchas, in their Collections of Discoveries and Voyages, it yet affordeth thus much, that *Ælfred*, among the several Sorts of People that he sought out and procured, entertained one that

was expert and industrious in Navigation, whom least we should think to be but accidentally brought unto the King, (only to relate his own Fortunes, in which the King had no hand at all) we may observe, that that Relation speaketh of *Octher's* Coming as of an Act of his own Will and Purpose, and not a casual Thing. And to shew that his Intent and End of Coming was to offer his Service to the King, as assured to find him forward in Entertaining Men of his Condition, and ready to further his Addiction, whether to Discovery general, or to the particular of Whale-Fishing, it not only mentioneth *Ælfred*, as *Octher's* Lord and Master, but sheweth, that, upon his Return from his late Discovery, he brought some of the Horse-Whales Teeth as a present unto the King. Neither is there mention of any casual occasion of his coming, nor is it likely in those Times there should have been so particular a setting down of the Relation that a Stranger made (for the Original is in *Saxon*) if some particular Purpose of the King's and his Desire or Commands had not given Occasion to it. The Relation, for so much as concerns our purpose, as it is translated by the Publishers, is as followeth." Octher *saith, that the Country, &c.* He then quotes from Hakluyt [§ 13—15]; and ends "*every man payeth*," &c. *Spelman's life of Alfred, p* 152, § 81.—156, § 87.

In the beginning of this extract Spelman mentions the Library of Sir Thomas Cotton, who succeeded to the Baronetcy and the Library, on the demise of his father, Sir Robert, in 1631. Sir John Spelman died in 1643, this extract must, therefore, have been written some time in the twelve years intervening between 1631 and 1643.—It may be observed that the country of Ohthere was Halgoland, on the north coast of Norway, he was, therefore, a Norwegian and not a Dane.—Whether Sir John has sufficient reason, for supposing that Alfred engaged Octher [Ohthere] to make these voyages, must be left for the reader to decide.

Bussæus, 1733.—This edition is a very inaccurate reprint of the Anglo-Saxon text and the Latin translation from the Oxford folio of 1678. It is given as an Appendix to Arius Polyhistor, and follows Lexicon vocum antiqvarum Arii Polyhistoris, with a separate paging. It has the following ample title, given verbatim et literatim,—

Periplus Ohtheri, Halgolando-Norvegi, ut et Wulfstani, Angli, secundum narrationes eorundem de suis, unius in ultimam plagam septentrionalem; utriusqve autem in mari Balthico Navigationibus, jussu Ælfredi Magni, Anglorum regis, seculô à Nativitate Christi nonô factis; ab ipso rege Anglo-Saxonicâ lingvâ descriptus; demum à Collegii Magnæ Aulæ Universitatis Oxoniensis Alumnis, Latinè versus et, unà cum Joh. Spelmanni vita Ælfredi Magni, è veteri codice manuscripto Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ editus; jam verò, ob antiqvitatem et

Septentrionalis tum Temporis Statûs Cognitionem, repetitus ac brevibus Notîs adauctus ab Andrea Bussæo. *Small 4to. pp* 1—28. *The 28th page is the Index.*

It is without date; but it was doubtless printed in 1733, for it is not only appended to *Schedæ Arii Polyhistoris de Islandia*, but it was printed at the same time, as is evident by the catchword PERIPLUS, being printed at the foot of the last page of *Lexicon vocum antiquarum Arii Polyhistoris.* The paper and the type are also the same. The Schedæ of Arius Polyhistor has this imprint—*Havniæ, ex Calcographéo B. Joachimi Schmidtgen. Ao.* 1733.

Bussæus[2] begins his short preface to the Periplus of Ohthere thus:—"*Periplum hunc, qvo tam in ultima plaga Boreali populorum, quàm Septentrioni nostro vicinarum gentium, qvi ante octo secula, cum dimidio ferè, status fuerit, curiosè satis describitur, haud ingratum Lectori fore confido, idqve non minùs ob reverentiam adversus antiqvitatem, quàm Magnum Anglorum Regem Ælfredum, qvi ipse regiâ suâ manu chartis commisit qvicqvid ex diligenti observatione et fideli præsentiq; narratione tam* Ohtheri, *Norvegi, qvam* Wulfstani, *Angli, intellexerat scitu dignum, suóq; proposito convenientius: de cujus Regiis et raris virtutibus non absqve oblectamento legi possunt vitæ Ejus descriptores;* Joh. Asserius, *qvi regi σύγχρονος fuit, et superiori seculô* Joh. Spelmannus, *Henrici fil. utergve Anglus. Neqve ullius ingratiis erit, spero, præsertim Danis et Norvegis nostris, qvòd post tot ætates popularis eorum et Helgolandiæ Norvegicæ qvondam indigena,* Ohtherus, *ipsos inviset à tanto Rege (qvem, Hakluytô teste, sponte atqve consultò obtinendi emolumenti alicujus gratiâ accesserat) amandatus tam ad piscaturam, qvæ* Cetaria *dicitur, exercendam, qvàm ad qværendam, si inveniri posset, breviorem ad Japanenses et Indos Orientales sub circulo Poli Arctici et versùs Euro-Aqvilonem:*" *etc.*

The Anglo-Saxon text, so inaccurately printed as to be utterly worthless, is on the left-hand page, entirely in Roman letters, th being put for ð and þ. The Latin translation is on the right. The columns below represent the pages of Bussæus,—

It begins on the Left page PERIPLUS	OHTHERI. *Right page*
OHTHÆRE sæde his hla for de Ælfrede Kyninege; *p* 4.	OHTHERUS dixit Domino suo Ælfredo Regi. *p* 5.
It ends—	
sam hit sy summor sam vinter. *p* 26.	sive sit æstas, sive hyems. *p* 27.

The notes are much more copious than those of the Oxford Edition, and are printed below in two columns in a smaller type. The indefatigable and learned Langebek makes the following just remark upon the Oxford edition, and upon that by Bussæus:—

"Notæ vero, qvibus aut *Editores Oxonienses* brevioribus, aut *Bussæus* uberioribus, hoc opusculum expediunt, nec curioso lectori satisfaciunt, nec dignitati

2 Andreas Bussæus is thus addressed by T. N.—*Viro consuli Nobilissimo, doctissimo Andreæ Bussæo. p* 79. Τάχιστα, *Nestvediæ VI. Non. Maji M.DCC.XXXIII.* T. N. *p* 80.

tanti tamqve excellentis documenti respondent." *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum, Vol II, p* 106.

The work of Bussæus was republished thirteen years afterwards; it appears to be the same book, with this new title,—

"Liber Historicus de Islandia, una cum Andr. Bussæi versione Latina, etc. Accessit Periplus Otheri . . . 4°. Hafniæ, 1744."

MURRAY 1765.—John Andrew Murray, Professor of Medicine and Secretary of the Royal Society (der Königlichen Societät) at Göttingen in 1765, wrote two papers[3] on the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan. These papers indicate much research and knowledge of the subject. The first paper is thus introduced into the Report of the Society,—

Den 1 Julius, 1765, Göttingen.—Bey der Versammlung der Königlichen Societät, am 15ten Junii, verlas der Herr Prof. Murray den allgemeinen Theil seiner Abhandlung über drey sehr merkwürdige Seereisen, die gegen das Ende des 9ten Jahrhunderts, theils vom Other, einem Normann, theils vom Wulfstan, einem Angler unternommen, und vom Könige Alfred dem Grossen, selbst, in Angel-Sächsischer Sprache, geschrieben worden.

In this first paper, Prof. Murray, after mentioning the preceding editions of these voyages, makes observations upon Alfred, his times and writings. He also speaks of Ohthere and Wulfstan, the former as a Norwegian, and the latter as from Anglen or Schleswig. He supposes that they were both in the service of Alfred,—and that Ohthere was led to visit England either from the fame of Alfred, or from the dislike he had to submit to the rule of Harald Hárfager, king of Norway, or that both Ohthere and Wulfstan came to England under the influence of mercantile enterprise.

The second paper is thus reported:—

Den 10, und 12 Augusti, 1765, Göttingen. Den 3ten Augusti war die Königl. Societät . . . wieder versammelt. Herr Prof. Murray verlas zuerst den 2ten Theil seiner Abhandlung.

In this paper he enters more particularly into the three voyages, in regular order, occasionally quoting one or two Anglo-

3 Langebek, after speaking of Bussæus, says—Feliciorem longe et cujusvis curiosi attentione dignam commentationem Periplus noster nactus in erudita Nobiliss. Dn. Prof. Murrayi Dissertatione, Regiæ Scientiarum Academiæ Göttingensi prælecta, et in Ephemer. Götting. Anni 1765, p 625, and 761 sqq. recensita. *Langebek's Scriptores Rerum Danicarum, vol II, p* 107.

Saxon words, and giving, not their literal translation, but their general meaning, interspersed with remarks upon the places, and nations, as they occur in the narratives.

These two papers of Professor Murray were published in the Series of Reports of the Royal Society of Gottingen with the following title—

Göttingische Anzeigen von Gelehrten Sachen unter der Aufsicht der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Der zweite Band auf das Jahr 1765. *Edited by John David Michaelis: Göttingen* 1765, *in very small* 8vo.

The first paper p 625—629, and the second p 761—772. The whole Series of the Royal Society's Reports in the British Museum is in 33 volumes, and ranges from the year 1753 to 1823[4].

Barrington, Feby. 22, 1773. The Honourable Daines Barrington printed the whole of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Orosius, from the transcript of Elstob; and, of course, he included Alfred's own description of Europe and of the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan [§ 11—23]. It was accompanied with a translation, on which very little reliance can be placed. Much more may be said in favour of the Map, and the very copious notes prepared by a learned Prussian naturalist, John Reinhold Forster, I.U.D: F.R.S. As Barrington did not print separately the Anglo-Saxon text of Alfred's description of Europe, and of these voyages, further remarks will be deferred, till we speak of his edition of Orosius.

Langebek, Sep. 15th, 1773.—The celebrated Danish Professor, Langebek, in his "Scriptores Rerum Danicarum," vol II, p 106—123, gives these voyages [§ 11—23] with this title—

"Periplus Otheri Norvegi et Wulfstani, sive eorum Narrationes de suis in septentrionem et in Mari Balthico navigationibus." He adopts the text and the Latin translation of the Alumni Oxonienses; and follows them in printing two columns in a page. The Anglo-Saxon þ is represented by th; and ð by d. The notes are at the foot, printed in a smaller type entirely across the page. They are much more copious and valuable than those of Bussæus.

Begins—

Ohthære sæde his hlaforde Ælfrede Kyninge, thæt he ealra *Nordmanna* nordmest bude. p 108.	Ohtherus *dixit domino suo* Ælfredo *Regi, se omnium* Nordmannorum *locis maxime septentrionalibus habitare.*

4 The Museum mark (King's Library) is 252. a 33.

Ends —And theah man asette tvegen fætels full ealad odde væteres, hy gedod, thæt other bid ofer froren, sam hit sy summor sam vinter. p 123.

Et si qvis ponat duo vascula cerevisiæ vel aqvæ, efficere possunt, ut utrumqve glacietur, sive sit æstas sive hyems.

Though the A. S. text is printed much more correctly than in Bussæus, there are still such mistakes, both in the text and notes of Langebek, as to prove that he knew very little of Anglo-Saxon.

He professes to correct the text, and yet copies the worst blunders of the printers in the Oxford folio:—such as, tew for teth *teeth, etc.* He has incorrectly printed "on sumum stothum," instead of stowum, and just below, he has given it correctly "on sumum stowum"—yet he adds this contradictory note,—"Huic et inferius pro *stowum* legeudum rectius, ut paulo supra, *stothum*." There is no such word, in Anglo-Saxon, as *stothum*. *p* 112.

Barrington, 1781.—The English translation of the division of the world in Orosius [§ 1—10], and Alfred's description of Europe, and his account of the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan [§ 11—23], was reprinted from Barrington's Orosius of 1773, and published with his Map, and notes, but without those of Forster, in

Miscellanies by the Honourable Daines Barrington, 4to. Nichols, London 1781, *p* 453—468. Alluding to this republication, he says, "My principal reason, for doing this, is that the number of copies, which I published from King Alfred's translation, was very small, and consequently cannot have fallen into the hands of many readers." *p* 453.

Forster, in 1786, revised his very copious and valuable notes, which he had written in 1772, for Barrington's translation of King Alfred's description of Europe and the Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, printed in 1773; these he republished in German, in his History of Northern Discoveries, 1784. This work was translated into English, and was entitled,—

History of the Voyages and Discoveries, made in the North: translated from the German of John Reinhold Forster, I.U.D. 4to. London, 1786.

He introduces the king's description, by stating, that when the Danes were completely vanquished, "Alfred spared their lives, and permitted them to remain in Northumberland. By this humane conduct he gained the heart even of many of the Danes. Among others, there was a Northman at his court, by name Ohthere, who had made himself famous by his travels. There was

another too, a Jutlander, of the name of Wulfstan, who in like manner gave the king an account of his travels into Prussia. All these accounts the learned Prince collected with great care; and having purposed to give a translation of the Ormesta of Orosius, in the Anglo-Saxon, his mother-tongue, he interwove in this translation the relations of Ohthere and Wulfstan, with the result of the information he had got elsewhere concerning the state of the three parts of the world known at that period. It is very evident, from comparing them together, that Alfred's account of Europe is not that of Orosius, but rather that the English Prince has principally set before us the state of Europe as it was in his own time. In fact, we are possessed of such slender information concerning the Geography of the middle ages, that such an exhibition as this is of Europe and the northern regions conformable to the ideas of that age, and that from so respectable a source, must be extremely valuable. I shall therefore in this place insert that part of it, which respects the North of Europe.—

The Geography of the Northern parts of Europe, according to King Alfred, almost literally translated from the Anglo-Saxon, *p* 53, 54.—*Barrington's English version of what Alfred wrote is then introduced* [§ 11—23], *on which Forster makes these concluding remarks.*—The part of King Ælfred's Geography, of which we have here given a German translation as literal as could be done consistently with the different genius of both languages, without dispute constitutes, with relation to the state of the North of Europe in the 9th Century, a record of the utmost importance. As Ælfred in his youth had been in Rome, whither, even at that early period, zeal for the Christian religion carried people from every country, he might in all probability have collected in that city the materials for his Geography, and his other historical acquisitions, which in those times of deplorable ignorance and darkness, give him a very high rank among writers. This fragment likewise is a confirmation that the voyages and predatory expeditions of the northern pirates have very much contributed to the illustration of Geography and of the History of Nations. *p* 74.

Potocki, 1789.—The following work is in small 8vo. and without date; but it must have been published in or after 1789, as the second map was engraved in that year.

Recherches sur la Sarmatie. par Jean Potocki. Varsovie. à l'Imprimerie Libre. 2 vols bound in one. At the end are these two maps on a large scale. The first,—"Carte cyclocraphiqve de la Poméranie pour l'année 900 de I. C. tirée principalement de L'Hormesta du Roi Alfred." The Anglo-Saxon names are given, as well as the modern. The second map has this title,—"Carte des Pays occupés par les Patzinaces et les Sobartoasphales En l'Année 900, de l'Er: Chr: Gravé par B: Folino Maj: dan l'A: de P: à Varsovie 1789."

Seven years afterwards, a new and enlarged edition was published, containing the Anglo-Saxon, with a French translation, of part of Alfred's description of Europe and Ohthere's and Wulfstan's voyages:—

"Fragments historiques et géographiques sur la Scythie la Sarmatie, et les Slaves, recucillis et commentés par Jean Potocki. Brunsvic, 1796, 4 vols. 4to."

In "Tome second, chapitre II. De la Poméranie dans le neuvième Siècle," *are these quotations :—*

Texte Anglo-Saxon.	Version Littérale.
Begins—And be northan him is Apdrede : and east north Wylte de man Aefeldan haet.	*Et au Nord il y a Apdrede et nord est les Vylte, que l'on appelle Aefeldan :*
Ends—Burgendas. And be suthan him syndon Haefeldan.	*. . les Burgendas et au sud d'eux sont les Haefeldan. p* 25.
Suite du Texte Anglo-Saxon.	Version Littérale.
Begins—Ohthere seade his hlaforde Aelfrede Kyninge, thaet he ealra Northmanna nordthmest bude.	*Ohthere dit à son Seigneur Alfrede Kyninge. Que de tous les Nordmanna, il habitoit le plus au Nord.*
Ends—Let him ealne weg that vesteland on theat steorbord.	*Cette terre déserte lui restoit à Stearbord. p* 27.
Suite du Texte Anglo-Saxon.	Version Littérale.
Begins—Vulfstan seade theat he gefore of Heathum.	*Wulfstan dit qu'il étoit parti de* Haethum . . .
Ends—forthy hit man heaz vislemutha.	*. . . et de là vient le nom, de Vislemutha. p* 30.

Porthan, 1800.—Professor H. G. Porthan of Abo, in Finland, was the first to extract and publish separately the whole Anglo-Saxon text of Alfred's description of Europe, and the Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan [§11—23], from Barrington's edition of Orosius. The Anglo-Saxon is printed in Roman letters without accents : for þ *th*, and ð *dh*, he uses *th* ; and for *p w*, he uses *v*. There are two columns in a page : the Anglo-Saxon on the left, and an excellent Swedish translation on the right. Very copious and valuable notes are printed below across the page. Rask gives the highest praise to these notes, as being "a masterpiece of learning and acuteness. One cannot sufficiently admire his knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon, which differs so much from the Finnish, his native tongue." The edition of Porthan appeared in the following celebrated periodical,—

Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Academiens Handlingar. Sjette Delen, Stockholm, 1800. 12mo. p 37—106.

He entitles it—Foersoek at uplysa Konung Ælfreds Geographiska Beskrifning oefer den Europeiska Norden. Af Henric Gabriel Porthan Eloquentiæ Professor vid Kongl. Academien i Åbo.

Begins—Nu ville ve ymbe Europe land gemære reccan, sva mycel sva ve hit fyrmest viton. *p* 42.

Nu vilje vi bestämma Europas gränsor, det nogaste vi vete.

Ends—And theah man asette tvegen fætels full ealath, oththe væteres; hy gedoth thæt other bith oferfroren, sam hit sy summor, sam vinter. *p* 106.

Och ehuru man ställer fram tvännye kärl fulla af Öl eller Vatten; så göra de, at bägge blifva med is öfverdragna, det må vara antingen sommar eller vinter.

INGRAM, 1807. In this year the Rev. James Ingram, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford,—Anglo-Saxon Professor,—afterwards editor of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and President of his College, published his very valuable "Inaugural Lecture on the utility of Anglo-Saxon Literature." At the end of it, he gave the Anglo-Saxon text, with notes, and an English translation with Forster's notes, of Alfred's description of Europe, the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, the islands in the Mediterranean, and Great Britain, with a Map of Wulfstan's voyage [§ 11—28]. This embraces a wider field than any of the preceding editions. The Anglo-Saxon text is from Junius, and without accents. In a note, he speaks thus of Alfred's additions to Orosius.

"We are indebted to King Alfred, and to King Alfred alone, for the accurate description of nearly all those numerous tribes, with their territories, from which has been constructed the immense fabric of the German empire. . . . The sources of the Rine and the Danube, as well as the course of those rivers, are accurately marked; and let it be remembered, that there is scarcely any authentic and accurate information to be derived either from Orosius or from any other writer, previous to the time of ALFRED, with respect to any country of Europe situated beyond the latitude of 55 degrees north. . . . Whatever might have been considered by other geographers as the Thile, or extreme point towards the north, the Thile of Orosius and of his royal Translator was undoubtedly ISLAND. How far the land of Norway and Sweden (the ancient Scandinavia, and the Thule of Pliny, Procopius, and others) extended towards the North Pole, was totally unknown, till an obscure navigator of Helgoland came to the court of King Alfred in the NINTH CENTURY, and delivered to that Monarch a faithful report of a voyage of DISCOVERY, which he had made round the NORTH CAPE, and to the banks of the DWINA." *p* 92, *note a.*

BECKMANN, 1808. A short notice of King Alfred, Orosius, and of the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, and of his opinion of the various editions of the voyages, will be found in No. 37: vol I, p 450—486 of

Litteratur der aelteren Reisebeschreibungen von Johann Beckmann, Göttingen,

2 vols 8vo. 1808—1810. Very little is quoted in Anglo-Saxon, which is printed in Roman type, apparently from the incorrect edition of Bussæus, with a Latin translation. He quotes the passage, which refers to the production of ice in summer as well as winter, in old Prussia. [§ 23].

RASK, 1815. Professor Erasmus Rask of Copenhagen, was the next to employ his great talents and learning on this subject. He had the advantage of Porthan's Swedish translation and notes. Rask was the first to accent his Anglo-Saxon text, which he accompanied with some conjectural emendations, and with a Danish translation and notes, still more copious and valuable than Porthan's. He availed himself of the well-known Danish Periodical,—

Det skandinaviske Litteratur-selskabs Skrifter 1815. Ellevte Aargang. Kjöbenhavn.

The title is,—*Ottars og Ulfsteens korte Reiseberetninger med dansk Oversætelse, kritiske Anmærkninger og andre Oplysninger, af R. Rask* [§ 11—23].

1 *King Alfreds egen Beretning.*

Begins—Nú ville ve ymb *Europe* landgemære reccan svá mycel svá ve hit fyrmest viton. *On the left, page* 14.

Nu ville vi berette saa meget som vi paa nogen Maade vide om de evropæiske Landes Enemærker. *On the right, page* 15.

Ends—and þeah man asette tvegen fætels full ealað oððe væteres, hy gedoð, þæt oþer bið ofer froren, sam hit sý summor sam vinter. *p* 62.

. . . og skjönt man fremsætter to Kar fulde af Öl eller vand, er de i Stand til at lade det ene fryse til (det andet ikke) hvad enten det er Sommer eller Vinter. *p* 63.

The notes relating to the text are at the foot, in the same type, numbered from 1 to 54. The [*Oplysende Anmærkninger*] dissertations are referred to by letters from *a* to *z*, *æ* and *o* from page 64—132 inclusive. The whole is comprised in 132 pages.

It was reprinted by Dr. Rask's son, with some additional notes, in the collection he gave of his father's Dissertations in 3 vols small 8vo., with this title—

Samlede tildels forhen utrykte Afhandlinger af R. K. Rask, udgivne efter forfatterens doed af H. K. Rask. Kjöbenhavn 1834. Vol I, p 289—384.

DAHLMANN, 1822. Dr. C. F. Dahlmann, Professor of History at Kiel, published the first vol of his "Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte, in 8vo., at Altona, 1822. In the third

part of this volume, he gives an interesting description of King Alfred's Germania, and a German translation of what the King wrote upon it, and of the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, with ample notes, and dissertations upon points requiring investigation [§ 11—23]. It is merely a German translation, founded on Forster's, with notes advocating the same views.

Leo, 1838, selected King Alfred's description of Germania [§ 11, *p* 34, 18 *d*—12, *p* 39, 2 a], among other extracts, for his Anglo-Saxon reading. The Anglo-Saxon alone is printed, with the vowels marked after the system of Dr. James Grimm. It has this title,—

Altsächsische und Angelsächsische Sprachproben. Herausgegeben und mit einem erklärenden Verzeichniss der angelsächsischen Wörter versehen von Heinrich Leo. Halle, small 8vo. 1838.

Giesebrecht, 1843. Professor Ludw. Giesebrecht gives a German translation of what Alfred wrote in his excellent "Wendische Geschichte," 3 vols 8vo. Berlin, 1843. vol III, *p* 290. As he follows Dahlmann in every respect, his work does not require further notice.

Thorpe, 1846. Mr. Thorpe has the merit of being the first to print Alfred's description of Europe, and the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan [§ 11—23] from the Cotton MS. It consists only of Anglo-Saxon, with an excellent glossary, and was, at the time of publication, the best Anglo-Saxon text, and the only one in which the accents of the manuscript are duly observed. Its title, given below, will shew the object of the work,—

Analecta Anglo-Saxonica: A Selection, in prose and verse, from Anglo-Saxon Authors of various ages; with a Glossary: Designed chiefly as a first book for students, by Benjamin Thorpe, F.S.A. London, 12mo. 1846. Second edition, with additions, in which are these descriptions of Alfred.

Ebeling, 1847. This is simply a neat, and cheap, German reprint of the whole first chapter of Orosius [§ 1—38], from the edition of Barrington. It is the most interesting and valuable part of Orosius, as containing Alfred's description of Europe, and the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan; but, as it consists only of the Anglo-Saxon text, with some various readings, and a note or

two at the end, the title and an extract from the preface will give all the information that seems desirable.

Angelsæchsisches Lesebuch, von Friedrich Wilhelm Ebeling, Leipzig, 4to. 1847. Not approving of the German mode of printing Anglo-Saxon, with numerous marks and accents over the vowels, he says—"I have avoided accents, because they appear to be a superfluous appendage in the Anglo-Saxon language; others may maintain their own opinions: at all events, I have avoided 'dilettantismus,' which wishes to rule, and which has brought, and still brings, nothing but confusion into the world."

RAFN, 1852. The learned and indefatigable Professor C. C. Rafn of Copenhagen, has given the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, [§ 13—23] in his

Antiquités Russes d'après les monuments historiques des Islandais et des anciens Scandinaves. Tome I—II with twenty-three plates, Copenhagen 1850—1852, imp. 4to. *See* vol II, § LXXIV, p 458—471. The Anglo-Saxon text is printed in two columns, and the Latin version across the page, as below.

Begins,—OHTHERE sæde his hláforde Ælfrede cyninge þæt he ealra Norðmanna norðmest búde. He cwæð þæt he búde on þæm lande nordeweardum wið þá westsæ;

OTTARUS dixit domino suo Alfredo regi, inter omnes Nordmannos sese maxime versus septentrionem habitare; id est, in septentrionali parte ejus terræ, prope occidentalem oceanum. p 459.

Ends—and þeah man ásette twegen fætels full ealað oððe wæteres, hí gedoð, þæt óðer býð ófer froren, sam hit sí sumor sam winter.

Et si quis exponat duo vasa cerevisiæ aut aquæ, efficiunt ut alterum glacietur, sive sit æstas sive hiems. *p* 470.

Besides these three voyages, there are short extracts of what Alfred wrote about the Moravians, Cariuthians, Horiti, and Burgundians, which are supposed to be of Slavonic origin. *p* 471.

A facsimile of a whole page of the Cotton MS. [fol 12] is given, but unfortunately the recent alterations of the MS. have been traced in the same manner as the original text: thus, the n, in a recent hand and ink over a, in ꝑꝛcað [f 12, 19 *h*] is printed as if originally ꝑꝛcnað.

BOSWORTH, 1855. An attentive perusal of the preceding editions of Alfred's descriptions must convince every one, that we are indebted to Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and even Finland for the best editors and commentators. Some of the literati of Germany, and of the north of Europe, have most successfully devoted their talents, industry and learning in the illustration of

this part of King Alfred's writings, under the disadvantage of a very corrupt Anglo-Saxon text. It struck me, that since these compositions have excited so much attention in the learned men of Europe, they would be gratified by being presented with facsimiles of our oldest and best MSS. of what was undoubtedly composed by Alfred the Great, and by being thus placed in as favourable a position as we are for criticizing them. This was one inducement for the publication of the following work. Another was the fact that a part of these voyages existed only[5] in one MS. and that an exact facsimile would, in effect, not only preserve and indefinitely multiply this invaluable manuscript, but afford ready access to it. It appeared with this ample title,—

A description of Europe, and the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, written in Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred the Great [§ 11—28]:—containing—1. A facsimile copy of the whole Anglo-Saxon text from the Cotton MS. and also from the first part of the Lauderdale MS. 2. A printed Anglo-Saxon text, based upon these MSS. 3. A literal English translation and notes. 4. A Map of Europe in the time of Alfred, on which the track of Ohthere and Wulfstan's voyages are marked: by the Rev. Joseph Bosworth, D.D., etc. 4to. London, 1855.

Much information on the subject of these voyages and Alfred's description of Europe, may be obtained from other Danish, Swedish and German publications, especially from the two following works—

Haandborg i den gammel-nordiske Geografi eller Systematisk Fremstilling af de gamle Nordboers geografiske kunstab i Almindelighed, samt de dem bekjendte Lande og historisk mærkelige Steder i Særdeleshed, udarbejdet især efter islandske kilder af *N. M. Petersen.* Forste Del. Kjöbenhavn 1834. *He speaks particularly of Alfred's Geography in* 2 Kap. Europa især det nordlige, efter Kong Alfreds Geografi sampt Ottars og Ulfstens Rejseberetninger.

Die Deutschen und die Nachtbarstämme, von *Kasper Zeuss,* München, 1837.

After this full detail of the various forms in which King Alfred's own description of Europe, and the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan have been published, a short notice of the editions of Alfred's entire Anglo-Saxon Version of Orosius, in the order of their publication, is required.

5 There are now *two complete copies* of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius with his own additions; for a facsimile copy, printed on parchment, has been inserted into the Lauderdale MS., thus making it perfect. See before, page xxiii.

The honourable Daines BARRINGTON, fourth son of John Shute, Viscount Barrington of the peerage of Ireland, was the first editor of Alfred's entire version of Orosius. Daines Barrington was called to the bar; and, in 1757, made a Welsh judge. While, as a lawyer, he published some professional works, he amused himself with natural history, and gave to the world upwards of twenty treatises and essays, upon this favourite subject. He also published works upon antiquities, and one historical volume. The last was,—

The Anglo-Saxon Version, from the historian Orosius, by Ælfred the Great: together with an English translation from the Anglo-Saxon. 8vo. London, 1773.

Mr. Barrington shall give his own account of his work:—It happened by some rather singular accidents, that I have become the editor and translator of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of the Historian Orosius; a detail of these, however, would be uninteresting to the reader, whom I shall rather inform what he is to expect from the present publication. *Preface, p* i. *See more in the history of the Elstob transcript, p* xxxi.

I publish this A. S. version from a copy made by Mr. Elstob, well known for his eminent knowledge of Northern literature. *p* xviii.

I have altered the punctuation very frequently[6]. I have confined the capital letters, at the beginning of words, to distinguish periods, as also the names of men and places. I have likewise broken the text, which was continued without interruption, into paragraphs, which, together with some other improvements in printing, I hope will contribute to make the Anglo-Saxon text rather more easily understood.

I must own also, that I have adhered commonly to one and the same method of spelling words, which varies almost in every page of the MS.; at the same time that I have now and then printed the word as I found it, because otherwise I should have taken upon myself to pronounce decisively, what was the only true and proper orthography.

I have, however, always followed the copy religiously in more material inaccuracies, and have at the bottom suggested such conjectural emendations as occurred, which are entirely submitted to the judgment of the reader.

I have also inserted the various readings according to the collation in Mr. Elstob's Transcript, as well as in that of Mr. Ballard; several of which, however, are most clearly improper, and many others of so little importance, that I should not have considered them myself as deserving of any notice. I thought,

6 I had once intended to have printed the whole with the modern marks of punctuation, which would (as I conceive at least) have made the Anglo-Saxon still more intelligible; but I have been deterred from this by some Anglo-Saxonists, whose advice I cannot but defer to.

I have, however, printed the first chapter of the last book in this manner, that the reader may judge for himself.

however, that as I printed from their copies, this disregard of their collations should not be shewn to the labours of these industrious antiquaries. *p* xxii.

The first chapter, which describes the boundaries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, will be found to contain many particulars which will illustrate the geography of the middle ages, especially in the more Northern parts of Europe. *p* xxiii.

I have annexed a map, which contains the names of most of the European places mentioned in this geographical chapter, and have also traced the voyage of Ohthere and Wulfstan, in these Northern Seas. The pricked line describes Ohthere's voyage, from *Halgoland* to the Cwen Sea, and back again; after which, he is supposed to sail for *Sciringe's-Heal*, whence he went to Heathum. *p* xxiv.

Whilst I had this part of the first chapter under consideration, I had an opportunity of consulting the very learned Mr. John Reinhold Forster, who hath made the Northern geography of Europe his particular study; and I have printed his observations on this chapter by themselves, at the end of the work. *p* xxvii.

With regard to the English Translation, it is not literal, indeed, which perhaps many may have rather expected; but no further liberties have been taken with the original, than from endeavouring to make it intelligible to the readers.

Where the Saxon word, indeed, or turn of expression, happens to correspond with the English idiom, I have generally retained it, though this hath sometimes obliged me to make use of a term or phrase, which is partly obsolete. I thought this proper, to shew the affinity which is still retained between the Anglo-Saxon and modern English. I have, therefore, commonly printed such words or passages in Italics.

This, indeed, is one of the principal advantages of translating the Anglo-Saxon into the language so evidently derived from it; which affinity of idiom could not appear, if I had rendered it into Latin. Daines Barrington, February 22, 1773. *p* xxxi.

Under the editorial care of Mr. Thorpe, a new and greatly improved edition of Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius has been published, in a very cheap form, in Mr. Bohn's Antiquarian Library. The Anglo-Saxon text is printed on the left hand page, and Mr. Thorpe's excellent English translation, on the right. It bears this title,—

The Life of Alfred the Great, translated from the German of Dr. R. Pauli; to which is appended Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius, with a literal English translation, and an Anglo-Saxon Alphabet and Glossary; by B. Thorpe, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich. Small 8vo. London, 1853.

Mr. Thorpe will give the best account of his own work:—

As a fitting and, it is hoped, welcome accompaniment to the translation of my friend Dr. Pauli's excellent Life of King Alfred, the publisher has judi-

ciously selected Orosius, the work of our great West-Saxon Monarch, which most loudly called for republication, not only on account of its scarcity and cost, but also because of the glaring inaccuracies, both in the text and translation, of the only existing edition.

The only ancient manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius known to exist, is in the Cottonian Library, marked Tiberius, B. I. As far as penmanship is concerned, it is unquestionably a precious and beautiful volume, though manifestly the handiwork of an illiterate scribe. On account of its antiquity [not later than the tenth century], it has, however, been held in a degree of estimation hardly justified by its intrinsic worth. This being the only source of the Anglo-Saxon text, it is difficult to account for the variations existing among the several transcripts.

The present text is founded on a careful collation of that of Barrington with the Cottonian manuscript. The translation is close and almost literal, though, at the same time, readable as an independent work. *Preface, p* v, vi.

The Anglo-Saxon text is much more correct than Barrington's, having been collated with the original Cotton MS., but it has this great defect, all the accents of the MS. are omitted. Even in the Glossary, where the accent at once distinguishes one word from another, it is only marked in mán *wickedness*, to distinguish it from man *man*, and omitted in gód *good*, ís *ice, etc.* There are several strange slips in the Anglo-Saxon text, such as copying the typographical blunder of Barrington *and printing* sæ beorh [p 260, 14] instead of se beorh. Mr. Thorpe's note, [p 529], upon his sæ-beorh is still more extraordinary, and shews the fallacy and insecurity of conjectural criticism. The first misprint of Barrington sæ beorh, and the error of Mr. Thorpe's emendation sæ-beorh, or sio sæ-burh, would have been seen at once, by a reference to the MSS. or transcripts, in all of which it is correctly written se beorh. But such slips are rare in Mr. Thorpe's volume; this, therefore, will not be treated with severity by any who know the difficulty and labour of collating MSS.

The particulars of the present edition are now to be specified. The first great object was, to use every effort to form as good an Anglo-Saxon text as possible, on the sole authority of the two old manuscripts, the Lauderdale and the Cotton. The Cotton was made the basis of the text, as its style and orthography have more the appearance of pure West-Saxon than the Lauderdale, which, though older than the Cotton, has a more northerly aspect. All possible care was, therefore, taken to secure a correct representation of the Cotton MS. For this purpose our text has been collated three times with the Cotton MS. in the British Museum. First by me, then by E. Thomson, Esq., and lastly by Dr. Wm. Bell, aided by my nephew Wm. Bosworth. Every accent was carefully marked, and the manuscript was

strictly followed even in the use of ð and þ. The text was examined for the fourth time most carefully by three persons. Mrs. Bosworth read most deliberately and distinctly Mr. Hampson's accurate transcript of the Cotton, Mr. Thomson, at the same time, had in his hands the invaluable L, and mentioned every variation from C, even in a letter or accent, and I wrote down in my copy every minute particular. In case of doubt, as to the accuracy of Mr. Hampson's copy, reference was made to the original C, in the British Museum. This carefully collated copy of C was then compared with L, and where words were evidently wrong, or words or sentences omitted in C, the supposed correct word or sentence was taken from L and inserted between brackets in my copy. Whatever, therefore, is between brackets in the printed text, is from L, and all the rest is from C. On this simple principle our text is formed. All the various readings, and accents, and the few corrections of evident mistakes of the scribes inclosed between brackets, are carefully explained in the notes and various readings. We are not sure that the best word or orthography has always been adopted in the text, but whatever want of judgment there may have been in the selection, means are given for correction in the various readings of the MSS. Whatever may be thought of the present text, the value of the minute various readings will ever remain.

None but those who have been engaged in a similar work can imagine the unceasing care and the immense labour required in collating MSS., and in writing out the various readings with accuracy. Had I anticipated that this part of the work would have consumed so much time, I should never have ventured to undertake it; but having begun, no labour, pains, nor expense have been spared to secure correctness; for, on this account alone, a journey was undertaken into Suffolk in September, 1856, to examine again at Helmingham Hall all the quotations from the L; and the greatest vigilance has been exercised in superintending the press, that even a wrong accent might not escape detection.

In printing the Anglo-Saxon text, Roman characters have been used, with the addition of the letters þ *th*, and ð *dh*, the former representing the hard, and the latter the soft sound of

our *th*. In Alfred's version of Orosius, it is to be regretted, these letters are often interchanged.

The vowels have been carefully accented in the printed text, when they were found in C, or in quotations from L, but the accents have been omitted when left out by the manuscripts. Accents improperly used in C, have been omitted in printing the text, but they have always been given in the notes, hence the real state of the manuscripts, as regards the accents, is easily ascertained. The Anglo-Saxons accented their vowels to denote their long sound, as will be manifest by comparing a few Anglo-Saxon words with their English derivatives;—Dál *a dale*, hál *hale*, tám *tame*; fét *feet*, hél *heel*, hér *here*; líf *life*, míl *mile*, wíd, *wide*; fór *fore*, and numerous other words ending in the English silent *e*. What is this final *e*, but the *mark* or *letter* denoting the long sound of the preceding vowel? We appear to have derived this clumsy mode of expressing the length of the vowels from the Normans. They sometimes denoted a long vowel by inserting another vowel, or by doubling the short one, as; A'c *an oak*, ár *an oar*; brád *broad*, bát *a boat*, rán *rain*; fúl *foul*, hús *house*, bóc *a book*, cóc *a cook*, gód *good*, gós *a goose*, gés *geese*. How much more simple is this Anglo-Saxon mode of lengthening their vowels, than our present confused and tedious method. We find many words distinguished from each other by accents, thus: Bat *a bat or club*, bát *a boat*; coc *a cock*, cóc *a cook*; ful *full*, fúl *foul etc*. Some contend that the Anglo-Saxon accents are unnecessary, and may be omitted, in that case there would be no distinction between *ful* and *foul*, and ful bat might then mean *a full* or *foul boat*.

The books and chapters exactly follow those of the manuscripts; but the chapters have been subdivided into paragraphs, according to their subjects, and numbered to facilitate reference.

There has been a great desire to make the English translation literal; and, as far as possible, to use only words of Anglo-Saxon origin. Words of similar orthography and sound in Anglo-Saxon and English, are not universally employed, as the English derivative is not always synonymous with the Anglo-Saxon; but many modern English words are now used exactly as they were by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers: the latter are re-

tained. In short, there has been a constant effort to avoid a latinised style, and to make the translation very plain, and simple, and as near a representative of the Anglo-Saxon, as was practicable; and thus to impart to the daughter some little of the health and chaste simplicity of the mother.

In the course of this work, I have cheerfully acknowledged the particular assistance I have received from literary men, I have therefore now only the gratification of recording my obligation to the Rev. Dr. Bandinel, the Bodleian Librarian, Oxford, to the Under-librarians and to the Assistants, for the free use of the Junian transcript of Orosius, and for most ready and friendly assistance in every case of difficulty.—To the Rev. Wm. Pulling, M.A. F.L.S., Rector of Dymchurch, who, in an uninterrupted friendly intercourse of many years, has generously allowed me the advantage of his most extensive knowledge of languages; and, in this work, for communicating the best information, from Icelandic, Swedish and Danish publications.—To E. Thomson, Esq., author of "A vindication of the hymn, Te Deum laudamus," editor of the Anglo-Saxon Paschal Homily of Ælfric with an English translation, notes, *etc.*, for collating the MSS., correcting proofs, and for continued assistance.—To the Rev. H. S. Trimmer, Vicar of Marston-on-Dove, for corrections in chronology, *etc.*—To Robert Bigsby, Esq. LL D., author of many valuable works, for critical remarks.—To Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart. D.C.L., for the loan of books,—and to all those friends who have given their ready assistance in the progress of the work.

The Lodge, Islip, near Oxford,
October 16*th*, 1858.

THE INTRODUCTION:

OR

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF OROSIUS AND HIS WORKS.

INTRODUCTION.

In the time of king Alfred, Orosius was so well known as an historian, that his name was commonly used instead of the title of his work. This is evident, from Alfred's first sentence,—

"Here beginneth the book which men call Orosius."

This compendious history of the world [1] from the creation to the year A.D. 416, written by Orosius, continued to be held in the highest esteem, from the days of Alfred to the invention of printing, for it was selected as one of the first works to be committed to the press. The first edition appeared in Germany, so early as 1471[2]. After this, numerous editions[3] were published by the most celebrated printers. It must be interesting to know the origin of a work, that has attracted so much attention, and been highly valued for so many ages—a work chosen by the first man of his age, our Glorious king Alfred, as a book worthy to be translated by him into Anglo-Saxon—the English of his day—to teach his people history. The origin and intention of this work will be best shewn by a short biographical account of Orosius, its author.

Paulus Orosius was a learned Spanish presbyter, born in the latter part of the fourth century, at Tarragona[4], on the coast of the Mediterranean. He was educated in Spain; but, being a young man of great talents, the information to be acquired in his

1 Ab initio mundi usque in præsentem diem [A. D. 416]: Havercamp's Orosius 4to, Leyden 1767, l. vii, c. 43, p. 587. Apparently the same book published in 1738, with only a new title page.

2 Impressus is liber est . . . Augustæ a. 1471, per Johannem Schüszler. Haver. p. xii. In the same page of Haver. the date is 1470: . . . Florentissimæ urbis Augustæ . . anno a partu virginis Mariæ salutifero millesimo quadrigentesimo et septuagesimo; circiter Junii nonas septimas.

3 Fabricius says: Prela multum sudavit. Haver. adds: Sæpissime prela fatigavit Orosius, p. xiii.

4 Tarraconensem esse Orosium non dubitat Don Paolo Ignazio de patria Orosii edita Hispanice Barcinone 1702, Fol. libro quadrigentarum paginarum, Fabricius, liber iv, c. 3.

own country did not satisfy his inquiring mind. He had energy enough to overcome any difficulty in the acquisition of knowledge; he did not, therefore, hesitate to go to Africa, to benefit by the instruction of S. Augustine, bishop of Hippo Regius, one of the most able and voluminous writers of that age. There is great difficulty in ascertaining how long Orosius remained in Africa, under the instruction of S. Augustine, before he returned to Spain. Some suppose that Orosius did not arrive in Africa before A. D. 414, when the Spanish bishops, Eutropius and Paul, sent him to consult S. Augustine about the nature and origin of the soul and several abstruse points of doctrine, which were held by the Priscillianists and the Origenists. Orosius, about that time, wrote on the subject,—"Consultatio sive Commonitorium Orosii ad Augustinum de errore Priscillianistarum et Origenistarum." In answer to which, S. Augustine published—"Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas." These are both in the works of S. Augustine.

In A. D. 415, S. Augustine recommended Orosius to proceed to Palestine, that he might consult S. Jerome on some particulars as to the origin of the soul, which Augustine could not satisfactorily explain. Jerome was then living at Bethlehem, and engaged in translating the scriptures from the Hebrew and Greek originals into Latin, which is the present vulgate or authorized version of the Roman Catholics. S. Jerome was the most learned man, and the most profound critic of the early church. The deference paid by Augustine, in sending Orosius to Jerome for a solution of what was too difficult for himself, is a proof of the high estimation, in which he held S. Jerome's talents and learning. This letter of introduction, S. Augustine sent, in his treatise, De ratione animæ, by Orosius to S. Jerome, to whom it was most respectfully dedicated. The letter is so honourable to them all, and so descriptive of Orosius, that part of it, at least, ought to be inserted.

"S. Augustine to S. Jerome.—Behold, there has come to me a religious young man, in catholic peace a brother, in age a son, in rank a co-presbyter, Orosius—of active talents, ready eloquence, ardent application, longing to be, in God's house, a vessel useful for disproving false and destructive doctrines which have killed the souls of the Spaniards much more grievously, than the barbarian sword their bodies. He has hastened to us from the ocean shore—expecting from report, that he might learn from me, whatever he wished of those matters he desired to know; but he has not reaped the fruit of his labour. First, I desired him not to trust much to fame respecting me: next, I taught him what I could; but what I could not, I told him where he might learn, and I advised him to come to you. In which matter, on his

having willingly and obediently acceded to my advice or command, I have asked him, on his coming from you, that he would take us, on his way home."[5]

S. Jerome thanks Augustine, in his answer, for the dedication and for sending a copy of the book by so celebrated a man as Orosius, whom he gladly received, on account of his merits, as well as from the introduction of S. Augustine.[6]

That Orosius should have gained the respect and esteem and the high praise of two men, like Augustine and Jerome,—the most eminent of their day for talents and learning, is a proof that he was a man of no ordinary ability, and acquirements. But Orosius was as estimable for his disposition and character, as he was respected for his talents and erudition. Look at his conduct and his writings.—He was a man of great liberality, and benevolence, considering every country his home[7] and every man his brother. Though zealous for the truth, and ready, at all times, to defend what he believed to be true, he never descended to uncharitable personalities, or gave way to hostile feelings even against his most bitter opponents.[8] He had no desire to enter upon disputed points, being a humble and practical christian[9]; but if drawn into discussion, it was his first wish to shew a friendly regard for the person of his opponent, and then to bring his strongest arguments against his errors. Under the influence of these feelings he first came to Africa,[10] and afterwards went into Palestine.[11]

When Orosius was in Palestine, Pelagius and his disciple Cælestius, were there, disseminating their doctrines,[12] with great zeal. Orosius was called to oppose them in a synod, held at Jerusalem July 30th, A. D. 415, before John, bishop of that

5 Haver. p. XXVIII, and XXXV.—S. Augustine's works, letter 165.—Du Pin's Bibliotheca Patrum; or, A new History of Ecclesiastical writers, Folio, London, 1693, century Vth, vol. III, Part I, p. 156.

6 Virum honorabilem Orosium, et sui merito, et te jubente suscepi. S. Jerome's works, letter 94.—Du Pin, vol. III, Pt 1, letters 92 and 94, p. 94.

7 Orosius says of himself,—Inter Romanos, ut dixi, Romanus, inter Christianos Christianus, inter homines homo. . . . Utor temporarie omni terra quasi patria. Haver. l. v, c. 2; p. 289.

8 Odisse me fateor hæresim, non hæreticum. Haver. p. 634.

9 Vos me participem certaminis vestri esse voluistis, ut auxiliator non auctor accederem. Latebam siquidem in Bethleëm, ignotus, advena, pauper. . . . Traditus a patre Augustino, ut timorem Domini discerem, sedens ad pedes Hieronymi: inde Hierusalem vobis accersentibus vocatus adveni. Dehinc in conventum vestrum una vobiscum, Joanne episcopo præcipiente, consedi. Haver. p. 590.

10 Nunc me, inquam . . . Africa excepit pace simplici, sinu proprio, jure communi. Id. l. v, c. 2, p. 288.

11 See the last two paragraphs in page 11, and note 9.

12 "Pelagius mihi dixit, docere se, hominem posse esse sine peccato, et mandata Dei facile custodire, si velit." Respondit Pelagius, "Hoc et dixisse me et dicere, negare non possum." Haver. p. 591.——"Ego dixi hominem sine peccato." Id. p. 600.——Ecce

city.[13] He then wrote his celebrated treatise, which he modestly calls, "Apologia contra Pelagium de arbitrii libertate." It is appended to his History.[14]

Orosius remained in Palestine till the close of 415, for he was induced by Heros, bishop of Arles, and Lazarus, bishop of Aix, to present a memorial against Pelagius at the council,[15] held at Diospolis,—the Lydda of Holy Scripture,—on the 20th of December in that year.

Orosius returned from Palestine to Africa, in accordance with his promise,[16] to visit his friend S. Augustine, bishop of Hippo Regius, before he bent his course homeward to Spain. This must have been in 416; for, in the autumn of that year, Orosius presented to the African council of Milevis [17] the letters of Heros and Lazarus against Pelagius.

Rome was captured and pillaged in A. D. 410, by Alaric king of the Visi-Gothi, Wisi-Gothi or West-Goths, also known by the name of Mœso-Goths, from their residence in Mœsia.[18] These Mœso-Goths were Christians, under the guidance of Bishop Ulphilas, a man of great learning and piety, who, with the view of leading them to the fountain of his doctrine, translated the New Testament from Greek, between A. D. 360 and 380, into the language of the Mœso-Goths—the pure German of that period. It is the earliest specimen of High-German now in existence, and prevailed in the south or high part of Germany, as the Old-Saxon, the nearest relative of the Anglo-Saxon, did in the north or low and flat part of that country.[19] Great moderation and forbearance were manifested by Alaric the Visi-Gothic king and his army in taking Rome. Orosius gives a detailed account of the mercy shewn to the Romans by the king of the West-Goths.[20] Alfred epitomized this detail in the following simple style: "Alaric, the most Christian and the mildest of kings, sacked Rome, with so little violence, that he ordered no man should be slain,—and that

Pelagius, qui ausus est profiteri, se esse sine macula atque peccato, Id. 601.——Homo qui hoc potest, Christus est. Id. 603.

13 See the latter part of note 9.—Du Pin's History of Ecclesiastical Writers, Fol. London 1693. vol. III, Pt 1, p. 221.

14. Haver. pp. 588—634.

15 Tom. II Conc. p. 1529.—Landon's Manual of Councils, p. 207—209.—Dupin, vol. III, Pt 1, p. 221, 222.

16 Augustinus rogavit eum (Orosium) ut abs te [Hieronymo, JEROME] veniens per nos ad propria remearet. Haver. p. XXXV.

17 Tom. II, Conc. p. 1537.—Landon, p. 410.—Du Pin, vol. III, Pt I, p. 222:—also p. 157, S. Augustine's 175th letter.

18 Bosworth's Origin of the English and Germanic Languages, VII, 2, 6, 7, 9. p. 114—116.

19 Id. II, 4, p. 13: V, 1—10, p. 81—83.

20 Haver. l. VII, c. 39, p. 573—575.

nothing should be taken away, or injured, that was in the churches. Soon after that, on the third day, they went out of the city of their own accord. There was not a single house burnt by their order.[21]

This sacking of Rome, however, afforded the Romans a pretence for accusing Christianity of being the cause of the affliction and ruin, which had befallen the empire. These heathens asserted that Christianity had been injurious rather than beneficial to mankind, alleging, that, before the coming of Christ, the world was blessed with peace and prosperity; but that, since they had changed their old religion for Christianity, victory had entirely forsaken the Romans, and both their glory and empire had declined; for, the gods, filled with indignation to see their worship neglected, and their altars abandoned, had visited the world with those plagues and desolations, which were still on the increase.[22] S. Augustine wrote his celebrated treatise, "The city of God," to shew the absurdity of this assertion, and to prove, by historical facts, how much the world had been ameliorated by revelation. This work, in defence of Christianity, appears to have been immediately commenced by S. Augustine: it is full of matter and profound erudition. It naturally occupied much of his thoughts, and was a subject of discussion with his friends, especially with Orosius. A man, so full of zeal as Orosius, would soon enter warmly into the subject, and he was readily induced, at the request of his friend, to write a work to prove from the facts of general history, what S. Augustine had shewn from the history of the Church—the city of God—that the preaching of 'peace on earth and good will toward men' could never be the cause of increasing the misery of mankind. This is the origin of the compendious History of the world by Orosius. It is written, on Christian principles, as a defence or an apology of Christianity. The tone pervading the work is that of a Christian, impressed with a proper sense of justice and humanity, deprecating ambition, conquest and glory, gained at the expense of human blood and human happiness.

This History of Orosius was undertaken at the request of S. Augustine and dedicated[23] to him. Orosius commenced writing about A. D. 410, when Honorius was emperor of the West, and when S. Augustine had finished ten books of his City of God.[24]

21 See this translation of King Alfred's Orosius, b. VI, c. 38, § 1.

22 Mosheim's Eccl. Hist., Cent. V, Pt 1, c. II, § 2.

23 Præceptis tuis parui, beatissime pater Augustine. Haver. p. 1. Totum tuum [est], quod ex te ad te redit, opus meum. Id. p. 3.

24 Hanc historiam conscripsit Orosius, nimirum post Romam captam sub Honorio Imperatore, anno Christi CCCCX. Quum ergo Augustinus jam decimum de Civitate Dei perfecisset, atque jam undecimum conscriberet, tum Orosius noster hæc scribere aggressus

Part of it was composed in Africa,[25] and it was probably finished about A. D. 416, at which date the work closes.

The highest authorities continued to speak, in the strongest terms, in favour of this History. From many others, one only is here quoted. Pope Gelasius the First, in a council of seventy bishops, held at Rome in A. D. 494, praised Orosius as a most learned man, who had, with wonderful brevity,[26] written a work against heathen perversions.

The reputation of this History was so great, in the time of King Alfred, that he determined to transfer the substance of it from the original Latin into Anglo-Saxon, for the benefit of his subjects; but in doing this, he often imitated rather than translated, and frequently added new illustrative clauses, and sentences of his own, and occasionally new paragraphs. At other times, he abridged what appeared to him less important, and passed over what was not to his purpose. Thus, by omitting the last four chapters of the fifth book, and the first three with a few others in the sixth, the king brought the substance of the fifth and sixth books of the original Latin, into the fifth book of his Anglo-Saxon work. Alfred's sixth book is, therefore, the seventh of Orosius, in which most of the chapters are much abridged, and the last three omitted. Alfred did not think the dedication and the first chapter of Orosius adapted for his subjects, he did not therefore insert them; but he still kept up a unity of design in his work, as will appear from the following short sketch of it.

In book I, he gives a geographical description of the whole world, then known, with a summary of general history from the earliest period to the building of Rome, A. M. 3251, and B. C. 753—Book II, after a reference to the creation, and the four great empires, describes the foundation of Rome, the wars of the Romans and Sabines, the affairs of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, Leonidas, etc. and concludes with the capture of Rome by the Gauls, A. M. 3608, and B. C. 396—Book III speaks of the affairs of the Lacedæmonians, Persians, Romans, Gauls, Carthaginians, Latins, Mæcedonians, etc. and ends with the death of Seleucus about the year A. M. 3714, and B. C. 290—Book IV contains the history of Rome from the wars of Pyrrhus to the fall of Carthage, A. M. 3853, and B. C. 151.—Book V, including the Vth and VIth books of Orosius, comprises the period from the taking of Corinth to the birth of our SAVIOUR, A. M. 4004.—Book VI,—the VIIth of Oro-

est. Fabricius. Haver, p. 4, note 24.—SEE, also, this edition of Alfred's Orosius, B. VI, c. 37, § 1.

25 Nunc me Africa excepit. Haver. I. V. c. II, p. 288.

26 Orosium, virum eruditissimum, collaudamus, quia valde necessaria adversus paganorum calumnias ordinavit, miraque brevitate contexuit. Haver. p. XXVIII.—Dupin, Tom. III, Pt II, p. 175, and 180.

sius,—recapitulates the succession of the four great empires, and continues the history of Rome from the accession of Tiberius Cæsar, A. D. 14 to A. D. 416, A. M. 4420, including an account of the greatest event of the age, the taking and sacking of Rome by Alaric in A. D. 410.

In the first book especially, Alfred introduced much new matter and added considerably to the geography of Europe.

These geographical additions prove that he had recourse to original sourses for information. He then left his author and stated, from the best authorities of his age, all the particulars of Europe, that he could collect, filling up the chasm between the time of Orosius, the commencement of the fifth century, and his own, the end of the ninth century.

This is the only geography of Europe, written by a contemporary, and giving the position of the Germanic nations, so early as the ninth century.

Besides this geography of Europe, composed by Alfred, the king inserts the very interesting voyages of Ohthere a Norwegian navigator and of Wulfstan. Ohthere, "wishing to search out how far the land lay due north, or whether any man dwelt to the north,"[27] sailed by the coast of Norway round the North Cape into the White-Sea;[28] and afterwards into the Baltic.[29] Wulfstan's voyage was confined to the Baltic.[30] These voyages were written by the king, from the relation of these intrepid navigators; for, in the narration, Wulfstan uses a pronoun of the first person plural.[31]

The simplicity of the narration bears the impress of truth, the former beginning thus:—"Ohthere told his lord, King Alfred, that he dwelt north-most of all the northmen."[32]—Ohthere was a man of great wealth,[33] and his strict adherence to truth in his narrative may be concluded, from his refusing to vouch for any thing, of which he could not bear personal testimony. He says: "The Biarmians told him many stories both about their own land, and about the countries, which were around them; but *he knew not what was true, because he did not see it himself.*[34]

These important additions and separate essays of King Alfred, are very interesting, as his original composition; and valuable, because they contain information relative to the geography of Europe, not otherwise to be obtained, and because they are authentic pictures of the manners and of the political condition of a great part of the north, in the ninth century. The following literal English translation, from the Anglo-Saxon of King Alfred,

27. See b. I. c. 1, § 13. 28. Id. § 14—17. 29. Id. § 18, 19. 30. Id. § 20—23
31. Id. § 20. 32. Id. § 13. 33. Id. § 15. 34. Id. § 14.

is, therefore, not a mere translation of what Alfred selected from Orosius; but an English version of the king's own Anglo-Saxon additions and essays, with his abridgement, and occasional amplification, of the most interesting parts of the compendious universal History of Orosius. The most striking of these will be pointed out, in brief notes at the foot of the page, and a reference made to the original Latin of those parts, which Alfred condensed, translated, imitated, paraphrased or enlarged; for he did not hesitate to adopt any of these plans, when he thought that he could improve the work, and make it more useful for his people. These short notes are only intended for the general reader; they, for the most part, give the result of investigations, rather than a detail of the reason or authority for arriving at that result.

If then new views be given, or old opinions advanced, apparently without satisfactory evidence being adduced, it is hoped that the following reformed Anglo-Saxon text, with the appendage of various readings, and more ample notes, will give the required information.

KING
ALFRED'S ANGLO SAXON VERSION
OF
OROSIUS.

CONTENTS

[Bóc I: Capitul I—XIV.]

Her onginneð seo bóc þe man Orosius nemneð.

I. [Hu] ure yldran ealne ðysne ymbhwyrft on þreo todældon; § 1—38.

II. Hu Ninus, Assyria [cyning], ongan manna ærest ricsian on ðysum [middangearde]; § 1.—And hu Sameramis, his cwén, feng to þæm rice æfter him mid mycelre [reðnesse] and wrænnesse; 2, 3.

III. Hu þæt heofonlice fýr forbærnde þæt land, on þæm wæron ða twa byrig on getimbred, Sodome and Gomorre; § 1, 2.

IV. Hu Telesci and Ciarsað þa leode him betweonum [wunnon]; § 1.

V. Hu Ioseph, se rihtwisa mon, ahredde Egypta folc æt þæm seofon [geara] miclan hungre mid his [wísdome]; and hu hie siððan þone fiftan dæl [ælce geare] ealra hira wæstma hyra [cyninge] to gafole gesyllað, æfter his [gesetnesse], § 1, 2.

VI. Hu on [Achaie], wearð micel flod on Ambicsionis dagum þæs cyninges; § 1, 2.

VII. Hu Moyses lædde Israhela folc from Ægyptum ofer ðone Readan sæ; § 1, 2.

VIII. Hu on Egyptum wurdon, on anre nilit, L. manna ofslagen fram heora agnum sunum; § 1.—And hu Bosiridus, se cyning, het [dón] to geblote ealle ða cuman, þe hine gesohton; 2.—And ymb manegra oðra folca gewin; 3, 4.

IX. Hu Cretense and Athinense, Creca leode, him betweonum wunnon; 1, 2.

X. Hu Uesoges, Egypta [cyning], wolde him togeteon [ge] ðone suð-dæl to, þæt [is] Asia, ge þone norð-dæl, þæt sind Sciðþie;

§ 1.—And hu twegen æþelingas wurdon [áfliemed] of Sciðþium; and ymbe [þa wif, þe mon Amozenas hēt; 2, 3, 4, 5.—And ymbe þa] Gotan, þe him fore ondrēdon, ge Pirrus, se reða Creca [cyning], ge se Mæra Alexander, ge Iulius se Casere; 6.

XI. Hu Elena, þæs cynges wif, wearð genumen on Læcedemonium þære byrig; § 1, 2.—And hu Eneas, se cyning, fōr mid fyrde Italie; 3.

XII. Hu Sardanopolus wæs se siðmesta [cyning] in Asyria, and hu hine beswāc Arbatus, his ealdormon; § 1, 2.—And hu ða [wīfmen] bismredon hiera weras, þa hie fleon woldon; 3.—And hu se ārgeotre geworhte anes fearres anlicnesse ðæm æþelinge; 4, 5.

XIII. Hu Pelopensium and [Atheniensium] þa folc him betweonum wunnon; § 1.

XIV. Hu Læcedemonie and Messiane him betweonum wunnon for hiera mægdena offrunga; § 1—3: 4.

[Bōc II: Capitul I—VIII.]

I. Hu Orosius sæde, þæt ure drihten ðone ærestan man swiðe ryhtne and swiðe godne gesceope; § 1.—And ymb þā feower anwaldas þisses [middangeardes]; 2—6.

II. Hu Remus and Romulus, þa gebroþra, Romana burh getimbredon on Italium; § 1—3.

III. Hu Romulus and [Brutus] mid hwelcum mane hi gehalgodon Roma; § 1—4.

IV. Hu Romane and Sabine him betweonum wunnon; § 1—4.—And hu Cirus wearð ofslagen on Sciððium; 5—8.

V. Hu Cambisis se cyning forseah ða Egyptiscan deofolgyld; § 1.—And ymbe [Dariuses gewinn]; 2.—And [Xercsis] and Leoniðan; 3—9.

VI. And hu Romanum wearð an wundor oðewed, swelce se heofon burne; § 1—5.

VII. Hu Sicilia leode wæron him betweonum winnende; § 1, 2.

VIII. Hu Romane besæton [Ueiorum] ða burh tȳn winter; § 1.—And hu Gallie of Senno abræcon Rome burh; 2—6.

[Bōc III: Capitul I—XI.]

I. Hu sio bismerlice sib and facenlice wearð betweonum Læcedemonium and Persum; § 1—6.

II. Hu on [Achaie] wearð eorð-beofung; 1: 2.

III. Hu se micla man-cwealm wearð on Rome, on twegra consula dæge; § 1, 2.—And hu Marcus Curtius besceat on ða gyniendan eorðan; 3.

IV. Hu Gallie oferhergodon Romana land oð þreo mila to þære byrig; § 1.

V. Hu Cartaine ærendracan comon to Rome, and him friđ gebudon; § 1: 2—5.

VI. Hu Romane and Latine wunnon him betweonan; § 1.—And hu án nunne wearđ cuco bebyrged; 2: 3.

VII. Hu Alexander se [cyning] wan wiđ Romanum, þæs Maran Alexandres eam; § 1.—And hu Philippus, þæs Maran Alexandres fæder, feng to Mæcedonia rice; 2—5.—And he him geceas Biszantium þa burh; § 6: 7, 8.

VIII. Hu Caudenes Furculus, sio stow, wearđ swiđe widmære for Romana bismere; § 1, 2: 3.

IX. Hu se Mæra Alexander feng to Macedonia rice; § 1—5.—And hu he het sumne [bisceop] secgan, on hys gewill, hwa his fæder wære; 6.—And hu he Darium þone [cyning] oferwan; 7—9: 10—18.—And hu he sylf wearđ mid attre acweald; 19, 20.

X. Hu, under twam consulum, woldon feower þa strengstan þeoda Romane oferwinnan; § 1, 2.—And hu se micla mancwealm gewearđ on Rome; 3.—And hu hi him heton gefeccan tō Escolapius þone scin-lacan mid þære scin-læcan næddran 4: 5, 6.

XI. Hu, under twam consulum, wurdon Somnite and Gallie of Senno þære byrig Romanum wiđerwinnan; § 1.—And hu Alexandres heretogan hyra lif on unsibbe geendedon æfter Alexandres deađe; 2—12.

[Bōc IV: Capitul I—XIII.]

I. Hu Tarentine gesawon Romana scipo on đam sǣ yrnan, þa hi plegedon on hyra Theatrum; § 1—6.

II. Hu þa manegan yflan wundor wurdon on Rome; § 1, 2.

III. Hu man geseah rinan meolc of heofenum, and weallan blod of eorđan; § 1: 2, 3.

IV. Hu on Romane becom mycel man-cwealm; § 1.—And hu Caperone, sio nunne, wearđ ahangen; 2.—And hu đa burh-leode on Cartaina bliotan men hira godum; 3.

V. Hu Himelco, Cartaina cyning, fōr mid fyrde on Sicilie; § 1.—And hu Hanna an man wæs anwaldes girnende; 2.—And hu Cartaine hierdon, þæt se Mæra Alexander hæfde [ābrocen] Tirum þa burh; 3: 4, 5.

VI. Hu Sicilia folc and Pena wunnon him betweonan; § 1.—And hu Romane besæton Hanniballan, Pena [cyning]; 2, 3.—And hu Calatinus, se consul, fōr mid fyrde to Camerinan Sicilia byrg; 4.—And hu Punice gesetton eft þone ealdan Hannibalan þæt he mid scypum wiđ Romane wunne; 5.—And hu Romane foron on Africe mid þrim hund scypa and þritigan; 6.—And hu Regulus, se consul, ofsloh þa ungemetlican næddran; 7.—And hu Regolus gefeaht wiđ þry Pena cyningas, on anum ge-

feohte; 8, 9.—And hu Emilius, se consul, fôr on Africam mid þrim hund scypa; 10, 11.—And hu Cotta, se consul, oferhergode Sicilie; 12.—Hu twegen consulas fôron on Affrice mid þrim hund scipa, ond hu, on þreora consula dæge, com Hasterbal, se niwa [cyning], to Libeum þam iglande; 13, 14.—And hu Claudius, se consul, fôr eft on Punice; 15.—And hu [Caius], se consul, for on Affrice, and on þam [sæ] forwearð; 16.—And hu Lutatia, se consul, for on Affrice mid þrim hund scipa; 17.

VII. Hu se ungemetlica fŷr-bryne wearð on Rome; § 1.—And hu Gallie wurdon Romanum wiðerwearde; 2.—And hu Sardinie wunnon on Romanum, swa hi Pene gelærdon; 3.—And hu Orosius sæde þæt he wære cumen to þam godan tidum þe Romane eft fore gulpon; 4.—And hu Gallie wunnon on Romane, and Pene on oðre healfe; 5.—And hu twegen consulas fuhton on Gallium; 6—8.—And hu mænig wundor wæron [gesewene]; 9.—And hu Claudius, se consul, ofsloh Gallia [XXX.M.]

VIII. Hu Hannibal, Pena cyning, besæt Saguntum Ispania burh; § 1.—And hu Hannibal, Pena cyning, abræc ofer Perenei þa beorgas; 2.—And hu Scipia, se consul, gefeaht on Ispanium; 3.—And hu manie wundor gewurdon on þære tide; 4.

IX. Hu Hannibal beswac twegen consulas on hira gefeohte; § 1.—And hu Romane him gesetton tictator, and Scipian to consule; 2.—And hu Romane sendon Lucius, þone consul, on Gallie mid þrim legion; 3: 4—6.

X. Hu Marcellus, se consul, for mid scip-here on Sicilie; § 1: 2—6.—And hu Hannibal gefeaht wið Marcellus, þone consul, þry dagas; 7.—And hu Hannibal bestæl on Marcellus, þone consul, and hine ofsloh; 8.—And hu Hasterbal, Hannibales broðor, for of Ispanium on Italie; 9: 10, 11.—And hu Cartainum wearð frið alyfed fram Scypian, þam consule; 12.

XI. Hu Romana æftere gewin wearð geendod; § 1.—And hu Sempronius, se consul, wearð ofslagen on Ispania; 2: 3—5.—And hu Philippus, Macedonia cyning, ofsloh Romana ærendracan; 6: 7.—And hu þæt Macedonisce gewin gewearð; 8.—And hu Enilius, se consul, oferwan [Perseus, þone cyning]; 9.

XII. Hu Romanum wearð se mæsta ege fram Sceltiferin, Ispania folce; § 1: 2, 3.

XIII. Hu þæt þridde gewin wearð geendod Romana and Cartaina [cyninge]; § 1—5.

[Bôc V: Capitul I—XV.]

I. Hû Orosius spræc ymb Romana gylp, hû hî manega folc oferwunnan; and hû hî [monege cyningas] beforan hiora triumphan wið Romewerd drifon; § 1: 2, 3.

II. Hú, on anum geare, wurdon þa twa byrig toworpene, Cartaina and Corinthum; § 1.—And hú Feriaatus, se hyrde, ongan ricsian on Ispanium; 2, 3.—And hú Claudius, se consul, geflymde Gallie; 4: 5—7.—And hú [Mantius], se consul, genam frið wið Ispanie; 8.—And hú Brutus, se consul, ofsloh Ispania syxtig [M.] manna; 9.—And hu an cild wearð geboren on Rome; 10.

III. Hu Romane sendon Scipian on Ispanie mid fyrde; § 1—3. —And hu Craccus, se consul, wan wið þa oðre consulas oð hi hine ofslogan; 4.—And hú ða þeowas [wunnan] wyð þa hlafordas; 5.

IV. Hu Lucinius, se consul, se ðe eac wæs Romana yldesta bisceop, fór mid fyrde ongean Aristonucuse þam [cyninge]; § 1.—And hu Antiochus, [Asia cyning], wilnode Partha anwaldes; 2.—And hu Scipia, se betsta Romana þegn, mænde his earfeðu to Romana wytum; 3.—And hu Eþna fyr upp afleow; 4: 5.

V. Hu [Romane] heton eft getimbrian Cartaina; § 1.—And hu se consul [Metellus] oferwan þa Wicingas; 2.

VI. Hu [Fauius], se consul, ofercom [Betuitusan], Gallia cyning; § 1.

VII. Hu Romane wunnon wið Geowyrðan, Numedia [cyninge]; § 1.

[VIII. Hu Romane gefuhton wið Cimbros, and wið Teútonas, and wið Ambrónos; § 1.]

IX. Hu Romane agunnon unsibbe him betweonan upahebban, on þam fiftan geare, þe Marius wæs consul; § 1, 2.

X. Hu, ofer ealle Italie, wearð ungeferlic unsib on þam syxtan geare, þe Iulius, se Casere, wæs consul; § 1: 2—4.

XI. Hu Romane sendon [Sillan], þone consul, ongean Metredatis [Partha] cyning; § 1: 2—4.

XII. Hu Romane sealdon [Iuliuse], þam consule, syfan [legian]; § 1—3.—And hu Iulius besæt Tarcwatus, [Pompeiuses] latteow, on anum fæstene; 4, 5.—And hu Iulius gefeaht wið Potholomeus þriwa; 6—9.

XIII. Hu Octauianus feng to Romana anwalde hyra unwillum; § 1: 2, 3.

XIV. Hu Octauianus, se Casere, betynde Ianes duru; § 1—4.

XV. Hu sume Ispanie leode wæron [Agustuse] wiðerwinnan; § 1: 2, 3: 4, 5.

[Bóc VI: Capitul I—XXXVIII.]

I. Hu Orosius wæs [sprecende] ymbe þa feower anwaldas ðara feower heafodrica þisses middangeardes; § 1—7.

II. Hu Tiberius feng to Romana anwealde, se Casere, æfter [Agustuse]; 1—3.

III. Hu [Caius] wearð Casere feower gear; § 1—4.
IV. Hu Tiberius Claudius feng to Romana anwealde; 1—4.
V. Hu [Nero] feng to Romana anwalde; 1.
VI. Hu Galfa feng to Romana anwalde, se Casere; 1, 2.
VII. Hu Fespassianus feng to Romana anwalde; 1.
VIII. Hu Titus feng to Romana anwalde; 1.
IX. Hu Domitianus, Tituses broðor, feng to Romana anwalde; 1.
X. Hu Nerua feng to Romana anwalde; 1—3.
XI. Hu Adrianus feng to Romana anwalde; 1, 2.
XII. Hu [Antoninus pius] feng to Romana anwalde; 1.
XIII. Hu Marcus [Antoninus] feng to Romana anwalde mid [Aureliuse], his breðer; 1—3.
XIV. Hu Lucius feng to Romana anwalde; 1.
XV. Hu Seuerus feng to Romana anwalde; 1, 2.
XVI. Hu his sunu feng to rice [Antoninus]; 1.
XVII. Hu Marcus feng to Romana anwalde; 1.
XVIII. Hu Aurelius feng to Romana anwalde; 1.
XIX. Hu [Maximinus] feng to Romana anwalde; 1.
XX. Hu Gordianus feng to Romana anwalde; 1.
XXI. Hu Philippus feng to Romana rice; 1.
XXII. Hu Decius feng to Romana rice; 1.
XXIII. Hu Gallus feng to Romana rice; 1, 2.
XXIV. Hu Romane gesetton twegen Caseras; 1, 2.
XXV. Hu Claudius feng to Romana rice; 1.
XXVI. Hu Aurelius feng to Romana rice: 1.
XXVII. Hu Tacitus feng to Romana rice; 1.
XXVIII. Hu [Probus] feng to Romana rice; 1.
XXIX. Hu Carus feng to Romana rice; 1.
XXX. Hu Dioclitianus feng to Romana rice; 1—9.
XXXI. Hu Constantinus feng to Romana rice, mid his twam broþrum; 1—3.
XXXII. Hu Iuuianus feng to Romana anwalde; 1, 2.
XXXIII. Hu [Ualentinianus] feng to Romana rice; 1—3.
XXXIV. Hu Ualens feng to Romana rice; 1—4.
XXXV. Hu Gratianus feng to Romana rice; 1.—And hu Brittannie namon Maximum heom to [Casere] ofer his willan; 2.
XXXVI. Hu Ðeodosius feng to Romana anwalde; 1.—And hu [Ualentinianus feng] eft to rice; 2.
XXXVII. Hu Archadius [feng] to Romana rice, and Honorius to þæm West-rice; 1—3.
XXXVIII. Hu God gedyde Romanum his miltsunge 1—3.

KING ALFRED'S ANGLO-SAXON VERSION

OF

OROSIUS.

[Bóc I: Capitul I.]

1. Ure yldran ealne ðysne ymbhwyrft ðyses middan-geardes, [cwæþ] Orosius, swa swa Oceanus ymbligeð utan, ðone man [garsecg hateð,] on ðreo todældon; and hý þa þry dælas on ðreo tonemdon,—Asiam, and Europam, and Affricam: þeah ðe sume men sædon þæt þær næran butan twegen dælas, — Asia, and þæt oþer Europa.

2 Asia is befangen mid Oceanus—þæm garsecge—suþan, and norðan, and eastan; and swa ealne þysne middangeard fram þæm east-dæle healfne behæfð. Þonne on þæm norð-dæle, þæt is Asia, on þa swiðran healfe, in Danai þære íe, þær Asia, and Europe [hiera land-gemircu togædre licgað;] and þonne of þære ilcan íe Danai, suð andlang Wendelsǽs; and þonne wið westan Alexandria þære byrig, Asia and Affrica togædere licgað.

3. Europe—hio onginð, swa ic ær cwæð, of Danai þære íe, sio is yrnende of norð-dæle of Riffing þæm beorgum, þa sindon neah þæm garsecge, þe mon hateð Sarmondisc; and sio ea Danai yrnð þanon suð-rihte, on west-healfe Alexandres herga, on in Rochouasco ðære ðeode. Hio wyrcð þæt fenn, þe man hateþ Meotedisc; and þonne fórð mid micle flode, neah þære byrig þe man háteð Theodosia, wyð eastan út on ðá sǽ floweð, þe man hæt Euxinus; and þonne mid langre nearonesse, suð þánon be eastan Constantinopolim Creca byrig ligeð, and þonne torð þenon út on Wendel-sæ.—Se west-suð-ende Europe land-gemirce is in Ispánia westeweardum æt þæm garsecge, and mæst æt þæm iglande, þætte Gaðes hatte, þær scýt se Wendel-sæ up of þæm garsecge; þær [eac] Ercoles syla standað. On þæm ilcan Wendel-sǽ, [ond hire on] west-ende, is Scotland.

4. Affrica and Assia hyra land-gemyrco onginnað of Alexandria, Egypta byrig; and liþ þæt land-gemære suð þanon ofer Nilus þa ea, and swa ofer Æthiopica westenne oþ þone suð-garsecg; and þære Affrica norð-west gemære is æt þæm ylcan Wendel-sæ, þe of þæm gârsecge scýt, þær Ercoles sýla standað; and hyre riht west-ende is æt þæm beorge, þe man Athlâns nemneð, and æt þæm iglande þe man hæt Fortunâtus.

5. Scortlice ic hæbbe nu gesæd ymbe þa þry dælas ealles ðyses middangeardes; ac ic wille nu, swa ic ær gehêt, þara þreora land-rica gemære reccan, hú hý mid hyra wætrum tolicgað.

6. Asia ongean þæm middele, on þæm east-ende, þær licgeð se muða út on þone [garsecg,] þære éa þe man hateð Gândis, þone [garsecg] mon hæt Indisc. Be suþan þæm muðan, [wið þone garsecg, is se port þe mon hæt Caligardamana.] Be suþan-eastan þam porte is þæt îgland Deprobane, and þonne be norðan þæm, Gandis se muða, þær þær Caucasis se beorh endað, neh þæm garsecge, þær is se port Samerâ. Be norðan þæm porte, is se muða þære íe þe man nemneð [Ottorogorre, þone garsecg] man hæt Sericus.

7. Þæt sint Indea gemæro, þær þær Caucasus se beorh is be norðan, and Indus seo ea be westan, and seo Reade sæ be suðan, and [garsecg] be eastan. On Indea lande is feower and feowertig ðeoda, butan þæm iglande Taprabane, þæt hæfð on him tyn byrig, butan oðrum manegum gesetenum iglandum. Of þære é Indus, þe be westan eallum þæm lande lið, betux þære é Indus, and þære þe be westan hyre is Tigris hatte, þa flowað buta suð on þone Readan sæ, and betweoh þæm twam ean synd þas land Oracassia, and Parthia, and Asilia, and [Persiða,] and Media; þeah þe gewrita oft nemnan ealle þa land Media, oððe Asiria; and þa land sindon swyðe beorhte, and þær synd swyðe scearpe wegas and stanige. Þara landa norð-gemæro syndon æt þæm beorgum Caucasus; and on suð-healfe seo Reade sæ; and on þæm lande syndon twa mycele ea Iþaspes and Arbis. On þæm lande is [XXXII] þeoda: nú hæt hit man eall Parthia.

8. Þonne west fram Tigris þære éa oð Eufrate þa ea, þonne betweox þæm ean syndon þas land Babylonia, and Caldea, and Mesopotamia. Binnan þæm landum syndon eahta and twentig þeoda. Hyra norð-gemæro syndon æt þæm beorgum Tauro and Caucaso, and hyra suð-gemæro licgað to þam Readan sæ. Andlang þæs Readan sæs,—þæs dæles þe þær norð scýt,—lið þæt land Arabia, and Saben, and Eudomanê. [Of] þære éa Eufrate, west oþ ðone Wendel-sæ, and norð forneah oð ða beorgas, ðe man Tauris hæt, oð þæt land þe man hæt Armenie, and eft suð oð Egypte, manega þeoda syndon þæs landes; þæt is Comagenâ,

and [Fenitia,] and Damascéna, and Coelle, and Moab, and Amón and Idúméi, and Iudéa, and Palestina, and Sarracéne; and þeah hit mon hæt eall Syria. Ðonne be norðan Syria sindon þa beorgas, þe man Tauros hæt; and be norðan þæm beorgum syndon þa land Capadocia, and Arméníe: and hió Armenia is be eastan Capadocia; and be westan Capadocia, is þæt land þe man hæt seo Læsse Asia: and be norðan Capadocia, is þæt gefilde, þe man hæt Temeseras; þonne betux Capadocia, and þære Læssan Asiam is þæt land [Cilicia,] and Issaurio. Seo Asia, on ælce healfe, hio is befangen mid sealtum wætere, buton on east-healfe. On north-healfe is seo sæ Euxinus; and, on west-healfe, seo sæ þe man hæt Proponditis, and Ellaspontus; and Wendel-sæ be suðan. On þære ylcan Asiam, is se hyhsta beorh, Olimphus.

9. Seo Egyptus, ðe us near is, be norðan hyre is þæt land Palestíne, and be eastan hyre Sarracene ðæt land, and be westan hyre Libia þæt land, and be suðan hyre se beorh, ðe Climax [mon hæt].—Nilus seo ea, hyre æwylme, is neah þæm clife þære Readan sæs; þeah sume men secgan þæt hyre æwylme sy on west-ende Affrica, neah þæm beorge Athlans, and þonne ful-raðe þæs sie east yrnende on þæt sand; [ond þonne besince eft on þæt sand], and þær [neh] sy eft flowende up of þæm sande, and þær wyrcð mycelne sæ: and þær heo ærest upwylþ, hý hátað þa [land] men Nuchúl, and sume men Daré; and þonne of þæm sæ þær hio up of þæm sande [scýt,] heo is east yrnende fram east-dæle, þurh Ethiopica westenne, and þær man hæt þa eá Ión oð ðone east-dæl; and þær þonne wyrð to miclum sæ; and þær þonne besincð eft in on ðá eorðan; and þonne eft norð þanon uppasprincð, neah þæm clife wið þone Readan sæ, þe ic ær beforan sæde. Þonne of þæm æwylme, man hæt þæt wæter Nilus þa ea. And þonne forð [þonan west] yrnende, heo tolið on twa ymb an igland, þe man hæt Mereon; and þanon norð bugende, ut on ðone Wendel-sæ. Þonne, on þæm wintrigum tidum, wyrð se muða fordrifen foran fram þæm norðernum windum, þæt seo eá bið flowende ofer eall Egypta land; and hio gedeð mid þæm flode swiðe þycce eorð-wæstmas on Egypta land.—Sio fyrre Egyptus lið east andlang þæs Readan sæs, on suð-healfe; and, on east-healfe, [ond on suð-healfe] þæs landes, lið [garsecg]; and, on hyre west-healfe, is seó us neare Ægyptus: and, on þæm twam Ægyptum, [sindon] feower and twentig þeoda.

10. Nu hæbbe we awriten þære Asiam suð-dæl: nu wille we fón to hyre norð-dæle; þæt is ðonne of þæm beorgum [þe mon hæt] Caucasus, þe we ær beforan spræcon, þa ðe be norðan Indea syndon; and hio onginnað ærest eastane of þæm

garsecge; and þonne licgað west-rihte oð Arménia beorgas, [þe] þa land-leode hí hatað Parcoadras: þær of þæm beorgum wylð seo ea suðweard [Eufrates]; and of þæm beorgum þe man Parcoadras hæt, licgað þa beorgas west-rihte, þe man Tauros hæt, oð Cilium þæt land. Þonne be norðan þæm beorgum, andlang þæs garsecges, oþ þone norð-east-ende ðyses middangeardes þær Bore seo eá scyt ut on ðone garsecg; and þanon west andlang þæs garsecges, [oþ] ðone sæ, þe man hæt Caspia, þe þær upscyt to þæm beorgum Caucasus; þæt land man hæt þa ealdan Sciððian, and Ircaniam. Þæs landes is þreo and feowertig þeoda, wide tosetene for unwæstm-bærnesse þæs landes. Þonne be westan þæm sæ Caspia, oð Donais ða ea, and oð þæt fenn þe man hæt Meotedisc; and ðonne suð oð þone Wendel-sæ, and oþ ðone beorh Taurus; and norð oð ðone [garsecg], is eall Sciþþia land binnan, þeah hit man tonemne on twa and on þritig þeoda. Ac ða land on east healfe [Danais], þe þær neah syndon, Albani hy synd genemned in latina; and we hy hatað nu Liobene:—Nu hæbbe we scortlice gesæd ymb Asia land-gemære.

11. Nu wille we ymb Eurôpe land-gemære reccan, swa mycel swa we hit fyrmest witon.—Fram þære eá Danais, west oð Rín ða eá, (seo wylð of þæm beorge þe man Alpis hæt, and yrnð þonne norð-ryhte on þæs garsecges earm, þe þæt land utanymblið, þe man Bryttannia hæt);—and eft suð oþ Donua þa ea, (þære æwylme is neah þære ea Rínes, and is siððan east yrnende wið [norþan] Creca land út on þone Wendel-sæ);—and norð oþ þone garsecg, þe man Cwen-sæ hæt: binnan þæm syndon manega ðeoda; ac hit man hæt eall, Germania.

12. Þonne wyð norðan Dônua æwylme, and be eastan Rine syndon East-Francan; and be suðan him syndon Swæfas, on oþre healfe þære eá Donua; and be suðan him, and be eastan, syndon Bægð-wâre, se dæl þe man Regnes burh hæt; and rihte be eastan him syndon Beme; and east-norð sindon Ðyringas; and be norðan him syndon Eald-Seaxan, and be norðan-westan him syndon Frýsan; and be westan Eald-Seaxum is Ælfe-muða þære eá and Frysland; and þanon, west-norð is þæt land, þe man Angle hæt, and Sillende, and sumne dæl Dena; and be norðan him is Apdrede, and east-norð Wylte, ðe man [Hæfeldan] hæt; and be eastan him is Wineda land, þe man hæt Sysyle; and east-suð, ofer sumne dæl, Maroaro; and hí Maroaro habbað, be westan him, Ðyringas, and Behemas, and Bægware healfe; and be suðan him, on oðre healfe Donua þære eá, is þæt land Carendre, suð oð ða beorgas þe man hæt Alpis. To þæm ilcan beorgum licgað Bægð-wara land-gemære, and Swæfa; and þonne, be eastan

Carendran lande, begeondan þæm westenne, is Pulgara land; and be eastan þæm is Creca land; and be eastan Maroaro-lande is Wisle-land; and be eastan þæm sind Datia, þa þe iú wæron Gotan. Be [norðan-eastan] Maroara syndon Dalamensan, and be eastan Dalamensam sindon Horithi, and be norðan Dalomensam sindon Surpe, and be westan him sindon Sysele. Be norðan Horiti is Mægða lond, and be norðan Mægða lande [sindon] Sermende, oð ða beorgas Riffin.—And be westan Suð-Denum is þæs garsecges earm, þe liþ ymbutan þæt land Brittannia; and be norðan him is þæs sæs earm, þe man hæt Ost-sæ; and be eastan him, and be norðan him, syndon Norð-Dene, ægþær ge on þæm maran landum, ge on þæm iglandum; and be eastan him syndon Afdrede; and be suðan him is Ælfe-muða þære eá, and Eald-Seaxna sum dæl. Norð-Dene habbað him be norðan þone ilcan sæs earm, þe man Ost-sæ hæt; and be eastan him sindon Osti ða leode; and Afdræde be suðan. Osti habbað be norðan him þone ilcan sæs earm, and Winedas and Burgendas; and be suðan him sindon Hæfeldan. Burgendan habbað þone ylcan sæs earm be westan him, and Sweon be norðan; and be eastan him sint Sermende, and be suðan him Surfe. Sweon habbað be suðan him ðone sæs earm Osti; and be eastan him Sermende; and be norðan [him] ofer ða wéstennu is Cwén-land; and be westan-norðan him sindon Scride-Finnas, and be westan Norð-menn.

13. "Ohthere sæde his hlaforde, Ælfrede [cyninge], þæt he ealra Norð-manna norðmest bude. He cwæð þæt he bude on þæm lande norðeweardum wið ða west sæ. He sæde ðeah þæt þæt land sy swyðe lang norð þanon; ac hit is eall weste, buton on feawum stowum, sticcemælum wiciað Finnas,—on huntaðe on wintra, and on sumera on fiscoðe be ðære sæ. He sæde þæt he, æt sumum cyrre, wolde fandian hú lange þæt land norðrihte læge; oððe hwæþer ænig man be norðan þæm westene bude. Þa fór he norð-rihte be þæm lande: let him ealne weg þæt weste land on þæt steor-bord, and þa wid sæ on bæc-bord, þry dagas. Þa wæs he swa feor norð swa þa hwæl-huntan fyrrest farað. Þa fór he þa gyt norð-ryhte, swa [feor swa] he mihte, on þæm oþrum þrim dagum, geseglian. Ða beah þæt land þær east-ryhte, oððe sio sæ in on þæt land, he nyste hwæþer; buton he wiste þæt he þær bad westan windes, oððe hwón norðan, and seglede þanon east be lande, swa swa he mihte on feower dagum geseglian. Þa sceolde he [þær] bidan ryhte norðan windes; forðan þæt land þær beah suð-rihte, oððe seo sæ in on þæt land, he nyste hwæþer. Ða seglede he þanon suð-rihte be lande, swa swa he mihte on fif dagum geseglian. Þa læg þær án mycel ea up in [on] þæt land: þa cyrdon hý

up in on ða ea, forþæm hy ne dorston forð be þære eá seglian for unfriðe, forðæm þæt land wæs eall gebún, on oðre healfe þære eá. Ne mette he ær nán gebún land, syððan he fram hys agnum hame fór; ac him wæs ealne weg weste land on þæt steor-bord butan fisceran, and fugeleran, and huntan, and þæt [wæron] ealle Finnas; and him wæs á wid sæ on þæt bæc-bord. Ða Beormas hæfdon swiðe well gebún hyra land, ac hi ne dorston þær on cuman; ac ðara Terfinna land wæs eall weste, butan þær huntan gewicodon, oððe fisceras, oððe fugeleras.

14. Fela spella him sædon ða Beormas, ægþer ge of hyra agenum lande, ge of þæm [landum], þe ymb hý utan wæran: ac he nyste hwæt þæs soðes wæs, forðæm he hit sylf ne geseah. Þa Finnas, him þuhte, and þa Beormas spræcon neah án geðeode. Swiðost he fór ðyder, to-eacan þæs landes sceawunge, forðæm hors-hwælum, forðæm hi habbað swyðe æþele bán on hyra toþum: þa teð hy brohton sume þæm [cyninge]; and hyra hýd bið swiðe gód to scip-rapum. Se hwæl bið micle læssa þonne oðre hwalas: ne bið he lengra ðonne syfan elna lang; ac, on his agnum lande, is se betsta hwæl-huntað: þa beoð eahta and feowertiges elna lange, and þa mæstan, fiftiges elna lange; þara, he sæde, þæt he syxa sum ofsloge syxtig on twam dagum.

15. He wæs swyðe spedig man, on þæm æhtum, þe heora speda on beoð, þæt is, on wildrum. He hæfde þa gyt, ða he þone cyningc sohte, tamra deora unbebohtra syx hund. Þa deor hi hátað hránas: þara wæron syx stæl-hranas, ða beoð swyðe dýre mid Finnum, forðæm hy foð þa wildan hranas mid. He wæs mid þæm fyrstum mannum on þæm lande, næfde he þeah ma ðonne twentig hryðera, and twentig sceapa, and twentig swyna; and þæt lytle þæt he erede, he erede mid horsan: ac hyra ár is mæst on þæm gafole, þe ða Finnas him gyldað; þæt gafol bið on deora fellum, and on fugela feðerum, and hwales bane, and on þæm scip-rapum, þe beoð of hwæles hyde geworht, and of seoles. Æghwilc gylt be hys gebyrdum: se byrdesta sceall gyldan fiftyne mearðes fell, and fif hranes, and an beran fel, and tyn ambra feðra, and berenne kyrtel oððe yterenne, and twegen scip-rapas; ægþer sý syxtig elna lang, oþer sy of hwæles hýde geworht, oþer of sioles.

16. He sæde ðæt norð-manna land wære swyþe lang and swyðe smæl. Eal þæt his man aþer oððe ettan oððe erian mæg, þæt lið wið ða sæ; and þæt is þeah, on sumum stowum, swyðe cludig; and licgað wilde moras wið eastan, and wið upp on emnlange þæm bynum lande. On þæm morum eardiað Finnas; and þæt byne land is easteweard bradost, and symle swa norðor swa

smælre. Eastewerd hit mæg bion syxtig mila brad, oþþe hwene brædre; and middeweard þritig oððe bradre; and norðeweard, he cwæð, þær hit smalost wære, þæt hit mihte beon þreora mila brad to þæm more; and se mór syðþan, on sumum stowum, swa brad swa man mæg on twam wucum oferferan; and, on sumum stowum, swa brad swa man mæg on syx dagum oferferan.

17. Ðonne is to-emnes þæm lande suðeweardum, on oðre healfe þæs mores, Sweoland, oþ þæt land norðeweard; and to-emnes þæm lande norðeweardum, Cwena land. Þa Cwenas hergiað hwilum on ða norð-men ofer ðone mor, hwilum þa norð-men on hy; and þær sint swiðe micle méras fersce geond þa moras; and berað þa Cwenas hyra scypu ofer land on ða meras, and þanon hergiað on ða norð-men. Hy habbað swyðe lytle scypa, and swyðe leohte.

18. Óhthere sæde þæt sio scír hatte Halgoland, þe he on bude. He cwæð þæt nán man ne bude be norðan him. Þonne is án port on suðeweardum þæm lande, þone man hæt Sciringes heal. Þyder he cwæð, þæt man ne mihte geseglian on anum monðe, gyf man on niht wicode, and ælce dæge hæfde ámbyrne wind; and, ealle ða hwile, he sceal seglian be lande:—and, on þæt steor-bord him, bið ærest [Isaland], and þonne ða igland þe synd betux [Isalande] and þissum lande. Þonne is þis land oð he cymð to Sciringes heale; and ealne weg, on þæt bæc-bord Norðweg. Wið suðan þone Sciringes heal fylð swyðe mycel sæ up in on ðæt land: seo is bradre þonne ænig man oferseon mæge; and is Gótland on oðre healfe ongean, and siðða Sillende. Seo sæ lið mænig hund mila up in on þæt land.

19. And of Sciringes heale, he cwæð þæt he séglode on fif dagan, to þæm porte þe mon hæt æt Hæþum, se stent betuh Winedum, and Seaxum, and Angle, and hyrð in on Dene. Ða he þiderweard séglode fram Sciringes heale, þa wæs him on þæt bæc-bord Dénamearc; and, on þæt steor-bord, wid sæ þry dagas; and, þá twegen dagas ær he to Hæþum come, him wæs on þæt steor-bord Gotland, and Sillende, and iglanda fela. On þæm landum eardodon Engle, ær hý híder on land [comon]. And hym wæs ðá twegen dagas, on ðæt bæc-bord, þa igland, þe in Denemearce hyrað.

20. Wulfstan sæde þæt he gefére of Hæðum,—þæt he wære on Truso on syfan dagum and nihtum,—þæt þæt scip wæs ealne weg yrnende under segle. Weonoðland him wæs on steorbord; and on bæc-bord him wæs Langa land, and Læland, and Falster, and Scón eg; and þas land eall hyrað to Denemearcan. And þonne Burgenda land wæs us on bæc-bord, and þá habbað him sylf cyning. Þonne æfter Burgenda lande, wæron us þas

land, þa synd hatene ærest Blecinga ég, and Meore, and Eowland, and Gotland, on bæc-bord; and þas land hyrað to Swéon. And Weonodland wæs us ealne weg, on steor-bord, oð Wisle-múðan. Seo Wisle is swyðe mycel eá, and hio tolið Witland, and Weonodland; and ðæt Witland belimpeð to E'stum; and seo Wisle lið út of Weonodlande, and lið in E'stmere; and se Estmere is huru fiftene mila bráð. Þonne cymeð Ilfing eastan in Estmere of ðæm mere, ðe Truso standeð in staðe; and cumað út samod in E'stmere, Ilfing eastan of Eastlande, and Wisle súðan of Winodlande; and þonne benimð Wisle Ilfing hire naman, and ligeð of þæm mere west, and norð on sæ; forðý hit man hæt Wisle-múða. Þæt Eastland is swyðe mycel, and þær bið swyðe manig burh, and on ælcere byrig bið cyninge; and þær bið swyðe mycel hunig, and fiscað; and se cyning and þa ricostan men drincað myran meolc, and þa unspedigan and þa þeówan drincað medo. Þær bið swyðe mycel gewinn betweonan him; and ne bið ðær nænig ealo gebrowen mid E'stum, ac þær bið médo genóh.

21. And þær is mid E'stum ðeaw, þonne þær bið man dead, þæt he lið inne unforbærned mid his magum and freondum monað,—gehwilum twegen: and þa [cyningas] and þa oðre heah-ðungene men, swa micle lencg swa hi maran speda habbað, hwilum healf-géar, þæt hi beoð unforbærned; and licgað bufan eorðan on hyra husum: and ealle þa hwile, þe þæt lic bið inne, þær sceal beon gedrync, and plega, oð ðone dæg, þe hi hine forbærnað.

22. Þonne, þy ylcan dæge, hi hine to þæm áde beran wyllað, þonne todælað hi his feoh, þæt þær to lafe bið æfter þæm gedrynce, and þæm plegan, on fif oððe syx, hwylum on ma, swa swa þæs feos ándefn bið. Alecgað hit ðonne forhwaga on anre mile þone mæstan dæl fram þæm tune, þonne oðerne, ðonne þæne þriddan, oþþe hyt eall aled bið on þære anre mile; and sceall beon se læsta dæl nyhst þæm tune, ðe se deada man on lið. Ðonne sceolon beón gesamnode ealle ðá menn, ðe swyftoste hors habbað on þæm lande, forhwæga on fif mílum, oððe on syx milum, fram þæm feo. Þonne ærnað hý ealle toweard þæm feo: ðonne cymeð se man, se þæt swifte hors hafað, to þæm ærestan dæle, and to þæm mæstan, and swa ælc æfter oðrum, oþ hit bið eall genumen; and se nimð þone læstan dæl, se nyhst þæm tune, þæt feoh geérneð: and þonne rideð ælc hys weges mid ðan feo, and hyt motan habban eall; and forðý þær beoð þa swiftan hors ungefóge dyre. And þonne hys gestreon beoð þus eall aspended, þonne byrð man hine út, and forbærneð mid his wæpnum and hrægle: and swiðost ealle hys speda hý forspendað, mid þan langan legere

þæs deadan mannes inne, and þæs þe hý be þæm wegum alecgað, þe ða fremdan to ærnað, and nimað.

23. And þæt is mid E'stum þeaw, þæt þær sceal ælces geðeodes man beon forbærned; and, gyf þar man án ban findeð unforbærned, hí hit sceolan miclum gebetan.—And þær is mid E'astum án mægð, þæt hi magon cyle gewyrcan; and þy þær licgað þa deadan men swa lange, and ne fuliað, þæt hy wyrcað þone cyle hine on: and, þeah man asette twegen fætels full ealað, oððe wæteres, hy gedoð þæt oþer bið oferfroren, sam hit sy sumor, sam winter.

24. Nu wille we secgan be suðan Dónua þære eá ymbe Creca land, [þe] liþ wyð eastan Constantinopolim, Creca byrig, is se sæ Propónditis: and be norðan Constantinopolim, Creca byrig, scýt se sæ-earm up of þæm sæ west-rihte, þe man hæt Euxínus; and, be westan norðan þære byrig, Donua muða þære eá scyt suð-east ut on ðone sæ Euxínus; and, on suðhealfe, and on west-healfe þæs muðan, sindon Moesi, Creca leode; and, be westan þære byrig, sindon Traci; and, be eastan þære byrig, Macedonie: and, be suþan þære byrig, on suð-healfe þæs sæs earmes, þe man hæt Egéum, sindon Athéna, and Corintus þa land: and, be westan-suðan Corinton, is A'chie þæt land, æt þæm Wendel-sæ. Þas land syndon Creca leode. And be westan Achie, andlang þæs Wendel-sæs, is Dalmatia þæt land, on norð-healfe þæs sæs; and be norðan Dalmatia sindon Pulgare, and Istria: and be suðan Istria is se Wendel-sæ, þe man hæt Atriaticum; and be westan þa beorgas, þe man hæt Alpis; and be norðan þæt westen, þæt is betux Carendan and Fulgarum.

25. Þonne is Italia land west-norð lang, and east-suð lang; —and hit belið Wendel-sæ ymb eall utan buton westan-norðan. Æt þæm ende, hit belicgað ða beorgas, þe man hæt Alpis: þa onginnað westane fram þæm Wendel-sæ, in Narbonense þære ðeode and endiað eft east in Dalmatia þæm lande, æt þæm sæ.

26. Þa land þe man hæt Gallia Bellica.—Be eastan þæm is sio eá, þe man hæt Rín, and be suðan þa beorgas þe man hæt Alpis, and be westan-suðan se garsecg, þe man hæt Brittanisca; and be norðan, on oðre healfe þæs garsegges earme is Brittannia þæt land. Be westan Ligore is Æquitania land; and be suþan Æquitania is þæs landes sum dæl Narbonense; and, be westan-suðan, Ispania land; and be westan garsegc. Be suðan Narbonense is se Wendel-sæ, þær þær Ródan seo eá ut scýt; and be eastan him [Profentse], and be westan him [Profentse] ofer ða westenu, seo us nearre Ispania; and be westan him and norðan Equitania, and Wáscan be norðan. Profentsé hæfð be norðan hyre þa beorgas, þe man Alpis hæt, and

be suðan hyre is Wendel-sæ; and be norðan hyre and eastan synd Burgende, and Wascan be westan.

27. Ispania land is þry-scyte, and eall mid fleote utan ymbhæfd, ge eac binnan ymbhæfd ofer ða land, ægþer ge of þæm garsecge, ge of ðam Wendel-sæ: án ðæra garena lið suð-west ongean þæt igland, þe Gadés hatte; and oþer east ongean þæt land Narbonense; and se ðridda norð-west ongean Brigantia Gallia burh, and ongean Scotland, ofer ðone sæs earm, on geryhte ongean þæne muðan þe mon hæt Scéne. Seo us fyrre Ispania, hyre is be westan garsecg, and be norðan; Wendel-sǽ be suðan; and be eastan seo us nearre Ispania; be norðan þære synt Equitania; and, be norðan-eastan, is se weald Pireni, and be eastan Narbonense, and be suðan Wendel-sǽ.

28. Brittannia þæt igland:—hit is norð-east lang, and hit is eahta hund mila lang, and twa hund mila brad. Þonne is be suðan him, on oðre healfe þæs sǽs earmes, Gallia Bellica; and on west-healfe, on oþre healfe þæs sæs earmes, is Ibernia þæt igland; and, on norð-healfe, Orcadus þæt igland. Igbernia, þæt we Scotland hatað, hit is on ælce healfe ymbfangen mid garsecge; and forðón þe sió sunne þær gæð near on setl, þonne on oðrum lande, þær syndon lyðran wedera, þonne on Brittannia. Þonne be westan-norðan Ibernia is þæt ytemeste land, þæt man hæt Thíla; and hit is feawum mannum cuð, for ðære ofer-fyrre.—Nú hæbbe we gesæd ymbe ealle Europe landgemæro, hu hí tolicgað.

29. Nu wille we ymbe Affrica, hú ða land-gemæro tolicgað.—Ure yldran cwædon þæt hió wære se ðridda dæl þyses middangeardes: næs ná forðám þe þæs landes swa fela wære, ac forðam þe se Wendel-sǽ hit hæfð swa todæled; forðan þe he brycð swiðor on ðone suð-dæl, þonne he dó on þone norð-dæl; and sio hǽte hæfð genumen þæs suð-dæles mare, þonne se cyle þæs norð-dæles hæbbe; forðon þe ælc wiht mæg bet wyð cyle, þonne wið hæte; for ðam þingon is Affrica, ægþer ge on landum, ge on mannum, læsse ðonne Europe.

30. Affrica onginð, swa we ær cwædon, eastan westwerd fram Egyptum, æt þære ié þe man Nílus hæt. Þonne is sio eastemeste þeod haten Libia Cirimacia; hire is be eastan sio us nearre Ægyptus; and be norðan Wendel-sǽ, [and be súðan seó þeód], þe man hæt Libia Æthiopicum; and be westan Syrtes Maiores.

31. Be westan Libia Æthiopicum, is sio us fyrre Ægyptus; and be suðan se garsecg þe man hæt Æthiopicus; and be westan Rogathítus. Tribulitania, sio þiod þe man oðre naman hæt Aírzuges:—Hio hæfð be eastan hyre þone Sirtes Maiores, and Rogathite þa land; and be norðan þone Wendel-sǽ, þe

man hæt Adriaticum, and þa þeode þe man hæt Sirtes Minores; and be westan Bizantium, oþ þone sealtan mere; and be suðan hyre Nâtabres, and Geothûlas, and Garamântes, oð ðone garsegc.

32. Bizantium sio þeod, þær se beorh is Adrumetis, and Seuges, and sio þiod þær sio mycle burh is Cartaina, and Numedia sio þeod. Hî habbað be eastan him þæt land Syrtes Minores, and þone sealtan mere; and be norðan him is Wendel-sæ; and be westan him Mauritania; and be suðan him Uzera þa beorgas; and be suðan þam beorgum þa simbelfarendan Æthiopes, oð ðone garsecg.—Mauritania:—Hyre is be eastan Numedia; and be norðan Wendel-sæ; and be westan Malua sio eâ; and be suðan Astrix, ymb ða beorgas, þa todælað þæt [wæstm]bære land and þæt dead wylle sand, þe syþþan lið suð on þone garsecg.—Mauritania, þe man oþre naman hæt Tingetana:—Be eastan hyre is Malua sio eâ, and be norðan Abbenas, þa beorgas, and Calpis, oþer beorh, þær scyt se ende up of þam garsecge, betuh þan twam beorgum eastweard, þær Ercoles syla standað; and be westan him is se beorh Athlans, oð ðone garsecg; and suþan ða beorgas þe man hæt Æsperos; and be suðan him Aulolum sio þiod, oð ðone garsecg.—Nu hæbbe we ymb Affrica land-gemærco gesæd.

33. Nu, wille we secgan ymb þa ŷgland, þe on þa Wendelsæ sindon.—Cipros þæt igland, hit lið ongean Cilicia, and Issaurio, on þam sæs earme, þe man hæt Mesicos; and hit is an hund mila lang and fif and hund-syfantig, and an hund mila brad and twa and twentig.—Creto þæt igland, him is be eastan se sæ þe man Afratium hæt; and westan and be norðan Creticum se sæ; and be westan Sicilium, þe man oðre naman hæt Addriaticum: hit is ân hund mila long and hund-syfantig, and fiftig mila brad.

34. Ðara iglanda, þe man hæt Ciclades, þara sindon þreo and fiftig: and be eastan him is se Risca sæ; and be suðan se Cretisca; and be norðan se Egisca; and be westan Addriaticum.

35. Sicilia þæt igland is ðry-scyte. On ælces sceatan ende sindon beorgas: þone norð-sceatan man hæt Polores; þær is seo burh neah Mesâna: and se suð-sceata hatte Bachinum; þær neah is sio burh Siracussâna: and þone west-sceatan man hæt Libeum, þær is sio burh neah þe man hæt Libeum. And hit is an hund and syfan and fiftig mila lang, suð and norð; and se þridda sceata is an hund and syfan and hund-syfantig, west lang. And be eastan þæm lande is se Wendel-sæ, þe man hæt Adriaticum; and be suþan, þam man hæt Affricum;

and be westan, þe man hæt Tirēnum; and be norðan is se sæ, þe ægþer is ge nearo ge hreoh, wið Italia þam lande.

36. Sardina and Corsica þā igland todæleð an lytel sæs earm, se is twa and twentig mila brad. Sardina is þreo and þritti mila lang, and twa and twentig mila brad. Him is be eastan se Wendel-sæ, þe man hæt Tirrēnum, þe Tīber sio ea utscyt on; and be suðan, se sæ þe lið ongean Numedia lande; and be westan þa twa igland, þe man hæt Balearis; and be norðan Corsica þæt igland.

37. Corsica, him is Rome burh be eastan; and Sardinia be suðan; and be westan þa igland Balearis; and be norðan Tuscania þæt land. Hit is syxtene mila lang, and nygan mila brad.

38. Balearis, þa tu igland, him is be norðan Affrica, and Gadēs be westan, and Ispania be norðan.—Scortlice hæbbe we nu gesæd be þæm [gesetenum] iglandum, þe on ðæm Wendelsæ sindon.

[Bōc I: Capitul II.]

1. Ǽr þæm þe Rome burh getimbred wære þrim hund wintra, and ðusend wintra, Ninus, Asyria kyning, ongan manna ærest ricsian on ðysum middangearde; and, mid ungemætlicre gewilnunge anwaldes, he wæs heriende and feohtende fiftig wintra, oð he hæfde ealle Asiam on his geweald genyd, suð, fram þæm Readan sǣ, and swa norð, oþ þone sæ, þe man hæt Euxinus; butan þæm þe he eac oft-rædlice fōr mid miclum gefeohtum on Sciððie, ða norð land, þa ðe gecwedene syndon ða heardestan men; þeah hy sȳn, on þyson worold-gesælþon, þa ūnspedgestan; and hȳ ðā, under ðæm þe he him on winnende wæs, wurdon gerade wig-cræfta, þeah hi ær hyra lif bylwetlice alyfden. And hȳ him æfter þæm grimme forguldon þone wig-cræft, þe hȳ æt him geleornodon; and him ða wearð emleof, on hyra mode, þæt hȳ gesawon mannes blōd agoten, swa him wæs þara nytena meolc, þe hy mæst bi libbað. And he Ninus Soroastrem, Bactriana cyning, se cuðe manna ærest dry-cræftas, he hine oferwann and ofsloh; and þa æt nyhstan he wæs feohtende wið Sciððie on ane burh, and þær wearð of-scoten mid anre flane.

2. And æfter his deaðe Sameramīs his cwen fengc ægþer ge to þæm gewinne, ge to þæm rice; and hio þæt ylce gewin, þe hio hine on bespon mid manigfealdon firen-lustum, twa and feowertig wintra wæs dreogende. And hyre ða gyt to lytel þuhte þæs anwaldes ðe se cyningc ær gewunnen hæfde; ac hio mid wiflice niðe wæs feohtende on þæt underiende folc Æthiopiam, and eac on Indeas, þā nān man ne ǽr ne syððan

. . . mid gefeohte ne gefôr buton Alexander. Hio wæs wilniende mid gewinnum þæt hio hŷ oferswiðde, ða heô hit ðurhteon ne mihte. Sio gitsung þá, and þa gewin wæron grimlicran þonne hŷ nû sŷn, forðôn hŷ hyra nane bysene ær ne cuðan, swa men nu witon; ac on bilwitnesse hyra lif alyfdon.

3. Seo ylce cwen Sameramîs, syððan þæt rice wæs on hyre gewealde, nales þæt an þæt hio [ðyrstende] wæs on symbel mannes blodes; ac eac swelce mid ûngemetlicre wrænnesse manigfeald geligre fremmende wæs, swa þæt ælcne þara þe hio geacsian myhte, þæt kyne-kynnes wæs, hio to hyre gespôn for hyre geligernesse; and syððan hio hŷ ealle mid facne beswac to deaðe; and þa, æt nehstan, hyre agene sunu hio genam hyre to geligere; and, forðôn þe hió hyre firen-luste fulgan ne moste, butan manna bysmrunge, hio gesette ofer eall hyre rice, þæt nân forbyrd nære æt geligere betwuh nânre sibbe.

[Bôc I: Capitul III.]

1. Ær ðam þe Rome burh getimbred wære þusend wintra and an hund and syxtig, þæt wæstmbære land, on þæm Sodome and Gomorre, ða byrig, on wæron, hit wearð fram heofonlicum fyre forbærned. Þæt wæs betuh Arâbia and Palestina: ða manigfealdan wæstmas wæron, forþam swiþost ðe Iordânis, sio eâ, ælce geare þæt land middeweard oferfleow mid fotes þicce flode; and hit þonne mid ðâm gedynged wearð.

2. Þa wæs þæt folc þæs micclan welan ungemetlice brucende, oð ðæt him on se micla firen-lust on innan aweox; and him com of þæm firen-luste Godes wraco, þæt he eal þæt land mid sweflenum fyre forbærnde; and seððan ðær wæs standende wæter ofer þam lande, swa hit þære eâ flod ær gefleow; and þæs dæles se [dæl], se þæt flod ne grette, ys gŷt tô dæg wæstmberende on ælces cynnes blædum; and ða syndon swyþe fægere and lustsumlice on to seonne; ac, þonne hig man on hand nymð, þonne weorðað hig to acxan.

[Bôc I: Capitul IV.]

1. Ær ðæm þe Rome burh getimbred wære ðusend wintra and hund-syfantig, Thelescises and Ciarsathi þa leode betuh him gewin uphôfon, and þæt drugon oþ hî mid ealle ofslegene wæron, butan swiðe feawum. And swa þeah þæt þær to lafe wearð þara Thelescisa, hî hiora land of-geafan, and geforan Roðum, þæt igland, wilniende þæt hî ælcum gewinne oðflogen hæfdon; ac hî Creacas þær onfundon, and hî mid ealle fordydon.

[Bóc I: Capitul V.]

1. Ær ðam þe Rome burh getimbred wære eahta hund wintra, mid Egyptum wearð syfan gear se ungemetlica eorðwela; and hí æfter ðæm wæron on þan mæstan hungre, oðre syfan gear. And him þá Ioseph, rihtwis man, mid godcunde fultume gehealp:—From ðæm Iosepe Sómpeius, se hæþena scop, and his cniht Iustínus wæran ðus singende:—Ioseph, se þe [gingst] wæs hys gebroðra, and eác gleawra ofer hí ealle, þæt him ða ondrædendum þæm gebroðrum, hý genamon Ioseph and hine gesealdan cipe-monnum, and hí hine gesealdon in Egypta land. Ða sæde he Sómpeius, þæt he þær dry-cræftas geleornode; and, of þæm dry-cræftum, þæt he gewunode monige wundor to wyrcenne; and þæt he mihte swa wel swefn reccan; and eac þæt he of ðæm cræfte Pharaone þæm cyninge swa leof wurde. And he sæde þæt he of þæm dry-cræfte geleornode godcundne wisdom, þæt he þæs landes wæstmbærnesse þara syfan geara ær beforan sæde, and þara oþera syfan geara wædle, þe þær æfter com; and hú he gegaderode on þan ærran syfan gearan mid hys wisdome, þæt he, þa æfteran syfan gear, eall þæt folc gescylde wið þone miclan hungor; and sæde þæt Moyses wære þæs Iosepes sunu; þæt him wæran fram hym dry-cræftas gecynde; forðon þe he monige wundor worhte in Egyptum; and for þæm [wóle], þe on þæt land becom, se scop wæs secgende þæt Egypti adrifen Moyses út mid hys leodum; forðon sæde Sómpeius and þa Egyptiscan bisceopas, þæt þa Godes wundor, þe on hiora landum geworden wæron, to þon gedón þæt hí hiora agnum godum getealde wæron, þæt sint diofol-gild, nales þam soðan Gode, forðon þe hiora godu syndon dry-cræfta lareowas. And þæt folc nú gýt þæt tacn Iosepes gesetnesse æfterfylgeað, þæt is, þæt hí, geara gehwilce, þone fiftan dæl ealra hiora eorð-wæstma þæm cyninge to gafole gesyllað.

2. Wæs se hunger, on ðæs cyninges dagum, on Egyptum, þe mon hæt Amosés, þeah ðe hiora þeaw wære þæt hí ealle hiora cyningas hetan Pharaón. On ðære ylcan tide ricsade Baleús, se cyning, in Assirín, þær ær wæs Ninus. On þæm leodum, þe mon Árgi hæt, ricsade Ápis, se cyningc. On þære tide, næs ná má cyninga anwalda, butan þysan þrim ricum; ac syþþan wæs sio bysen of him ofer ealle world. Ac þæt is to wundrianne, þæt þa Egypti swa lytle þoncunge wiston Iosepe, þæs þe he hí æt hungre ahredde, þæt hí hys cyn swa raðe geúnaredon, and hy ealle to nydlingum him gedydon. Swa eac is gyt on ealre þysse worulde; þeah God langre tide wille hwam hys willan tó forlætan, and he þonne þæs eft lytelre tide þolige, þæt he sona forgyt þæt gó'd þæt he ær hæfde, and geðencð þæt yfel þæt he þonne hæfð.

[Bŏc I: Capitul VI.]

1. Ær ðæm þe Rome burh getimbred wære eahta hund wintra, and tyn gearan, ricsode Ambictio, se cyning, in Athéna Creca byrig. He wæs se þridda cyning, þe æfter Cicrŏpe, þæm cyninge, ricsade, þe ærest wæs þære burge cyning. On þæs Ambictiones tide wurdon swa mycele wæter-flod geond ealle world,—and þeah mæst in Thasália, Creca byrig, ymb þa beorgas, þe man hæt Parnasús, þær se cyning Theuhaleón ricsode,—þæt forneah eall þæt folc forwearð. And se cyningc Theuhaleón ealle þá þe to him mid scypum oðflugon to þæm beorgum, he hí þær onfengc, and hí þær afedde. Be þæm Theuhaleón wæs gecweden, swilce mon bispel sæde, þæt he wære mon-cynnes tydriend, swa swa Noe wæs.

2. On þæm dagum wæs se mæsta man-cwealm in Æthiopian, Affrica leode; swa þæt heora feawa to lafe wurdon.—Eác, on þæm dagum, wæs þæt Liber Pater oferwan þa underigendan Indea ðeode, and hí forneah mid ealle fordyde, ægþer ge mid druncennysse, ge mid firen-lustum, ge mid man-slyhtum: þeah hí hine eft æfter hys dæge heom for God hæfdon; and hý sædon þæt he wære ealles gewinnes waldend.

[Bŏc I: Capitul VII.]

1. Ær ðam þe Rome burh getimbred wære eahta hund wintra, and fif wintrum, gewearð þæt Moyses lædde Israhela folc of Egyptum, æfter þæm manegum wundrum, þe he þær gedón hæfde.—Þæt wæs þæt forme, þæt hyra wæter wurdon to blode.—Þa wæs þæt æfterre, þæt froxas comon geond eall Egypta land, swa fela þæt man ne mihte nan weorc wyrcan, ne nánne mete gegyrwan, þæt þara wyrma nære emfela þæm mete ær he gegearwod wære.—Þridde yfel wæs æfter þam, þæt gnættas comon ofer eall þæt land, ge inne ge ute, mid fýr-smeortendum bitum, and ægðær ge þá men ge ða nytenu, unáblinendlice piniende wæron.—Þa wæs þæt feorðe, þæt ealra scamlicost wæs, þæt húndes fleogan comon geond eall þæt man-cyn; and hý crúpon þæm mannum betuh þa þeoh, ge geond eall þa limu, swa hyt eac well gedafenode, þæt God ðá mæstan ofermetto geniðrode mid þære bismerlicestan wrace and þære unweorðlicostan.—Þæt fifte wæs hyra nytena cwealm. —Þæt syxte wæs, þæt eall folc wæs on blædran, and þá wæron swiðe hreowlice berstende, and þa worms utsionde.—Þæt syfeðe wæs, þæt ðær com hagol, se wæs wið fyre gemenged, þæt he ægþer sloh ge ða men ge ða nytenu, ge eall þæt on þæm lande wæs weaxendes and growendes.—Þæt eahtoðe wæs, þæt gærstapan comon, and fræton ealle þa gærs-ciðas, þe bufan

þære eorðan wæron; ge furðon þa gærs-ciðas, and þa wyrtruman sceorfende wæron.—Þæt nygoðe wæs, þæt þær com hagol and swa mycel þysternesse, ge dæges ge nihtes, and swa gedrefedlic þæt hit man gefelan mihte.—Þæt teoðe wæs, þæt ealle ða cnihtas and ealle ða mædena, þe on þæm lande frumcennede wæron, wurdon on anre niht acwealde; and, þeah þæt folc nolde ǽr Gode abugan, hy hwæðre þá hyra unðances him gehyrsume wæron: swa swyðe swa hī ær Moyse and hys folce þæs utfæreldes wyrndon, swa micle hȳ wæron geornran þæt hī him fram [flugen.] Ac seo hreowsung, þe him þá gewearð, swyðe raðe on wyrsan geþanc gehwyrfed. Hrædlice se cyningc þá mid his folce him wæs æfter fylgende, and hȳ gecyrran wolde eft to Egyptum. Se kyningc Pharón hæfde syx hund wig-wægna, and swa fela þæs oðres heres wæs, þæt man mæg þanon oncnawan, þa him swa fela manna ondredon swa mid Moyse wæron: þæt wæs syx hund þusenda manna! Hwæðre God þá miclan Pharones menge gelytlode, and hyra ofermætan ofermetto genyðerode; and, beforan Moyse and hys folce, he ðone Readan sǽ on twelf wegas adrigde; þæt hī, drigan fotan, þæne sæ oferferdon. Þa þæt gesawon þa Egypte, hy ða getrýmedon hyra dryas, Geames and Mambres, and getruwedon mid hyra dry-cræftum, þæt hī on ðone ilcan weg feran meahtan. Ða hī þá on innan þæm sǽ-færelde wæron, þa gedufon hī ealle, and adruncon. Þæt tacn nú gýt is órgyte on þæs sæs staðe, hwær þara wig-wægna hweol ón gongende wæron. Þæt deð God to tácne eallum monkynne, þæt þeah hit wind oððe sǽs flod mid sonde oferdrifen, þæt hit ðeah bið eft swa gesýne, swa hit ær wæs.

2. On þære tide, wæs sio ofermycelo hæto on ealre worulde, nales þæt án þæt men wæron miclum geswencte, ac eac ealle nytenu swyðe neah forwurdon; and ða suðmestan Æthiopian hæfdon bryne for ðære hæte; and Sciþþie þa norðmestan hæfdon ungewunelice hæton. Þa hæfdon monige unwise menn him to worde, and to leasung-spelle, þæt sio hæte nære for hiora synnum; ac sædon þæt hió wære for Fetontis forscápunge, ánes mannes.

[Bóc I: Capitul VIII.]

1. Ær ðæm þe Rome burh getimbred wære syx hund wintran and fif, in Egyptum, wearð on ánre niht fiftig manna ofslegen, ealle fram hiora agnum sunum; and ealle ða men comon fram twam gebroðran. Þa þis gedon wæs, þa gyt lyfedan ða gebroðra. Se yldra wæs haten Danaús, þe þæs yfeles ord-fruma wæs; se wearð of his rice adræfed. And on Árge þæt land he fleonde becom. And his se cyning þǽr Tenelaús

mildelice onfeng; þeah he hit him eft mid yfele forgulde, þa he hine of his rice adræfde.

2. On þæm dagum on Egyptan wæs þæs kyninges þeaw Bosíriðis, þæt ealle þa cuman, þe hine gesohton, he to blóte gedyde, and his godum bebead.—Ic wolde nú, cwæð Orosius, þæt me ða geándwyrdan, þa þe secgað þæt þeos world sý nú wyrse on ðysan Cristendome, þonne hió ær on þæm hæþenscype, wære, þonne hí swylc geblot and swylc morð donde wæron swylc ic hér ær beforan sæde. Hwǽr is nú on ænigan Cristendome, betuh him sylfum, þæt mon him þurfe swilc ondrædan, þæt hine mon ænigum godum blote! oððe hwær syndon ure godas, þe swylcra mána gyrnen, swilce hiora wæron!

3. On þæm dagum Pérseus, se cyningc, of Creca lande in Asiam mid fyrde for, and on ða ðeode winnende wæs, oþ hí him gehyrsume wæron; and þære þeode oþerne naman ascóp be him syluum, swa hí mon syððan het Persi.

4. Ic wat geare, cwæð Orósius, þæt ic his sceal hér fela oferhebban, and þa spell þe ic secge ic hi sceal gescyrtan,—forðon þe Asyrie hæfdon LX wintra and an hund and an þusend, under fiftigan cyninga rice,—þæt hit ná buton gewinne næs, oþ þæt Sarðanópolim ofslegen wearð,—and se anwald siððan on Mæðe gehwearf. Hwá is þæt þe eall ða yfel, þe hí donde wæron, asecgean mæge oððe areccean!—Eác ic wille geswigian Tontolis, and Philopes, þara scondlicestena spella;—hú manega bismerlica gewin Tontolus gefremede, syððan he cyningc wæs;—ymb þone cniht þe he neadinga genám Ganemédis;—and hú he his agenne sunu his godum to blote acwealde, and hine him sylf siððan to mete gegýrede.—Eác me sceal aðreotan ymbe Philópes, and ymbe Tardanus, and ymb ealra þara Troiana gewin to ásecgenne, forðón on spellum and on leoðum hiora gewin cuþe sindon. Ic sceall eác ealle forlætan, þa þe of Pérseo and of Cáthma gesæde syndon; and eác þa þe of Thébani, and of Spartaní gesæde syndon. Eac ic wille geswigian þara mán-dæda þara Lemniaðum, and Ponthíonis, þæs cyninges, hu hreowlice he wearð adræfed of Othinéntium, his agenre þeode; and Atregsas and Thigésþres hú hí heora fæderas ofslogan, and ymb hiora hetelican forlignessa, ic hit eall forlæte. Eac ic hit forlæte Adipsus, hú he ægþer ofsloh ge his agenne fæder, ge his steop-fæder, ge his steop-sunu. On þæm dagum, wæron swa [ungemetlica] yfel, þæt þá men sylf sædon,—þæt héfones tungul hiora yfel flugon.

[Bóc I: Capitul IX.]

1. Ær ðam ðe Rome burh getimbred wære syx hund wintrum

Hit is scondlic cwæð orosius ymb
swelc to sprecanne hwelc hit þa wæs. þa swa earme wif
⁊ swa elðeodge hæfdon gegan þone strengestan dæl
⁊ þa hwatestan men ealles þysses middangeardes. þæt
wæs asiam ⁊ europe þa hie forneah mid ealle aweston
⁊ ealda ceastra ⁊ ealde byrig towurpon ⁊ æfter ðæm
hie dydon ægþer ge cyninga ricu settan . ge niwu ceastra
timbredon ⁊ ealle þa woruld on hiora agen gewill on
wendende wæron . folneah . c . wintra ⁊ swa gemune
men wæron ælces broces þætte hie hit folneah to anum
tacne ne to nanum laðe næfdon þætte þa earman wifmen
hie swa tintredon

J. Netherclift lith.

swâ, þe hî woldon þæt þa oðre wîf wæran emsarige heom, þæt hî syþþan on him fultum hæfdon, þæt hî mâ meahton hyra weras wrecan. Hi ða þa wîf ealle togædere gecyrdon, and on þæt folc winnende wæron, and þa wæpned-men sleande, oþ hî þæs landes hæfdon mycel on hiora anwealde. Þa under ðæm gewinne, hy genâman frið wið ða wæpned-men. Syððan wæs hiora ðeaw, þæt hî, ælce geare ymbe twelf monað, tosomne ferdon, and þær ðonne bearna stryndon. Eft þonne þa wîf heora bearn [cendon], þonne feddon hi þa mæden-cild, and slogon þa hyse cild: and þæm mæden-cildan hi fortêndon þæt swyþre breost foran, þæt hit weaxan ne sceolde, þæt hî hæfdan þy strengran scyte; forðon hî mon het on Creacisc Amazanâs, þæt is on Englisc fôrtênde.

3. Hiora twâ wæran heora cwêna, Marsepia and Lampida wæran hatene. Hŷ hyra hêre on twa todældon;—oþer æt hâm beon hiora land to healdenne,—oþer ûtfaran to winnanne. Hŷ syððan ge-eodon Europam, and Asiam þone mæstan dæl, and getimbredon Effesum þa burh, and monige oðre on þære læssan Asiam; and siþþan hiora hêres ðone mæstan dæl ham sendon mid hiora hêre-hŷðe, and þone oðerne dæl þær leton þæt land to healdenne. Þær wearð Marsepia, sio cwen, ofslagen, and mycel þæs hêres þe mid hyre bæftan wæs. Þær wearð hyre dohtor cwên Sinope. Sio ylce cwen, Sinope, to-eacan hyre hwætscype and hire monifealdum duguðum, hyre lif ge-endode on mægðhade.

4. On þæm dagum wæs swa mycel ege fram þæm wîfmannan, þæt Europe nê Â'sia, ne ealle þa neah þeoda, ne mihtan aþencan, ne acræftan, hû hî him wiðstandan mihtan, ærðon hî gecuron Ercol þone ênt, þæt he him sceolde mid eallan Creaca cræftum beswican. And þeah ne dorste he geneðan þæt he hî mid fyrde gefore, ær he ongan mid Crêaca scypum, þe mon Dulmûnus hêt, þe man segð þæt ân scip mæge an þusend manna: and þa nihtes on ungearwe hî on bestæl, and hî swiðe forsloh and fordyde: and hwæþere ne meahte hî þæs landes benæman. On þæm dagum, þær wæron twa cwena, þa wæran gesweostra, Anthiopa and Orîthia; and þær wearð Orîthia gefangen. Æfter hyre [feng] to þæm rice Pentesîlia, sið, on þæm Troianiscan gefeohte, swiðe mære gewearð.

5. Hit is scondlic, cwæð Orosius, ymb swylc to sprecanne hwylc hit þa wæs, þâ swâ earme wîf [and swa elðeodge hæfdon gegan þone cræftgestan dæl, and þa hwatestan men ealles þises middangeardes, þæt wæs Asiam and Europe. Þa hie forneah mid-ealle aweston, and ealda ceastra and ealde byrig towurpon: and æfter ðæm hie dydon ægþer ge cyninga ricu settan, ge niwu ceastra timbredon; and ealle þa worold, on

hiora agen gewill onwendende wæron, folneah C. wintra. And swa gemune men wæron ælces broces, þætte hie hit folneah to nanum facne, ne to nanum laðe næfdon, þætte þa earman wifmen hie swa tintredon.]

6. And nū ða þa Gōtan coman of ðam hwatestan mannan Germānia, þe ægþer ge Pirrus, se reða Creaca cyningc, ge Alexander, ge Iulius, se cræftiga Casere, hī ealle fram him ondredon, þæt hī hī mid gefeohten sohte.—Hū ungemetlice gē Romwāre! bemurcniað and besprecað, [þæt] eow nū wyrs sie on þysan Cristendome, þonne þæm þeodum þa wære, forðon ðā Gōtan eow hwōn oferhergodan, and eowre burh abræcon, and eower feawe ofslogan! And, for hiora cræftum and for hiora hwætscype, eowra selfra anwaldes eowres unðances habban mihtan, þe nū lustlice sibsumes friðes, and sumne dæl landes æt eow biddende syndon, to þon þæt hī eow on fultume beon moton. And hit ær ðysan genoh æmetig læg and genoh weste and ge hys nane note næfdon. Hū blindlice monige þeoda sprecað ymb þone Cristendom, þæt hit nū wyrse sy þonne hit ær wære;—þæt hī nellað geþencan, oððe ne cunnan, hwær hit gewurde ær ðæm Cristendōme, þæt ænig þeod oðre hyre willum friðes bæde, buton hyre þearf wære; oððe hwær ænig ðeod æt oðre myhte frið begitan, oþþe mid golde, oððe mid seolfre, oþþe mid ænigan feo, butan he him underðeoded wære. Ac syððan Crist geboren wæs, þe ealles middan geardes is sibb and frið, nales þæt ān þæt men hī mihtan alysan mid feō of ðeowdome,ac eac ðeoda him betweonan, butan ðeowdome, gesibsume wæran. Hū wēne ge hwylce sibbe þa weras hæfdon ær ðæm Cristendome, þonne hiora wīf swa monigfeald yfel donde wæron on ðysan middangearde!

[Book I: Capitul XI.]

1. Ær ðam ðe Rome burh getimbred wære feower hund wintran and þritig wintra, gewearð þæt Alexander, Priamises sunu, þæs cyninges, of Troiana þære byrig, genam þæs cyninges wīf Monelaus, of Læcedemonia Creaca byrig, Elena. Ymb hī wearð þæt mære gewin, and þa miclan gefeoht Creaca and Troiana; swa þæt Creacas hæfdon M. scipa þara miclena dulmuna; and him betweonum gesworan, þæt hī næfre noldan on cyððe cuman, ær hī heora teonan gewræcon. And hī ða tyn gear ymb ða burh sittende wæron and feohtende. Hwā is þæt arīman mæge hwæt þær moncynnes forwearð, on ægþre hand, þæt Omerus, se scop sweotelicost, sæde! Forðōn nis me þæs þearf, cwæð Orosius, to secgenne, forðon hit langsum is, and eac monegum cuð. Þeah swa hwilcne mon swa lyste þæt witan, ræde on his bōcum, hwīlc ungetima, and hwilce tiber-

nessa, ægþer ge on mon-slyhtan, ge on hûngre, ge on scipgebroce, ge on mislicre forsceapunge, swa mon on spellum segð.

2. Þa folc him betweonum fulle tyn winter þa gewinn wrécende wæron: geðence ðonne þara tida, and nu þyssa, hwæþer him bet lycian!

3. Ða sona of ðam gefeohte wæs oþer æfter fylgende. Eneas mid hys fyrde fôr of þæm Troaniscan gefeohte in Itáliam; þæt mæg man eac on bocum sceawian, hu manega gewinn, and hu manega gefeoht he þær dreogende wæs.

[Bóc I: Capitul XII.]

1. Ær ðæm ðe Rome burh getimbred wære feower and syxtig wintra, ricsade Sarþanápôlus, se cyning, in Asiria, þær Ninus se cyningc ærest riesade, and Sarðanapôlus wæs se siðmesta cyninge, þe on þæm lande ricsode. He wæs swiðe furðûmlic man, and hnêsclic, and swyðe wræne, swa þæt he swiðor lufade wifa gebæra, þonne wæpned-manna. Þæt þa onfunde Arbatus his ealdor-man, þe he geset hæfde ofer Meðas þæt land, he ongan sirwan mid þam folce þe he ofer wæs, hû he hine beswican mihte, and aspeon him fram ealle, þa þe he ondred þæt him on fylste beon woldon. Þa se cyning þæt onfunde, þæt him man geswicen hæfde, he ðâ hine sylfne forbærnde; and syððan hæfdon Mæðe onwald ofer Asirie. Hit is unyðe to secgenne hû manega gewin syððan wæran betuh Mæðum, and Caldeum, and Sciððian; ac þæt mon mæg witan, þonne swa ofermætlicu ricu onstyrede wæron, hû manige missenlice mon-cwealmas on þam [gewinnum] gewurdon.

2. Æfter ðæm ricsade Fraortes, se cyningc in Meðen. Æfter ðem Fraórte ricsode Diócles, se Mæþa rice swiðe gemiclade. Æfter ðam Diócle feng Astiaí to rice, se næfde nænne sunu; ac he nam his nefan him to suna of Persan þære ðeode, Cirus wæs háten; se þâ mid þon þe he geweox, him þa ofðincendum and þam Perseum, þæt hi on his eames anwalde wæron, and on ðara Meða, hi gewin uphofon. He ða Astiaí se cyngc beðohte swiðost to Arpelles his ealder-men, þæt he, mid hys cræfte, his nefan mid gefeohte wiðstode; forðon þe se cyngc ne gemunde þara manegra teonena, þe hiora ægþer oðrum on ær dagum gedyde; and hû se cyningc hét hys sunu ofslean, and hyne syððan þæm fæder tô méte gegyrwan. Þeah hiora gewinn þâ gesémed wære. He ða se ealder-man mid fyrde fôr ongean þæm Perseum, and sona þæs folces þone mæstan dæl fleonde mid ealle forlædde, and mid searwe þæm Perseo cyninge on ánwald gedyde; and, on þam gefeohte, Mæþa cræft and hiora duguð gefeol.

3. Þa se cyning þæt fácn onfunde, þe se ealder-man wið

hine gedôn hæfde, he ðeah gegaderode þone fultum, þe he þâ mihte, and wið þam nefan fyrde gelædde: And he Cirus, Persa cyningc, hæfde þriddan dæl hys fyrd bæftan him, on þæt gerad, gif ænig wǽre þe fyr fluge, þe on þæm gefeohte wæs, þonne to þæm folce þe þær bæftan wæs, þæt hine mon sloge swa raðe swa mon hiora fynd wolde. Þa þeah hwæþere gebyrede him, þæt hi hwæt hwara gebûgan to fleonne. Hi þâ hiora wif him ongean yrnende [wæron; and] hỹ swiðe torn wỹrdon, and ahsedon; gif hi feohtan ne dorstan, hwider hi fleon woldon:—þæt hi oðer gener næfdon, buton hỹ on hyra wifa hrif gewiten. Hi ða hrædlice, æfter þæm þe þâ wif hi swa scandlice geræht hæfdon, gewendon eft ongean þone cyning, and ealne hys hêre geflymdon, and hine sylfne gefengon. He þâ Cirus ageaf þæm cyninge hys eame ealle þa âre þe he ær hæfde, butan þæt he cyngc nære: and he þæt wæs eall forsacende, forðon þe him Arpellas, se ealdor-man, ǽr to biswice wearð mid hys agenre þeode. Ac him Cirus his nefa gesealde Ircâniam ða þeode on anwald to habbenne. Þær wearð Mæþa onwald geendod: ac Cirus mid Perseum to þæm anwalde feng. Ac ðâ bỹrig, þe on monegum þeodum Mæðum ǽr gafol guldon, wurdon Ciruse to monegum gefeohtum.

4. On þæm dagum wilnade sum æþelingc to ricsianne in Argentîne, þære þeode, Falores wæs haten. He wæs of [Sicilia] þæm lande, and mid ungemetlicre pinunge he wæs þæt folc cwilmende, to ðon þæt hi him anbugon.—Þa wæs þær sum argeôtere, se mihte dôn missenlica anlicnessa. He ðâ se geotere gebead þæm æþelinge, forðon þe he him cweman þohte, þæt he him æt þære pinunge fylstan wolde, þe he þæm folce donde wæs. He þâ swa dyde, and geworhte anes fearres anl'cnesse of âre to ðôn, þonne hit hât wære, and mon ða earman men on innan dôn wolde, hu se hlỹn mæst wære, þonne hi þæt susl þær on þrowiende wæron; and eac þæt se æþelingc æg̃þer hæfde ge his plegan, ge his gewill, þonne he ðara manna tintrego oferhyrde. Þâ þæt þâ onhât wæs, and eall gedon swa se geotere þæm æþelinge ǽr behet, se æþelingc þæt þa sceawode, and cwæð:—"þæt þæm wcorce nanum men ǽr ne gerise bet to fandienne, þonne þam wyrhtan þe hit worhte."—Het hine þa nîman, and þær on bescufan.

5. For hwi [besprecað] nû men þas Cristenan tida, and secgað, þæt nû wyrsan tida syn, þonne þâ wæran, þâ þeah [þe] hwâ wǽre mid þam cyningum, on hiora gewill yfel donde, þæt hi swa ðeah æt him ne meahton mid þy nane âre findan? And nu cyningas and Caseras, þeah [þe] hwâ wið hiora willan gegylte, hi þeah for Godes lufan, be þæs gyltes mæðe, forgifnesse doð.

[Bóc I: Capitul XIII.]

1. Ær ðam ðe Rome burh getimbred wære þritig wintra wæs þæt Pelopénsium and Athenientium, Creaca þeoda, mid eallum hiora cræftum, him betweonum winnende wæron; and hí to ðón swiðe forslegene wurdon on ægðre hand, þæt heora feáwe to lafe wurdon. On þære ylcan tide, wæron eft oþre siðe þa wifmen winnende on Asiam, þe ær on Sciððian wæron, and hí swyðe awestan and forhergodan.

[Bóc I: Capitul XIV.]

1. Ær ðæm ðe Rome burh getimbred wære twentigum wintrum, Læcedemonie and Mesiáne, Creaca leode. him betweonum winennde wæran twenti wintra, forðon Mesiáne noldon þæt Læcedemonia mægden-men mid hiora ofreden, and hiora godum onsægden. Ða æt nyhstan hí hæfdon getogen eall Creaca folc to þæm gewinnum, þa Læcedemonian besæton þa burh [Mæsiane] tyn winter; and aðas gesworan, þæt hí næfre noldan æt ham cuman, ær hí þæt gewrécen hæfdon. Ða ræddan hí him betweonum, and cwædon, þæt hi to raðe woldon fultumlease beon æt hiora bearn-teamum, þa hí þær swa lange þohton to beonne, and [þæt] mid hiora weddum gefæstnod hæfdon; and þæt hí hiora feondum bet dyde þonne wyrs. Mid þam gecwæden þá, [þæt] þa þe ær æt þæm aðum nære, þæt þa ham [gelendon], and be eallan hyra wifum [bearna striendon]. And ða oþre sittende wæran ymb ða burh, oð hí hy gewunnene hæfdon; þeah hi him lytle hwíle gehyrsume wæron.

2. Ac gecuran him ænne scop to cyninge of Atheniénsem; and eft mid fýrde fóran wið þa Messene. Þa hi him nelæhton, þa getweonode hí hwæþer hí wið him [mæhten]. Se hiora cyning ongan ðá singan and giddian; and mid þam scop-leoðe hiora mod swiðe getrymede, to ðón þæt hí cwædon þæt hí Mesiána folce wiðstandan [mehten]: heora ðeah wurdon feawe to lafe on aðre hand; and þæt Creaca folc fela geara him betweonan dreogende wæron, ægþer ge of Læcedemónia, ge of Mesiáne, ge of Boétium, ge of Atheniéntium; and monige oðra ðióda to þam ilcan gewinne getugon.

3. Nu is hit [scortlice] ymb þæt gesæd, þæt ær gewearð ær Rome burh getimbred wære, þæt wæs, fram frymðe middangeardes, feower ðúsend wintra and feower hund and twa and hund eahtatig; and, æfter ðæm þe hió getimbred wæs, wæs ures drihtenes [acennes] ymb syfan hund wintra and tyne.

Hér endað sio forme bóc, and onginð sio æftere.

[Bóc II: Capitul I.]

1. Ic wéne, cwæð Orosius, ðæt nân wîs man ne sŷ, butan he genoh géare wite, ðæt God þone ærestan man rihtne and gó'dne gesceop, and [eal] man-cynn mid him. And forðón þe he þæt gó'd forlét, þe him geseald wæs, and wyrse geceas, hit God syþþan langsumlice wræcende wæs; ærest on him [selfum,] and syððan on his bearnan, geond ealne ðysne middangeard, mid monigfealdum brocum and gewinnum: gé eac þas eorðan, þe ealle cwice wihta bi libbað, calle hire wæstmbæro he gelytlade. Nú we witan þæt ure drihten us gescóp: we witan eác þæt he ure reccend is, and us mid [ryhtlicran lufan] lufað þonne ænig mon. Nú we witan þæt ealle anwaldas from him syndan: we witan eác, þæt ealle rícu syndan fram him; forðón ealle anwaldas of rice syndon. Nu he ðara læssena rica reccend is; hu micle swiðor wéne we þæt he ofer þa maran sy, þe on swa ungemetlicum anwealdum ricsedan.

2. Án wæs Babylonicum, þær Ninus ricsade:—Þæt oþer wæs Creaca, þær Alexander ricsade:—Ðridda wæs Affricanum, þær Ptolome rícsedon:—Se feorða is Romane, þe gyt ricsiende sindon. Þas feower [heafod-ricu] sindon [on feower endum] þyses middangeardes, mid unasécgendlicre Godes tacnunge. Þæt Babylonicum wæs þæt forme, and on eastewerdum:—Þæt æftere wæs þæt Crecisce, and on norðewerdum.—Þæt þridde wæs þæt Affricanum, and on suðeweardum. Þæt feorðe is Romane, and on westeweardum. Babylonisce þæt æreste, and Romane þæt siðmeste, hi wæran swa fæder and [sunu], þonne hi hiora willan motan well wealdan. Þæt Crecisce and þæt Affricanisce wæran swa swa hi him hýrsumedon, and him underðeoded wære. Þæt ic wille eác gescádwislicor gesecgan, þæt hit man geórnor agýtan mæge.

3. Se æresta cyning wæs Ninus háten, swa we ær beforan sædan: þa hine mon [ofslog], þa feng Sameramis his cwen to þæm rice, and getimbrede þa burh Babylonie, to þón þæt hio wære heafod eallra Asíria; and hit fela wintra siððan on þæm stod, oð þæt Arbátus Meða ealdor-man Sarðanapólum Babylonia cyningc ofsloh. Þa wearð Babylonia and Asiria anwald ge-endod, and gehwearf on Méðas. On þæm ylcan geare, þe þis wæs, Procos, Numetóres fæder, ongan ricsian in Italia þæm lande, þær éft Rome burh getimbred wearð. Se Prócos wæs Numetóres fæder and Mulieses, and wæs Siluián eam. Sio Siluie wæs Semuses modor and Romules, þe Rome burh ge-

timbredon.—Þæt wille ic gecyðan, þæt þa rícu of nanes mannes mihtum swa gecræftgáde ne wurdon, ne for nanre wyrde butan fram Godes gestihtunge.

4. Ealle stær-writeras secgeað, þæt Asíria rice æt Ninuse begunne; and Romana rice æt Procóse begunne. Fram þæm ærestan geare Ninúses rices, oþ þæt Babilonia burh getimbred wæs, wæran feower and syxtig wintra: eác of þæm ilcan geare ðe Prócos ricsode in Itália wæran eac swylce feower and syxtig wintra, ær mon Rome burh getimbrede. Þy ylcan geare þe Romana rice weaxan ongan, and myclian, on Procos dæge þæs cyninges, ðy ylcan geare gefeol Babylonia and eall Asíria ríce and hiora anwald. Æfter ðæm þe mon hiora cyningc ofsloh Sarðanópolum, siððan hæfdon Caldéi þa land gebún on freodome, þe nyhst þære byrig wæron, þeah [þe] Mǽðe hæfde þone anwald ofer hí, oð ðæt Cirus Persa cyning ricsian ongan, and ealle Babylónia awéste, and eall Asírie and ealle Mǽðe on Persa anwald gedyde. Þæt þa swa gelamp þæt on þære ylcan tíde þe Babylonia þeowdome onfeng fram Cirúse þæm cyninge, þæt [Roma] alysed wearð of ðeowdome þara unrihtwísestena cyninga and ðara ofermodgestena, þe mon hét Tarcuínie; and þa þæt east-ríce in Asíria gefeoll, þa eac þæt west-rice in Romana arás.

5. Gyt sceall ic, cwæð Orosius, manigfealdlicor sprecan wið ða þe secgað, þæt þá anwaldas syn óf wýrda mægenum geworhte, nales of Godes gestihtunge. Hú emlice hit gelamp ymb ðas twa heafod-ricu, Asíria and Romana, swa swa we ǽr sædon, þæt Nínus ricsade on [ðon] east-rice twa and fiftig wintra; and æfter him his cwen, Sameramís, twa and feowertig wintra; and on middeweardum hyre ríce hió getimbrede Babylonia þa burh. Fram þæm geare þe héo getimbred wearð, wæs hyre anwald þusend wintra and an hund and syxtig and fulneah feower, ær hio hyre anwaldes benumen wurde and beswicen fram Arbâte hyra agenum ealdor-mẹn, and Meða kyninge; þeah syððan ymb þa burh lytle hwíle freodom wære butan anwalde, swa we ær sædon, fram Caldei þam leodum. And swa eac swylce wearð Rome burh ymb M wintra, and an hund and syxtig and fulneah feower, þæt Eallríca, hire ealldor-man, and Gotona cyning, hyre anwaldes hí beniman woldan. And hio hwæþere onwealh on hire onwalde æfter þæm þurhwunade. Ðeah ægþer ðyssa burga þurh Godes digelnessa þus getacnad wurde:—Ærest Babylonia, þurh hyre agenne ealdorman, þa he hýre cyningc beswac; swa eac Roma, þa hi hire agen ealdorman, and Gotona cyning, hyre ánwaldes beniman woldon; hit þeah God for hiora Cristendome né geðafode,—naðer ne for hiora Caseras, ne for hyra sylfra; ac hi nú gýt [ricsiende

sindon], ægþer ge mid hiora Cristendome, ge mid hiora anwalde, ge mid hiora Caseran.

6. Þis ic sprece nū for ðæm þe ic wolde þæt þā ongeâton, [þe þā] tīda ures Cristendomes leahtriað, hwilc miltsung siððan wæs syðþan se Cristendom wæs; and hū manigfeald wōl-bær- nes þære worlde ær ðæm wæs;—and eac þæt hī oncnawen hū gelimplice ure God, on þæm ærran tidum, þa anwaldas and ða ricu sette,—se ylca se ðe gyt settende is, and wendende ælce anwaldas and ælc rice to his willan. Hū gelic angin þā twā byrig hæfpon, and hu gelice hiora dagas wæran, ægþer ge on ðæm gō'de, ge on ðæm yfele! Ac hiora anwalda endas wæran swiðe ungelice; forðōn ðe Babylonie mid monigfealdum unrihtum and firenlustum mid hiora cyninge, buton ælcre hreōwe, libbende wæron, þæt hī hit nā gebetan noldan, ærðon hī God mid þæm mæstan bismere ge-eaðmedde; þa he hī [ægðres] benam, ge hiora cyninges, ge heora anwealdes. Ac Romane mid hiora Cristenan cyninge Gode ðeowiende wæran, þæt he him for ðām ægðres geuðe, ge hiora kyninges, ge heora anwaldes. For ðæm magan hiora spræce gemetgian þā þe ðæs Cristendomes wiðerflitan sind, gyf hȳ gemūnan willað hiora yldrena unclænnessa, and hiora [wol-gewinna], and hiora monigfealdan unsibbe, and hiora unmiltsunge, þe hī to Gode hæfdon, ge eac him selfum betweonum; þæt hi nane mildheortnesse þurhteon ne mihton, ærðon him sio bōt of þæm Cristendome com, þe hi nū swiðost tælað.

[Bōc II: Capitul II.]

1. Ymb feower hund wintra, and ymb feowertig, þæs þe [Troia] Creaca burh awested wæs, wearð Rome burh getimbred, fram twam gebroðran, [Remuse and Romuluse]; and raðe æfter ðan, Romulus hiora angin geunclænsode mid his broðor slege; and eác syþþan mid his hiwunge, and his geferena: hwylce bysena he þær stellende wæs, mid þæm þe hī bædan Sabīne þa burh-ware, þæt hī him geuðan heora dohtra him to wifum to hæbbenne, and hi heom þæra bena forwyrndon. Hī swa ðeah hiora unðances mid swicdome hī begeaton, mid þæm þe hī bædan þæt hī him fylstan mostan, þæt hī hiora godum þe yð blōtan meahton. Þa hi him þæs getiðodan, þa hæfdan hī him te wīfum, and hiora fæderum eft agyfan noldan. Ymb þæt wearð þæt mæste gewin monig gear, oþ þe hī forneah mid ealle forslegene and forwordene wæran on ægþere healfe; þæt hī mid nanum þinge ne mihtan gesemede wyrðan, ær þara Romana wif, mid hiora cildum, yrnende wæran gemang [ðæm] gefeohte, and hyra fæderum [wæron] to fotum feallende, and biddende þæt hi, for ðara cilda lufan, þæs gewinnes sumne

ende gedyden. Swa weorðlice, and swa mildelice, was Rome burh on fruman gehalgod, mid broðor blode, and mid sweora, and mid Romuluses eame Numetōres, þone he eac ofsloh, þa he cyningc wæs, and hym sylf syððan to þæm rice fengc.—Ðus gebletsode Romulus Romana rice on fruman,—mid his broðor blode þone weall, and mid ðara sweora blode þa cyrican, and mid his eames blode þæt rice. And siððan his agenne sweōr to deaðe beswac, þa he hine to him aspeon, and him gehēt þæt he his rice wið hine dælan wolde, and hine under þæm ofslōh.

2. He ða Romulus æfter ðȳsan underfeng Cirinensa gewīnn, þara burh-warana; forðon þe he ða gȳt lytel land-rice hæfde, buton þære byrig anre. Forðon þe Romulus and ealle Romware oðrum folcum unweorðe wæron, forðon þe hī on cnihthade wæran oðra manna nȳdlingas. Ða hī þa hæfdon Cirinensa þa burh ymbseten, and þær mycelne hunger þoliende wæran, þa gecwædan hȳ, þæt him leofre wære, þæt hī on ðæm yrmðum hiora līf ge-endade, þonne hī þæt gewinn forletan, oððe frið genaman. Hī þær ða winnende wæran, oð hī ða burh abræcon; and æfter þæm wið ða land-leode on ælce healfe ūnablinnendlice winnende wæran, oþ hī þær ymbutan hæfdon monega byrig begitene.

3. Ac þa cyningas, ðe æfter Romuluse ricsedan, wæran forcūðran and eargran þonne he wære, and þæm folcum laðran and ungetæsran, oþ þæt Tarcuīnius, þe we ær ymb sædon, þe hiora eallra fracoðost wæs,—ægðer ge eargost, ge wrænost, ge ofermodgast,—[ealra] þara Romana wīf, þa þe he mihte, he to geligre genydde; and his suna geþafode, þæt he læg mid Latīnus wīfe, Lucretie hatte, Brutūses sweostor, þa hī on fȳrde wæron; þeah þe hī Romana brymuste wæron to þæm cyninge. Hio þa Lucrētie hy sȳlfe for ðǣm acwealde. Þa þæt Latīnus hyre [wer] geahsode, and Brūtus hyre broðor, þa forleton hī ða fyrde, þe hī bewitan sceoldan; and þa hī ham coman, þa adræfdon hȳ ægðer ge ðone cyning, ge his sunu, ge ealle þa þe þær cyne-cynnes wæran, of ðy rice mid ealle. Him ðā Romane æfter þæm [latteowas] gesettan, þe hī Consulas hēton, þæt hiora rice heolde an gear ān man.

[Bōc II: Capitul III.]

1. Æfter ðæm þe Rome burh getimbred wæs twa hund wintra and feower, þæt Brutus wæs [se] forma consul. Romulus hiora forma cyning, and Brutus heora forma consul, wurdon emnreðe.

2. Romulus sloh his broðor and his eām and his sweōr. Brutus sloh his fīf sunā and his wīfes twegen broðra forðan þe

hȳ sprǽcon þæt hit betere wære, þæt Romane eft heora cynecynne onfengon, swa hy ǽr hæfdon; forðam he hȳ hēt gebīndan, and beforan eallum þam folce mid besman swingan, and syððan mid æxum hyra heâfod of aceorfan.

3. Tarcuīnius þâ, þe ær Romana cyning wæs, aspeōn Tūscea cyning him on fultum, Porsēnna wæs hâten; þæt he þe eað mihte winnan wið Brūtuse, and wið eallum Romānum. He þa Brūtus gecwæð annwig wið þæne cyning embe heora feondscipe: ac him Tarcuīnus oðerne þēgn ongēan sende, Arrunses sunu þæs ofermodigan; and heora þær ægðer oðerne ofslōh.

4. Æfter þâm Porsēnna and Tarcuīnus, þa cyningas, embsætan Rōmeburh, and hȳ eâc begeâton, þær Mutius nǽre, ân man of þære byrig: he hȳ mid his wōrdum geegsode. Þâ hȳ hine gefengon, þa pīnedan hȳ hine mid þam, þæt hȳ his hand [forbærndon], anne finger and anne, and hine secgan hēton, hū fela þara manna wære, þe wið þam cyninge Tarcuīne swiðost wiðsacen hæfde. Þa he þæt secgan nolde, þa ahsodon hī hine, hu fela þær swylcera manna wære swylce he wæs. Þa sǽde he heom, þæt þær fela þara manna wære, and eâc gesworen hæfdon, þæt hy oðer forleosan woldan, oððe heora agen līf, oððe Porsennes, þæs cyninges. Þâ þæt þa Porsenna gehȳrde, he þæt setl and þæt gewinn mid ealle forlēt, þe he ǽr þreo winter dreōgende wæs.

[Bōc II: Capitul IV.]

1. Æfter ðam wæs þæt Sabinisce gewinn, and him [Romane] þæt swyðe ondrædende wæron, and him gesetton, þæt hȳra ân latteow wære þonne hyra consul, þæne þe hȳ tictatōres hēton, and hī mid þam tictatōre mycelne sige hæfdon. Æfter þam Romane betwux him sylfum, þa rīcan men, and þâ earmran, mycel gewinn upahōfan; and him þæt to langsumre wrace cōme, þær hī þe hraðor gesēmed ne wurdon. On þam dagum wæron þâ mæstan ūngetīma on Romānum, ægðer ge on hungre, ge on man-cweālme under þam twâm consulum, Tita and Publia hatton; and hȳ heora gefeohta, þa hwile, hȳ gereston, þeah hȳ þæs hungres, and þæs man-cwealmes ne mihtan, ac þa manigfealdan yrmða þa werigan burh swyðe brocigende wæron. Æ r þam þe seo wōl ge-ēndod wære, Ueigentes and Etrūsci þa leoda, wið Romānum gewinn upahōfon, and wið þam twâm consulum, Marcūse and Greāse. And þa Romāne him ongeân foran, and heom betweonum aðas geswōron, þæt heora nân nolde eft eârd gesēcan, butan hī sige hæfdon. Đær wæron Romāne swa swyðe ofslâgene, þeah hy sige hæfdon, þæt hyra ân consul, þe heom to lāfe wearð, forsōc þæne triumphan, þe him man ongēan brohte, þa he hamweard wæs; and sǽde þæt

hȳ hæfdon bet gewyrhte þæt him man mid hēofe ongēan cōme þonne mid triumphan.

2. Þæt hȳ triumphan hēton, þæt wæs þonne hȳ hwylc folc mid gefeohte ofercumen hæfdon, þonne wæs heora þēaw, þæt sceoldon ealle hyra senatas cuman ongēan hyra consulas, æfter þam gefeohte, syx mila fram þære byrig, mid cræt-wǣne, mid gōlde, and mid gimstanum gefrætwedum; and hī sceoldan bringan feower-fetes, twā hwīte: þonne hi hamweard fōron, þonne sceoldon hyra senatas rīdan on cræt-wænum wiðæftan þam consulum, and þa menn beforan him drȳfan gebūndene, þe þær gefangene wæron, þæt heora mærða sceoldon þe þrymlicran beōn. Ac þonne hȳ hwylc folc butan gefeohte on hyra geweald genyddon, þonne hy hamweard wæron, þonne sceolde him man bringan ongēan, of þære byrig cræt-wǣn, se wæs mid seolfre gegyred, and ælces cynnes feower-fetes feos ān, heora consulum to mærðe. Þæt wæs þonne triūmpheum.

3. Romulus gesette ærest manna senatum; þæt wæs ān hund manna, þeah heora æfter fyrste wære þreo hund. Þā wǣron symble binnan Rōme byrig wunigende, to þan—þæt hy heora rǣd-þeahteras wæron, and cōnsulas setton,—and þæt ealle Romāne him hyrsumedon,—and, þæt hī bewiston eall þæt licgende feoh under anum hrōfe, þæt hī begeāton, oððe on gafole, oððe on hergunge,—þæt hȳ hit siððan mihton him eallum gemǣnelice to nytte gedōn, þam þe þær buton þeowdōme wǣron.

4. Þa consulas, þe on þam dagum þæt Sabinisce gewinn underfengon, þe man hēt eall hyra cynn Fabiāne, forþan hit ealra Romāna ænlicost wæs and cræftegost. Nu gyt to dæge hit is on leoðum sungen, hwylcne demm hī Romānum gefeollan. Eāc þam manega eā syndon be naman nemnede for þam gefeohte; and eāc ða geata, þe hī ūt of Rōme byrig to þām gefeohte fērdon, him man [āscop] þa naman, þe hy gyt habbað. Æfter þam Romāne cūran þreo hund cempena and syx, þæt sceoldon tō ānwige gangan wið swa fela Sabina; and getruwedon, þæt hȳ, mid heora cræftum, sceoldon sige gefeohtan; ac Sabīni, mid heora searwum, hī ealle þær ofslōgon butan ānum, se þæt laðspell æt hām gebodode.—Næs nā on [Romanum] ānum, ac swa hit on sceop-leoðum sungen is, þæt, geond eallne middangeard, wære cāru, and gewinn, and ege.

5. Cirus, Persa cyning, þe we ǣr beforan sædon, þa hwīle þe Sabīni and Romāne wunnon on þam west-dæle, þa hwile wann he ægðer ge on Sciððige, ge on Indie, oð he hæfde mæst eallne þæne eāst-dǣl awēst; and æfter þam fyrde gelædde to Babilonia, þe þā welegre wæs þonne ænig oðer burh. Ac hine Gandes seo eā lange gelette þæs oferfæreldes, for þam þe

þær scipa nǽron,—þæt is eallra ferscra wætera mǽst, butan Eufratē. Þa gebeōtode ān his þegena þæt he mid sūnde þa eā oferfaran wolde mid twam tyncenum, ac hine se streām fordrāf. Þa gebeōtode Cirus þæt he his þegen on hyre swā gewrecan wolde, þa he swa gram wearð on his mōde, and wið þa eā gebolgen, þæt hī mihton wīfmenn be heora cneowe oferwadan, þær heo ǽr wæs nygan mila brād, þonne heo flēde wæs. He þæt mid dǽdum gelǽste, and hī upforlēt on feower hund eā, and on syxtig, and sȳððan mid his fȳrde þær oferfōr; and æfter þam Eufrate þa eā, seo is mǽst eallra ferscra wætera, and is yrnende þurh middewearde Babilōnian burh. He hȳ eāc mid gedelfe on menige eā uppforlēt, and syððan mid eallum his folce on þære eāgang, on þa burh farende wæs, and hī gerǽhte. Swā ūngelyfedlic is ænigum menn þæt to gesecgenne, hu ænig man mihte swylce burh gewyrcan, swylce seo wæs, oððe eft abrecan.

6. Membrāð, se ent, ongan ærest timbrian Babilonia; and Ninus se cyning æfter him, and Sameramīs his cwen hī geendade æfter him, on middewearðum hire rice. Seo burh wæs getimbred on fildum lande, and on swiðe emnum; and heo wæs [swiþe] fæger on to locianne, and heō is swiðe rihte feowerscyte: and þæs wealles mycelnyss, and fæstnyss, is ungelyfedlic to secgenne: þæt is, þæt he is L. elna brad, and II hund elna heāh, and his ymbgang is hund seofantig mila, and seofeðan dæl anre mile; and he is geworht of tigelan, and of eorðtyrewan; and ymbutan þone weall is se mæsta dic, on þam is yrnende se [ungefoglecesta] stream: and, wiþutan þam dice, is geworht twegra elna heah weall: and bufan þam maran wealle, ofer eallne þone ymbgong, he is mid stænenum wighusum beworht. Seo ylce burh Babylonia, seo þe mæst wæs, and ærest ealra burga, seo is nū læst and [westast]. Nu seo burh swylc is, þe ær wæs eallra weorca [fæstast], and wundorlicost, and mærast, gelice and heo wære to bysne asteald eallum [middangearde]; and eac swylce heo sylf sprecende sȳ to eallum man-cynne and cweðe:—"Nu ic þuss gehroren eom and aweg-gewiten: hwæt! gē magon on me ongitan and oncnawen, þæt gē nanuht mid eow nabbað fæstes ne stranges, þætte þurhwunian mǽge!"

7. On þam dagum, þe Cirus, Persa cyng, Babylonia abrǽc, þa wæs Crōesus se Liþa cyning, mid fyrde gefaren Babylonium to fultume; ac þā he wiste þæt he him on nanum fultume bēon ne mihte, and þæt seo burh abrocen wæs, he him hamweard ferde to his agenum rice. And him Cirus wæs æfterfyligende, oð he hine gefeng and ofsloh.—Ond nu, ure Cristene [Roma] besprycð, þæt hyre weallas for ealdunge brosnian,

nalæs na forðam þe hiō mid forhergunge swā gebysmerad wære, swā Babylonia wæs; ac heo for hyre Cristendome, nū gȳt is gescyld, þæt ægþer ge heō sylf, ge hyre anweald, is ma hreosende for ealddome, þonne of æniges cyninges niede.

8. Æfter þam Cirus gelædde fyrde on Sciððie, and him þær ān giōng cyning mid fyrde ongean fōr, and his modor mid him, Damaris. Þa Cirus fōr ofer þæt land-gemære,—ofer þa ēā þe hatte Araxis,—him þær se geonga cyning þæs oferfæreldes forwyrnan myhte; ac he forþām nolde, þī he mid his folce getruwade, þæt he hine beswican mihte, siððan he binnan þam gemære wære, and wic-stowa name. Ac þa Cirus geaxsode, þæt hine se geonga cyning þær secan wolde, and ēāc þæt þam folce seld-syne, and uncūþe wǣron wines drencas, he for þām of þære wīc-stowe āfōr on ān digle stowe, and ðær beæftan forlet eall þæt þær liðes wæs and swetes; þæt þa se gionga cyning swiðor myccle wenende wæs, þæt hȳ þānon fleonde wæron, þonne hȳ ænigne swīcdōm cyðan dorstan. Þa hȳ hit þær swā ēmenne gemetton hī þær þā mid mycelre bliðnesse, buton gemetgunge, þæt wīn drincende wæron, oð hī heora sylfra lytel geweald hæfdon. He þa Cirus hȳ þær besyrode, and mid ealle ofslōh. And syððan wæs farende þær þæs cyninges modor mid þam twam dælum þæs folces wunigende wæs, þa he þone þriddan dæl mid þam cyninge beswicen hæfde. Heō ðā, seo cwen Dameris, mid mycelre gnornunge ymb þæs cyninges slege, hyre suna, þencende wæs, hū heō hit gewrecan myhte; and þæt ēāc mid dædum gelæste, and hyre folc on twā todælde, ægþer ge wīfmen, ge wæpned-men, forðan þe þær wīfmen feohtað swā same swā wæpned-men. Hiō, mid þam healfan dæle, beforan þam cyninge farende wæs, swylce heō fleonde wære, oð hiō hine gelædde on an mycel slæd, and se healfa dǣl wæs Ciruse æfterfyligende. Þær wearð Cirus ofslegen, and twa [hund þusenda] manna mid him. Seo cwen het þā þam cyninge þæt heafod ōf āceorfan, and bewyrpan on anne cylle, se wæs afylled mannes blodes, and þus cwæð:—"Þū þe þyrstende wære mannes blodes xxx wintra, drinc nu þine fylle."

[Bōc II: Capitul V.]

1. Æfter ðam ðe Rome burh getimbrad wæs twa hund wintra and IIIIX, þætte Cambis feng to Persa rice Cirūses sunu: se mid þan þe he Egypte oferwon, gedyde þæt nan hǣþen cyng ær gedon ne dorste, þæt wæs þæt he heora godgyldum eallum wiþsōc, and hȳ æfter þam mid ealle toweārp.

2. Æfter him rixade Darius, se āwende ealle Asīrige, and Caldei eft to Perseum, þe ǣr fram him gebōgene wæron.

Æfter þam he wann on Sciððie, ægþer ge for Cirúses slege, þæs cyninges his mæges, ge éác for þam þe him man þær wifes forwyrnde. His héres wæs seofon hund þusenda þa he on Sciððie fór. Hwæþere þa Sciððie noldon hine gesecan to folc-gefeohte; ac, þonne hý geond þæt land to-farene wæron, hí þonne hý floc-mælum slogon. Þa wæron þa Perse mid þam swyþe ge-egsode, and éác ondredon þæt man ðá brycge forwyrcean wolde, þe æt þam gemære wæs; þæt hy syððan nystan hú hý þánon comon. He ða se cyng, æfter þám ðe his folc swiðe forslegen wæs, þær forlet hunde eahtatig þusenda be æftan him, þæt hý þér þa gýt leng winnan sceoldan; and he sylf þanon gewát on ða læssan Asiam, and hý forhergode; and syððan on Mæcedoniam, and on Ionás, Creca leode, and þa hí butu oferhergode: and fór syððan fyrr on Crecas, and gewin up-ahóf wið Atheniénses, for þam hie Mæcedoniam on fultume wæron. Sona swá Atheniense wisten þæt Dárius hý mid gefeohte secan wolde, hí ácuron endleofan þusend manna, and him ongean fóran. And þone cyning æt þære dune metton, þe mon hét Morotthome. Heora ladteow wæs háten Htesséus, se wæs mid his dædum snelra þonne he mægenes hæfde; se geworhte mycelne dóm on þam gefeohte. Þa wearð twa hund þusenda Persea ofslegen, and ða oðre geflymed. Þa eft hæfde he fyrde gegaderod on Perseum, and þæt wrecan þohte, þá gefór he.

3. Æfter him feng his sunu to Persea rice Xersis. Þæt gewin, þæt his fæder ástealde, he digellice for þam, fif gear, scipa worhte, and fultum gegaderode. Þa wæs mid him án wræccea man of Lacedemonia, Creca [byrg], se wæs haten Damérað, se þæt facn to his cyððe gebodade, and hit on anum brede awrat, and syððan mid weaxe beworhte. Xersis, þá he án Crecas for, hæfde his agenes folces VIII c þusenda; and he hæfde of oðrum ðeodum abeden IIII c M. And he hæfde scipa þæra mycclena dulmuna an M and II hund; and þæra scipa wæron III M, þe heora mete bæron; and ealles his héres wæs swylc ungemet, þæt mon eáðe cweðan mihte, þæt hit wundor wære hwar hý landes hæfdon, þæt hý mihton on gewician, oððe wæteres, þæt hý mihton him þurst of adrincan: swá þeah seó ungemetlice menigeo þæs folces wæs þa yþre to oferwinnenne, þonne heó us sý nú to gerimenne, oððe to gelyfanne.

4. Leoníþa, Lacedemonia cyning, Creca burh, hæfde IIII þusend manna, þa he ongean Xersis fór, on anum nærwan land-fæstene; and him þær mid gefeohte wiðstod. Xersis þæt oþer folc swa swiðe forseah, þæt he axode hwæt sceolde æt swá lytlum werode mara fultum, butan þá áne þe him þér ér abolgen wæs, on þam ærran gefeohte, þætte wæs on Me-

rothonia þære dune. Ac gesette þa men on ænne truman, þe mon heora magas ær on þam lande sloh; and wiste þæt hý woldon geornfulran beon þære wrace, þonne oðre men: and hý swā wæron, oð hī ealle mæst þær ofslegene wurdon. Xersis swiþe him ða ofþincendum þæt his folc swa forslegen wæs, he sylf þā þær to fōr mid eallum þam mǣgene þe he þær to gelædan myhte; and þær feohtende wæron III dagas, oþ þæra Perséa wæs ungemetlic wæl geslegen. He hēt þa þæt fæste land utan ymbfaran, þæt him man sceolde ōn mā healfa on feohtan þonne on ane. Leonīða þæt þa geaxsode, þæt hine mon swā beþrydian wolde, he þānon āfōr, and his [fierd] gelædde on ān oþer fæstre land, and þær gewunode oð niht; and him fram āfaran hēt ealle þa burh-ware, þe he ōf oðrum lande him to fultume abeden hæfde, þæt hī heom gesunde burgan; forþām he ne ūþe þæt ǣnig mā folca for his þingum forwurde, þonne he sylf mid his agenre þeode. Ac he þus wæs spreccende, geomriende:—"Nū we untweogendlice witan, þæt we ūre agen līf forlætan scolan, for þam ungemetlican feondscipe, þe ure ehtende on syndon. Uton þeah hwæðere acræftan, hu wē heora an þyssa nihta magan mæst beswican, and us sylfum betst word and langsumast æt urum ende gewyrcan." Hū mycel þæt is to secgenne, þætte Leonīða mid VI C manna VI C M swā gebysmrade; sume ofslōh, sume geflymde!

5. Xersis wæs þā æt twam cyrrum on þam lande swā gescȳnd mid his ormætum menigeo, he ðā gyt þriddan siþe wæs wilniende, mid scipfyrde þæt he þæs gewinnes mihte mare gefremman; and him Ionās, Creca leode, on fultum gespeon. Þeah hī ǣr ofer heora willan him to gecyrdon, and hī him geheton, þæt hī þæt gefeoht ærest mid him sylfum þurhteon woldon; þeah hī him eft facen gelæstan, þa hý on þam sǣ feohtende wæron.

6. Themestocles hātte Atheniensa ladteow: hý wæron cumen Leonīðan to fultume, þeah hý æt þam ærran gefeohte him ne myhton to cuman. Se Themestocles gemȳngade Ionās þære ealdan fæhðe þe Xersis him to geworht hæfde: hū he hy mid forhergunge, and mid heora maga slihtum, on his geweald genydde. He bæd hī ēāc þæt hý gemundon þæra ealdena treowa, and þæs ūnārimedlican freondscipes, þe hī ægþer hæfdon ge to Atheniēnsum ge to Lǣcedemoniam ær on ealddagum; and hy biddende wæs, þæt hý mid sume seara-wrence from Xerse þam cyninge sume hwīle awende; þæt hý [and] Lǣcedemonie mostan wið Persum þæs gewinnes sumne ende gewyrcan; and hy him þære bene getigðedon.

7. Þa þa Perse þæt gesawon, þæt him ðā frambugan, þe hī betst getreowodon, þæt him sceolde sīge gefeohtan, hī sylfe ēāc fleonde

wæron; and heora þær wearþ fela ofslegen, and [adruncen], and gefangen. Xersis þegen wæs hâten Marþônius, se hine wæs georne lærende, þæt he mâ hamweard fôre, þonne he þær leng bide, þy læs ænegu ûngeþwærness on his agenum rice âhâfen wurde; and cwæð þæt hit gerisenlicre wære, þæt he þæt gewinn him betæhte, mid þam fultume, þe þær to lafe þâ gŷt wæs, leng to winnenne; and sæde þæt hit þam cyninge [læsse] edwit wære, gif þam folce buton him þa gyt misspeowe, swâ him ær dyde. Se cyning þa Xersis swiþe gelyfedlice his þegene gehŷrde, and mid sumum dæle his fultume þanon âfôr. Þa he þa hamweard to þære iê com, þe he ær westweard het þa ofermetan bricge mid stane ofer gewyrcan, his sige to tacne, þe he on þam siðe þurhteon þohte. Þa wæs seo eâ to ðân flêde, þæt he ne myhte to þære brycge cuman. Þâ wæs þam cynge swiþe ange on his mode, þæt naðær ne he mid his fultume næs, ne þæt he ôfer þa eá cuman ne mihte: to-eacan þam he him wæs swiþe ondrædende, þæt him his fynd wæron æfter fyligende. Him þâ tô com an fiscere, and ûneaðe hine ænne ofer brohte. Hû God þa mæstan ofermetto, and þæt mæste anginn on swâ heanlice ofermetto genyþerade, þæt se þe him ær geþuhte, þæt him nân sæ wiþhabban ne mihte, þæt he hine mid scipum and mid his fultume afyllan ne mihte, þæt he eft wæs biddende ânes lytles troges æt anum earman men, þæt he mihte his feorh generian.

8. Morðonius Xersis þegn forlêt þa scipa, þe hŷ on færende wæron, and fôr to ânre byrig on Boetium, Creca londe, and hî abræc. Him mon þæt æfter þam hrædlice forgeald, þa hî mon geflymde, and swiþe forsloh; þeah ðe Atheniensum se sige, and seô rêafung þæs Persiscan feos to maran sconde wurdon; forðon syððan hî welegran wæron, hî êâc bleaðran gewurdon. Æfter þâm Xersis wearð his agenre þeode swiþe ûnwyrð, and hine his agen ealdorman Artabâtus besyrode, and ofsloh. "Eala!" cwæð Orosius, "hû lustbærlice tîda on þam dagum wæron, swâ swâ þâ secgað, þe þæs Cristendomes wiþerflîtan synd; þæt us nû æfter swylcum langian mæge swylce þâ wæron, þâ swâ mycel folc, on swâ lytlum fyrste, æt þrim folc gefeohtum forwurdon;—þæt wæs nigon x hund þusenda of Persa anra anwealde, buton heora wiðerwinnum, ægðer ge of Sciððium, ge of Crecum." Þæt tacnode Leonîþa on his þam nextan gefeohte and Persa, hwylc man-cwealm on Creaca londe wæs, mid monigfealdum deaðum, mid þam þe he spreccende wæs to his geferum æt his undern-gereorde, ær he to ðam gefeohte fore:—"Uton nû brucan þyses undern-metes, swâ þâ sceolon, þe heora æfen-gyfl on helle gefeccan sculon." Þeah he þâ swâ cwæde, he cwæð eft oðer word: "Þeah ic ær sæde, þæt we to helle sceoldon, þeah ne geortrûwige ic nâ Gode, þæt he us ne

mæge gescyldan to beteran tidon, þonne we nu on synd. Leoniþa sæde þæt þa tida þá yfele wæron, and wilnade þæt him toweard beteran wæron; and nú sume men secgað, þæt þá beteran wæron, þonne nú synd. Nu hí swá twywyrdige syndon; þonne wæron ægþer góde ge ðá ærran, swá sume menn nú secgað, ge éác þas æftran, swá hí ær sædon, and næron ná þære ón þánce. Gif hí þonne soð ne sædon, þonne næron náþor góde,—ne þá, ne nú.

9. "Nu we sceolon eft," cwæð Orosius, "hwýrfan near Roma, þær we hit ær forlæton; forþon ic ne mæg eal þá monigfealdan yfel endemes árécan; swá ic éác ealles þyses middaneardes ná máran dæles ne angite, buton þætte on twam anwealdum gewearþ,—on þam ærestan, and on þam siþemestan; þæt synd Asirige and Romane."

[Bóc II: Capitul VI.]

1. Æfter ðam ðe Rome burh [getimbred] wæs ii hund wintra and hund eahtatigum, þy ylcan geare þe Sabíni Romane swá beswicon, þa heora iii hund and syx men of ægþærre healfe to anwíge eodon, wearð mycel wundor on heofenum gesewen, swylc eall se heófon [birnende] wære. Þat tacen wearð on Romanum swiþe geswutelad mid þam mycclan wól-bryne mann-cwealmes, þe him raðe þæs æfter cóm, swá þæt hý healfe belifene wurdon, and heora twegen consulas, þe hí ða hæfdon: ge ða æt nextan, þa ðe þær to lafe beon moston, wæron to ðam meðige, þæt hí ne myhton þa gefarenan to eorðan bringan.

2. Sona æfter þam, ealle heora þeowas wiþ þá hlafordas wiunende wæron, and hí benamon heora heafod-stedes, þæt hí Capitoliam heton; and hí miccle gefeoht ymb þæt hæfdon, oþ hí ofslogon þone ænne consul, þe hí þá níwan geset hæfdon. Þeah ða hlafordas on þam énde héfdon heánlicne sige.—And sona þæs þy æfterran geare, Romane wunnan wiþ [Fulcisci] þæt folc, and þær wurdon swiþe [forslægene]; and se dæl þe þær to lafe wæs, wearð on án fæsten bedrifen, and þær wurdon mid hungre acwealde, þær heora þá ne gehulpe, þa þær æt hám wæron; mid þam þe hí gegaderodan eall mon-cynnes þæt þær læfed wæs, and genamon ænne earmne man him to consule, þær he on his æcere eode, and his sulh on handa hæfde; and syððan to Fulcisci þam lande ferdon, and hí út forleton.

3. Æfter þam wæs an gear fullice, þæt ofer eall Romana rice seo eorðe wæs cwaciende and berstende. And ælce dæg man cóm unárímedlice oft to þam Senatum, and him sædon fram burgum and fram tunum on eorðan [besuncen]; and hy sylfe wæron ælce dæg on þære ondrædinge hwænne hí on ða eorþan

besúncene wurdon. Æfter þam cóm swá mycel héte geond Romane, þæt ealle heora eorð-wæstmas, ge éác hí sylfe, neah forwurdon. Æfter þam þær wearð se mæsta hunger.

4. Æfter þam Romane gesettan him x consulas, þær hí ær twegen hæfdon; to þán þæt hí heora æ bewiston. Heora án was Claudius haten, se him wæs onteonde ealdordóm ofer þá oðre, þeah hí him þæs geþafiende nǽron, ac wið hine winnende wæron, oð ðone fyrst þe hí sume to him gecyrdon, sume noldon: ac swá on twa todælde him betweonan wunnan, þæt hí forgeaton þæra uttra gefeohta, þe him on [hende] wæron, oð ealle þa cónsulas togædere gecyrdon, and Claudium þone ænne mid saglum ofbeoton: and syððan heora agen land wergende wæron.

5. "Ygþelice," cwæð Orosius, "and sceortlice ic hæbbe nú gesæd hiora ingewinn, þeah hí him wæron forneah þa mæstan and ða pleolecestan, þæt éác Eðna þæt sweflene fýr tacnode, þa hit úpp of helle geate asprang on Sicilia þam lande,—hwylce gewinn þá wæron, be þam þe nú syndon!—and Sicilia fela ofsloh mid bryne and mid stence. Ac syððan hit Cristen wearð, þæt helle fýr wæs syððan geswiþrad,—swa ealle ungetima wæron,— þæt hit nú is buton swylcum tacnungum þæs yfeles þe hit ær dyde, þeah hit ælce geare sý bradre and bradre."

[Bóc II: Capitul VII.]

1. Æfter ðam ðe Rome burh getimbrade wæs iii hund wintra and án, þætte Sicilie ungerade wæron him betweonan. And hí healfe aspeonon Læcedemonie him on fultum, and healfe Athenienses, Creca þeoda, þe ær ætgædere wið Perse winnende wæron. Ac syððan hí on Sicilium wunnon, hí éác syððan betweonum him sylfum winnende wæron, oþ þæt Darius Persa cyning Læcedemonium on fultume wearð wiþ þam Athenienses for ðam gewinnum his yldrena. Wæs þæt mycel wundor, þæt eall Persa anweald and Lecedemonia, þæt hí ieð [mehton] Ahtene þa burh awestan, þonne hí þæt folc meahton to heora willum [geniedan]!

2. And sona æfter þám, þy ilcan geare, Darius geféor Persa cyng; and his twa suna ymb þæt rice wunnon, Artecserses and Cirus, oð heora ægðer þæt mæste folc ongean oðerne geteah; and þa unsibbe mid gefeohtum dreogende wæron, oð Cirus ofslagen wearð, se þær gingra wæs.—On þam dagum, wæs an burh in Affrica, seo wæs neah þam sǽ, oð án sǽ-flod cóm, and hý aweste, and þa menn adrencte.

[Bóc II: Capitul VIII.]

1. Æfter ðam ðe Rome burh getimbrad wæs iii hund wintra

and LV, þætte Romane besæton Ueiórum þa burh x winter; and him þæt setl swiðor derode, þonne þam þe þær inne wæron, ægþer ge on cyle, ge on hungre; buton þam þe mon oft hergode, ægðer ge on hý sylfe, ge on heora land æt hâm. And hí þa hrædlice beforan heora feondum forweorðan sceoldon, þǽr hí þa burh ne ábræcon mid þam cræfte, þe þa scandlicost wæs, þeah he him eft se weorþesta wurde; þæt wæs þæt hí fram heora wíc-stowum under þære eorðan dulfon, oð hí binnan þære byrig úpeodon; and hí nihtes on frum-slæpe on bestælan, and þa burh mid ealle awestan. Þysne nyttan cræft, þeah he arlic nære, funde heora tictator, Camillis hatte.

2. Sona æfter þam wearð Romana gewinn and þæra Gallia, þe wæron of Senno þære byrig, þæt wæs ǽrest for þam þa Gallia hæfdon beseten Tusci þa burh. Þa sendon Romane ǽrendracan to Gallium, and hí bædon þæt hí frið wiþ hí hæfdon. Þa on þam ylcan dæge, æfter þam þe hí þiss gesprecen hæfdon, fuhton Gallie on þa burh. Þa gesawon hí Romana ærendracan on hí feohtende mid þam burh-warum, hí for þam hí gebulgon, and ða burh forleton, and mid eallum heora fultume Romane sohton. And him Uauius se consul mid gefeohte ongean cóm, and éác raðe geflymed wearþ eft in to Rome byrig, and him Gallie wæron æfterfyligende oþ hí ealle þær binnan wæron: gelice and mon mǽde mâwe, hý wǽron þa burh hergiende, and sleande, buton ælcere ware. Đæt tacen nú gyt cuð is, on þære eá noman, þæs consules sleges Fauiuses.

3. "Ne wene ic," cwæð Orosius, "þæt ænig man atellan mæge ealne þone dem, þe Romanum æt þam cyrre gedon wearð, þeah hí þa burh ne forbærndon, swá hí þá gedydon; and ða feawan þe þær to lafe wurdon, gesealdon M punda goldes wiþ heora feóie. And hí þæt dydon forþám swiþost, þe hi þohton þæt hy syððan heora underþeowas wæron. And sume binnan þæt fæsten oðflugon, þæt hí Capitoliam heton. Hí þá eác besæton, oð hí sume hungre ácwealon, sume on hand eodon, and hi syþþan oðrum folcum him wiþ feó gesealdon."

4 "Hu þincð eow nú," cwæð Orosius, "þe þæs Cristendomes tída leahtriað? Syþþan Gallia út óf þære byrig aforan, hú bliðe tída Romane æfter þam hæfdon! þá ðá yrmingas þe þær to lafe wurdon, út of þam holan crupan, þe hy on lutedan, swá bewopene swylce hý óf oðerre worulde comon, þonne hí besawon on ða besengdan burh and on þa westan; þæt him þa wæs syndrig ege, þær him ǽr wæs seo mæste wynn! E'ác butan þam yfele, [nahton] hí naþor ne þær inne mete, ne þær ute freond."

5. "Þæt wæron þa tida, þe Romane nū æfter sicað, and cweþað, þæt him Gotan wyrsan tida gedōn habbon, þonne hī ær hæfdon, and næron on hy hergiende buton [þrie dagas]: and Gallie wæron ǣr syx monað binnan þære byrig hergiende, and þa burh bærnende; and him þæt þa gyt to lytel yfel þuhte, buton hī [eac hie] þæs nāman benāme, þæt hī nān folc næron. Eft þa Gotan þær læssan hwile hergedon, þæt hī for þæs Cristendomes āre, and þurh Godes ēge, þæt hī naðer ne þa burh ne bærndon, ne þæs þone willan næfdon, þæt hī heora [noman] hī benamon, ne þara nanne yfelian noldan, þe to [ðæm] Godes huse oþflugon, þeah hī hæðene wæron; ac swiðor miccle wæron wilniende þæt hī gemong him mid sibbe sittan mostan. And uneaðe mihte ǣr ænig þam Gallium [oðfleon] oððe oðhȳdan. And ða ða Gotan þær lytle hwile hergedon, ne mihte mon buton feawa ofslagenra geaxian. Þær wæs gesyne Godes yrre, þa heora ærenan beamas, and heora anlicnessa, þa hī ne mihton fram Galliscum fyre forbærnede weorðan; ac hī hefenlīc fȳr æt þam ylcan cyrre forbærnde."

6. "Ne wene ic," cwæð Orosius, "nū ic lange spell hæbbe to secgenne, þæt ic hī on þysse bēc geendian mæge, ac ic oðere onginnan sceal."

[Bōc III: Capitul I.]

1. Æfter ðam ðe Rome burh getimbrad wæs, III hund wintra and LVII, on þam dagum þe [Gallie] Rome awest hæfdon þa gewearð seo mæste sibb and seo bysmorlecoste betwih Lācedemonium Creca londe and Persum. Æfter þam ðe Lācedemonie hæfdon Perse oft oferwunnen, þa gebudon him Perse þæt hī hæfdon III winter sibbe wið hī, se þe þæt wolde; and se þe þæt nolde, þæt hī woldon þā mid gefeohte gesecan. Hī þa Lācedemonie lustlice þære sibbe hyrsumedon for þam lytlan ēge, þe him mon gebead. On þan mon mæg swutole oncnawan hū mycelne willan hī to ðam gewinne hæfdon, swā heora scopas on heora leoðum gyddiende syndon, and on heora leāspellengum. "Ne geþincð þe swylc gewinn noht lustbære," cwæð Orosius, "ne þā tida þon ma, þætte [him] his feond mæge swa eaðe his mid wordum gestyran?" Æfter ðam þe Lācedemonie hæfdon oferwunnen Ahtene þa burh—hiora agene leode—hȳ hi þa ūpahōfon, and winnan ongunnan on ælce healfe heora, ge wiþ heora agen folc, ge wiþ Perse, ge wið ða læssan Asiam, ge wiþ Ahtene þa burh, þe hī ǣr āwestan: forðon þa feāwan þe þær ūt oðflugon, hæfdon eft þa burh

[gebune], and hæfdon Thebâne, Creca leode, him on fultum âspeonen. Læcedemonie wæron swa ûpahafene, þæt ægþer ge hỹ sylf wendon, ge ealle þa neah þeoda, þæt hî ofer hî ealle mihton anweald habban. Ac him Ahteniense mid Thebâna fultume wiþstodon, and hî mid gefeohte cnysedon.

2. Æfter þam Læcedemonie gecuron him to latteowe, Ircclidis wæs haten, and hine sendon on Perse mid fultume, wiþ hî to gefeohtenne. Him ða Perse mid heora twam ealdormannum ongean comon: oðer hatte Farnabûses, oðer Dissifarnon. Sona swa þæra Læcedemonia ladteow wiste, þæt he wið þa twegen heras sceolde, him þa rædlêcere geþuhte þæt he wið oðerne frið gename, þæt he þone oþerne þe yþ ofercuman mihte. And he swâ gedyde, and his ærendracan to [þam] oðrum onsende, and him secgan hêt, þæt he georнor wolde sibbe wiþ hine, þonne gewinn. He þa se ealdor-man gelyfedlice mid sibbe þæra ærenda onfeng; and Læcedemonie þa hwîle geflymdon þone oðerne ealdor-man.

3. Æfter þam Persa cyning benam þone ealdor-man his scire, þe ær þam friðe onfeng æt Læcedemonium, and hî gesealde anum wreccean of Ahtêne Creca byrig, se wæs haten Conôn, and hine sende mid scip-hêre of Persum to Læcedemonium. And hî sendon to Egyptum, Læcedemonie, and him fultumes bædon; and hî him gesealdon an c þæra mycclena þrie-reðrenena. Læcedemonie hæfdon him to ladteowe ænne wisne man, þeah he healt wære, se wæs haten Ageselaus; and him to gylp-wôrde hæfdon, "þæt him leofre wære, þæt hî hæfdon healtne cyning, þonne healt rice." Hî syþþan on þæm sâ togædere foran, and þær swâ ungemetlice gefuhton, þæt hî neah ealle forwurdan, þæt naþær ne mihte on oðrum sige geræcan. Þær wearð Læcedemonia anweald, and heora dôm alegen. "Ne wene ic," cwæð Orosius, "þæt [ænige] twegen latteowas emnar gefuhton."

4. Æfter þam Conôn gelædde fyrde eft on Læcedemonie; and þæt land buton þære byrig on ælcum þingum mid ealle aweste; þætte þâ þe êr ute oþra þeoda ânwealda gyrndon, him ða gôd þuhte, þær hî [mehten] hỹ sylfe æt hâm wið þeowdom bewerian. Pissandor hatte [sum] Læcedemonia latteow: he gesohte Conôn mid scipum, þa he of Læcedemonium fôr, and þæra folca ægðer on oðrum mycel wæl geslogan. Þær wurdon Læcedemonie swâ swiðe forslagen, þæt hî naðor næfdon syððan ne heora nâmon, ne heora anweald. Ac heora hrỹre wearð Ahtênum to ârærnesse, þæt hî þone ealdan teonan gewrecan mihton, þe him on êr-dagum gemæne wæs. And hî and Thebâne hî gegaderedon, and Læcedemonie mid gefeohte sohton, and hî geflymdon, and hî on heora burh bedrifon, and

syððan besæton. Þa burh-ware sendon ðá æfter Iesulause, þe mid heora hére wæs in Asiam, and bædon þæt he tidlice hám-weard wære, and heora gehulpe. And he swá gedyde and on Ahténe úngearwe becoman, and hi geflymdon. Ahteniense wæron þá him swiðe ondrædende, þæt Lacedemonie ofer hí rixian mihton swá hí ær dydon, for þam lytlan síge, þe hi ðá ofer hí hæfdon. Hí sendon ðá on Perse æfter Conóne, and hine bædon, þæt he him on fultume wære. And he heom þæs getiðade, and hí mid micclum scip-here gesohte; and hí Lacedemonie mæst ealle awestan, and hí to ðan gedydon, þæt hý hí sylfe leton ægðer ge for heane ge for unwræste. Æfter þam Conón gelende to Ahtene þære byrig his eald-cyððe; and þær mid micclum gefean þara burh-leoda onfangen wæs; and he þær his sylfes lange gemynegunge gedyde, mid þan þe he genydde ægðer ge Perse ge Lacedemonie, þæt hí gebetton þa burh, þe hí ér tobræcon;—and éác þæt Lacedemonie þære byrig syððan gehýrsume wæron, þeah hí ér lange heora wiðerwinnan wæron. Æfter þeosan gewinne gewearð þætte Perse gebudon frið eallum Creca folce: næs ná for þam þe hí him ænigra góda upan, ac for þám þe hí wunnon on Egypti, þæt hí mostan for him þy bet þam gewinne fullgangan.

5. Ac Lacedemonie hæfdon þa hwíle maran unstillnessa, þonne hí mægenes hæfdon, and wæron swiðor winnende on Thebane, þonne hí fultumes hæfdon, and hloðum on hí staledon, oð hí abræcon Arcadum heora burh. Æfter þam Thebane hí mid fyrde gesohton, and him Lacedemonie oðre ongean brohton. Þa hí lange fuhton, þa clypade Lacede[monia] ealdor-man to Arcadium, and bædon þæt hí þæs gefeohtes geswicon, þæt hi moston ðá deadan bebyrian, þe heora folces ofslagen wæron. Þæt is mid Crecum þeaw, þæt mid þam worde bið gecyþed, hwæðer healf hæfð þonne sige.

6. "Forþan ic wolde gesecgan," cwæð Orosius, "hú Creca gewinn, þe of Lacedemonia þære byrig ærest onstæled wæs,—and, mid spell-cwydum gemearcian,—ærest on Athéna þa burh, and syððan on Thebáne, and syððan on Boeti, and syððan on Macedónie; þiss wæron ealle Creca leode; and syððan on ða læssan Asiam, and þá on þa maran; and syððan on Perse, and syððan on Egypti. Ic sceal éác þy lator Romana istoria asecgan, þe ic ongunnen hæfde."

[Bóc III: Capitul II.]

1. Æfter ðam þe Rome burh getimbrad wæs III hund wintra and LXXVI, wæs in Achie eorð-beofung; and twa byrig, Ebora and Elice, on eorðan besuncon. Ic mæg éác on urum agnum tídum gelic anginn þam secgan, þeah hit swylc-

ne ende næfde,—þætte Constantinopolim, Creca burh, on swylcere cwacunge wæs, and hyre gewitegad wæs ôf sôðfæstum mannum, þæt heo sceolde on eorþan besincan; ac heô wearð gescyld þurh þone Cristenan Casere [Arcadiusan], and þurh þæt Cristene folc, þe on þam burgum wæs. Þæt getacnode þæt Crist is eaðmodegra help, and ofermôdigra fyll. Mare ic þyses gemyngode þonne ic his mid ealle asæde: gif his hwâ sy lustfull mare to witanne, sece him þonne sylf.

2. Þæt on þam dagum gewearð þætte [Wulchi], and Falisci, þe ær wæron LXX wintra wið Romane winnende, þæt hî hî þâ oferwunnon, and heora land oferhergodan. And raðe æfter þam Suttrian þæt folc wæron hergiende on [Romane] oþ þære burge geata. Hit Romane æfter ðam hrædlice mid gefeohte and mid hergunge him forguldon, and hî geflymdon.

[Bôc III: Capitul III.]

1. Æfter ðam ðe Rome burh getimbrad wæs III hund wintra and LXXXIII, þa ða Laucius, þe oðre naman wæs haten Genutius, and Quintus, þe oðre naman wæs haten Serfilius, þa hî wæron consulas on Rome, gewearð se miccla man-cwealm on þam lande,—nalæs swa hit gewuna is of untidlican gewyderum; þæt is of wætum sumerum, and of drigum wintrum, and of reðre lencten-hætan, and mid ungemetlican hærfest-wætan, and æfter-[hætan]; ac ân wind côm of Calabria wealde, and se wôl mid þam winde. Þes man-cwealm wæs on Romanum, fulle II geare, [ofer] ealle menn gelice: þeah ðe sume deade wæron, sume uneaðe [gedrycnede] aweg comon. Oþ þæt heora bisceopas sædon, þæt heora godas bædon, þæt him man worhte anfiteatra, þæt man mihte þone hæðeniscan plegan þær inne dôn and heora deofol-gyld, þæt wæron openlice ealle unclænnessa.

2. "Her me magon nû," cwæð Orosius, "þâ geandwyrdan, þe þæs Cristendomes wiþerflitan syndon, hû heora godas þurh heora blôtunge, and þurh heora deofol-gyld, þæs man-cwealmes gehulpon; buton þæt hŷ ne ongeaton mid hwylcum scincræfte, and mid hwylcum lotwrence hit deofla dydon,—næs na se soða God,—þæt hî mid þy yfele þa menn swencton, to ðôn þæt hy gelyfdon heora offrunga, and heora deofol-gyldum. And þæt hî þanon moston to ðam sawlum becuman; and þæt hî moston tawian mid þære mæstan bismrunge. Ac heora anfiteatra, þa wæron unarimede, and me nu mænigfeald to asecganne; forþon, "þu, fæder Agustinus, hy hæfst on þinum bocum swetole gesæd; and ic gehwam wille þær to tæcan, þe hine hys lyst mâ to witanne."

3. Æfter þyson, on þam ilcan geare, tohlâd seo eorðe binnan

Rome byrig. Þa sædon heora biscopas eft, þæt heora godas bǽdon þæt him mon sealde anne cucene mann, þa him þuhte þæt hý heora deadra to lyt hæfdon: and seo eorðe swa giniende bâd, oð þæt Marcus, þe oðre namon hatte Curtius, mid horse, and mid wæpnum, þær on innan besceat: and heo siððan togædere behlâd.

[Bóc III: Capitul IV.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs iii hund wintra and [lxxxviii], þæt Gallie oferhergodon [Romana] land oð [þreo] mila to þære byrig, and þa burh mihton eaðe begitan, gif hý þǽr ne [gewicadon]: forþam Romane wǽron swa forhte, and swa ǽmode þæt hy ne wendon, þæt hý þa burh bewerian mihton. Ac þæs on morgen [Titus], heora ladteow, þe oðran namon wæs haten Quintius, hy mid fyrde gesohte. Đær gefeaht Mallius anwig, þe oðre namon wæs haten Tarcuatus, wið anne Galliscne mann, and hine ofsloh; and Titus Quintius þa oðre sume geflymde, sume ofsloh. Be þam mon mihte ongitan hwæt þær ofslagen wæs, þa heora fela þusenda [gefongen] wæs.

[Bóc III: Capitul V.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs iii hund wintra and twa, þæt Cartaina þære burge ærendracan comon to Rome, and him gebudon þæt hý frið him betweonum hæfdon, forþon hý ón ân land þa winnende wæron,—þæt wæs on Benefente. Mid þam þe þa ærendracan to Rome comon, þa com eac mid him seo ofermǽte heârd-sælnes, and monegra þeoda yrmða, seo longe æfter þam weaxende wæs. Swa hit hefones tungel on þam tidan cyþende wæron, þæt hit wæs niht oð midne dæg; and, on sumere tide, hit hagolade stanum ofer ealle Romane.

2. On þam dagum, wæs Alexander geboren on Crecum, swa swa an micel yst come ofer ealne [middangeard]; and Ocus Persa cyning, þone mon oðrum namon hêt Artecsersis, æfter þam þe he Egyptum forhergade, he gefôr siððan on Iuþana land, and heora fela forhergade. Siððan on Ircaniam þam lande, he heora swiðe feala gesette wið þone sǽ, þe mon Caspia hǽtt; and hý þær gesettene sint git oð þisne dæg, mid bradum folcum, on þam tôhôpan, þæt hý sume síðe God þanon âdô to heora agnum lande.—Siððan Artecsersis abræc [Sidonem] Fenitia burh, seo wæs þâ welegast on þam dagum.

3. Æfter þam Romane angunnon þæt Somnîticum gewinn ymbe Campena land. Hý þâ lange and oft-rædlice ymb þæt fuhton, on hweorfendum sîgum. Þa getûgon Somnite him on fultum Pirrûsân, Epira cyning, þone mæston feond Romanum.

Þæt gewinn wearð hwæþre sume hwîle gestilled, forþon Púnici wið Romanum winnan ongunnon.

4. "Siððan þæt gewinn ongunnen wæs, gif ænig mann sy," cwæð Orosius, "þe on gewrîtum findan mæge, þæt Iânas duru siþþan belocen wurde,—butan anum geare, and þæt wæs forþam þe Romane ealne þone gear on mann-cwealme lægan,—ærest on Octauianus dæge, þæs Caseres." Þæt hus hæfdon Romane to þam anum tacne geworht, þæt on swylce heâlfe swylce hŷ þonne winnende beon woldon,—swa sûð, swa norþ, swa est, swa west,—þonne undydon hŷ þâ duru, þe on þa healfe open wæs, þæt hŷ be þâm wiston hwider hy sceoldon. And mid þam þe hy þara dura hwylce opene gesawon, þonne tûgon hŷ heora hrægl bufan cneow, and giredon hŷ to wîge: and be þam wistan þæt hŷ wið sum folc frið ne hæfdon. And þonne hŷ frið hæfdon, þonne wæron ealle þa dura betynede, and hŷ leton heora hrægl ofdune to fotum. Ac þa þa Octauianus, se Casere, to rice feng, þa wurdon Iânas dura betynede, and wearð sibb and frið ofer ealne middangeard.

5. Æfter þam þe Perse frið genamon wið Romanum, siððan gelicode eallum folcum, þæt hy Romanum underþeoded wære, and heora æ̂ to behealdenne. And swa swiðe þone frið lufedon, þæt him leofre wæs, þæt hî Romanisce ciningas hæfdon, þonne of heora agnum cynne. On þam wæs sweotole getacnad, þæt nân eorðlic mann ne mihte swylce lufe, and swylce sibbe, ofer ealne middangeard gedon, swylce þâ wæ̂s. Ac heo for þam wæs, þe Crist on þam dagum geboren wæs, þe sibb is heofonware and eorð-ware. Þæt eac Octauianus sweotole getacnode, þa þa [Romane] him woldon offrian, swa swa heora gewuna wæs, and sædon þæt seo sibb [of] his mihte wære. Ac he æghþer fleah, ge þâ dæd, ge þa sægene; and eac sylf sæde, þæt seo dæd his nære,—ne eac beon ne mihte nanes eorðlices mannes, þæt ealre worolde swylce sibbe bringan mihte, þæt twa þeoda æ̂r habban ne mihton; na þæt læsse wæs, twa gemægða.

[Bóc III: Capitul VI.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs IIII hund wintrum and VIII gewearð þæt Romane and Latine wunnon. On þam forman gefeohte wearð Romana consul ofslagen Mallius, þe oðrum namon wæs haten Tarcuatus; and heora oþer consul, þe mon Decius het, and oþrum namon Mure, his agenne sunu [he] ofsloh, forþon he oferbræc heora gecwid-rædenne, þæt wæs þæt hy hæfdon gecweden, þæt hy ealle emlice on Latine tengdon. Ac þær an ût asceat of Latina werode, and anwiges bæd; and him þæs consules sunu ongean com, and hine þær ofsloh. For þam gylte [hiene eft hett his fæder ofslean: for

þæm slege] noldon Romane bringan þam consule þone triumphan, þe heora gewuna wæs, þeh he sige hæfde.

2. On þam æfteran geare þæs, Minutia hatte an wifman, þe on heora wîsan sceolde nunne beon. Seo hæfde gehâten heora gydenne Diânan þæt heo wolde hyre lif on fæmnanhade â libban. Þa forlæg heó hý sóna. Hý þa Romane for þam gylte þe heo hyre gehat aleah, swa cuce hy on eorðan bedulfon. And nú gyt to dæge, þam gylte to tacne, mon hæt þæt land [mân-feld], þær hy mon byride.

3. Raþe æfter þam on þæra twegra consula dæge, Claudius, þe oðrum namon hatte [Marcellus, and Ualerius], þe oðrum namon hatte Flaccus, ða gewearð hit,—"þeh hit me scondlic sy," cwæð Orosius, "þæt sume Romana wif on swylcum scinlace wurdon, and on swylcum wodum dreame, þæt hy woldon ælcne mann, ge wif ge wæpned, þæra þe hy mihton, mid attre acwellan, and [hit] on mete oððe on drince to geþicganne gesyllan." And þæt lange donde wæron, ær þæt folc wiste hwânon þæt yfel come,—buton þæt hy sǽdon þæt hit ufane of þære lyfte come,—[ærþon] hit þurh ænne þeowne mann geypped wearð. Þa wæron ealle þa wif beforan Romana witan gelaðode, þæra wæs III hund and LXXX; and þær wæron genydde þæt hy þæt ilce þigedon, þæt hy ǽr oðrum sealdon; þæt hy þær-[ryhte] deade wæron beforan eallum þam mannum.

[Bóc III: Capitul VII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs IIII hund wintra and XXII, Alexander, Epirotarum cyning, þæs maran Alexandres eám, he mid eallum his mægene wið Romane winnan ongan, and æt Somnite gemære, and Romana gesæt, and þa nihstan land-leode on ægðre healfe him on fultum geteah, oð Somnite him gefuhton wið, and þone cyning [ofslogon].—"Nu ic þises Alexandres her gemyndgade," cwæð Orosius, "nu ic wille eac þæs maran Alexandres gemunende beon, þæs oþres nefan, þeh ic ymbe Romana gewinn on þam gear-gerime forð [ofer] þæt geteled hæbbe."

2. Ic sceal hwæþre eft gewendan, þæt ic [hwelcne] hugu dæl gesecge Alexandres dæda; and hu Philippus, his fæder, IIII hund wintrum æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs, he feng to Mæcedonia rice [on] Crecum, and þæt hæfde XXV wintra; and binnan þæm gearum he ge-eode ealle þa cynericu þe on Crecum wæron. An wæs Atheniense,—oðer wæs Thebâne,—III wæs Thesalí,—IIII Lacedemonie,—V [Focenses],—VI Mesii,—VII Macedonie, þæt he ærest hæfde. Philippus þa he cniht wæs, he wæs Thébanum to gisle geseald Paminunde, þam strongan cyninge, and þam gelæredestan Philósofe, fram

his agnum breðer Alexandre, þe Læcedemonia rice þá hæfde, and mid him gelæred wearð, on þam þrym gearum, þa he þær wæs. Þa wearð Alexander ofslagen, his broðor, from his agenre meder, þeh heó hýre oþerne sunu eac ær ofslóge for hyre geligernesse; and heo wæs Philippuses steop-modor. Þa feng Philippus to Mæcedonia rice, and hit ealle hwile on miclan pleo and on miclan earfeðan hæfde; þæt ægðer ge him mon útane of oðrum lande him on wann, ge eac þæt his agen folc ymb his feorh syrede, þæt him þa æt nihstan leofre wæs, þæt he úte wunne, þonne he æt ham wære. His forme gefeoht wæs wið Atheniense, and hy oferwonn; and æfter þam wið Hiliricos, þe we Pulgare hatað; and heora mænig þusend ofsloh, and heora mæstan burh ge-eode Larisán. And siððan on Thesali he þæt gewinn swiþost dyde, for þære wilnunge þe he wolde hý him on fultum geteon, for heora wig-cræfte, and forþon þe hý cuðon on horsum ealra folca betst. And ærest hý þa ægþer ge for his ege, ge for his ólecunge, him to gecyrdon. He þa gegaderade mid heora fultume and mid his agenum, ægðer ge [ridendra,] ge gangendra, unoferwunnendlice hére.

3. Æfter þam þe Philippus hæfde Atheniense and Thesali him underþieded, he begeat Aruhes dohtor him to wife, [Malosorum] cyninges, Olimphiaðe heo wæs hatenu. Aruhes wende þæt he his rice gemiclian sceolde, þa he his dohtor Philippuse sealde; ac he hine on þære [wenunge] geband, and him [ðæt] on genam þæt he sylf hæfde, and hine siððan forsende, oð he his lif forlet. Æfter þam Philippus feaht on Othonó þa burh, on Thebana rice; and him þær wearð þæt oðer eage mid anre flan ut ascoten. He hwæðre þa burh gewann, and eall þæt mann-cynn acwealde, þæt he þær inne mette. And æfter þam mid his searwum he ge-eode eall Creca folc, forþon heora gewuna wæs, þæt hy woldon of ælcere byrig him sylf anweald habban, and nan [oðerre] underþyded beon, ac wæron him swa betweonum winnende. Þa bædon hy Philippus, æst of anre byrig, þonne of oþerre, þæt he him on fultume wære, wið þa þe him on wunnon. Þonne he þa oferswiðed hæfde, þe he þonne on winnende wæs, mid þam folce þe hine ær fultumes bæd, þonne dyde he him ægðer to gewealdon: swa he belytegade ealle Crece on his geweald.

4. Þa Crece þæt þa undergeatan, and eac him swiðe ofþincendum, þæt hý an cyning, swa ýþelice buton ælcon gewinne on his geweald beþrydian sceolde, gelice and hí him þeowiende wæron; he hy eac oðrum folcum oft-rædlice on þeowot sealde, þe ær nán folc ne mihte mid gefeohte gewinnan,—hy þa ealle wið hine gewinn uppahofon; and he hine ge-eaðmedde to þam

folce, þe he him þær heardost andred, þæt wæron Thesalii, and on hy gelec þæt hý mid him on Thêne wunnon. Đa hy to þam gemære comon mid heora fyrde, þa hæfdon hý heora clusan belocene. Þa Philippus þær binnan ne mehte, þæt he his teonan gewræce, he þâ wende on þa ane þe him þa getrywe wæron, and heora burh gefor, and þæt folc mid ealle fordyde; and heora hergas towearp, swa he ealle dyde, þe he ahwer mette, ge eac his agene; oð þæt him þa bisceopas sædon, þæt ealle godas him yrre wæron, and wiðwinnende. And þeah hý him ealle yrre [wæren] on þam xxv wintrum, þe he winnende wæs and feohtende, he nâ [oferwunnen] ne wearð. Æfter þam he gefôr on Capodotiam þæt land; and þær ealle þa cyningas mid [biswice] ofsloh. Siððan ealle Capodotiam him gehyrsumedon; and hine siððan wende on his ðry gebroðra, and ænne ofsloh; and þa twegen oðflugon ôn Olinthum þa burh, seo wæs fæstast and welegast Mæcedonia rices. And him Philippus æfter fôr, and þa burh abræc, and þa broþor ofsloh, and eall þæt þær inne wæs. Þa þry gebroðra næron nâ Philippuse gemedred ac wæron gefædred.

5. On þam dagum, on Thracia þam lande, wæron twegen cyningas ymb þæt rice winnende, þa wæron gebroðra. Þa sendon hý to Philippuse, and bædon þæt he hý ymbe þæt rice gesemde, and on þære gewitnesse wære, þæt hit emne gedæled wære. He þa Philippus to heora gemote com mid micelre fyrde, and þa cyningas begen ofsloh, and ealle þa witan, and feng him to þam ricum bâm.—Æfter þam Atheniense bædon Philippus, þæt he heora ladteow wære wið Focenses þam folce, þeh hy ær heora [clusan] him ongean beluce, and þæt he oþer þæra dyde, oþþe hý gesemde, oþþe him gefultumade þæt hý hý oferwinnan mihtan. He him þa gehêt þæt he him gefultuman wolde, þæt hý hý oferwunnon. Eac æt þam ilcan cirre bædan Focense his fultumes wið Athene. He him þa gehêt þæt he hy geseman wolde. Siððan he [buta] þa clusan on his gewealde hæfde, þâ dyde he him eac þa ricu to gewealdan; and his hêre geond þa byrig todælde, and him bebead, þæt hý þæt land hergiende wæron, oð þæt hý hit aweston; þæt þam folce wæs [ægþres] wâ, ge þæt hý þæt mæste yfel forberan sceoldon, ge eac þæt hý his sciran nê dorstan. Ac he ealle þa ricostan forslean hêt, and þa oðre—sume on wræc-sið forsende,—sume on oþra mearca gesette. Swa he Philippus þa miclan ricu geniþerade: þeh þe ær anra gehwelc wende, þæt hit ofer monige oðro andweald habban mihte, þæt hy þa æt nihstan, hy sylfe to nohte bemætan.

6. Philippuse geþuhte æfter þam, þæt he on lande ne mihte þam folce mid gifum gecweman, þe him on simbel wæron mid

winnende: ac he scipa gegaderade, and wicingas wurdon, and sona æt anum cyrre an c and eahtatig ceap-scipa gefengon. Þa geceas he him ane burh, wiþ þone sæ, Bizantium wæs [hatenu] to þón þæt him gelicode þæt hy þær mihton betst binnan friþ habban; and eac þæt hy þær gehendaste wæron [on] gehwylc land þanon to winnanne. Ac him þa burh-leode þæs wiþcwædon. Philippus mid his fultume hy besæt and him on wann. Seo ilce Bizantium wæs ærest getimbred fram Pausânia Lacedemonia ladteowe; and æfter þam fram Constantino, þam Cristenan Casere ge-ieced, and be his namon heo wæs gehatenu Constantinopolim; and is nú þæt heahste cyne-setl, and heafod ealles east-rices. Æfter þam þe Philippus lange þa burh beseten hæfde, þa ofþuhte him þæt he þæt feoh to sellenne næfde his here, swa hy bewuna wæron. He þa his here on tú todælde: sum ymb þa burh sæt, and he mid sumum hlóðum fór and manega byrig bereafode on Cherânisce Creca folce; and siððan fór on Sciððie, mid Alexandre his suna, þær Athéas se cyning-rice hæfde, þe ær his geþofta wæs wiþ Isðriâna gewinne, and þá on þæt land faran wolde. Ac hý þa land-leode wiþ þæt gewarnedon, and him mid fyrde ongean foran. Ða þæt þa Philippus geahsode, þa sende he æfter maran fultume to þam þe þa burh ymbseten hæfdon; and mid eallum mægene on hý fór. Þeh þe Sciððie hæfde maran manna mænige, and hy selfe hwætran wæron, hý þeah Philippus besirede mid his lottwrencum, mid þam þe he his héres þriddan dæl gehydde, and him self mid wæs; and þam twam dælum bebead, swa hy [feohtan] ongunnon, þæt hý wiþ his flugon; þæt he siððan mid þam þriddan dæle hy beswican mihte, þonne hy tofarene wæron. Þær wearð Sciððia xx M ofslagen and gefangen wifmanna and wæpmanna; and þær wæs xx M, horsa gefangen; þeh hý þær nân licgende feoh ne metton, swa hy ær gewuna wæron, þonne hy wæl-stowe geweald ahton. On þam gefeohte wæs ærest anfunden Sciððia wann-speda. Eft þa Philippus wæs þanan cyrrende þa of for hyne oþere Sciþþie mid lytelre fyrde, Tribaballe wæron hatene. Philippus him dyde heora wig unweorð, oð hyne an Cwene sceat þurh þæt þeoh, þæt þæt hors wæs dead, þe he on ufan sæt. Ða his here geseah þæt he mid þy horse afeol, hý þa ealle flugon, and eall þæt here-feoh forleton, þe hy ær gefangen hæfdon. Wæs þæt micel wundor, þæt swa micel here for þæs cyninges fylle fleah, þe nâ ær þam fleon nolde, þeh his monn fela þusenda ofsloge. Philippus mid his lott-wrence, þa hwíle þe he wund wæs, alyfde eallum Crecum, þæt heora anwealdas moston [standan] him betweonum, swa [hie] ær on eald-dagum dydon. Ac sona swa he gelacnod wæs, swa hérgade he on Athéne. Þa sendon hy to Lacedemonium, and

bædon þæt hý gefrynd wurdon, þeh hý ær longe gefynd wæron; and bædon þæt hy ealle gemænelice cunnodon,—mihtan hý hyra gemænan feond him fram adon. Hy þa sume him getiþedon, and gegaderodon maran mann-fultum þonne Philippus hæfde: sume for his ege ne dorstan. Philippuse geþuhte þá, þæt he leng mid folc-gefeohtum wið hy ne mihte; ac oftrædlice he wæs mid hloðum on hy hergende, and onbutan syrwende, oð hy eft totwæmde wæron, and þa on ungearewe on Ahténe mid fyrde geför. Æt þam cyrre wurdon Atheniense swa wælhreowlice forslagen and forhýned, þæt hy na siððan nanes anwealdes hý ne bemætan, ne nánes freodómes.

7. Æfter þam gelædde Philippus fyrde on Lacedemonie, and on Thebane, and hy micclum tintregade, and bismrade, oð hy mid ealle wæron fordón, and forhýned. Æfter þam þe Philippus hæfde ealle Crecas on his geweald gedon, he sealde his dohtor Alexandre þam cyninge, his agenum mæge, þe he ær Epirá rice geseald hæfde. Þa on þam dæge plegedon hý of horsum, ægðer ge Philippus ge Alexander, þe he him his dohtor sillan wolde, ge Alexander his agen sunu, swa heora þeaw æt swylcum wæs, and eac mænige oþære mid him. Þa Philippuse gebyrede þæt he for þam plegan ut of þam mann-werode arad, þa mette hine [his] eald gefana sum, and hine ofstang.

8. "Ic nat," cwæð Orosius, "for hwi eow Romanum syndon þa ærran gewinn swa wel gelicod and swa lustsumlice on leoð-cwidum to gehyranne; and for hwý ge þa tida swelcra broca swa wel hergeað; and nú þeh eow lytles hwæt swelcra gebroca on becume, þonne [gemænað] ge hit to þam wyrrestan tidum, and magon hý swa hreowlice wepan, swa gé magon þæra oðra bliðelice hlihhan. Gif gé swylce þegnas sind, swylce gé wénað thæt ge sien, þonne sceoldon gé swa lustlice eowre agenu brocu arefnan, þeh hý læssan sýn, swa gé héora sind to gehyranne. Þonne þuhte eow þas tida beteran, þonne þa, forþon eowre brocu nú læssan sindon þonne heora þá wære; forþón Philippus wæs xxv. wintra Creca folc hynende, ægðer ge heora byrig bærnende, ge heora folc sleande, and sume on [elþiodige] forsendende; and eower Romana brocu, þe gé þær ealneg drifað, næs buton þry dagas. Philippuses yfel mihte þeh þa gýt, be sumum dæle gemetlic þyncan, ær se swelgend to rice feng, Alexander his sunu.—Þeh ic nú his [dæda] sume hwíle gesuwian scyle, oð ic Romana gesecge, þe on þam ilcan tidum gedone wæron."

[Bóc III: Capitul VIII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs IIII hund wintra and xxvi-gum: Caúdenes Furculus seó stów gewearð swiðe mære, and git to dæge is, for Romana bismere. Þæt gewearð æfter

þam gefeohte, þe Romane and Somnite hæfdon, swa we ǽr beforan sædon, þa þara Somnite xx M ofslagen wurdon, under Fauia þam consule. Ac Somnite æt oþran gefeohte mid maran fultume, and mid maran wærscipe, to Romana gemetinge coman, þonne hy ær dydon, æt þære stowe þe mon het Caúdenes Furculas. And þær Romane swiðost for þam [besierede] wæron, þe him þæt land uncuðre wæs, þonne hit Somnitum wære; and ón úngewis ón án nyrewett beforan, oð hý Somnite utan beforan; þæt hy siððan oþer sceoldon,—oþþe for meteliéste heora líf aleton, oþþe Somnítum on [hand] gan. On þam anwealde wæron Somnite swa bealde, þæt se æþeling þe heora ladteow wæs, Pontius wæs haten, hét ahxian þone cyning, his fæder, þe þær æt hám wæs, hwæþer him leofre wære, þe he hý ealle acwealde, þe hý libbende to bismre gerénian héte. Hy þa se æþeling to þam bismre getawade, þe þá on þam dagum mæst wæs, — þæt he hý bereafode heora claða and heora wæpna; and VI hund gisla on his geweald underfeng, on þæt gerad, þæt hý him siðþan éce þeowas wæron. And se æðeling bebead sumum his folce, þæt hý gebrohton Romana consulas, [ond heora witan æt heora agnum londe], and him beforan drifan swa swa niedlingas, þæt heora bismer þý mare wære.

2. "Geornor we woldon, "cweð Orosius," [iowra] Romana bismora beon forsugiende þonne secgende, þær we for eowre agenre gnornunge moste, þe gé wiþ þam Cristendome habbað. Hwæt! gé witan þæt gé gýt to-dæge wæron Somnitum þeowe, gif ge him ne lugon eowra wedd, and eowra aþas, þe gé him seoldon: and ge murcniað nú forþám þe monega folc, þe gé anweald ofer hæfdon, noldon eow gelæstan, þæt hý eow behéton; and nellað ge þencean, hú láð eow sylfum wæs, to læstanne eowre aðas þam þe ofer eow anweald hæfdon!"

3. Sona þæs on þam æfteran geare, forbræcon Romane heora aþas, þe hý Somnitum geseald hæfdon; and mid Papíria heora consule, hý mid firde gesohton, and þær deadlicne sige geforan; forþám þe ægðer þæra folca wæs þæs gefeohtes georn,—Somnite for þam anwealde, þe hý on ægðre healfe hæfdon, and Romane for þam bismere, þe hy ǽr æt him geforan; oð Romane gefengon Somnita cyning, and heora fæsten abræcon, and hy to gafol-gyldum gedydon. Se ilca Papirus wæs æfter þam gefeohte mid Romanum swylces domes béléd, þæt hy hine to þon gecoren hæfdon, þæt [he] mid gefeohte mihte þam maran Alexandre wiðstandan; gif he eastane of Asiam Italiam gesohte, swa he gecweden hæfde.

[Bóc III: Capitul IX.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs IIII hund

wintrum and xxvi. feng Alexander to Mæcedonia rice æfter Philippuse, his fæder; and his ærestan þegnscipe on þon [gecyþde], þa he ealle Crecas mid his snyttro on his geweald geniedde,—ealle þá þe wiþ hine gewinn upahofon.

2. Þæt wearð ærest from Persum, þá hý [sealdon] Demostanáse þam Philósophe licgende feoh, wiþ þam þe he gelærde ealle Crecas þæt hy Alexandre wiþsocon. Athéne budon gefeoht Alexandre. Ac he hý sona forsloh and geflymde, þæt hý siþþan ungemetlicne ege fram him hæfdon; and Thebana fæsten abræc, and mid ealle towearp, þæt ær wæs ealra Creca heafodstol. And siþþan eall þæt folc on ellþeóde him wiþ feoh gesealde; and ealle þa oðre þeoda, þe on Crecum wæron, he to gafol-gyldum gedyde buton Macedoniam, þa him [æst] to gecyrdon. And þanon wæs farende [on Illirice], and on Thracíi, and hý ealle to him gebigde. And siþþan he gaderade fyrde wiþ Perse; and, þa hwíle þe he hy gaderode, he ofsloh ealle his magas þe he geræcean mihte. On his feðe hére wæron xxxii M, and þæs gehorsedan fifte healf M, and scipa an hund and eahtatig.—"Nat ic," cwæð Orosius, "hwæþer mare wundor wæs,—þe [þæt] he, mid swa lytle fultume, þone mæstan dæl þises middangeardes gegan mihte, þe þæt he mid swa [lytle] werode, swa micel anginnan dorste."

3. On þam forman gefeohte, þe Alexander gefeaht wiþ Darius an Persum, Darius hæfde syx hund M folces: he wearð þeh swiðor beswicen for Alexandres searewe, þonne for his gefeohte. Þær wæs ungemetlic wæl geslagen Persa; and Alexandres næs na má þonne hund twelftig on þam ræde hére, and nigon on þam feðan. Þa afór Alexander þanon on Frígam, Asiam land, and heora burh abræc and towearp, þe mon hæt Sardis. Þá sæde him mon þæt Darius hæfde eft fyrde gegaderod on Persum. Alexander him þæt þa ondred for þære nearewan stowe, þe he þá on wæs; and hrædlice for þam ege þanon áfór ofer Taurasan þone beorh; and ungelyfedlicne micelne weg on þam dæge gefór, oð he com to Tharsum, þære byrig, on Cilicium þam lande.

4. On þam dæge he gemette ane ea seo hæfde ungemetlice ceald wæter, seo wæs Ciðnus haten. Þa ongan he hyne baðian þæron swa swatigne, þa for þam cyle him gescruncan ealle ædra, þæt him mon þæs lifes ne wende.

5. Raðe æfter þam com Darius mid fyrde to Alexandre. He hæfde III hund þusenda feþena and an hund M gehorsedra. Alexander wæs þa him swiðe ondrædende for þære miclan mænige, and for þære lytlan þe he sylf hæfde; þeh þe he ær mid þære ilcan Darius maran ofercome. Ðæt gefeoht wæs gedon mid micelre geornfulnesse of þam folcum bám, and þær

wæron þa cyningas begen gewundod. Þær wæs Persa x m ofslagen gehorsedra, and eahtatig m feðena, and eahtatig m gefangenra; and þær wæs ungemetlice [micel] licgende feoh funden on þam wic-stowum. Đær wæs Darius modor gefangen, and his wif, seo wæs his sweoster, and his twa dohtra. Đa bead Darius healf his rice Alexandre wið þam wif-mannum; ac him nolde Alexander þæs getiþian.—Darius þa gyt þriddan siðe gegaderade fyrde of Persum, and eac of oðrum landum þone fultum, þe he him tō aspanan mihte, and wið Alexandres for. Þa hwile þe Darius fyrde gaderade, þa hwīle sende Alexander Parmeniōnem, his ladteow, þæt he Darius scip-here aflymde, and he sylf for in Sirium: and hy him ongean comon, and his mid eaðmodnessan onfengan; and he þeah na þe læs heora land oferhergade; and þæt folc,—sum þær sittan let,—sume þanon adræfde,—sume on ellþeode him wið feo gesealde.

6. And Tirus, þā ealdan burh and þa wēlegan, he besæt, and tobræc, and mid ealle towearp, forþon hȳ him lustlice onfōn noldon. And siððan for on Cilicium, and þæt folc to him genydde; and siððan on Roðum þæt igland, and þæt folc to him genydde. And æfter þam he for on Egypti, and hȳ to him genydde; and þær he het þa burh atimbrian, þe mon siððan be him het Alexandria. And siððan he for to þam hēarge þe Egypti sædon þæt he wære Amones heora godes, se wæs Jobēses sunu heora oðres godes, to þōn þæt he wolde beladian his modor Nectanēbuses þæs drys, þe mon sæde þæt heo hȳ wið forlæge, and þæt he Alexandres fæder wære. Þa bebead Alexander þam hǣþenan bisceope, þæt he becrupe on þæs Amones anlicnesse, þe inne on þam hearge wæs, ær þam þe he and þæt folc hy þær gaderade, and sæde hū he him an his gewill beforan þam folce āndwyrdan sceolde, þæs he hyne acsade. Genoh sweotolice us gedyde nū to witanne Alexander, hwylce þa hæþenan godas sindon to weorþianne, þæt hit swiðor is of þæra bisceopa [gehlote], and of heora agenre gewyrde, þæt þæt hy secgað, þonne of þæra goda mihte.

7. Of þære stowe, for Alexander þriddan siðe ongean Darius, and hȳ æt Tharse þære byrig hȳ gemettan. On þam gefeohte, wæron Perse swa swiðe forslagen, þæt hy heora miclan anwealdes and longsuman hy sylfe siððan wið Alexander to nahte [ne] bemætan. Þa Darius geseah þæt he oferwunnen beon wolde, þa wolde he hine sylfne on þam gefeohte forspillan, ac hine his þegnas ofer his willan fram atugon, þæt he siþþan wæs fleonde mid þære fyrde. And Alexander wæs xxxiii daga on þære stowe, ǣr he þa wīc-stowa and þæt wæl bereafian mihte. And siððan for ān Perse, and ge-eōde Persīpulis þa burh, heora cyne-stol, seo is gyt welegast ealra burga. Đa sæde mon Alex-

andre, þæt Darius hæfde gebunden his agene magas mid gyldenre raccentan. Ða for he wið his mid syx M manna, and funde hine anne be wege licgean, mid sperum ofsticod, healf cucne. He þa Alexander him ânum deadum lytle mildheortnesse gedyde, þæt he hine hêt bebyrigean on his yldrena byrig, þe he siððan nânum ende his cynne gedon nolde, ne his wife, ne his meder, ne his bearnum, ne þæt ealra læst wæs, his gingran dohtor, he nolde buton hæft-nyde habban: seo wæs lytel cild.

8. Uneaðe mæg mon to geleafsuman gesecgan, swa mænigfeald yfel swa on þam þrim gearum gewurdon, on þrim folcgefeohtum, betweox twam cyningum: þæt wæron fiftyne hund þusend manna, þæt binnan þâm forwûrdon; and of þam ilcan folcum forwurdon lytle êr, swa hit hêr beforan secgð, nigontyne hund þusend manna, butan miclan hergungum, þe binnan þam þrim gearum gewurdon on monigre þeode: þæt is þæt Asîrie eall seo þeod awest wearð fram Alexandre, and monega byrig on Asiam, and Tirus seo mære burh eal toweorpenu, and [Cilicia] þæt land eall awest, and Capadotia þæt land, and ealle Egypti on þeôwote gebroht, and Roðum þæt igland mid ealle awest, and monig oþre land ymbe Tauros þa muntas.

9. Nâ lês þæt ân þæt heora twegra gewinn, þa wære on þam est-ende þises middangeardes; ac, on emn þâm, Agiðis Spartana cyning, and Antipater, oþer Creca cyning, wunnon him betweonum; and Alexander Epiria cyning, þæs miclan Alexandres eam, se wilnode þæs west-dæles, swa se oþer dyde þæs east-dæles, and fyrde gelædde in Italiam, and þær hrædlice ofslagen wearð. And on þære ilcan tide, Zoffirion, Ponto cyning, [in Sciþþie] mid fyrde geför, and he [and his] folc mid ealle þêr forwearð. Alexander, æfter Darius deaþe, gewann ealle Mandos, and ealle Ircaniam; and, on [ðære] hwîle þe he þær winnende wæs, frefelice hine gesohte Minothêo, seo Sciððisce cwen, mid þrym hund wif-manna, to þôn þæt hŷ woldan wið Alexander and wið his mærestan cempan bearna strynan.

10. Æfter þam, wann Alexander wið Parthim þam folce, and he hŷ neah ealle ofsloh and fordyde, êr he hŷ gewinnan mihte. And æfter þam he gewonn Drancas þæt folc, and Eurgetas, and Paramomenas, and Assapias, and monega oðra þeoda, þe gesetene sind ymbe þa muntas Caucasus, and þar het ane burh atimbrian, þe mon siððan het Alexandria.

11. Næs his scinlac, ne his hêrgung on þa fremdan ane, ac he gelice sloh and hynde þa, þe him on siml wæron midfarende and winnende. Æst he ofsloh Amintas, his modrian sunu, and siððan his broðor, and þa Parmenion his þegn, and þa Filiotes, and þa Catulusan, þa Eurilohus, þa Pausanias, and monege

oðre, þe of Mæcedoniam ricoste wæron; and Clitus, se wæs ægðer ge his þegn, ge ær Philippuses, his fæder. Þa hy sume siþe druncne æt heora symble sæton, þa ongunnon hý treahtigean hwæþer má mærlicra dæda gefremed hæfde, þe Philippus, þe Alexander. Þa sæde se Clitus for ealdre hýlde, þæt Philippus má hæfde gedon þonne he. He þa Alexander ahleop for þære sægene and ofsloh hine. To-ecan þám, þe he hýnende wæs ægðer ge his agen folc, ge oðera cyninga, he wæs sin þyrstende mannes blodes.

12. Raðe æfter þám, he for mid fyrde on Chorasmas, and on Dacos, and him to gafolgyldum hý genydde. Chalisten þone Filosofum he ofsloh, his emn-sceolere, ðe hý ætgædere gelærede wæron æt [Aristotolese] heora magistre, and monega menn mid him, forþón hý noldan to him gebiddan swa to heora gode.

13. Æfter þam, he for on Indie, to þón þæt [he] his rice gebrædde oð þone east-garsecg. On þam siðe he ge-eode Nisan, India heafod-burh, and ealle þa beorgas þe mon Dédolas hætt, and eall þæt rice Cléoffiles þære cwene; and hý to geligre genydde, and for þam hire rice eft ageaf. Æfter þam þe Alexander hæfde ealle Indie him to gewyldon gedon, buton anre byrig, seo wæs ungemetan fæste, mid cludum ymbweaxen, ða ge-ahsode he þæt Ercol se ent, þær wæs togefaren on ærdagum, to þón þæt he hý abrecan þohte; ac he hit for þam né ángann, þe þær wæs eorð-beofung on þære tide. He þa Alexander hit swiðost for þam ongann, þe he wolde, þæt his mærða wæron maran þonne Ercoles; þeh þe he hý [mid] micle forlore þæs folces begeate.

14. Æfter þam, Alexander hæfde gefeoht wið Porose, þam strengstan Indea cyninge. On þam gefeohte wæron þa mæstan blodgytas on ægðre healfe þæra folca. On þam gefeohte Póros and Alexander gefuhton anwig [of] horsum. Þa ofsloh Póros Alexandres hors, þe Bucefall wæs háten, and hine sylfne mihte, þær him his þegnas to fultume ne comon: and he hæfde Póros monegum wundum gewundodne, and hine eac gewildne gedyde, syððan his þegnas him to comon: and him eft his rice tó forlet for his þegenscipe, þý he swa swiðe wæs feohtende angean hine. And he Alexander him hét siððan twa byrig atimbrian: oþer wæs hatenu be his horse Bucefal, oþer Nicéa.

15. Siððan he for on [Ræstas] þa leode, and on Cathénas, and on Presidas, and on [Gangeridas]; and wið hy ealle gefeaht, and oferwonn. Þa he cóm on Indía east-gemæra, þa cóm him þær ongean twa hund þusenda [monna] gehorsades folces; and hý Alexander uneaðe oferwonn, ægðer ge for þære sumor hæte, ge eac for þam oftrædlican gefeohtum. Siððan

æfter þam he wolde habban maran wic-gtowa, þonne his gewuna ær wære; forþon he him siððan æfter þam gefeohte swiðor an sæt, þonne he ær dyde.

16. Æfter þam, he for ût on garsecg, of þam muðan þe seo eâ wæs hatenu Eginense, on an igland, þær Siuos þæt folc and Iersomas on eardodan; and hý Ercol þær ær gebrohte, and gesette; and he him þa to gewildum gedyde. Æfter þam he for to þam iglande, þe mon þæt folc Mandras hæt, and Subagros; and hý him brohtan angean ehta hund M feþena, and LX M gehorsades folces; and hy lange wæron þæt dreogende, ær heora aþer mihte on oþrum sige geræcan, ær Alexander late unweorðlicne sige geræhte.

17. Æfter þam, he gefor to anum fæstene. Þa he þær-to com, þa ne mihton hy nænne mann on þam fæstene utan geseon. Ða wundrade Alexander hwi hit swa æmenne wære; and hrædlice þone weall self oferclomm, and he þær wearð fram þam burh-warum inn abroden; and hý his siððan wæron swa swiðe ehtende, swa [hit] is ungeliefedlic to secgenne, ge mid gesceotum, ge mid stâna torfungum, ge mid eallum heora wig-cræftum,—þæt swa þeah ealle þa burh-ware ne mihton hine ænne genydan, þæt he him on hând gân wolde. Ac þa him þæt folc swiðost on þrang, þa gestop he to anes wealles byge, and hine þær âwerede. And swa eall þæt folc wearð mid him anum agæled, þæt hý þæs wealles nane gyman ne dydan, oð Alexandres þegnas to emnes him þone weall abræcan, and þær inn comon. Ðær wearð Alexander þurhscoten mid anre flan underneoþan oðer breost—Nyte we nû, hwæþer sý swiþor to wundrianne, þe þæt hû he âna wið ealle þa burhware hine awerede,—þe eft, þa him fultum côm, hû he þurh þæt folc geþrang, þæt he þone ilcan ofsloh, þe hine ær þurhsceat; þe eft þæra þegna onginn, þa hy ontweogendlice wendon þæt heora hlâford wære on heora feonda gewealde, oðde cuca, oðde dead, þæt hý swa þeah noldan þæs weall-gebreces geswican, þæt hý heora hlâford nê gewræcon, þeh þe hý hine meðigne on [cneowum] sittende metten.

18. Siððan he þa burh hæfde him to gewyldum gedon, þa for he to oðre byrig, þær Æmbira se cyning on wunade. Þær forwearð micel Alexandres heres for [ge-ætredum] gescotum. Ac Alexandre wearð on þære ilcan niht on swefne an wyrt oðywed; þa nâm he þa on mergen, and sealde hý þam gewundedum drincan, and hý wurdon mid þam gehæled; and siððan þa burh gewann.

19. And he siððan hwearf hamweard tô Babylonia. Þær wæron ærendracan ôn anbide of ealre weorolde: þæt wæs fram Spâneum, and ôf Affrica, and of Gallium, and of ealre

Italia. Swa egefull wæs Alexander, þâ þa he wæs on Indeum, on easte-weardum þisum middanearde, þæt þâ fram him adrédan, þâ wæron on westeweardum. Eac him comon ærendracan, ge of monegum þeodum, þe nân mann Alexandres geferscipes ne wende, þæt mon his namon wiste; and him friðes to him wilnedon. Ða git þa Alexander hâm com to Babylonia, þâ gît wæs on him se mæsta þurst mannes blodes. Ac þa þa his geferan ongeatan þæt he þæs gewinnes þa git geswican nolde, ac he sæde þæt he on [African] faran wolde, þa geleornedon his byrelas him betweonum, hû hŷ him mihton þæt lif oðþringan, and him gesealdan attor drincan: þa forlet he his lif.

20. "[Eala]!" cwæð Orosius, "on hû micelre dysignesse menn nu sindon, on þyson Cristendome! Swa þeah þe him lytles hwæt ûneþe sy, hu earfoðlice hŷ hit gemænað! Oþer þara is,—oððe hŷ hit nyton, oððe hy hit witan nyllað, an hwelcan brocum þa lifdon þe ær him wæran. [Nû] wenað hŷ hû þam wære þe on Alexandres [onwalde] wæran, þa him þâ swa swiðe hine andredan, þe on westeweardum þises middangeardes wæran, þæt hŷ on swa micle neþinge, and on swa micel ungewis, ægðer ge on sæs fyrhto, ge on westennum wildeora, and wyrm-cynna missenlicra, ge on þeoda gereordum, þæt hy hine æfter friðe sohton on eastweardum þysan middangearde. Ac we witan georne, þæt hŷ nû mâ for yrhþe, nâþer ne durran ne swa feor [frið] gesecean, ne furþon hŷ selfe [æt ham], æt heora cotum werian, þonne hŷ mon æt ham secð: ac þæt [hie magon þæt] hy þas tida leahtrien."

[Bóc III: Capitul X.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs iiii hund wintra and l,—under þam twam consulum,—þe oþer wæs haten Fauius, and oðran namon Maximus, and under þam þe Cwintus wæs haten, and oðran namon Decius,—on heora consulatu, on Italium feower þa strengestan þeoda, hŷ him betweonum gespræcan—þæt wæran Umbri, and Þrysci, and Somnite, and Gallie—þæt hŷ woldon on Romane winnan. And hŷ him þæt swiðe ondredan, hû hŷ wið him eallum endemes mihte; and georne siredon hû hŷ hî totwæman mihtan, and gewealdenne hêre on Þrysci, and on Umbre sendon an hergunge, and þæt folc to amyrranne. [Þa] hŷ þæt geacsedan, þa wendan hŷ him hamweard toþón þæt hŷ heora land beweredan. Ond Romane þa hwîle mid heora maran fultume, þe hŷ æt ham hæfdon, foran ongean Somnite, and ongean Gallie. Dær on þam gefeohte wæs Cwintus se consul ofslagen; and Fauius, se oþer consul, æfter þæs oþres fylle, sige hæfde. Þær wearð Somnita and Gallia feowertig M ofslagen, and seofon M

Romana, on þam dæle þe Decius on ofslagen wæs. Þonne sæde Libius þæt Somnita and Gallia wære oþer healf hund M ofslagen þæra feþena, and seofon M gehorsedra.

2. "Eâc ic gehyrde to soðum secgan," cwæð Orosius, "þæt hit nâ nære on þam dagum mid Romanum buton gewinne, oððe wið oðra folc, oþþe on him selfum, mid monigfealdum wŏlum and mann-cwealmum: swa swa hit þâ wæs."

3. Ða [Fauius], se consul, of þam gefeohte hâmweard fŏr, þa dyde mon þone triumphan him beforan, þe heora gewuna wæs þonne hŷ sige hæfdon. Ac se gefeâ wearð swiðe raðe on heora mode to gedræfednesse gecirred, þa hŷ gesawon þa deadan menn swa þiclice to eorþan beran, þe þær ær æt ham wæran; forþŏn þe þær wæs se micla mann-cwealm on þære tide.

4. And þæs ymb an gear, Somnîte gefuhton wið [Romanum], and hy geflymdon, and hy bedrifan into Rome byrig. And hrædlice æfter þam, Somnîte awendan on oðre wisan ægþer ge heora sceorp, ge eall heora wæpn ofer-sylefredan, to tacne þæt hŷ oþer woldan,—oððe ealle libban, oððe ealle licgean. On þam dagum, gecuron Romane Papirius him to consule, and raðe þæs fyrde gelæddan ongean Somnitum, þeh þe heora bisceopas fram heora godum sædon, þæt hy þæt gefeoht [forbuden.] Ac he Papirius þa bisceopas for þære segene swiðe bismrede, and þæt færeld swa þeah gefŏr; and swa weorðlicne sige hæfde, swa he ær unweorðlice þara goda bisceopan ŏferhîrde. Þær wearð Somnita twelf M ofslagen, and IIII M gefangen. And raðe æfter þam mærlican sige, hŷ wurdon eft gennrett mid mann-cwealme, and se wæs swa ungemetlic, and swa langsum, þæt hŷ þâ æt nihstan witende mid deofol-cræftum sohton hû hŷ hit gestillan mihtan, and gefetton Escolâfius þone scin-lacan mid þære ungemetlican nædran, þe mon Epiðaûrus hêt; and onlicost dydon swylce him næfre ær þâm gelîc yfel on ne become, ne æfter þam eft nê becŏme.

5. Þy æfterran geare þæs, Fauius heora consul, þe oðrum namon wæs haten Gurius, gefeaht wið Somnîtum, and heânlice hamweard oðfleah. Þa woldan senatus hine aweorpan, forþŏn he þæt folc on fleame gebrohte; þa bæd his fæder, wæs eac Fauius haten, þæt þa senâtus forgeafon þam suna þone gylt, and þæt hy [gebiden] þæt he moste mid þam suna æt oþran cirre wið Somnitum mid heora ealra fultume; and hŷ him þæs getyðedon. Þa bebead se fæder þam consule, þæt he mid his firde ongêan fore; and he beæftan gebâd mid sumum þam fultume. Þa he geseah þæt Pontius, Somnîta cyning, hæfde þone consul his sunu besired, and mid his folce utan befangen, he him þa to fultume cŏm, and hine swiðe geanmette; and Pontius, Som-

nita cyning, gefengon. Þær wearð Somnita XX M ofslagen, and IIII M gefangen mid þam cynige. Þær wearð Romana [gewinn] and Somnita ge-endod—forþón þe hý heora cyning gefengon—þæt hy ær dreogende wæron LVIIII wintra.

6. Dæs on oðrum geare Curius se consul mid Romanum gefeaht wið Sabinan, and heora ungemet ofsloh, and sige hæfde, beþon mon mihte witan, þa he [ond] þá consulas hy atellan ne mihton.

[Bóc III: Capitul XI.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs IIII hund wintrum and LXIII, þa þa Dolabella and Domitius wæron consulas on Rome, þa Lucani, and Bruti, and Somnite, and Gallie of Senno, angunnon wið Romanum winnan. Ða sendon Romane ærendracan to Gallium ymb frið. Þa ofslogon hý þa ærendracan. Þa sendon hý eft Cecilium, heora pretorium, mid firde þær Gallie and Bryti ætgædere wæron; and he þær wearð ofslagen, and þæt folc mid him þæt wæs XVIII M. Swa oft [swa] Galli wið Romanum wunnon, swa wurdon [Romane] gecnysede. "Forþón, gé Románe," cwæð Orosius, "þonne gé ýmb þæt án gefeoht ealneg ceoriað þe eow Gótan gedydon, hwi nellað gé geþencan þa monegan ærran, þe eow Gallie oftrædlice bismerlice þurhtúgon!"

2. Ic sceal eac [gemyndgian], be sumum dæle, þæs þe Alexandres æfterfylgendas dydon on þam tidan, þe þis gewearð on Rome byrig: hú hý hí sylfe mid missenlican gefeohtum fordydon.—"Hit is," cwæð he, "þam gelicost, þonne ic [his] geþencan sceal, þe ic sitte on anre heahre dúne, and geseo þonne on smeþum felda fela fyra býrnan; swa ofer eall Mæcedonia rice, þæt is ofer ealle þa maran Asiam, and ofer Europe þone mæstan [dæl] and ealle Libium, þæt hit ná [næs] buton héte and gewinnum. Þa þe under Alexandre fyrmest wæran, þær þær hý æfter him rixedan, hý þæt mid gewinnum awestan, and þær þær hý næran, hý gedydan þone mæstan ege, swylce se biteresta smic upp astíge, and þonne wide tofáre.

3. Alexander XII gear þisne middangeard under hym þrysmde, and egsade; and his æfterfolgeras XIIII gear hit siþþan totúgon, and totæran, gelicost þám þonne seo leo bringð hungregum hwelpum hwæt to etanne: hy þonne gecyþað on þam æte, hwylc heora mæst mæg [gehrifnian].

4. Swa þonne dyde Pholoméus, Alexandres þegna án, þa he togædere [gesweop] ealle Egyptum, and Arabia; and Laumenda, his oþer þegn, se befeng ealle Asirie,—and Thelenus [Ciliciam],—and Filótos Hiliricam,—and Iecrapatas þa maran Meþian,—and Stromen þa læssan Meþian,—and Perðice þa

læssan Asiam.—And Susana . . . —þa maran Frigan, and Antigonus,—Liciam, and Pamphiliam, and Narhcus,—Cariam, and Leonontus þa læssan Frigam,—and Lisimachus Thraciam,—and Eumen Capadotiam and Paflagoniam.—And Seleucus hæfde ealle þa æþelestan menn Alexandres heres; and on lengðe mid him he begeat ealle þa east land; and Cassander þa cempan mid Caldeum. And on Pactrium, and on Indeum, wæron þa ealdor-menn, þe Alexander gesette; and þæt land, betux þam twam eán, Índuse and Iðasfene hæfde Itaxiles. And Ithona hæfde calonie, þa þeode on Índeum; and Parapamenas hæfde Uxiarches, æt þæs beorges ende Caucasus; and Arathasihedros hæfde Siburtus; and Stontos hæfde Dranceas and Áreas þa þeoda and Omíntos hæfde Atrianus; and Sichéus hæfde Sostianus þæt folc; and Itacanór hæfde Párthos, and Philippus Ircánus; and Fratafernis hæfde Arméníe; and Theleomómmos hæfde Mæðas; and Feucestas hæfde Babylonias; and Polausus hæfde Archos, and Archolaus Mesopotamiam.

5. Eall heora gewinn awacnedon ærest fram Alexandres epistole, forþón þe he þæron bebead, þæt mon ealle þá wræccan on cyðþe [forlete], þe on þam landum wæron, þe he ær sylf gehergad hæfde. Þa noldan Crecas þam bebode híran, forþón hý ondredan, þonne hý hý gegæderedon, þæt hy on him gewrécan þa teonan þe hý ær mid him geþoledan. Gé eac wiðsocon, þæt hý leng wið Læcedemonium hýran noldan, þær heora heafod-stól wæs. And raðe þæs Atheniénse gelæddan xxx M folces and twa hund scipa angean Antigone, þam cyninge, þe eall Creca rice habban sceolde, forþón þe he þæs ærendes ærendraca wæs fram Alexandre. And gesetton him to ladteowe Demostenón, þone filosofum; and asponon him to fultume Corinthum þa burh-leode, and Sihonas, and Margas; and besætan Antípatrum, þone cyning, on anum fæstene, forþón þe he was Antigone on fultume. Þær wearð Leostenas, oðer heora ladteowa, mid anre flan ofscoten. Þa hy fram þære byrig hamweard wæron, þa metton hý Leonantius þe sceolde Antipatrúmé to fultume cuman; and þær ofslagen wearð. Æfter þam Pérðica, þe þa læssan Asiam hæfde, ongan winnan wið Ariáta Capadoca cyninge, and hine bedraf into anum fæstene. And þa burh-ware selfe hit onbærndon on feower healfa; þæt eall forwearð þæt þær binnan wæs.

6. Æfter þam Antígones and Pérþica gebeotedan, þæt hý woldan him betweonum gefeohtan; and lange ymb þæt siredan, hwær hy hí gemetan woldan. And monig ígland awestan on þam geflite, hwæþer heora mihte maran fultum him tó geténe. On þam ánbide Pérðica for mid fyrde on Egyptum, þær Ptho-

lomeus wæs se cyning, forþón þe him wæs gesæd, þæt he wolde Antigone fylstan þam cyninge. Þa gegaderade Ptolomeus micle fyrde ongeán him. Þa hwile þe hý togædere-weard fundedan, gefuhton twegen cyningas, Neptolomus and Umenis; and he Umenis geflymde Neptolomus, þæt he cóm to Antigone, þam cyningе, and hine speón þæt he on Umenis ünmyndlinga mid here becóme. Þa sende Antigones hine sylfne, and his oþerne þegn Polipercón mid miclan fultume, þæt hý hine [beswiceden]. Þa geáhsode þæt Umenis, and forsætade hý, þær þær hý geþoht hæfdon, þæt hy hine besætedon, and hy begen ofsloh, and þa oþre geflymde. Æfter þam gefeaht Perðica and Ptholomeus, and þær wearð Perðica ofslagen. Æfter þam wearð Mæcedonium cuð, þæt Umen, and Pisón, and Ilirgus, and Alcéta, Perðican broþor, woldan winnan on hý, and fundon þæt Antigones him sceolde mid fyrde ongean cuman. Oð þam gefeohte, geflymde Antigones Umenis, and hine bedráf into anum fæstenne, and hine þær [hwile] besæt. Ða sende Umenis to Antipatre þam cyninge, and hine fultumes bæd. Ða Antigones þæt ongeat, þa forlét he þæt setl: ac he Umenis him wende fram Antigones ham-færelde micelra úntreowða, and him to fultume áspon þa þe ær wæron Alexandres cempan, þa weran hatene Argiráspiðes, forþón þe ealle heora wæpn wæran ofersylefrede. Þa on þam tweon, þe hý swa ungeorne his willan fulleódon, þa becóm him Antigones mid fyrde on, and hy benæmde ægðer ge heora wifa, ge heora bearna, ge heora eardes, ge ealles þæs licgendan feós, þe hy under Alexandre begeatan; and hy sylfe úneaðe oðflugon to Uméne. Æfter þam sendon hý to Antigone ymb heora þæt mæste bismer, and hine bædon, þæt he him ageáfe þæt he ær on him bereafode. Þa onbeád he him, þæt he him þæs getygðian wolde, gif hý him Umenes, þone cyning, þe heora hlaford þa wæs, gebundenne to him brohte; and hý þæt gefremedan swá. Ac he heora eft ægðer ge mid bismere onfeng, ge hý eác on þone bismerlicostan eard gesette, þæt wæs on þam ytemestan ende his manna; and him swa þeah nanuht agifan nolde, þæs þe hý béna wæron.

7. Æfter þam Euréðica Ariþeúses cwen, Mæcedonia cyninges, heó wæs þa þam folce monig yfel donde þurh Cassander, hire hlafordes þegn, mid þam heo hæfde dyrne geligre; and under þam heo gelærde þone cyning, þæt he hine swa upp áhóf, þæt he wæs bufan eallum þam þe on þam rice wæron to þam cyninge. And heó gedyde mid hyre lare, þæt ealle Mæcedonie wæron þam cyninge wiðerwearde, oð hý fundon þæt hy sendon æfter Olimpiaðum Alexandres meder, þæt heo him gefylste, þæt hý mihtan ægðer ge þone cyning, ge þa

cwene him to gewildum gedon. Heo þa Olimpiaðe him tō cōm mid Epira fultume, hire agenes rices, and hire to fultume ābæd Eācedan Molosorum cyning. And hȳ būtu ofsloh, ge þone cyning, ge þa cwene, and Cassander oðfleah. And Olimpiaðe feng to þam rice, and þam folce fela labes gedyde, þa hwile þe heō þone anweald hæfde. Ða Cassander þæt geacsade, þæt heō þam folce labade, þa gegaderade he fyrde. Þa heo þæt geaxade, þæt þæs folces wæs swa fela to him gecirred, þa ne [getriewde] heō þæt hire wolde se ōþer dǣl gelastfull beon; ac [hio] genam hire snore Roxan, Alexandres lafe, and Alexandres sunu Ercoles, and fleah to þam fæstene þe Fiðnam wæs haten. And Cassander hire æfter fōr, and þæt fæsten ābræc, and Olimpiaðum ofslōh. And þa burh-leode oðbrudon þa snore mid hire suna, þa hȳ ongeatan þæt þæt fæsten sceolde abrocen beon, and hȳ sendon on [oðer] fæstre fæsten. And Cassander hȳ het þær besittan; and him ealles þæs anwealdes weold Mæcedōnia rices.

8. Ða wende mon þæt þæt gewinn ge-endad wære betweox Alexandres folgerum, þa þā wæran gefeallen þe þær mæst gewunnon:—þæt wæs Pērðica, and Umen, and Alciðen, and Polipercon, and Olimpiaðas, and Antipater, and manege oðre. Ac Antigones, se mid ungemete girnde anwealda ofer oðre, and to þam fæstene fōr, þær Alexandres lāf wæs, and his sunu, and hȳ þær begeat; to þōn þæt he wolde þæt þa folc him þȳ swiðor tō buge, þe he hæfde heora eald hlafordes sunu on his gewealde. Siððan Cassander þæt geahsade, þa geþoftade he wið Ptholomeus, and wið Lisimachus, and wið Seleūcus, þone east cyning, and hȳ ealle winnende wæran wið Antigones, and wið Demetrias, hys sunu,—sume on lande, sume on wætere. On þam gefeohte, gefeoll se mæsta dǣl Mæcedonia duguðe on ægðre healfe, þeah hȳ sume mid Antigone wære, sume mid Cassandre. Þær wearð Antigones geflymed, and his sunu. Æfter þam Demetrias, Antigones sunu, gefealht on scipum wið Ptholomeus, and hine bedrāf on his agen lānd. Æfter þam Antigones bebead, þæt mon ægðer hēte cyning ge hine, ge hys sunu; forþōn þe Alexandres [æfter] folgeras nǣran ǣr þām swa gehatene, buton ladteowas. Gemong þam gewinnum, Antigones him ondred Ercoles, Alexandres sunu, þæt þæt folc hine wolde to hlaforde geceosan, forþōn þe he ryht cyne-cynnes wæs: hēt þa ægðer ofslean, ge hine, ge his modor. Þa þæt þā [oþre] þrȳ geahsodan, þæt he hȳ ealle beswīcan þohte, hȳ þa eft hȳ gegaderedan, and wið [hiene wunnon]. Þā ne dorste [Cassander] sylf on þam færelde cumon for his þam nihstan feondum, þe him ymb wæran, ac sende his fultum to Lisimache, hys geþoftan, and hæfde hys wisan swiðost beþoht to

Seleucúse; forþón þe he monige [anwealdas] mid gewinnum ge-eode on þam east-landum,—þæt wæs ærest Babylonie, and Patriâne. Æfter þon he gefór on Indie, þær nân man, ær ne siððan, mid fyrde gefaran ne dorste, buton Alexandre. And he Seleúcus genydde ealle þa ladteowas to hys hyrsumnesse; and hy ealle Antigones and Demetrias, his sunu, mid fyrde gesohton. On þam gefeohte wæs Antigones ofslagen, and his sunu of þam rice âdræfed.—"Ne wene ic," cwæð Orosius, "þæt ænig wære þe þæt atellan mihte, þæt on þam gefeohte gefór."

9. On þære tide gefór Cassander, and hys sunu feng to þam rice Philippus. Þa wende mon eft oðre siðe, þæt þæt gewinn Alexandres folgera ge-endod wære. Ac hý sona þæs him betweonum wunnon. And Seleúcus, and Demetrias Antigones sunu, him togædere geþoftedan, and wið þam þrim wunnon,—Philippúse Cassandres suna, and wið Ptholomeúse, and wið Lisimachúse; and hý þæt gewinn þâ þæslicost angunnon, þe hý hit ær ne ongunnon. On þam gewinne, ofsloh Antipater his modor, Cassandres lâfe, þeh þe heó earmlice hire feores to him wilnode. Ða bæd Alexander hire sunu Demetrias, þæt he him gefylste, þæt he his modor slege on his breþer gewrecan mihte; and hý hyne raðe þæs oflsogon.

10. Æfter þam gewunnon Demetrias, and Lisimachus; ac Lisimachus [ne] mihte Demetriase wiðstandan, forþón þe Dórus, Thracea cyning, him eac onwann. Þa wæs Demetrias on þære hwîle swiðe [þearle] geânmett, and fyrde gelædde to Ptholomeuse. Þa he þæt geahsode, þa begeat he Seleúcus him to fultume, and Pirrus Epira cyning. And Pirrus him forþam swiðost fylste, þe he him sylfum facade Mæcedonia onweald. And hý þa Demetrias of þam [rice] adrifan, and Pirrus to feng. Æfter þam Lisimachus ofsloh hys agenne sunu, Agathoclen, and Antipater his aþum. On þam dagum, [Lisimachia] seo burh besanc on eorðan mid folce mid ealle. And æfter þam þe Lisimachus hæfde swa wið his sunu gedon, and wið his aðum, þa onscunedon hyne his agene leode, and monige fram him cyrdan, and Seleucus speonan, þæt he Lisimachus beswice. Ða gýt ne mihte se nið betux him twam gelicgean, þeh heora þâ nâ mâ ne lifde, þæra þe Alexandres folgeras wæron. Ac swa ealde swa hy þa wæron hý gefuhton. Seleucus hæfde seofon and hund seofontig wintra; and Lisimachus hæfde þreo and seofontig wintra. Þær wearð Lisimachus ofslagen; and, þæs ymb þreo niht, cóm Ptholomeus, þe Lisimachus his sweoster hæfde and dygellice æfter Seleucúse fór, þa he hamweard wæs, oð hys fyrd tofanen wæs and hine ofsloh.

11. Þa wæs seo sibb and seo mildheortnes ge-endad, þe hý æt Alexandre geleornedon; þæt wæs þæt hý twegen, þe þær

lengste lifdon, [hæfdon] xxx cyninga ofslâgen,—heora agenra eald geferena,—and him hæfdon siððan ealle þa anwealdas, þe hȳ ealle ær hæfdon. Gemong þam gewinnum, Lisimachus forlêt hys xv suna: sume he sylf ofsloh, sume on gefeohtum beforan him sylfum mon ofsloh.

12. "Ðyllicne gebroþorscipe," cwæð Orosius, "hy healdan him betweonum, þe on ânum hirede wæran afedde and getȳde! þæt hit is us nû swiðor bismre gelic, þæt we þær bespecað, and þæt þæt we gewinn nû hâtað, þonne us fremde and ellþeodige on becumað, and lytles hwæt on us [bereafiað], and us eft hrædlice forlætað; and nellað geþencan hwylc hit þâ wæs, þa nân mann ne mihte æt oðrum hys feorh gebycgan; ne furþon þæt þâ woldon [gefriend] beon, þe wæron gebroðra of fæder and of meder!"—[Ond her endað sio þridde boc, ond onginð seo feorþe.]

[Bóc IV: Capitul I.]

1. Æfter ðam ðe Rome burh getimbred wæs cccc wintrum and lxiiii-gum, þæt Tarentine þæt folc plegedon binnan Tarentan heora byrig, æt heora þeâtra, þe þær binnan geworht wæs, þa gesawan hȳ Romana scipa on þære sæ yrnan. Þa hrædlice coman Tarentine to heora agnum scipum, and þa oðre hindan offoran, and hȳ ealle him to gewildum gedydon buton v. And þa þe þær gefangene wæran, hȳ tâwedan mid þære mæstan unieðnesse; sume ofslogan, sume ofswungon, sume him wið feo gesealdan. Ða Romane þæt geahsodan, þa sendon hȳ ærendracan to him, and bædan þæt him mon gebette, þæt him þær tô æbylgðe gedôn wæs. Þa tawedon hȳ eft þa ærendracan mid þam mæstan bysmere, swa hy þa oðre ær dydon, and hȳ siþþan ham forletan.

2. Æfter þam foran Romane on Tarentine; and swa clæne hȳ namon heora fultum mid him, þæt heora proletarii ne moston him bæftan beon. Þæt wæron þâ þe hȳ gesette hæfdon, þæt sceoldan be heora wifum bearna strynan, þonne hȳ on gewin foran. And cwædon þæt him wislicre þuhte, þæt hȳ þâ nê forlure þe þær ût fore, hæfde bearn se þe mihte. Hȳ þâ Romane cômon on Tarentine, and þær eall awestan þæt hy gemettan, and monega byrig abræcon.

3. Ða sendon Tarentine [æghwar] æfter fultume, þær hȳ him æniges wendon. And Pirrus, E'pira cyning, him com tô mid þam mæstan fultume, ægðer ge on gang-here, ge on râd-here, [ge ân scip-here]. He wæs on þam dagum gemærsod ofer

ealle oðre cyningas, ægðer ge mid his miclan fultume, ge mid his ræd-þeahtunge, ge mid his wig-cræfte. Forþam fylste Pirrus Tarentinum, forþon þe Tarente seo burh wæs getimbred of Lacedemonium, þe his rice þa wæs. And he hæfde Thesali him to fultume, and Mæcedonie; and he hæfde xx elpenda to þam gefeohte mid him,—þe Romane ær nane ne gesawon. He wæs se forma mann, þe hy ærest on Italium brohte. He wæs eac, on þam dagum, gleawast to wige, and to gewinne; buton þam anum, þæt hine his godas and his diofol-gyld beswicon, þe he begongende wæs. Þa he hi ahsode his godas, hwæðer heora sceolde on [oþrum] sige habban, þe he on Romanum, þe Romane on him, ða andwyrdan hi him tweolice and cwædon:—"Þu hæfst, oðde næfst."—Þæt forme gefeoht, þæt he wið Romanum hæfde, hit wæs in Campania, neah þære ea þe mon Lisum hæt. Þa æfter þam þe þær on ægðre healfe micel wæl geslegen wæs, þa het Pirrus don þa elpendas on þæt gefeoht. Siððan Romane þæt gesawan, þæt him mon swylcne wrenc to dyde, swylcne hy ær ne gesawon, ne secgan ne hyrdon, þa flugon hy ealle buton anum menn, se wæs [Minutius] haten: he geneðde under anne elpend, þæt he hine on þone nafelan ofstang. Ða siððan he yrre wæs and gewundod, he ofsloh micel þæs folces: þæt ægðer ge þa forwurdon, þe him on ufan wæran, ge eac þa oðre elpendas sticade and gremede, þæt þa eac mæst ealle forwurdon, þe þær on ufan wæron. And þeh þe Romane geflymed [wæren], hy wæran [þeh] gebylde, mid þam þæt hy wiston hu hy to þam elpendan sceoldan. On þam gefeohte wæs Romana XIIII M ofslagen feþena, and hund eahtatig and VIII hund gefangen; and þæra gehorsedra wæran ofslagen III hund and an M; and þær wæron VII hund guðfanena genumen. Hit næs na gesæd hwæt Pirruses folces gefeallen wære, forþon hit næs þeaw on þam tidum, þæt mon ænig wæl on þa healfe rimde, þe þonne wyldre wæs, buton þær þy læs ofslagen wære, swa mid Alexandre wæs, on þam forman gefeohte þe he wið Darius feaht, þær næs his folces na ma ofslagen þonne nigon. Ac Pirrus gebicnede eft hu him [se] sige gelicode, þe he ofer Romane hæfde, þa he cwæð æt his godes dura, and hit swa þær on awrat:—"Danc hafa þu, Iofes, þæt ic þa moste oferwinnan, þe ær wæron unoferwunnen; and ic eac fram him oferwunnen eom." Þa ahsedon hine his þegnas, why he swa heanlic word be him sylfum gecwæde, þæt he oferwunnen wære. Þa andwyrde he him and cwæð:—"Gyf ic gefare eft swylcne sige æt Romanum, þonne mæg ic siððan butan ælcon þegne Creca land secean." Þæt wearð eac Romanum on yfelum tacne oðywed ær þam gefeohte, þa hy on fyrde wæron, þæt þæs folces sceolde micel hryre beon; ða

þunor ofslōh xxiiii heora fodrera, and [þa] oðre gebrocade āwēg comon.

4. Æfter þam gefuhton Pirrus and Romane in Abulia þære þeode. Þær wearð Pirrus wund on oðran earme, and Romane hæfdon sige, and hæfdon gelcōrnod mā cræfta, hū hȳ þa elpendas beswican mihton, mid þam þe hī nāmon treowu, and slōgon on oþerne ende monige scearpe isene næglas, and hȳ mid flexe bewundon, and onbærndon hit, and beþȳddon hit þonne on þone elpend hindan, þæt hȳ þonne fōran wedende ægðer ge for þæs flexes bryne, ge for þæra nægla sticunge; þæt æt [ælcon] þā forwūrdon ærest þe him on ufon wǣran, and siððan þæt oðer folc wæran swa swiðe sleande, swa hy him scildan sceoldan. On þam gefeohte wæs Romana ehta M ofslagen, and XI [guðfonan] genumen. And Pirruses heres wæs XX M ofslagen, and hys guðfana genumen.—Ða wearð Pirruse cuð, þæt Agōthocles [Siraccusa] cyning þæra burh-leoda wæs gefaren on Sicilia þam lande. Ða fōr he þider, and þæt rice to him genydde.

5. Sōna swā þæt gewinn mid Romanum ge-endod wæs, swā wæs þær seo monigfealdeste wōl mid mann-cwealme,—ge eāc þæt nānuht berendes, ne wīf nē nȳten, ne mihton nanuht libbendes geberan,—þæt hȳ þā æt nyhstan wæron ortreowe hwæþer him ænig mann eāc acuman sceolde. Þa wende Pirrus fram Sicilium æft to Romanum,, and him ongēan cōm Cūrius se consul. And heora þæt þridde gefeoht wæs on Lucaniam on [Arosinis] þære dune. Þeh þe Romane sume hwīle hæfdon swiþor fleām geþoht þonne gefeoht, ǣr þon hȳ gesawon, þæt man þa elpendas on þæt gefeoht dyde; ac siððan hȳ þa gesawon hȳ hī gegremedan, þæt hȳ þa wǣran swiðe [sleande] þe hȳ fylstan sceoldan: and Pirruses here wearð for þam swiðost on fleāme. On þam gefeohte Pirrus hæfde hund eahtatig M feþena, and V M gehorsedra; and þær wæs XXXVI M ofslagen, and III hund gefangen. Æfter þam Pirrus fōr [of] Italium, ymb V geār þæs þe he ǣr þær on cōm. And raðe þæs þe he hām cōm, he wolde abrecan Argus þa burh; and þær wearð mid anum stane ofworpen.

6. Æfter þam þe Tarentīne geahsodan þæt Pirrus dead wæs, þa sendon hī on Africe to Cartaniginienses æfter fultume, and eft wið Romanum wunnan: and raðe þæs þe hȳ togædere comon, Romane hæfdon sige. Þǣr onfundon Cartaginigenses þæt him mon oferswiþan mihte, þeh hy nān folc ǣr mid gefeohte oferwinnan ne mihte.—Gemong þam þe Pirrus wið Romane winnende wæs, hȳ hæfdon ehta legian. Ða hæfdon hȳ þa eahteðan Regiense to fultume gesette. Þā nē getruwade se ehtaða dǣl þæra legian, þæt Romane Pirruse wiðstandan

mihte, angunnon þá hergian and hýnan þá þe hý friþian sceoldan. Þa Romane þæt geahsodan, þa sendon hý þíder Genutius heora consul mid fultume, toþón þæt he on him gewræce, þæt hý þá slogon and hýndon þe ealle Romane friþian woldon; and he þa swa gedyde. Sume he ofsloh, sume geband and hám sende; and þær wæran siððan witnade, and siððan þa heafda mid ceorf-æxum of acorfena.

[Bóc IV: Capitul II.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs cccc wintrum and lxxvii, gewurdon on Rome þa yflan wundor. Þæt wæs ærest, þæt þúnor tósloh hyra hehstan godes hús Iofeses, and eac þære burge weall micel to eorðan gehreas:—and eác þæt þry wulfas on anre niht brohtan anes deades mannes lichoman binnan þa burh, and hyne þær siððan stycce-mælum tobrudon, oð þa menn onwocan, and út urnon; and hý siððan onweg flugon. On þam dagum gewearð, þæt on anre dune neah Rome byrig tohlád seo eorðe, and wæs byrnende fýr upp of þære eorðan;—þæt on ælce healfe þæs fyres seo eorðe wæs fif æcera bræde to axsan geburnen.

2. Sóna þáes on þam æfterran geare, gefor Sempronius se consul mid fyrde wið Péncentes Italia folc. Þa mid þam þe hý hí getrymed hæfdon, and togædere woldan, þa wearð eorðbeofung, þæt ægðer þæra folca wende untweogendlice, þæt hy sceoldan on þa eorðan besincan. And hý þeah swa [ondrædendlice] gebidan þæt se ege [ofergongen] wæs; and þær siððan wælgrimlice gefuhton. Þáer wæs se mæsta blod-gyte on ægðre healfe þæra folca: þeh þe Romane sige [hæfden þa feawa þe] þáer to lafe wurdon. Þær wæs gesýne þæt seo eorðbeofung tacnade þa miclan blod-dryncas, þe hyre mon on þære tide tó forlét.

[Bóc IV: Capitul III.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs iiii hund wintrum and lxxx, gemong þam oðrum monegum wundrum, þe on þam dagum gelumpan,—þæt mon geseah weallan blód of eorðan, and rinan meolc of heofenum. On þam dagum, Cartaginigenses sendon fultum Tarentínum, þæt hý þe eað mihton wið Romanum. Þa sendon Romane ærendracan to him, and hý ahsedon for hwý hý þæt dydon; þa oðsworan hý þam ærendracan mid þam bismerlicestan aðe, þæt hý him náefre on fultume næron; þeh þe þá aðas wæran neár máne þonne soðe.

2. On þam dagum, Ulcinienses and Thrusci þa folc forneah ealle forwurdon for heora ágnum dysige; for þam þe hý

sume heora þeowas gefreodon, and eac him eallum wurdon tó milde and to forgifene. Þa ofþuhte heora ceorlum, þæt man þa þeowas freode and hý nolde. Þa wiðsáwan hý þam hlafordum, and þa þeowas mid him, oð hý wyldran wæron þonne hý. And hy siððan mid ealle of þam earde adrifon; and him to wifum dydon þa þe ǽr wæran heora hlæfdian. Ða siððan gesohtan þá hlâfordas Romane, and hy him gefylstan, þæt hý éft to heora agnum becomon.

[Bóc IV: Capitul IV.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs [IIII hunde wintrum ond LXXXI], becom on Romane micel mann-cwealm, þæt hy þa æt nyhstan ne ahsedan hwæt þæra gefarenra wære, ac hwæt heora þonne to lâfe wære. And eác þa deofola þe hý on symbell weorþedon, hý amyrdon, to-eácan þam oþrum monigfealdum bismrum þe hý lærende wæron, þæt hý ne cuðan ongîtan þæt hit Godes wracu wæs. Ac hêton þa bisceopas þæt hý sædon þam folce, þæt heora godas him wæron yrre, to þam þæt hî him þa git swiðor ofredon, and blotten, þonne [hie] ǽr dydon.

2. On þære ilcan tide, Caperronie wæs hâtenu heora goda nunne. Þa gebyrede hyre þæt heó hý forlæg. Hý þa Române for þam gylte hý ahengan, and eác þone þe þone gylt mid hire geworhte, and ealle þá þe þone gylt mid him wiston, and mid him hælon.—Hú wene we nú Romane him sylf þyllic writon and setton for heora [agnum] gylpe and héringe; and þeah, gemong þære heringe, þyllica bismera on hý sylfe asǽdon? Hú wéne we hú monegra maran bismra hý forsygedon, ægðer ge for heora agenre lufan and land-leoda, ge eác for heora senatum ege?

3. Be Cartaima gewinne. "Nu we sculon fón," cwæð Orosius, ymb þæt Punica gewinn, þæt wæs of þam folce of Cartaina þære byrig, seo wæs getimbred fram Elisánn þam wifmen [LXXII]-tigum wintrum ǽr Rome burh. Swa some þæra burh-warana yfel, and heora bismeres wearð lytel âsæd and awriten, swa swa Trógus and [Iustinus] sædon, [heora] stær-writeras; forþon þe heora wise ón nænne sæl wel ne gefór, naðer ne innan fram him sylfum, ne utane fram oðrum folcum." Swa þeah to-eacan þam yfelum, hy gesetton, þonne him micel mann-cwealm on becom, þæt hy sceoldon menn heora godum blotan. Swa eac þa deofla, þe hý on gelyfdon, gelærdon hý, þæt þa þe þær [on unhæle] wæran, þæt hý hâle for hý cwealdon. And wæron þa menn to þon dysige, þæt hî wendon þæt hý mihton þæt yfel mid þam gestillan; and þa deofla to þon lytige, þæt hý hit mid þam gemicledan; and, forþon þe hý swa swiðe dysige wæron,

him cōm on Godes wracu on gefeohtum to-eacan oðrum yfelum, þæt wæs oftost on Sicilium and on Sardinium þam iglandum, on þa hy gelomlicost wunnon. Æfter þam þe him swa oftrædlice mislamp, þæt hy angunnon hit witan heora ladteowum and heora cempum heora earfeða, and him bebudon þæt hȳ on wræc-siþas fōran and on ellþiede. Raðe æfter þam hȳ bædan, þæt hȳ mon to heora earde forlete, þæt hī moston gefandian hwæðer hȳ heora mēdsælþa oferswiðan mihton. Þa him mon þæs forwyrnde, þa gesohtan hȳ [hie] mid firde. On þære hergunge, gemette [se] yldesta ladteow Maceus, his agenne sunu, mid purpurum gegyredne on bisceophade. He hine þā for þam gyrelan gebealh, and he [hiene] oferfōn hēt and ahōn, and wende þæt he for his forsewennesse swelc sceorp werede, forþon hit næs þeaw mid him þæt ænig oþer purpuran werede, buton cyningum. Raðe æfter þam hȳ begeatan Cartaina þa burh, and ealle þa æltæwestan ofslogon, þe þær inne wæron, and þa oðre to him genyddon. Ða æt nihstan, he wearð sylf besyred and ofslagen. Þis wæs geworden on Cirūses dæge Persa cyninges."

[Bōc IV: Capitul V.]

1. Æfter þam Himelco, Cartaina cyning, gefōr mid fyrde on Sicilie, and him þær becōm swa færlic yfel, þæt þa menn wæron swa raðe deade swa hit him on becōm, þæt hȳ þa æt nihstan hȳ bebyrgean ne mihton; and [he] for þam ege his unwillum [þonan] wende, and ham fōr mid þam þe þǣr [to lafe] wæron. Sōna swa þæt forme scip land gesohte and þæt egeslice spell gebodade, swa wæron ealle þa burh-ware Cartaginigenses mid swiðelice heāfe and wōpe onstyred,—and ælc ahsiende and frinende æfter his frynd; and hȳ untwegendlice nanra treowða him ne wendon, buton þæt hȳ mid ealle forweorðan sceoldan. Mid þam þe þā burh-ware swa geomorlic ängin hæfdon, þa cōm se cyning sylf mid his scipe, and land gesohte mid swiðe [lyþerlicum] gegyrelan; and ægðer ge he sylf [wepende] hamweard fōr, ge þæt folc, þæt him ongean cōm, eall hit him wepende hāmweārd folgode. And he se cyning his hānda wæs [uppweardes] brædende wið þæs heofones, and mid oferheortnesse him wæs waniende ægðer ge his [agene] heard-sælþa, ge ealles þæs folces. And he þā gȳt him sylfum gedyde þæt þær wyrst wæs: þa he to his inne cōm, þa he þæt folc þǣr ūte betynde, and hine ænne þær inne beleac, and hine sylfne ofsloh.

2. Æfter þam wæs sum welig mann binnan Cartaina, se wæs haten Hānna, and wæs mid ungemete þæs cynedomes gyrnende; ac him geþuhte þæt he, mid þæra witena willum,

him ne mihte to cuman, and him tō ræde genam þæt he hȳ ealle to gereordum to him [gehete], þæt he hȳ siððan mihte mid attre acwellan. Ac hit gewearð þurh þā āmeldad, þe he geþoht hæfde, þæt him to þære dæde fylstan sceolde. Þa he onfunde þæt þæt cuð wæs, þa gegaderade he ealle þa þeowas and þa yfelan menn þe he mihte, and þohte þæt he on þa burh-ware on ungearewe become; ac hit him wearð æror cuð. Þa him æt þære byrig ne gespeow, þa [gelende] he mid XXIIII M to anre oþerre byrig, and þohte þæt he þa abræce. Þa hæfdon þa burh-leoda Mauritāne him to fultume, and him ongean comon butan fæstene, and Hannan [gefengon], and þa oðre geflymdon; and þær siððan tintregad wearð. Ærest, hine man swang, þa sticode him mon þa egan ūt; and siððan him mon sloh þa hānda of, þa þæt heafod. And eall his cynn mon ofsloh, þy læs hit mon uferan [dogore] wrǣce, oððe ænig oþer dorste eft swylc onginnan. Ðis gewearð on [Philippuses] dæge þæs cyninges.

3. Æfter þam hȳrdon Cartanienses þæt se mǣra Alexander hæfde abrocen [Tirum] þā burh, seo wæs, on ǣr-dagum, heora yldrena ēþel; and ondredon þæt [he eac to him cuman wolde]. Þa sendon hȳ þīder Amilchor, heora þone gleawestan mann, þæt he Alexandres [wisan] besceawode; swa he hit him eft ham onbeād, on anum brede awriten; and, siððan hit awriten wǣs, he hit oferworhte [mid] weaxe. Eft þa Alexander gefaren wæs, and he ham cōm, þa tugon hine þære burge witan, þæt he heora swicdomes wið Alexander fremmende wǣre; and hine for þære tihtlan ofslogon.

4. Æfter þam Cartanienses wunnon on Sicilie, þǣr him seldon teala gespeow, and besǣtan heora heafod-burh—Siraccuses wæs hatenu. Þā nē onhāgode Agāthocle heora cyninge, þæt he wið hȳ mihte buton fæstene gefeohtan, ne eāc þæt hȳ ealle mihton for meteleste þær binnon gebidan; ac leton heora fultum þær binnan beon be þam dæle, [þæt] hī ægðer mihton ge heora fæsten gehealdan; ge eāc þæt þā mete hæfdon þa hwile. And se cyning, mid þam oðrum dǣle, on scipum fōr on Cartaniense: and hȳ raðe þæs fōrbærnan hēt, þe he to lande gefōr, forþōn he nolde þæt his fynd heora ēft ænigne anweald hæfde. And him þær raðe fæsten geworhte, and wæs þæt folc þanon ūt sleāndе and hȳnende, oð þæt Hanna, þæs folces oðer cyning, hyne æt þam fæstene gesohte mid XX M. Ac hine Agathocles geflymde, and his folces ofsloh II M, and him æfter fylgende wæs oð V mila to þære byrig Cartaniense, and þær oðer fæsten geworhte. And þær ymbūtan wæs hergende and bærnende, þæt Cartaniense mihton geseon, of heora byrig, þæt fyr and þone teōnan, þonne hȳ on fōre wæron.

5. Ymbe þone timan þe þis wæs, Andra wæs hâten, Agathocles broþor,—þone he æt hâm on þære byrig him be æftan let,—he besîrede þæt folc þe hi embseten hæfdon on anre niht ungearewe, and hit mæst eall ofsloh; and þa oðre to scipan oðflugon. And raðe þæs þe hý hâm comon, and þæt spell cuð wearð Cartainiensum, swa wurdon hý swa swiðe forþôhte, þæt nalæs þæt ân þæt Agothocle manega byrig to gafol-gyldum wurdon, ac eac hý him heap-mælum sylfe on hând eodon; swa eac Fefles, se cyning, mid Cerene his folce, hine eac gesohte. Ac Agathocles gedyde untreowlice wið hine, þæt he hine on his wærum beswâc, and ofsloh: swa him eâc sylfum siððan æfter lamp. Gif he ða þâ âne untreowða ne gedyde, from þam dæge he mihte butan broce ealra Cartaina anweald begitan. On þære hwile, þe he þone unræd þurhteah, Amicôr, Pena cyning, wæs mid sibbe wið his farende, mid eallum his folce. Ac betux Agathocle and his folce wearð ungerædnes, þæt he sylf ofslagen wearð. Æfter his deaðe foran êft Cartainienses on Sicilie mid scipum. Þa hý þæt geahsedon, þa sendon hý æfter Pirruse, Epira cyninge, and he him sume hwile gefylste.

[Bôc IV: Capitul VI.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs cccc wintrum and lxxxiii, sendon Momertine, Sicilia folc, æfter Romana fultume, þæt hý wið Pena folce mihte. Þa sendon hý him Appius Claudius, þone consul, mid fultume. Eft þa hý togædereweard foran mid heora folcum, þa flugon Pene; swa hý eft sylfe sædon, and hys wundredan, þæt hy êr flugon êr hý togædere genealæhton. For þam fleame, Hanna, Pena cyning, mid eallum his folce, wearð Romanum to gafol-gyldum, and him ælce geâre gesealde twa hund talentana seolfres: on ælcre anre [talentan] wæs lxxx punda.

2. Æfter þam Romane besætan þone yldran Hannibalan, Pena cyning, on Argentine, Sicilia byrig, oð he forneah hûngre swealt. Þa côm him Pena oþer cyning to fultume mid scip-hêre, Hanna wæs haten, and þær geflymed wearð. And Romane siððan þæt fæsten abræcan, and Hannibal se cyning on niht ût oðfleah mid feawum mannum, and lxxx scipa gegaderade, and on Romana land-gemæro hêrgade. On þâ wrâce fundon Romane ærest þæt hy scipa worhtan, þæt gefremede Duulius heora consul, þæt þæt ângin wearð tidlice þurhtogen, swa [þætte] æfter syxtigum dagum þæs þe þæt timber acorfen wæs, þær wæron xxx and c gearora, ge mid mæste, ge mid segle. And oðer consul, se wæs hâten Cornelius Asina, se gefôr on Liparis þæt igland, to Hannibale tô sundor-

spræce mid xvi scipan, þá ofsloh he hine. Swá þæt þá se oðer consul gehyrde Duulius, swa gefór he tó þam íglande mid xxx scipum, and Hannibales folces iii hund ofsloh, and his xxx scipa genam, [and] xiii on sǽ besencte, and hyne sylfne geflymde.

3. Æfter þam Púnici, þæt sindon Cartaniense, hý gesetton Hánnonan ofer heora scipa, swa Hánnibales wæs ær, þæt he bewerede Sarðiniam and Corsicam þa igland wið Romanum: and he raþe þæs wið hý gefeaht mid scip-here and ofslagen wearð.

4. Þæs on þam æfteran geare, Calatinus se consul fór mid fyrde, to Camerínam Secilia byrig; ac him hæfdon Pene þone wég forseten, þær he ófer þone munt faran sceolde. Þá genam Calatinus iii hund manna mid him, and on anre digelre stowe þone munt oferstáh, and þá menn afærde, þæt hý ealle ongeán hine wæron feohtende, and þone wég letan butan ware, þæt seo fyrd siððan þær þurhfór. And þǽr wearð þæt iii hund manna ofslagen, ealle buton þam consule anum: he cóm wund áweg.

5. Æfter þam Púnice gesetton eft þone ealdan Hannibalan, þæt he mid scipum on Romane wunne; ac eft þa he þær hergean sceolde, he wearð raðe geflymed, and on þam fleame hyne oftýrfdon his agene geferan.

6. Æfter þam Atilius se consul aweste Liparum and Melitam, Sicilia ígland. Æfter þam fóran Romane on Affrice mid iiii hund scipa and þritigum. Ða séndon hý heora twegen cyningas him ongeán, Hannan and Amilcor, mid scipum. And þær wurdon begen geflymed, and Romane genámon on him lxxxiiii scipa; and siððan hý abræcon [Clupeam] heora burh, and wæron hergende oð Cartaina heora heafod-burh.

7. Æfter þam Regulus, se consul, underfeng Cartaina gewinn. Þa he æst þider mid fyrde farende wæs, þa gewicode he neah anre eá, seo wæs haten Bagrádа. Þa cóm of þam wætere án nædre, seo wæs ungemetlice micel; and þa menn ealle ofsloh þe neah þam wætere comon.

Be þǽre nædran. Đá gegaderade Regulus ealle þa scyttan þe on þam færelde wæron, þæt hý mon mid flanum ofercóme; ac, þonne hý mon sloh oððe sceat, þonne glad hit on þam scillum, swylce hit wære smeðe isen. Đa hét he mid þam palistas, mid þam hy weallas brǽcan þonne hy on fæstenne fuhton,—þæt hire mon mid þam þwyres on wurpe. Đa wearð hire, mid anum wyrpe, an ribb forod, þæt heo siððan mægen ne hæfde hy to gescyldanne, ac raðe þæs heo wearð ofslagen; forþón hit is nædrena gecynd, þæt heora mægen and heora feðe bið on heora ribbum, swa oðera [creopendra] wyrma bið on heora fotum. Þa heo gefylled wæs, he hét hy behyldan,

and þa hýde to Rome [bringan], and hy þǽr to mærðe aþénian, forþón heo wæs hund twelftiges fota lang.

8. Æfter þam, gefeaht Regulus wið þry Pena cyningas on anum gefeohte,—wið twegen Hasterbalas, and se þridda wæs haten Amilcor, se wæs on Sicilium, him to fultume gefett. On þam gefeohte wæs Cartainiensa [XVII] M ofslagen, and [V] M gefangen, and [XI] elpendas genumen, and LXXXII tuna him eodan on hand.

9. Þa æfter þam þe Cartainiense geflymde wæron, hy wilnedon friþes to Regule; ac eft þa hy ongeatan, þæt he ungemetlic gafol wið þam friðe habban wolde, þa cwædon hý,—þæt him leofre wære þæt hý, on swylcon niðe, deað forname, þonne hý mid swylcan niede frið begeate. Þa sendon hy æfter fultume, ægðer ge on Gallie, ge on Ispanie, ge on Lædemonie æfter Exantipúse þam cyninge. Eft þa hý ealle gesomnad wæran, þa beþóhtan hý ealle heora wig-cræftas to Exantipúse; and he siððan þa folc gelædde, þǽr hý togædere gecweden hæfdon, and gesette twa folc diegellice on twa healfa his, and þridde be æftan him, and bebead þam twam folcum, þonne he sylf mid þam fyrmestan dæle wið þæs æftemestan flúge, þæt hý þonne on [Reguluses] fyrde on twa healfa þwyres onfóre. Þær wearð Romana XXX M ofslagen, and Regulus gefangen mid V hund manna. Þes síge gewearð Punicum on þam teoðan geare heora gewinnes and Romana. Raðe þæs Exántipus fór éft to his agnum ríce, and him Romane ondred, [forþon] hý for his lare æt heora gemittinge beswicene wurdon.

10. Æfter þam, [Æmilius] Paulus, se consul, fór on Affricam mid III hund scipa to Clépeam þam iglande, and him comon þǽr ongean Punice mid swa fela scipa; and þær geflymde wæron, and heora folces wæs V M ofslagen, and heora scipa XXX gefangen, and IIII and an hund [adruncen]. And Romana wæs an C and an M ofslagen, and heora scipa IX adruncen. And hy on þam iglande fæsten worhtan; and hý þær eft Pene gesohton mid heora twam cyningum, þa wæran begen Hannan hatene. Þær heora wæron IX M ofslagen, and þa oðre geflymed. Mid þære hére-hýðe Romane oferhlæstan heora scipa, þa hý hámweard wæron, þæt heora [gedeaf] CC and XXX, and LXX wearð to lafe, and uneaðe genéred, mid þam þæt hý mæst ealle út awurpon þæt þær on wæs.

11. Æfter þam [Amilcor], Pena cyning, fór on Numedian and on Mauritaniam, and hý oferhergade, and tó gafol-gyldum gesette, forþón þe hy ǽr Regule on hand eodan. Þæs ymb [III] geár Serfilius Cepio, and Sempronius Blesus, þa consulas, foran mid III hund scipa and LX-gum, on Affrice, and on Car-

taniensum monega byrig abræcon; and siððan mid miclum þingum hamweard foran, and eft heora scipa oferhlæstan, þæt heora gedurfon L and C.

12. Æfter þam Cotta, se consul, for on Sicilie, and hy ealle [oferhergeade]. Þær wæron swa micle mann-slyhtas on ægðre healfe, þæt hy mon æt nihstan bebyrgean ne mihte.

13. On Luciuses dæge Heliuses, þæs consules, and on Metellúses Gaiuses, and on Forúses Blacidúses, com Hásterbal, se niwa cyning, of Cartainum on Libeum þæt igland mid XXX M gehorsedra, and mid XXX-gum [elpenda] and C-gum, and raðe þæs gefeaht wið Metellus, þone cyning. Ac siððan Metellus þa [elpendas] ofercóm, siððan he hæfde eác raðe þæt oðer folc geflymed. Æfter þam fleame, Hasterbal wearð ofslagen fram his agnum folce.

14. Þa wæron Cartainiense swa ofercumene and swa gedrefede betux him sylfum, þæt hy hi to nanum onwealde ne bemætan; ac hy gewearð, þæt hy woldan to [Romanum] friðes wilnian. Þa sendon hy Regulus, þone consul, þone hy hæfdon mid him fif winter on bendum, and he him geswór on his goda namon, þæt he ægðer wolde ge þæt ærende abeodan swa swa hy hine heton, ge eac him þæt ándwyrde eft gecyþan. And he hit swa gelæste, and abead þæt ægðer þæra folca oðrum ageafe ealle þa menn þe hy gehergad hæfdon, and siððan him betweonum sibbe heoldan. And æfter þam þe he hit aboden hæfde, he hy hálsode, þæt hy nanuht þæra ærenda ne underfengon, and cwæð, þæt him to micel æwisce wære, þæt hy swa emnlice wrixledon; and eác þæt heora gerisna nære þæt hy swa heáne hy geþohtan, þæt hy heora gelican wurdan. Þa, æfter þam wordum, hy budon him þæt he on cyððe mid him wunode, and to his rice fenge. Þa andwyrde he him, and cwæð, þæt hit ná geweorðan sceolde, þæt se wére leoda cyning, se þe ér wæs [folce] þeow. Þa [he eft to Cartainum cóm, þa] ásædan his geferan hú he heora ærenda abead, þa forcurfon hi him þa twa ædran on twa healfa þæra [eagena], þæt he æfter þam slapan ne mihte, oð he swa searigende his líf forlét.

15. Æfter þam, Atilius Regulus, and Nallius Ulsca, þa consulas, foran on Cartaine on Libeum þæt igland mid twam hund scipa, and þær besétan án fæsten. Þa befór hine þér Hánnibal, se geonga cyning, Amilcores sunu, þær hy ungearewe buton fæstene sétan; and þær ealle ofslagene wæran buton feawum. Æfter þam, Claudius, se consul, for éft on Punice; and him Hannibal út on sé ongean cóm, and ealle ofsloh butan XXX scip-hlæsta, þa oðflugon to Libeum þam iglande: þær wæs ofslagen IX M, and XX M gefangen.

16. Æfter þam for Gaius Iúnius, se consul, on Affrice, and

mid eallum his færelte on sǽ forwearð. Þæs on þam æfterran geare, Hannibal sende scip-hére on Rome, and þær ungemetlic gehérgadon.

17. Æfter þám, [Lutatia], se consul, fór on Affrice mid III hund scipa, tó Sicilium, and him Punice þær wiþ gefuhton. Þær wearð Lutatia wund þurh oðer cneow. Þær on mergen cóm Hánna mid Hánnibales fyrde, and him þǽr gefeaht wiþ Lutatia, þeh he wund wære, and Hannan geflymde, and him æfter fór, oð he cóm to Cinam þære byrig. Raðe þæs cómon éft Pene mid fyrde to him, and geflymde wurdan, and ofslagen II M.

18. Þa wilnedon Cartaine oðre siðe friþes to Romanum; and hý hit him on þæt gerad geafan, þæt hy him Siciliam tó né tugon, ne Sardiniam; and eác him gesealdon þǽr onufan III M talentana ælce geare.

[Bóc IV: Capitul VII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wǽs V hund wintrum and VII, wearð ungemetlic fýr-brýne mid Romanum, þæt nán mann nyste hwánon hit cóm. Þá þæt fyr [hie] alét, þa wearð Tiber seo eá swa fledu, swa heó nǽfre ǽr næs, ne siððan; þæt heó mæst eall genom þæt binnan þære byrig wǽs þæra manna andlyfene, ge eac on heora getimbrum. On þam dagum, þe Titus Sempronius and Gratias Gaius wæron consulas on Rome, [hí] gefuhton wið Faliscis þam folce, and heora ofslógon XII M.

2. On þam geare wurdon [þa] Gallie Romanum wiþerwearde, þe mon nú hætt Langbeardas; and raðe þæs heora folc togædere gelæddon. On heora þam forman gefeohte, wæs Romana III M ofslagen; and on þam æftran geare, wæs Gallia IIII M ofslagen, and II M gefangen. Þa Romane hamweard [foran], þa noldan hý dón þone triumphan beforan heora consulum, þe heora gewuna wæs [þonne] hý sige hæfdon; forþón þe he æt þam ærran gefeohte fleah; and hý þæt siððan feala geara on missenlicum sigum dreogendè wæron.

3. Þa þa Titus Mallius, and Torcwatus Gaius, and Atirius Bubulcus wæran consulas on Rome, þa ongunnon Sardinie, swa hý Pene gelærdon, [winnan] wið Romanum; and raðe oferswiðde wæron. Æfter þam, Romane wunnon on Cartaine; forþón þe hý frið abrocen hæfdon. Ða sendon hý tua heora ærendracan to Romanum æfter friðe; and hit abiddan ne mihtan. Þa æt þam þriddan cyrre, hý sendon X heora [ieldstena] witena, and hý hit abiddan ne mihton. Æt þam feorðan cyrre, hý sendon Hánnan, heora þone unweorðestan þegn, and he hit abeád.

4. "Witodlice," cwæð Orosius, "nú we sindon cumen to

þam gōdan tidum, þe us Romane oðwītað; and to þære genihtsumnesse, þe hȳ us ealnig fore gylpað, þæt ūre ne sien þām gelican. Ac frīne hȳ mon þonne, æfter hū [monegum] wintrum seo sibb gewurde, þæs þe hȳ æst ūnsibbe wið monegum folcum hæfdon? Þonne is þæt æfter L wintra and cccc. Ahsige þonne ēft hū lange seo sibb gestode? Þonne wǣs þæt an geār."

5. Sona þæs, on þam æfterran geare, Gallie wunnon wiþ Romane; and Pēne on oþre healfe. "Hū þincð eow n Romanum, hū seo sibb gefæstnod wære? hwæðer heō si þam gelicost, þe mon nime anne eles dropan, and drype on an mycel fyr, and þence hit mid þam adwæscan? þonne is wēn swa micle swiþor, swa he þencð þæt he hit adwæsce, þæt he hit swa micle swiðor [ontydre]. Swa þonne wǣs mid Romanum, þæt an geār þæt hȳ sibbe hæfdon, þæt hȳ under þære sibbe to þære mæstan sace becōme."

6. On heora þam ærestan gewinne, Amilcor, Cartaina cyning, þa he to Romanum mid fyrde faran wolde, þa wearð he fram Spenum beþridad and ofslagen. On þam geare, Ilirice ofslogan Romana ærendracan. Æfter þam, Fuluius Postumius, se consul, for þām on hī fyrde gelædde, and fela ofslagen wearð on ægðre healfe, and he þeah sige hæfde.

7. Sona þæs, on þam æfterran geare, gelærdan Romana bisceopas swylce niwe rædas, swylce hȳ full oft ǣr ealde gedydon, þa him mon on þreo healfa on winnende wæs,— ægðer ge Gallie be suþan muntum, ge Gallie be norðan muntum, ge Pēne,—þæt hy sceoldan mid mannum for hȳ heora godum blotan, and þæt sceolde beōn ān Gallisc wæpned-mann, and ān Gallisc wifmann. And hȳ þā Romane, be þæra bisceopa lare, hȳ swa cuce bebyrgdon. Ac hit God wræc on him, swa he ǣr ealneg dyde, swa ōft swa hȳ mid mannum offredan; þæt hȳ mid heora cucum [onguldon] þæt hȳ ungyltige cwealdon. Þæt wǣs ærest gesīne on þam gefeohte þe hȳ wið Gallium hæfdon,—þeh þe heora agenes fultumes wære eahta hund M, buton oðrum folcum, þe hȳ [him] hæfdon tō asponen,—þæt hy raðe flugon, þæs [þe] heora consul ofslagen wǣs, and heora oðres folces III M. Þæt him þa geþuhte swylc þæt mæste wǣl, [swylc] hȳ ōft ǣr for noht hæfdon. Æt heora oðran gefeohte, wæs Gallia IX M ofslagen.

8. Þæs on þam þriddan geare, Mallus Tarcuatus and Fuluius Flaccus wǣron consulas on Rome. Hȳ gefuhton wið Gallium and heora III M ofslogon, and VI M gefengon.

9. On þam æfterran geare, wæran monige wundra gesewene. Ān wæs þæt on Picēno þam wuda ān wille weoll blode; and on Thrācio þam lande, mon seah swylce se heofon burne;

and on Ariminio þære byrig wæs niht oð midne dæg; and wearð swa micel eorð-beofung, þæt on Cária and on Ródum þam íglandum, wurdon micle [hryras], and Colósus gehreás.

10. Þý geare, Fiaminius, se consul, fórseah þa sǽgene, þe þá hlyttan him sædon, and him logan, þæt he æt þam gefeohte ne come wið Gallie; ac he hit þurhteah, and mid weorðscipe ge-endade. Þǽr wæs Gallia VII M ofslagen, and [XVII]M gefangen. Æfter þam, Claudius, se consul, gefeaht wið Gallie, and heora ofsloh XXX M; and he sylf gefeaht wið þone cyning anwig, and hine ofsloh, and Megelán þa burh ge-eode. Æfter þam, wunnon Isþrie on Romane; þa sendon hý heora consulas ongeán, Cornelius and Minútius. Þǽr wǽs micel wæl geslagen on ægðre healfe, and Istrie wurdon þeh Romanum underþeodde.

[Bóc IV: Capitul VIII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wǽs [v hunde wintrum ond XXXIII], Hannibal, Pena cyning, besæt Saguntum, Ispania burh, forþón þe hý on simbel wið Romanum sibbe heoldon]; and þǽr wǽs sittende VIII monað, oð he hý ealle hungre acwealde, and þa burh towearp, þeh þe Romane heora ærendracan to him sendon, and hi firmetton þæt hi þæt gewin forleton; ac he hý swa unweorðlice forseah, þæt he heora sylf onseon nolde on þam gewinne, and eac on monegum [oðrum]. Æfter þam, Hánnibal gecyðde þone nið and þone hête, þe he beforan his fæder gesweor, þá he nigon-wintre cniht wæs, þæt he næfre ne wurde Romana freond.

2. Þa þa Publius Cornelius, and Scipa Publius, and Sempronius Longus, þa hý wæron consulas, Hannibal abræc mid gefeohte ofer þa beorgas, þe mon hǽtt Perenei, þa sindon betwyx Galleum and Ispaneum. And siþþan he geféor ofer þa monegan þeoda, oð he com to Alpis þam muntum, and þǽr eác ofer abræc, þeh him mon óftrædlice mid gefeohtum wiðstode, and þone wég geworhte ofer [munt Iof]. Swa, þonne he to þam syndrigum stane cóm, þonne het he hine mid fyre onhætan, and siððan mid mattucum heawan; and mid þam mæstan geswince þa muntas oferfór. His héres wǽs án [C] M feþena, and XX M gehorsedra.

3. Þa he hæfde on þam emnette gefaren oð he cóm to Ticénan þǽre ea, þa cóm him þǽr ongeán Scipio se consul, and þær frecenlice gewundod wearð, and eac ofslagen wære, gif his sunu his ne gehulpe, mid þam þæt he hyne foran fórstod, oð he on fleame fealh. Þær wearð Romana micel wæl geslagen. Heora [ðæt] æftre gefeoht wæs æt Trefia þære ea; and eft wæron Romane forslegen and geflymed. Ða þæt Sempróníus hírde, heora oþer consul, se wæs on Sicilium mid

fyrde gefaren, he þonan afŏr, and begen þa consulas wæron mid fyrde ongean Hannibal; and heora gemitting wǽs [eft] æt Trefia þære ēa, and eac Romane geflymed, and swiðor forslagen, and Hannibal gewundod. Æfter þam fŏr Hannibal ofer Bārdan þone beorh, þeh þe hit ymbe þone timan wæron swa micel snaw-gebland, swa þæt ægðer ge þæra horsa fela forwurdon, ge þa elpendas ealle buton anum; ge þa menn sylfe uneaðe þone cyle genǽsan. Ac forþam he geneðde swiðost ofer þone munt, þe he wiste þæt Flamineus, se consul, wende þæt he buton sorge mihte on þam winter-setle gewunian, þe he þa on wæs, mid þam folce þe he þa gegaderad hæfde, and untweogendlice wende þæt nan nære [þe] þæt færelt ymbe þone timan anginnan dorste oððe mihte, for[þǽm] ungemetlican cyle. Mid þam þe Hannibal to þam lande becom, swa gewicode he on anre dygelre stowe, neah þam oðrum folce, and sum his folc sende gind þæt land to bærnanne and to hergeanne; þæt se consul wæs wenende þæt eall þæt folc wære geond þæt land tobræd, and þiderweard farende wæs, and þencende þæt he hȳ on þære hergunge beswice; and þæt folc buton truman lædde, swa he wiste þæt þæt oðer wæs, oð þæt Hannibal him cōm þwyres on mid þam fultume þe he ǽtgædere hæfde, and þone consul ofslog, and þæs oðres folces XXV M, and VI gefangen; and Hannibales folces wæs twa M ofslagen. Æfter þam Scipia se consul, þæs oðres Scipian broðor, wæs monega gefeoht donde on Ispanium, and Magō-nem Pena ladteow gefeng.

4. And monega wundor gewurdon on þære tide. Ærest wæs, þæt seo sunne wæs swylce heo wære eall gelytladu. Oþer wæs, þæt mon geseah, swylce seo sunne and se mona fuhton. Þas wundor gewurdon on Arpis þam lande. And on Sardinium mon geseah twegen scyldas blode swætan. And Falisci þæt folc hȳ gesawan, swylce seo heofon wære tohliden. And Athium þæt folc him geþuhte, [þa] hȳ heora corn [ripon], and heora cawlas afylled hæfdon, þæt [ealle] þa eār wæron blodige.

[Bōc IV: Capitul IX.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs V hund wintrum and XL, þa þa Lucius Amilius, and Paulus Publius, and Terrentius Uarra, þa hy wæron consulas, hy geforan mid firde ongean Hannibal; ac he hī mid þam ilcan wrence beswac, þe he æt heora ǽrran gemetinge dyde, and eac mid þam niwan þe hȳ ǽr ne cuðan, þæt wæs, þæt he on fæstre stowe lēt sum his folc, and mid sumum fŏr ongean þa consulas; and, raðe þæs þe hȳ to somne comon, he fleah wiþ [þara þe] þær bæftan wæran,

and him þa consulas wæron æfter fylgende, and þæt folc sleande, and wendon þæt hi, on þam dæge, sceoldan habban þone mæstan sige. Ac raþe þæs þe Hannibal [to] his fultume cōm, he geflymde ealle þa consulas, and on Romanum swa micel wæl gesloh swa heora næfre næs, ne ær ne siððan, æt anum gefeohte,—þæt wæs XLIIII M, and þæra consula twegen ofsloh, and þone þriddan gefeng; and þa on dæg he mihte cuman to ealra Romana anwealde, þær he forð gefōre to þære byrig. Æfter þam, Hannibal sende ham to [Cartaina] þreo midd gyldenra hringa, his sige tō tācne. Be þam hringum, mon mihte witan hwæt Romana duguðe gefeallen wæs; forþōn þe hit wæs þeaw mid him on þam dagum, þæt nān ōþer nē moste gyldenne hring werian, buton he æþeles cynnes wære.

2. Æfter þam gefeohte, wæron [Romane] swa swiðe forþohte, þæt Celius Metellus, þe þa heora consul wæs, ge ealle heora senatus, hæfdon geþoht, þæt hȳ sceoldon Rome burh forlætan, ge furðon ealle Italiam. And hȳ þæt swa gelæston, gif him Scipia nē gestȳrde, se wæs þæra cempena yldest, mid þam þe he his sweorde gebræd, and swōr þæt him leofre wære, þæt he hine sylfne acwealde þonne he forlete his fæder ēþel; and sæde eāc þæt he þæra ælces ehtend wolde beon, swa swa his feondes, þe þæs wordes wære, þæt fram Rome byrig þohte. And he hȳ ealle mid þam genydde, þæt hȳ aþas sworan, þæt hȳ ealle ætgædere woldon oððe on heora earde licgean, oððe on heora earde libban. Æfter þam, hi gesettan Tictator, þæt he sceolde beon herra ofer þa consulas, se wæs haten Decius Iunius. He næs buton XVII wintre. And Scipian hy gesetton to consule; and, ealle þā men, þe hi on þeowdome hæfdon, hȳ gefreodon, on þæt gerād, þæt hȳ [him] aþas sworan, þæt hȳ him æt þam gewinnum gelæston. And sume þa þe heora fregean noldan,—[oþþe hie ne anhagade þæt hie mehten],—þonne guldon hi þa consulas mid heora gemænan feo, and siþþan freodan; and ealle þa þe fordemede wæron ær þam, oððe hy sylfe forworht hæfdon, hy hit eall forgeafon, wið þam þe hi him æt þam gewinnum fulleodan. Þæra manna wæs VI M, þa hi gegaderad wæron. And ealle Italiam geswican Romanum, and to Hannibale gecyrdon, forþōn þe hȳ wæron orwene [hwæðer] æfre Romane to heora onwealde becōme. Ða gefōr Hannibal on Benefente, and hȳ him ongeān cōmon, and him to gecirdon.

3. Æfter þam, Romane hæfdon gegaderad III legian heora folces, and sendon Lucius Postumius, þone consul, on þā Gallie, þe mon nū Lāngbeardas hæt, and þær ofslagen wearð, and þæs folces fela mid him. Æfter þam, Romane gesetton Claudius Marcellus to consule, se wæs ær Scipian gefera. He fōr

dearninga mid gewealdenan fultume, on þone ende Hannibales folces, þe he sylf on wæs, and fela þæs folces ofsloh, and hine sylfne geflymde. Ða hæfde Marcellus Romanum cuð gedon, þæt mon Hannibal geflyman mihte, þeh þe hȳ ǽr tweode hwæðer hine mon mid ænigon man-fultume geflyman mihte.

4. Gemong þam gewinnum, þa twegen Scipian, þe þa wæron consulas, and eac gebroðor, hy wæron on Ispanium mid fyrde, and gefuhton wiþ Hasterbale Hannibales fæderan, and hine ofslogon; and his folces xxx m, sume ofslogon, sume gefengon: se wæs eac Pena oþer cyng.

5. Æfter þam, Centenus Penula, se consul, bæd þæt senatus him fultum sealdon, þæt he mihte Hánnibal mid gefeohte gesecean; and he þær ofslagen wearð, and viii m hys folces. Æfter þam, Sempronius Graccus, se consul, fór eft mid fyrde ongean Hannibal, and geflymed wearð; and his heres wæs micel wæl ofslagen.

6. "Hú magon nú Romane," cwæð Orosius, "to soðe gesecgean, þæt hȳ þá hæfdon betran tida þonne hī nú habban, þa hȳ swa monega gewinn hæfdon endemes [underfongen]?—án wæs on Ispania; oþer on Mæcedonia; þridde on Capadotia; feorðe æt ham wiþ Hannibal; and hī eac oftost geflymde wurdon, and gebismrade. Ac þæt wæs swiðe sweotol, þæt hī þá wæron beteran þegnas þonne hȳ nú sien; þæt hȳ þeh þæs gewinnes geswican noldon, ac hȳ oft gebidan on lytlum staþole, and on unwenlicum, þæt hȳ þá æt nihstan, hæfdon ealra þæra anweald, þe ǽr neah heora hæfdon."

[Bóc IV: Capitul X.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs v hund wintrum and xliii, þæt Marcellus Claudius, se consul, fór mid scip-here on Sicilie, and begeat Siraccuses, heora þa welegestan burh, þeh [he] hī æt þam ærran færelte begitan ne mihte, þa he hȳ beseten hæfde, for Archimédes cræfte [sumes] Sicilia þegnes.

2. On þam teoðan geare, þæs þe Hánnibal wónn on Italie, he fór of Campaina þam lande, oð þreo mila to Rome byrig, and æt þære eá gewicode, þe món Annianus hǽt, eallum Romanum to þam mæstan ege, swa hit mon on þæra wæpned-manna gebærum ongitan mihte, [hu] hȳ afyrhtede wæran, and agǽlwede, þa þa wifmen urnon mid stanum wiþ þæra wealla, and cwædon þæt hȳ þá burh werigan woldon, gif þa wæpnedmen ne dorstan. Þæs on morgen, Hannibal fór to þære byrig, and beforan þam geate his folc getrymede, þe mon hæt Collina. Ac þa consulas noldan hȳ selfe swa earge geþencean, swa hī þa wifmen ǽr forcwædon, þæt hȳ hī binnan þære byrig werigan ne dorstan; ac hȳ hī butan þam geate ongean Hannibal trymedon. Ac þa hȳ togædere woldon, þa com swa un-

gemetlic rén, þæt heora nán ne mihte nanes wæpnes [gewealdan]; and forþám tofóran. Þa se ren ablón, hý foran eft togædere; and eft wearð oðer swylc ren, þæt hy éft tofóran. Þa ongeat Hannibal, and him sylf sæde, þeh þe he wilniende wære and wenende Romana onwealdes, þæt hit God ne geþafode.

3. "Gesecgað me nú Romane," cwæð Orosius, "hwænne þæt gewurde, oððe hwára ær þam Cristendóme, oþþe gé, oððe oðere æt ænegum godum mihton ren [abiddan], swa mon siððan mihte, siððan se Cristendóm wæs, and nu gyt magon monege gó de æt urum hælendum Criste, þonne him þearf bið. Hit wæs þeah swiðe sweotol, þæt se ilca [Crist], se þe hi eft to Cristendome onwende, þæt se him þone rén to gescildnesse onsende, þeh hi þæs wyrðe næran, to-[þon] þæt hy sylfe, and eac monige oðre þurh hy, to þam Cristendome, and to þam soþan geleafan, become."

4. On þam dagum þe þis gewearð, wæron twegen consulas ofslágen on Ispania: þa wæron gebroðor, and wæron begen Scipian hátene. Hy wurdon beswicene fram Hasterbale, Pena cyninge.—On þære tide, Quintus Fuluius, se consul, ge-egsade ealle þa yldestan menn, þe on Campina wæron, þæt hý hi sylfe mid attre acwealdon. And ealle þa yldestan menn, þe wæron on Cápu þære byrig, he ofsloh, forþón þe he wende þæt hi woldon Hannibale on fultume beon, þeh þe þa senatus him hæfde þa dæd fæste forboden.

5. Þa Romane gcahsedon þæt þa consulas on Ispanium ofslagen wurdon, þa ne mihton þa senatus nænne consul under him findan, þe dorste on Ispanie mid fyrde gefaran, buton þæra consula oðres sunu, Scipia wæs haten, se wæs cniht. Se wæs georne biddende, þæt him mon fultum sealde, þæt he moste on Ispanie fyrde gelædan; and he þæt [færelt] swiþost for þam þurhteah, þe he þohte þæt [he] hys fæder and his fæderan gewræce, þeh þe he hit fæste wið [þa] senatus hæle. Ac Romane wæran þæs færeltes swa geornfulle, þeh þe hý swiðe gebrocode wæron on heora licgendan feo, þe hi gemæne hæfdon; for þam gewinnum þe hy þá hæfdon on feower healfa, þæt hy eall him gesealdon þæt hy þa hæfdon þam færelte to fultume, buton þæt ælc wifman [hæfde] ane yndsan goldes, and [an] pund seolfres, and ælc wæpned-man anne hring and ane hoppan.

6. Þa Scipia hæfde gefaren to þære niwan byrig Cartaina, þe mon nú Cordofa hét, he besæt Magónem, Hannibales broðor; and forþón þe he on þa burh-leode on ungearewe becóm, he hi on lytlan fyrste mid hungre on [his] geweald genydde, þæt him se cyning sylf on hand eode; and he ealle

þa oðre sume ofsloh,—sume geband, and þone cyning gebundenne to Rome sende, and monege mid him þæra yldestena weotena. Binnan [ðære] byrig wæs micel licgende feoh funden: sum hit Scipia to Rome sende,—sum he hit hēt þam folce dælan.

7. On þære tīde, fōr Leuinus, se consul, of Macedonia on Sicilie mid scip-here; and þær ge-eode [Agrigentum] þa burh, and gefeng Hannonam heora ladteow; and siððan him eodan on hand XL burga; and XXVI he ge-eode mid gefeohte. On þære tide, Hannibal ofsloh Gneus Fuluius þone consul on Italium, and eahta M mid him. Æfter þam, Hanniball feaht [wið Marcellus] þone consul þry dagas: þy forman dæge, þa folc feollan on ægðre healfe gelice; þy æfteran dæge, Hannibal hæfde sige; þy þriddan dæge hæfde se consul. Æfter þam, Fauius Maximus, se consul, fōr mid scip-hēre to Tarentan þære byrig, swa Hannibal nyste, and þa burh on niht abræc, swā þā nystan, þe þær inne wæron; and Hannibales ladteow ofsloh Cartolon, and XXX M mid him.

8. Þæs on þam æfteran geare, Hannibal bestæl on Marcellus Claudius, þone consul, þær he on fyrde sæt, and hine ofsloh, and his folc mid him. On þam dagum, Scipia geflymde Hasterbal on Ispanium, Hannibales oþærne broðor; and þæs folces him eode on hand hund eahtatig burga. Swa lāð wæs Pena folc Scipian þa he hȳ geflymed hæfde, swa þeh þe he hȳ sume wið feo gesealde, þæt he þæt weorð nolde agan, þæt him mon wið sealde, ac hit oðrum mannum sealde. On þam ilcan geare, beswāc eft Hannibal twegen consulas, Marcellus and Cirspinus, and hy ofsloh.

9. Þa Claudius Nerone, and [Marcus Livius] Salinatore wæran consulas, Hasterbal, Hannibales broþor, fōr mid fyrde of Ispanium on Italia [Hannibale] to fultume. Þa geahsedon þa consulas þæt ær ær Hannibal, and him ongean comon, swa he [swa] þa muntas oferfaren hæfde, and þær hæfdon langsum gefeoht, ær þæra folca aþer fluge. Þæt wæs swiðor on þam gelang, þæt Hasterbal swa late fleah, forþōn þe he elpendas mid him hæfde; and Romane hæfdon sige. Þar wearð Hasterbal ofslagen, and LIII M [his] heres, and V M gefangen. Þa hēton þa consulas Hasterbale þæt heāfod of aceorfan, and āworpan hit beforan Hannibales wic-stowe. Ða Hannibale cuð wæs, þæt his broðor ofslegen wæs, and þæs folces swa fela mid him, þa wearð him ærest ége fram Romanum, and gefōr on Bruti þæt land. Þa hæfde Hannibal and Romane an gear stilnesse him betweonum, forþōn þe þā folc būtu on fēfer-adle mid ungemete swulton. On þære stilnesse, Scipia ge-eode ealle Ispanie, and siððan com to Rome, and Romanum to rǣde

gelærde, þæt hy mid scipum fóre on Hannibales land. Þa sendon [Romane] hine, þæt he þæs færeltes consul wære; and raðe þæs þe he on Pene com, him com ongean Hánno se cyning, unwærlice, and þær wearð ofslagen. On þære tide, Hannibal feaht wið Semprónius þone consul on Italiam, and hine bedráf into Rome byrig.

10. Æfter þam, foran Pene ongean Scipian mid eallum heora fultume, and [wic-stowa] namon on twam stowum, neah þære byrig, þe mon Útica het: on oðre wæron Pene,—on oðre Numeðe, þe him on fultume wæran, and geþóht hæfdon þæt hý þær sceoldan winter-setl habban. Ac siððan Scipia geahsode þæt þa fóreweárdas wæron feor þam fæstenne gesette, and eác þæt [þær] nane oðre neár náeran, he þá dygellice gelædde his fyrde betuh þam weardum, and feawa menn to oðrum þæra fæstenna ónsénde, tó þón þæt hý his ænne ende onbærndon, þæt siððan mæst ealle þe þær binnan wæran, wæron wið þæs fyres weard, to þon þæt hy hit acwencan þohton. He þá Scipia, gemong þam, hy mæst ealle ofsloh. Þa þæt þa oðre onfundon, þe on þam oðrum [fæstenne] wæron, hí wæron floc-mælum þider-weard þam oðrum to fultume; and hý Scipia wæs ealle þa niht sleande, swa hý þonne cómon, oð dæg; and siððan he [hie] slóh, ofer ealne [þone] dæg, fleonde. And heora twegen cyningas, Hasterbal and Sifax, oðflugon to Cartaina þære byrig, and gegaderedan þone fultum, þe hí þá hæfdon, and ongeán Scipian cómon, and eft wurdon geflymed into Cartaina. Sume oðflugon to Crétan þam iglande; and him Scipia sende scip-hére æfter, þæt mon sume ofsloh,—sume gefeng. And Sifax wearð gefangen, heora oðer cyning, and siþþan wæs to Rome on racentan sended.

11. On þam gefeohtum, wæron Pene swa forhýnde, þæt hý ná siððan hý wið Romane to nahte ne bemæton; and sendon on Italie æfter Hannibale, and bædan þæt he him to fultume come. And he him wépende þære bene getygðade, forþón þe he sceolde Italiam forlætan, on þam þreoteoðan geare [þæs] þe he ær ón com; and he ealle ofsloh, þe of þam landum his men wæron, and mid him ofer sæ noldan.

12. Þa he hámweard seglede, þa hét he anne mann stigan on þone mæst, and locian hwæþer he þæt land gecneowe, þæt hí toweard wæron. Þa sæde he him, þæt he gesawe ane tobrocene byrgenne, swylce heora þeaw wæs þæt mon ricum mannum bufan eorðan of stanum worhte. Þa wæs Hannibale, æfter heora hæþeniscum gewunan, þæt ándwyrde swiðe láð; and him unþanc sæde þæs ándwyrdes, and ealne þone hére he hét mid þam scipum þanon wendan, þe he [ær to] geþoht hæfde, and up comon æt Leptan þam tune, and hrædlice fór

to Cartaina and biddende wæs þæt he moste wiþ Scipian sprecan, and wilniende wæs þæt he friþ betweox þam folcum findan sceolde. Ac hý heora sundor-spræce, þe hý betweox þam [folcum] togædere-weard gespræcon, to unsibbe brohton, and hý to gefeohte gyredon. And raðe þæs þe hi togædere comon, Hannibales folc wearð geflymed, and xx M ofslagen, and v hund and eahtatig elpenda, and Hannibal oðfleah feowera sum to Apramétum þam fæstenne. Þa sendon þa burh-leode of Cartaina æfter Hannibale, and cwædon [þæt] him selest wære, þæt hý friðes to Romanum wilnade. Þa þa Gaius Cornelius and Léntulus Publius wæron consulas, wearð Cartainum friþ alyfed fram Scipian, mid þæra [Senata] willan, on þæt gerád, þæt þa igland Sicilia and Sardinia hírdon to Romanum, and þæt hy him ælce geare gesealde swa fela talentana seolfres, swa hý him þonne alyfde; and Scipia hét v hund heora scipa úp ateon, and forbærnan, and siððan to Rome hamweard fór.— Þa him mon þone triumphan ongean brohte, þa eode þær mid Terrentius, se mǽra Cartaina sceop, and bær hætt on his heafde, forþón Romane hæfdon þá niwlice gesett, þæt þá þe hætt béran moston, þonne hy [hwelc] folc ofer wunnen hæfdon, þæt þá moston ægðer habban ge feorh ge freodom.

[Bóc IV: Capitul XI.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs v hund wintrum and L. wæs ge-endad þæt æftere Punica gewinn and Romana, þæt hý dreogende wæran xiiii winter. Ac Romane raðe þæs oðer ongunnon wiþ Mæcedonie. Þa hlútan þa consulas, hwylc heora þæt gewinn ærest underfón sceolde. Þa gehleát hit Quintius Flaminius, and on þam gewinne monega gefeoht þurhteah, and oftost sige hæfde, oð Philippus heora cyning friþes bæd, and hit him Romane alyfdon; and siððan he for on Læcedemonie, and Quintius Flaminius genydde begen þa cyningas, þæt hý sealdon heora suna to gíslum. Philippus, Mæcedonia cyning, sealde Demetrias hys sunu, and [Nauiða], Læcedemonia cyning, sealde Armenán his sunu. And ealle þa Romaniscan menn, þe Hánnibal on Crece geseald hæfde, him bebead se consul, þæt hý eall heora heafod bescearon, to tácne þæt he hý of þeowdome ádyde.

2. On þære tide, Subres, and Cenomanni þa folc hý togædere hý gesomnodan for Amilcores lare, Hannibales [broðor], þone he ǽr on Italium him beæftan forlét; and siððan foran on Placentie and on Cremone þá land, and hý mid ealle awéston. Þa sendon Romane þider Claudius Fuluius, þone consul, and he hý uneaðe oferwann. Æfter þam Flamineus, se consul, gefeaht wiþ Philippus, Mæcedonia cyning, and wiþ Thráci,

and wiđ Ilirice, and wiđ monega oðre þeoda, on anum gefeohte, and hy ealle geflymde. Þær wæs Mæcedonia ehta M ofslagen, and VI M gefangen. Æfter þam, Sempronius, se consul, wearð ofslagen on Ispania mid ealre his fyrde. On þære tide, Marcellus, se consul, wearð geflymed on Etruria þam lande, þa com Furius, oðer consul, him to fultume, and sige hæfde; and hý siððan þæt land eall awestan.

3. Þa þa Lucius Ualerius and Flaccus Marcus wæron consulas, þa ongan Antiochus, [Sira] cyning, winnan wiđ Românum, and of Asia on Europe mid fyrde gefor. On þære tide, bebudon Romane þæt mon Hannibal, Cartaina cyning, gefenge, and hine siððan to Rome brohte. Þa he þæt gehyrde, þa fleah he to Antiochûse, Siria cyninge, þær he on tweogendlican onbide wæs, hwæþer he wiđ Romanum winnan dorste, swa he on gunnen hæfde. Ac hine Hannibal aspôn, þæt he þæt gewinn lêng ongan. Þa sendan Romane Scipian Affricanus, heora ærendracan, to Antiochuse, þa het he Hannibal, þæt he wiđ þa ærendracan spræce, and him geandwyrde. Þa hi nanre sibbe ne gewearð, ða côm æfter þam Sciþia, se consul, mid Clafrione, oðrum consule, and Antiochuses folces ofsloh XL M. Ðæs on þam æfteran geare, gefeaht Scipia wiđ Hannibal ute on sæ̂, and sige hæfde. Ða Antiochus þæt gehyrde, þa bæd he Scipian friþes, and him his sunu hanı onsende, se wæs on his wealde, swa he nyste hu he him to com; butan, swa sume menn sædan, þæt he sceolde beon on hergunge gefangen, oððe on wearde.

4. On þære firran Ispanie forwearð Emilius, se consul, mid eallum his folce fram Lusitaniam þære þeode. On þam dagum, forwearð Lucius Beuius, se consul, mid eallum his folce fram Etusci þam leodum; þæt þær nan to lafe [ne] wearð þæt hit to Rome gebodadc.

5. Æfter þam, Fuluius, se consul, fôr mid fyrde on Crece to þam beorgum, þe mon Olimphus hæ̂t, þa wæs þæs folces fela on an fæsten oðflogen. Þa, on þam gefeohte, þe hy þæt fæsten brecan woldan, wæs fela Romana mid flanum ofscotod, and mid stanum oftorfod. Þa se consul ongeat, þæt hy þæt fæsten abrecan ne mihton, þa bebead he sumum þam folce, þæt hy fram þam fæstenne aforan, and þa oðre he hêt þæt hy wiđ þæra oðerra flugan þonne þæt gefeoht mæst wære, þæt hi mid þam aloccodan ût þa þe þær binnan wæran. On þam fleame, þe þa burh-ware eft wiđ þæs fæstenes flugon, heora wearð ofslagen XL M, and þa þe þær to lâfe wurdon, him on hand eodan. On þam dagum, fôr Marcus, se consul, on Ligor þæt land, and geflymed wearð, and his folces ofslagen IIII M.

6. Þa þa Marcus Claudius and Marcellus Quintus wæron consulas, Philippus, Mæcedonia cyning, ofsloh Romana ærend-

racan, and sende Demetrias his sunu to þam senatum, þæt he þæt yrre gesette wið hy; and, þeh þe he swa gedyde, þa he ham com, Philippus het his oþerne sunu þæt he hine mid attre acwealde, forþon þe he teah hine þæt he hys ungerisna spræce wið þa senatus. On þære ilcan tide, Hannibal his agnum willan hine sylfne mid attre acwealde. On þære tide, oðiewde Fulcania þæt igland on Sicilium, þæt næs gesewen ær þa. On þære tide, Quintus Fuluius, se consul, gefeaht wið þa fyrran Ispanie, and sige hæfde.

7. Ða þa Lapidus Mutius wæs consul, wolde seo strengste þeod winnan on Romane, þe mon þa hét Basterne, and nú hy mon het Hungerie: hý woldan cuman Perseúse to fultume, Mæcedonia cyninge. Þa wæs Donua seo eá swa swiðe oferfroren, þæt hy getruwedon þæt hi ofer þam ise faran mihton; ac hi mæst ealle þær forwurdon.

8. Ða þa P. Licinius Crassus and Gaius Casius wæron consulas, þa gewearð þæt Mæcedonisce gewinn, þæt mon eaðe mæg to þam mæstan gewinnum getellan; for þam þe, on þam dagum, wæron ealle Italie Romanum on fultume, and eac Phtolomeus, Egypta cyning,—and Argeatus, Capadotia cyning,—and Emenis, Asia cyning,—and Masinissa, Nameþia cyning. And Perseuse, Mæcedonia cyninge, him wæron on fultume ealle Thraci and Ilirice. And raðe þæs þe hý tó somne comon, Romane wurdon geflymed; and raðe þæs, æt oðrum gefeohte, hý wurdon eac geflymed. And æfter þam gefeohtum, Perseus wæs ealne þone gear Romane swiðe swencende, and siððan he fór on Ilirice, and abræc Sulcanum heora burh, seo wæs Romanum underþeod; and micel þæs mann-cynnes,—sum acwealde,—sum [on] Mæcedonie lædde. Æfter þam, gefeaht Lucius Emilius, se consul, wið Perseus, and hine oferwonn, and his folces ofsloh XX M; and he sylf æt þam cyrre oðfleah, and raðe æfter þam gefangen wearð, and to Rome broht, and þær ofslagen. And monega gefeoht gewurdon, on þam dagum, on monegum landum, þæt hit nú is to longsum eall to [gesecgenne].

[Bóc IV: Capitul XII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs VI hund wintrum, þa þa Lucius Lucinius, and Lucullus Aula wæron consulas, wearð Romanum se mæsta ége fram Sceltiferin, Ispania folce: and nanne mann næfdon, þe þider mid fyrde dorste gefaran, buton Scipian þam consule, se wæs æfter þam færelte Affricanus háten, forþón þe he þa oðre siðe þider fór þá nán oþer ne dorste; þeh þe Romane hæfde geworden, hwene ær, þæt he on Asiam faran sceolde; ac he monega gefeoht on

Ispanium on missenlicum sigum þurhteâh. On þam dagum, Serius Galua, Scipian gefera, gefeaht wiþ Lusitaniam, Ispania folce, and geflymed wearð.

2. On þam dagum, bebudon Romana godas þam senatum. þæt mon Theatrum worhte him to plegan; ac hit Scipia oftrædlice ham abead, þæt hý hit ne angunnon; and eac sylf sæde, þa he ham of Ispanium cóm, þæt hit wære se mæsta ûnræd, and se mæsta gedwola. Hy þa Romane, for his cidinge, and þurh his lare, oferhyrdon þam godum; and eall þæt feoh, þæt hi þær tosamnod hæfdon, þe hy wiþ þam sylum and wiþ þam worce syllan woldan, hy hit wiþ oðrum þingum sealdan.—Nu mæg þam Cristenan gescomian, þe swylc deofolgyld lufiað and begongað, þa se, þe Cristen næs, hit swa swiðe forseah, se þe hit fyrðrian sceolde, æfter heora agnum gewunan.

3. Æfter þam, Serius Galua for eft on Lusitanie, and friþ [genam] wiþ hý, and hý under þam friðe beswâc. Seo dæd wearð forneah Romanum to þam mæstan hearme, þæt him nân folc ne getruwode, þe him underþeod wæs.

[Bóc IV: Capitul XIII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs VI hund wintrum and II, þa þa Censorinus Marcus and Mallius Lucius wæron consulas, þa gewearð þæt þridde gewinn Romana and Cartaina; and gewearð þa senatus him betweonum, gif hy mon þriddan siðe oferwunne, þæt mon ealle Cartaina towurpe. And eft sendon Scipian þider, and he hi æt heora forman gefeohte geflymde, and bedraf into Cartaina. Æfter þam, hý bædan friðes Romane, ac hit Scipia nolde him alyfan wiþ nanum oðrum þinge, buton hý him ealle heora wæpeno ageafon, and þa burh forleton, and þæt nan ne sæte hyre x milum neah. Æfter þam þe þæt gedon wæs, hý cwædon þæt [him] leofre wære, þæt hý mid þære byrig ætgædere forwurdon, þonne hi mon buton him towurpe. And him eft wæpeno worhton þa þe isen hæfdon; and þa þe næfdon, hý worhton,—sume of seolfre,—sume of treowum, and gesetton him to cyningum twegen Hasterbâlas.

2. "Nu ic wille," cwæð Orosius, "secgan hûlucu heó wæs:—hyre [ymbegong wæs xxx mila]; and eall heó wæs mid sæ utan [befangen], butan þrim milum. And se weall wæs xx fota þicce, and XL [elna] heah; and þær wæs binnan oðer læsse fæsten, on þam sæs clife, þæt wæs twegra mila heah. Hý þa Cartainienses æt þam cyrre, [þa] burh aweredon, þeh þe Scipia êr fela þæs wealles tobrocen hæfde, and siððan hamweard fór."

3. Þa þa Gneo Cornelius, and Lentulus Lucilius wæron consulas, þa for Scipia þriddan siðe on Affrice, toþón þæt he þohte Cartainan toweorpan. And þa he þær to com, he wæs VI dagas on þa burh feohtende, oþ þa burh-warc bædon þæt hý moston beon heora underþeowas, þa hý [hie] bewerian ne mihton. Þa hét Scipia ealle þa wifmenn [ærest utgán], þæra wæs XXVI M; and þa þa wæpned-menn þæra wæs XXX M. And se cyning Hasterbal hine sylfne acwealde, and his wif, mid hyre twam sunum, hí sylfe forbærnde for þæs cyninges deaðe. And Scipia hét ealle þa burh toweorpan, and ælcne hiewe-stán tobeatan, þæt hý to nanum wealle siððan ne mihton. And seo burh inneweard bárn XVI dagas, ymb VII hund wintra þæs þe heo ǽr getimbred wæs.

4. Þa wæs þæt þridde gewinn ge-endod Punica and Romana, on þam feorðan geare þæs þe hit ǽr ongunnen wæs; þeh þe Romane hæfdon ǽr langsum gemot ymbe þæt, hwæðer him rædlicre wære, þe hí þa burh mid ealle fordydon, þæt hý á siððan on þa healfe frið hæfdon, þe hy hí [stondan forleten,] to þón þæt him gewinn eft þonan awóce, forþón hý ondredan gif hí hwilum ne wunnon, þæt hy to raðe ásláwedon and áeargadon.

5. "Swa þæt eow Romanum nu eft cuð wearð, siððan se Cristendóm wæs," cwæð Orosius, "þæt ge eowra yldrena hwetstan forluron, eowra gewinna, and eowres hwǽtscipes; forþon ge syndon nú útan fætte, and innan hlæne; and eowre yldran wæron útan hlæne, and innan fætte, stronges modes and fæstes. Ic nát eac," cwæð he, "hú nytt ic þa hwile beo þe ic þas word sprece, buton þæt ic min geswync amyrre. Hit bið eac geornlic, þæt mon heardlice gnide þone hnescestan mealm-stan, æfter þam þæt he þence þone selestan [hwet-stan] on tó gerǽcanne. Swa þonne, is me nú swiðe earfeðe heora mód to ahwéttanne, nú hit náðor nele beon ne scearp ne heard."

[Bóc V: Capitul I.]

1. "Ic wát," cwæð Orosius, "hwæt se Romána gilp swiðost is,—forþón þe hí manega folc oferwunnan, and [monege] cyningas beforan heora triumphan oftrædlice drifan. Þæt sindon þa [godan] tida, þe hý ealne weg fore gilpaþ; gelicost þam þe hí nú cwædon, þæt þa tida him anum gesealde wæran, and nǽran eallum [folcum]; ac, þær hí hit georne ongitan cuðan, þonne [wisten hie, þæt hie wæron] eallum folcum gemæne. Gif hí þonne cweðaþ þæt þá tida gode wæron, forþón [þe] hí þa ane burh welige gedydan, þonne magon hí rihtor cweðan, þæt þæt [wæren þa] ungesæligestan, forþón þe þurh þære anre burge wlenceo wurdon ealle oþre to wǽdlan gedone.

2. Gif hi þonne þæs ne gelyfan, acsian þonne Italia, hyra agene land-leode, hu him þa tida gelicodon, þa hi man sloh and hynde, and on oðre land sealde xx wintra and c.

3. Gif hi þonne him ne gelyfan, acsige þonne Ispanie, þe þæt ylce wæran dreogende twa hund wintra, and manige oþre þeoda; and eac þa manegan cyningas, hu him licode, þonne hi man on geocon, and on racentan, beforan heora triumphan drifon, him to gilpe, wiþ [Rome] weard; and syþþan on carcernum lagon, [oþ] hi deaðe swulton. And hi manige cyningas geswenctan, to þon þæt hi eal gesealdon þæt hi þonne hæfdon wiþ heora eârman life. Ac forþon hit is us uncuð and ungelyfedlic, forþon þe we synd on þam friðe geborene, þe hý þâ uneaðe heora feorh mid geceapodon. Þæt wæs syþþan Crist geboren wæs, þæt we wæron of ælcon þeowdome alysede, and of ælcon ege, gif we him fulgangan wyllað."

[Bóc V: Capitul II.]

1. Æfter þam þe Romana burh getimbred wæs VI hund wintrum and VI,—þæt wæs þy ilcan geare þe Cartaina toworpen wæs,—æfter hyre hryre—Gneo Cornelius and Lentulus Lucio towurpon Corinthum, ealra Creaca heafod-burh. On hyre bryne, gemultan ealle þa anlicnessa togædere, þe þær binnan wæran, ge [gyldene], ge sylfrene, ge ærene, ge cyperene, and on pyttas besuncon. Git to dæge, man hæt Corinthisce fatu ealle þe þærof geworhte wæran, forþon þe hi sint fægeran and dyrran þonne ænige oþre.

2. Be tham yrde uariato:—On þam dagum, wæs án hýrde on Hispanium, se wæs Uariatus haten, and wæs mycel þeof-man; and on þære stalunge he wearð reafere; and, on þam reaf-lace, he him geteah tó mycelne man-fultum, and manige tunas oferhergode. Æfter þam, his werod weox to þon swiðe þæt he manige land forhergode, and Romanum wearð micel ege fram him, and Uecilius, þone consul, ongean hine mid fyrde sendan, and he þær geflymed wearð, and his folces se mæsta dæl ofslagen. Æt oðrum cyrre, þyder fór Gaius Folucius, se consul, and eac geflymed wearð. Æt þriddan cyrre, þyder fór Claudius, se consul, and þohte þæt he Romana bysmor gebetan sceolde, ac he hit on þam færelde swyðor geycte, and uneaðe sylf aweg com.

3. Æfter þam, Ueriatus gemette, mid þrim hund manna, Romana an M on anum wuda, þær wæs Ueriatuses folces hund seofontig ofslagen, and Romana III hund, and þa oðre geflymede wurdon. On þam fleame, wearð an [Ueriatuses] þegen þam oþrum to lange æfterfylgende, oð man his hórs under him ofsceat. Þa woldan þâ oðre ealle hine ænne ofslean, oððe

gebindan, þa slōh he anes mannes hors mid his sweorde, þæt him wand þæt heafod ōf. Siððan wæs eallum þam oðrum swa mycel ege fram him, þæt hī hine [leng] gretan ne dorstan.

4. Æfter þam, Apius Claudius, se consul, gefeaht wið Gælle, and þær geflymed wearð; and raðe þæs eft fyrde gelædde wið hī, and sige hæfde, and heora ofsloh VI M. Þa he hamweard wæs, þa bæd he þæt man dyde beforan him þone triumphan; ac Romane him untreowlice his forwyrndon, and hit under þæt ladedon, forþōn þe he ǣr æt þam oðrum cyrre sige næfde.

5. Be þam mann-cwealme:—Æfter þam, wæs swa mycel man-cwealm on Rome, þæt þær nān ūten-cūmen man cuman nē dorste, and manige land binnan þære byrig wæran butan ælcum yrfewearde. Hī witon þeah þæt þæt yfel ofereode butan geblote, swa þa manegan ǣr dydon, þe hī wendon þæt hȳ mid heora deofol-gyldum gestyred hæfdon. Butan tweon, gif hī þa blotan mihtan, hī woldan secgean þæt him heora godas gehūlpan. Ac hit wæs Godes gifu, þæt ealle þā lāgon, þe hit don sceoldan, oð hit sylf ofereode.

6. Æfter þam, Fauius, se consul, fōr mid fyrde ongean Feriatus, and geflymed wearð. Se consul gedyde eallum Romanum þa bysmerlicestan dæde, þa he aspeon of Sciþþium syx hund manna to him his geþoftena; and, þa hī him to coman, he hēt him eallum þa handa of aceorfan.—Æfter þam, Pompeius, se consul, fōr on Numentinas, Ispania þeode, and geflymed wearð. Ymbe feowertune geār þæs þe Ueriatus wið Romane [winnan] ongan, he wearð fram his agenum mannum ofslagen; and swa oft swa hine Romane mid gefeohte gesōhton, he hi simle geflymde. Þær dydan þeah Romane lytle treowþa, þæt him þa wæran laðe and unwyrðe, þe heora hlaford beswicon, þeah þe hi him leana to þære tide wendan.

7. Ic sceal eac nyde þara manegra gewinna geswigian, þe on þam east-landum gewurdan: his me sceal aþreotan for Romana gewinnum.—On þære tide, Metridātis, Partha [cyning], ge-eode Babiloniam, and ealle þa land þe betweox þam twam [eaum] wæron Hidūse and Ī dasfe, þa wæran ǣr on Romana anwealde. And siððan he gebrædde his rice east oð Īndea gemæro; and Demetria, Asia cyning, hine twiwa mid fyrde gesohte. Æt oðrum cyrre, he wearð geflymed; æt oþrum, gefangen. He wæs on Romana anwealde, forþon þe hī hine þær gesettan.

8. Æfter þam, Mantius, se consul, fōr on Numentine Ispania folc, and þær wæs winnende, oð he nam frið wið þæt folc; and syððan hine aweg bestæl. Þa he ham com, þa heton hine Romane gebindan, and gebringan beforan Numentia fæstenes geate. Þā naðer nē hine þa eft ham lædan ne dorstan, þe hine þyder læddan, ne his þa onfōn noldon, þe hine man to brohte;

ac swiðe hreowlice swa gebend he on anre stowe beforan þam geate wæs wuniende, oþ he his líf forlét.

9. On þam dagum, Brutus, se consul, ofslóh Ispania folces LX M, þa wæran Lusitâniam on fultume; and raðe þæs he fór eft on Lusitânie, and hyra ofsloh L M, and VI M gefeng. On þam dagum, fór Lapidus, se consul, on þa nearan Ispanie, and geflymed wearð, and his folces wæs ofslagen VI M; and þa þe þær aweg coman, hí oðflugon mid þam mæstan bismore. Hwæðer Romane hit witon [nu] ænigum men to secganne, hwæt heora folces on Ispaniam on [feawum gearum] forwúrde, þonne hí fram gesælgum tidum gilpað, þonne wæron þa him sylfum þá ungesæligestan?

10. Þa þa Seruius Fuluius and Flaccus Quintus wæron consulas, wearð on Rome an cild geboren, þæt hæfde feower fet, and feower handa, and feower [eagan], and feower earan.—On þam geare, asprang up Etna fyr on Sicilium, and mare þæs landes forbærnde þonne hit æfre ær dyde.

[Bóc V: Capitul III.]

1. Æfter þam þe Romana burh getimbred wæs VI hund wintrum and XX, þa þa Mantius gedyde þone yfelan fryð on Numântiam, swa hit Romane [selfe] sædon, þæt, under heora anwealde, nán bysmorlicre dæd ne gewurde, buton on þam gefeohte æt Caúdenes Furculus; þa sendon Romane Scipian on Numántie mid fyrde. Hí [sindon] on þam norð-west-ende Ispania, and hi hí [selfe] ær þam mid IIII M, [aweredon] feowertyne winter, wið Romana XL M, and oftost sige hæfdon.

2. Þa besæt hi Scipia healf gear on heora fæstene, and hí to þón gebrocode, þæt him leofre wæs þæt hí hí sylfe [forneðdon], þonne hí þa yrmþa lencg þrowedon. Þa se Scipio onget þæt hi swylces modes wæran, þa hét he sum his folc [feohtan] on þæt fæsten. þæt hí mid þam þæt folc ut aloccodan: Þa [wæron þa] burh-ware to þon fagene, and to þon bliðe, þæt hy feohtan mostan, and, gemang þam gefean, hí hí [selfe] mid ealað oferdrenctan, and utyrnende wæron æt twam geaton. On þære byrig wæs ærest ealo-geweorc [ongunnen], forþon þe hí win næfdon. On þam swicdome, wearð Numéntia duguð gefeallen, [ond] se dæl, þe þær to lafe wearð, forbærndon ealle þá burh, forþon þe hí né uðon þæt heora fynd to heora ealdan gestreonon fengon, and æfter þam hí hí sylfe on þam fýre forspildon.

3. Þa se Scípio hine hamweard wende of þam lande, þa com him tó an eald man, se wæs Numentisc. Þa frægn se Scipio hine, on hwý hit gelang wære þæt Numentie swa raðe ahnescodon, swa heárde swa hí lange wæran. Þa sæde he him, þæt hí wæran hearde, þa hwile þe hí heora anrædnesse geheoldan him

betwenan and ânfealdnysse, and sona swa hī him betweonum ungerædnesse ûpâhofon swa forwûrdon hī ealle. Þa wearð þam Scipian þæt andwyrde swiðe andrȳsne, and eallum Romanum witum: for þam andwyrde, and for þam wordum, hi wurdon swiðe mid ge-egesode, þa he ham com, forþôn þe hi þa hæfdon ungerædnysse him betweonum.

4. On þære tide, Creaccus wæs haten an þara consula, and he winnan ongann wið ealle þa oðre, oþ hī hine ofslogon.

5. And eâc on þære tide, on Sicilium þa þeowas wunnan wiþ þa hlafordas, and uneaðe oferwunnene wurdon, and VII M ofslagen ær man hȳ gebigan mihte. And æt þære anre byrig, Minturnan, heora man âhêng fifte healf [hund].

[Bôc V: Capitul IV.]

1. Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs VI hund wintrum and XXI, Lucinius Crassus, se consul,—he wæs eac Romana yldesta bisceop,—he gefôr mid fȳrde ongean Aristonocûse, þam cyningce, se wolde him geagnian þa læssan Asiam, þeh þe hī ær Â'ttalis, his agen broðor, hæfde Romanum to bôc-lande geseald. Crassuse wæron manige cyningas of manegum landum to fultume [cumene:—an wæs of Nicomedia,—oþer of Biþþinia,—þridda of Ponto,—feorþa of Armenia,—fifta of Argeate,—sixta of Cappadocia,—seafoða of Filimine,—eahteþa of Paflogoniam.] And þeah hwæþere raðe þæs þe hī togædere coman, se consul wearð aflymed, þeah þe he mycelne fultum hæfde. Þa þæt Perpêna gehyrde, se oðer consul, he þâ hrædlice fyrde gegaderade, and on þone cyningc [ungearone] becom, þa his fyrd eall tofaren wæs, and hine bedraf into anum fæstene; and hine besæt oð hine ealle þa burh-leode ageafan þam consule, and he hine hêt syþþan to Rome bringan, and on carcerne [bescufan], and he þær læg oð he his lif forlet.

2. On þære tide, Antiochûse Asiria cyninge, geþuhte þæt he rice genoh næfde; and wilnode þæt he Parthe begeate, and þyder fôr mid manegum þusendum. And hine þær Parthe yþelice oferwunnan, and þone cyning [ofslogan], and him þæt rice geahnedon; forþon Antiochus ne gymde hwæt he hæfde manna gerimes, and ne nam nâne wâre [hulice] hī wæran, forþon heora wæs mâ forcuðra þonne ældtæwra.

3. On þære tide, Scipia, se besta and se selesta Romana witena, and þegena, mænde his earfeða to Romanum witum, þær hī æt heora gemote wæron, for hwī [hie] hine swa unwyrðne on his ylde dydan,—and ahsode hī for hwī hī noldon geþencean ealle þa brocu, and þa geswinc þe he for heora willan, and eac for [hiera] neod-þearfe fela wintra dreogende wæs unarimedlice oft-siðum;—and hû he hī adyde of Hanni-

bales þeowdome, and of manigre oþre þeode; and hu he him to þeowdome gewylde ealle Ispanie, and ealle Affrice. On þære ilcan niht, þe he on dæg þas word spræc, Romane him geþancedon ealles his geswinces, mid wyrsan leane þonne he to him ge-earnod hæfde, þa hī hine on his bedde asmoredan and aþrysemodan, þæt he his lif alet.—Eala Romane! hwā mæg eow nū truwian, þa ge swylc leān dydon eowrum þam getrywestan witan.

4. Ða þa Emīlius [Orestes] wæs consul, Etna fȳr afleow ūp swa brad and swa mycel, þæt feawa þara manna mihte beon eard-fæste, þe on [Lipara] wæron þam iglande, þe þær [nihst] wæs, for þære hæte and for þam stence. Ge ealle þa clifu, þe neah þære sǣ wæron, [forburnon] to ahsan, and ealle þa scipu formultan, þe [neah] þam sǣ farende wæron. Ge ealle þa fixas, þe on þam sǣ wæron, acwǣlan for þære hætan.

5. Þa þa Marcus Flaccus wæs consul, coman gærstapan on Affrice, and ælc [wuht] forscrufon, þæs þe on þam lande wæs weaxandes and growendes. [Æfter þæm, com ān wīnd, ond forbleow hie ut on sǣ.] Æfter þam þe hī adruncene wæran, hī wearp seo sǣ ūp; and siþþan mæst eall forwearð, þæt on þam lande wæs, ge manna, ge nytena, ge [wildeora], for þam stence.

[Bōc V: Capitul V.]

1. Æfter þam þe Romana buruh getimbred wæs VI hund wintrum and [XXVII], þa þa Lucius Mella, and Quintus Flamineus wæron consulas, þa gewearð þam þa senatus, þæt man eft sceolde timbrian Cartaina. Ac þære ilcan niht þe man on dæg hæfde þa buruh mid stacum gemercod, swa swa hī hī þa wurcean woldan, [wulfas ātugan þa stacan ūp, ond þa men forleton þæt] weorc for þam, and lang gemot [ymb þæt] hæfdon, hwæþer hit tacnode þe sibbe, þe unsibbe; and hy hī swa þeah eft getimbredan.

2. On þære tide, Metellus, se consul, for on Belearis þæt land; and oferwann þa wicingas, þe on þæt land hergodan, þeah þe þæra land-leoda [eac] fela forwurde.

[Bōc V: Capitul VI.]

1. Æfter þam þe Romana burh getimbred wæs VI hund wintrum and [XXVIII], Fauius, se consul, gemitte Betuitusan, Gallia cyning, and hine mid lytlum fultume ofercom.

[Bōc V: Capitul VII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Romana burh getimbred wæs VI hund wintrum and XXXV, þa þa Scipia [Nasica], and Lucius Calfur-

nius wæran consulas, Romane wunnon wiþ Geoweorðan, Numeþa cyning. Se ilca Geoweorða wæs Mecipsuses mæg, Numeþa cyninges, and he hine on his [geogoðe] underfeng, and hine fedan hét, and læran mid his twam sunum. And þa se cyning gefór, he bebead his twam sunum, þæt hi þæs rices þriddan dæl Geoweorþan sealdon. Ac, siþþan se [þridda] dæl on his gewealde wæs, he beswac begen þa [suna]: oðerne he ofslóh, oþerne he adræfde, and he siððon gesohte Romane him to friðe, and hi sendon Calfurnan, þone consul, mid him mid fyrde. Ac Geoweorða geceapode mid his feo æt þam consule, þæt he þæs gewinnes lytel þurchteah. Æfter þam, Geoweorða com to Rome, and digellice geceapode to þam senatum, to anum and to anum, þæt hi ealle wæron ymbe hine twywyrdige. Þa he hine hamweard of þære byrig wende, þa tælde he Romane, and hi swiðe bismorode mid his wordum, and sæde —"þæt man nâne burh ne mihte ýð mid feo geceapian, gif hyre ænig man ceapode."

2. Ðæs on þam æfteran geare, Romane sendon Anilius [Postumius], þone consul, mid LX M ongean Geoweorðan. Heora gemittincg wæs æt Colima þære byrig, and þær wæran Romane oferwunnen: and siþþon lytle hwíle hi genamon frið him betweonum, and siþþon mæst ealle Affrice gecyrdon to Geoweorþan. Æfter þam, Romane sendon eft Metellus mid fyrde ongean Geoweorðan; and he sige hæfde æt twam cyrrum. And æt þriddan cyrre, he bedraf Geoweorðan on Numeþian his agen land, and hine genydde þæt he sealde Romanum þreo hund gisla; and he þeah siþþon na þe læs ne hergode on Romane. Þa sendan hi eft Marius, þone consul, ongean Geoweorðan, â swa lytigne, and [â swa brægdenne] swa he wæs; and fór to anre byrig, gelicost þam þe he hi abrecan þohte. Ac sona swa Geoweorða hæfde his fultum to þære byrig gelæd ongean Marius, þa forlet he Marius þæt fæsten, and fór to oþrum þær he geahsode þæt Geoweorðan gold-hord wæs, and genydde þa burh-leode, þæt hi him eodan on hand, and him ageafon [eall] þæt licgende feoh, þæt þær binnan wæs. Þa ne getrywode Geoweorða his agenum folce ofer þæt, ac geþóftude [him] wiþ Bohân, Mauritania [cyning], and he him cóm to mid miclum man-fultume, and oftrædlice on Romane stalode, oð hi gecwædan folc-gefeoht him betweonum. To þam gefeohte, hæfde Bohó Geoweorðan gebroht to fultume LX M gehorsedra buton feðan. [Næs na] mid Romanum, ær ne siþþan, swa [heard] gefeoht swa þær wæs, forþon þe hi wurdon on ælce healfe utan befangen; and heora eac mæst forþon forwearð þe heora [gemitting] wæs on sandihtre dune, þæt hi for duste ne mihtan geseon hú hi hi behealdan sceoldan. To [eacan] þam, hi derode ægþer ge

þurst ge hæte, [ond] ealne þone dæg wæron þæt þafiende oþ niht. Þa on mergen, hi wæron þæt ilce donde, and eft wæron on ælce healfe utan befangen, swa hi ær wæron. And þa hi swiðost tweode hwæðer hi aweg coman, þa geewædan hi þæt hi sume hi beæftan wæredon, and sume þuruh ealle þa truman utan afuhtan, gif hi mihton. Ða hi swa gedon hæfdon, þa com an rén and swiðe, þæt Mauritanie wæron mid þam gewergode, forþon þe heora scyldas wæron betogene mid [elpenda] hydum, þæt hi heora feawa for þam wetan ahebban [mehton]: and for þam [geflymede] wurdon, forþón þe elpendes hyd wyle drincan wætan gelice and spinge deð. Þær wearð Mauritania ofslagen [LX M ond an hund] manna. Æfter þam, Bohó genam frið wið Romanum, and him Geóweórðan gebundenne ageaf; and hine man dyde siþþan on carcern, and his twegen suna, oð hi þær ealle acwælon.

[Bóc V: Capitul VIII.]

1. Æfter þam þe [Rome] burh getimbred wæs VI hund wintrum and XLII, þa þa [Mallius] and Quintinus wæron consulas, Romane gefuhton wið Cimbros, and wið Teútonas, and wið Ambrónos—þas þeoda wæron on Gallium—and þær ealle ofslagene wurdon, buton X mannum, þæt wæs XL M. And þær wæs Romana ofslagen hund eahtatig M, and heora consul, and his twegen suna. Æfter þam, þa ylcan þeoda besætan Marius, þone consul, on anum fæstene, and hit lang fyrst wæs ær he ut faran wolde to gefeohte, ær him man sæde, þæt hi woldan faran ón Italíam, Romana land. Ac siððon, he him fór to, út of þam fæstene. Þa hi hi ón ánre dune gemetton, þa mænde þæs consules folc to him heora þurst, þe him getenge wæs. Þa ándwyrde he him, and cwæð:—"Eaðe we magon geseon on oþre healfe urra feonda, hwær se drinca [is] gelang, þe us nyhst is; ac, for þam þe hi us near synd, we [him] ne magon buton [gefeohte to cuman]." Þær hæfdon [Romane] sige; and þær wæs Gallia ofslagen, twa hund þusenda and heora ladteow, and hund eahtatig M gefangen.

[Bóc V: Capitul IX.]

1. Æfter þam þe Romana burh getimbred wæs VI hund wintrum and XLV, on þam fiftan geare þe Marius wæs consul, and eac þa mid [Romanum] wæs sib of oþrum folcum, þa ongunnon Romane þa mæstan sáce him betweonon úparæran: "þeah ic hit nú sceortlice secgan scyle," cwæð Orosius, "hwá þæs órdfruman wæron."

2. Þæt wæs ærest Marius, se consul, and Lucius, and Apulcius, and [Saturninus], þæt hi adræfdon Metellus, þone consul,

on elþeode, se wæs consul ǽr Marius. Hit wæs [þa] swiðe ofþincende þam oþrum consulum, Pompeiuse and Catán, þeah þe hí mid þære wrace þam [adræfdan] ón nanum stǽle beon ne mihtan; hí þeah þurhtugon þæt hí ofslogon Lucius and [Saturninus], and eft wæran biddende þæt Metellus to Rome moste; ac him þa gýt Márius and Fúrius forwyrndan. And him þá siþþan se feondscipe wæs betweonum wexande, þeah þe hit hí openlice cýðan ne dorstan, for þæra senatum ege.

[Bóc V: Capitul X.]

1. Æfter þam þe Romana burh getimbred wæs VI hund wintrum and LXI,—on þam VI geare þe Iulius se Casere wæs consul, and Lucius Martius,—wearð, ofer ealle Italia, ungefǽrlic unsib, and openlice cuð betuh Iuliuse and [Pompeiuse]; þeah hí hit ǽr swiðe him betweonum dyrndon. And eac, on þam geare, gewurdon manige wundor on manegum landum.—Án wæs, þæt man geseah swylce an fyren hríncg norþan cumen mid mycclum swége.—Oþer wearð on Tarentam þære byrig æt anre feorme, þonne man þa hláfas wrat to þicgenne, þonne arn þær blód ut.—Þæt þridde wæs, þæt hit hagolade [seofon niht] dæges and nihtes ofer ealle Romane;—and, on Somnia þam lande, seo eorþe tobærst, and þanon úp wæs byrnende fýr wið þæs heófones, and man geseah, swylce hit wære, an gylden hríncg ón heofonum, braddre þonne sunne, and wæs fram þam heofone bradiende niðer oð þa eorþan, and wæs eft farende wið þæs heofones.

2. On þære tide, Pincende þæt folc, and Uestíne, and Marse, and Peligni, and Marrucíne, and Somnite, and Lucani, hí ealle gewearð him betweonum, þæt hí woldan Romanum geswican, and ofslogon [Gaius] Seruius, Romana ealdor-man, se wæs mid ærendum to him asended. On þam dagum, aweddan þa nytena and þa hundas, þe wæran [on] Somnitum.

3. Æfter þam, gefeaht Pompeius, se consul, wið [eal] þa folc, and geflymed wearþ. And Iulius se Casere, gefeaht wið Marse þam folce, and geflymed wearð. And raðe þæs, Iulius gefeaht wið Somnitum and wið Lucanum, and hí geflymde. Æfter þam, hine man het Casere. Þa bæd he, þæt man þone triumphan him ongean brohte, þa sende him man ane blace hacelan ongean, him on bysmor, for triumphan. And eft hí him sendan ane tunecan [ongean], þa þe hí togeheton. Þæt he ealles buton áringe to Rome ne com.

4. Æfter þam Silla, se consul, Pompeiuses gefera, gefeaht wið Esernium þam folce, and hí geflymde. Æfter þam, gefeaht Pompeius wið Pincentes þam folce, and hí geflymde. Þa

brohtan [Romane] þone triumphan ongean Pompeius mid micelre wyrðfullnysse, for þam lytlan sige, þe he þa hæfde, and noldon Iuliuse nanne weorðscipe dón, þeah he maran dæde gedon hæfde, buton ane tunican; and heora gewinn mid þam swiðe [ge-iecton]. Æfter þam, Iulius and Pompeius abræcon [Asculum] þa burh on Mærsum, and þær ofslogon ehtatyne M. Æfter þam, gefeaht Silla, se consul, wið Somnitum, and heora ofsloh XVIII M.

[Bóc V: Capitul XI.]

1. Æfter þam þe Romana burh getimbred wæs VI hund wintrum and LXII, þæt Romane sendon Sillan, þone consul, ongean Metridatis, Partha [cyning]. Þa ofþuhte þæt Mariuse, þam consule, Iuliuses eame, þæt man þæt gewinn him betæcean nolde, and bæd þæt man him sealde þone seofoðan consulatum, and eác þæt gewinn; forþon hit wæs þeaw mid heom, þæt man ymbe XII monað dyde ælces consules setl anum pyle hyrre, þonne hit ær wæs. Ða Silla geahsode, on hwylc gerad Marius com to Rome, he þa hrædlice mid eallre his fyrde wið Romeweard farende wæs, and Marius bedraf into Rome byrig mid eallum his folce; and hine syþþon þa burh-leode gefengon and gebundon, and hine siþþon þohton Sillan [agifan]. Ac he fleah þære ilcan niht of þam bendum, þe hine man on dæge gebende; and siþþon fleah suð ofer sæ on Affricam, þær his fultum, mæst wæs; and raðe eft wæs cyrrende wið Romeweard. Him wæron twegen consulas on fultume, Cinna and Sertorius, þa wæron simble ælces yfeles ordfruman.

2. And raðe þæs þe þa senatus gehyrdon þæt Marius to Rome nealæhte, hi ealle út flugon on Greaca land æfter Sillan and æfter Pompeiuse, þyder hi þa mid fyrde gefarene wæron. Þa wæs [Silla] mid mycelre geornfulnesse farende of Grecum wið Romeweard, and wið Marius heardlice gefeoht þuruhteah, and hine geflymde, and ealle ofsloh binnon Rome byrig, þe [Mariuse] on fultume wæron. Raðe þæs, ealle þa consulas wæran deade buton twam. Marius and Silla geforan him sylf; and Cinna wæs ofslagen on Smyrna Asia byrig; and Sertórius wæs ofslagen on Ispania.

3. Ða underfeng Pompeius Partha gewin, forþón Metredatis, heora cyning, teah him tó þa læssan Asiam, and eall Creaca land; ac hine Pompeius of eallum þam lande aflymde, and hine bedraf on Armenia, and him æfter fylgende wæs oð hine oðre men ofslogon, and genydde Archalâus þone lateow, þæt he wæs his underþeow.—"Hit is nú ungelyfedlic to secgenne," cwæð Orosius, "hwæt on þam gewinne forwearð, þæt hi wæron dreogende xl wintra, ær hit ge-endod beon mihte, ægþer ge on

þeóda forhergunge, ge on cyninga slihtum, gé ón hungre."

4. Þa Pompeius hamweard wæs, þa noldan [him þa londleode] þæt fæsten [áliefan] æt Hierusalem. Him wæron on fultume XXII cyninga. Þa hét Pompeius þæt man þæt fæsten bræce, and onfuhte dæges and nihtes, simble [anleg] æfter oðre unwerige, and þæt folc mid þam aðrytan, þæt hí him on hand eodan ymbe þry monðas þæs þe hí man ær [ongon]. Þær wæs Iudea ofslagen XIII M, and man towearp þone weal niðer oð þone grund; and man lædde Aristopolus to Rome gebundenne: se wæs ægðer ge heora cyning ge heora bisceop.

[Bóc V: Capitul XII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Róme burh getimbred wæs VI hund wintrum and LXVII, Romane gesealdon Caiuse [Iuliuse] seofon legion, toþón þæt he sceolde fif winter winnan on Gallie.

2. Æfter þam þe he hí oferwunnen hæfde, he fór on Bryttonie þæt igland, and wið þa Bryttas gefeaht, and geflymed wearð on þam lande, þe man hæt Centland. Raðe þæs, he gefeaht wið þa Bryttas eft on Centlande, and hi wurdon áflymede. Heora þridde gefeoht wæs neah þære eá þe man hátt Temese, neah þam forda, þe man hæt Welinga ford. Æfter þam gefeohte, him eode on hand se cyning and [þa] burhware, þe wæron on Cyrnceastre, and siððon ealle þe on þam iglande wæron.

3. Æfter þam, Iulius for tó Róme, and bæd þæt him man brohte þone triumphan ongean. Þa bebudon hí him, þæt he cóme mid feawum mannum to Rome, and ealne his fultum beæftan him lete. Ac, þa he hamweard fór, him coman ongean þa þry ealdor-menn, þe him on fultume wæron, and him sædon þæt hí for his þingum adræfde wæron; and eac þæt ealle þa legian, þe on [Romana] onwealde wæron, wæron Pompeiuse on fultume [gesealde,] þæt he þe fæstlicre gewin mihte habban wið hine. Ða wende eft Iulius to his agenum folce; and wepende, mænde þa unáre þe man him buton gewyrhton dyde, and swiðost þara manna þe for his þingum forwurdon. And he him aspeon tó siþþan þa seofon legian þe wæron on Silómóne þam lande.

4. Þa Pompeius, and Cato, and ealle þa senatus þæt gehýrdon, þa foran hí on Greacas, and micelne fultum gegaderodan on Thraci þære dune. Þa fór Iulius to Rome, and tobræc heora madm-hús, and eall gedælde [his firde] þæt þær inne wæs. "Þæt is unalyfedlic to secganne," cwæð Orosius, "hwæt þæs ealles wæs." Æfter þam, he for to [Massiliam] þæt land, and þær let þreo legian beæftan him, toþón þæt hí þæt folc to him genyddon; and he sylf, mid þam oðrum dæle, for on Ispanie,

þær [Pompeiuses] legian wæron mid his þrim latteowum; and he hi ealle to him genydde. Æfter þam, he for on Creaca land, þær his Pompeius, on anre dune, onbâd mid [xxx-gum cyningum], buton his agenum fultume. Đa for Pompeius þær Marcellus wæs, Iuliuses latteow, and hine ofsloh mid eallum his folce. Æfter þam, Iulius besæt Tarquatus, Pompeiuses latteow, on ânum fæstene, and him Pompeius æfter fôr. Þær wearð Iulius geflymed, and his folces feala forslagen, forþam þe him man feaht on, [on] twa healfa: ôn oþre healfe Pompeius,—ôn oðre healfe se ladteow. Siððan fôr Iulius on Thesaliam, and þær [eft] his fultum gegaderade.

5. Þa Pompeius þæt gehyrde, þa fôr he him æfter mid ungemætlicum fultume. He hæfde [eahta ond] hund eahtatig [côortâna], þæt we nû truman hatað, þæt wæs, on þam dagum, [fif] hund manna, and an M. Þis eall he hæfde buton his agenum fultume [ond] butan Catone his geferan, and buton þara senatuses. And Iulius hæfde hund eahtatig côortana. Heora ægðer hæfde his folc on þrim heapum, and hi sylfe wæron on þam midmestan, and þa oðre on twa healfa heora. Þa Iulius hæfde ænne þæra dæla geflymed, þa clypode Pompeius him to ymbe Romane ealde gecwydrædene, þeah þe [he] hi sylf gelæstan ne þohte: "Gefera, gefera, gemyne þæt þu ure [gecwedrædenne ond geferrædenne to longe ne oferbrec]." Þa andwearde he him, and cwæð: "On [sumre] tide, þu wære min gefera; and, forþam þe þu nu ne eart, me is eal leofost þæt þe is laðost." Þæt wæs seo gecwydræden, þe Romane geset hæfdon, þæt heora nân oðerne on þone andwlitan ne sloge, þær þær hi æt gefeohtum gemetton.

6. Æfter þam wordum, Pompeius wearð geflymed mid eallum his folce; and he sylf siþþan oðfleah ôn Asiam mid his wife, and mid his bearnum; and syððon he fôr on Egyptum, and [him] fultumes bæd æt Pholomeuse þam cyninge. And raðe þæs þe he to him com, he him het þæt heafud of [aceorfan], and hit syððon het Iuliuse [onsendan], and his hring mid. Ac, þa man hit to him brohte, he wæs mænende þa dæde mid miclum wope, forþon he wæs ealra manna mildheortast on þam dagum. Æfter þam, Pholomeus gelædde fyrde wið Iuliuse, and eall his folc wearð geflymed, and he sylf gefangen; and ealle þa men Iulius het ofslean, þe æt þære lare wæran þæt man Pompeius ofsloh; and he swa þeah eft forlet Ptholomeus to his rice. Æfter þam, Iulius gefeaht wið Ptholomeus þriwa, and æt ælcon cyrre sige hæfde.

7. Æfter þam gefeohte, ealle Egypti wurdon Iuliuse underþeowas, and he him syþþon hwearf to Rome, and eft sette senatus; and hine sylfne man gesette þæt he wæs [hierra]

þonne consul, þæt hi hetan tictâtor. Æfter þam, he for on Affrice æfter Catône þam consule. Þa he þæt geahsode, þa lærde he his sunu þæt he him ongean fore, and hine him to friðe gesohte:—"Forþon"—cwæð he—"þe ic wat, þæt nân swa gôd man ne leofað, swa he is, on þisson life, þeah þe he me sŷ se laðosta; and forþon eâc ic ne mæg findan æt me sylfum, þæt ic hine æfre geseo." Æfter þam [wordum] he eôde to þære burge weallum, and fleah ût ofer, þæt he eall tobærst. Ac, þa Iulius to þære byrig com, he him wæs swyðe [waniende] þæt he to him cucon ne com, and þæt he swylcon deaðe swealt.

8. Æfter þam, Iulius gefeaht wið Pompeiuses genefon, and wið manige his magas, and he hi ealle ofsloh, and siþþon to Rome fôr; and þær wæs swa ândrysne, þæt him man dyde feower siþon þone triumphan þa [he] ham com. Siþþon he fôr on Ispanie, and gefeaht wið Pompeiuses twam sunum; and þær wæs his folc swa swiðe forslagen, þæt he, sume hwîle, wende þæt man hine gefôn sceolde; and he for þære ondrædinge þæs þe swiðor on þæt werod þrang, forþôn þe him wæs leofre þæt hine man ofsloge, þonne hine man gebûnde.

9. Æfter þam, he com to Rome, and ealle þa gesetnyssa þe þær to strange wæron and to hearde, he hî ealle gedyde leohtran and liðran. Hit þa eallum þam senatum ofþincendum, and þam consulum, þæt he heora ealdan gesetnyssa tobrecan wolde, ahleopon þâ ealle and hine mid heora met-seaxum ofsticedon [inne] on heora gemot-erne. Þara wunda wæs [XXIII.]

[Bôc V: Capitul XIII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Romana burh getimbred wæs VII hund wintrum and [x], feng Octauianus to Romana anwealde, heora unþances, æfter Iuliuses slege, his mæges, forþôn þe hine hæfde Iulius him ær mid gewritum gefæstnod, þæt he æfter him to eallum his gestreonum fenge; forþôn þe he hine for mægrædene gelærde and getyde. And he syþþon [v] gefeoht wel cynelice gefeaht and þurhteah, swa swa Iulius his mæg dyde ær:—ân wið Pompeius,—oðer wið Antonius, þone consul,—þridde wið Cassus, [ond wið Brutus],—feorðe wið Lepiðus, þeah þe he raðe þæs his freond wyrde; and he eâc gedyde þæt Antonius his freond wearð, þæt he his dohtor sealde Octauiane to wife, and eâc þæt Octauianus sealde his sweostor Antoniûse.

2. Siþþon him geteah Antonius tô gewealdum ealle Asiam. Æfter þam, he forlet Octauianuses sweostor, and him sylfum onbead gewinn and [openne] feondscipe. And he him het to wife gefeccean Cleopatran, þa cwêne, þa hæfde Iulius ær, and

hire forþam hæfde geseald eall Egypta. Raðe þæs, Octauianus gelædde fyrde wiþ Antonius; and hine raðe geflymde þæs þe hī togædere coman. Þæs ymbe þreo niht, hī gefuhton ut on sǽ. Octauianus hæfde xxx scipa, and cc þara micelra þryreðrena, on þam wæron farende eahta legian. And Antonius hæfde hund eahtatig scipa, on þam wæran farende x legian; forþon swa micle swa he læs hæfde, swa micle hī wæron beteran and maran; forþon hī wæron swa geworht, þæt hi man ne mihte mid mannum oferhlǽstan, þæt hī [næren] tyn fota heage bufan wætere. Þæt gefeoht wearð swiðe mære; þeah þe Octauianus sige hæfde. Þǽr [Antoniuses] folces wæs ofslagen XII M, and Cleopatra, his cwen, wearð geflymed, swa hi togædere coman, mid hire here. Æfter þam, Octauianus gefeaht wiþ Antonius, and wiþ Cleopatran, and hi geflymde. Þæt wæs on þære tide [Calendas] Agustus, and on þam dæge þe we hatað hlaf-mæssan. Siþþon wæs Octauianus Agustus haten, forþon þe he, on þære tide, sige hæfde.

3. Æfter þam, Antonius and [Cleopatra] hæfdon gegaderad scip-here on þam Readan sǽ; ac, þa him man sæde þæt Octauianus þyder[-weard] wæs, þa gecyrde eall þæt folc to Octauianuse, and hi sylfe oðflugon to anum [tune] lytle werode. Heo þa Cleopatra hēt adelfan hyre byrigenne, and þær on innan eode. Þa heō þær on gelegen wæs, þa het heo niman [ipnalis] þa nædran, and don to hire earme, þæt heo hī abite, [forþon þe hiere þuhte þæt hit on þæm lime unsarast wære], forþōn þe þære nædran gecynd is þæt ælc uht þæs þe heo abīt, sceal his līf on slæpe ge-endian. And heo [þæt] for þam dyde [þe] heo nolde þæt hī man drife beforan þam triumphan wiþ Romeweard. Þa Antonius geseah þæt heo hi to deaðe gyrede, þa ofsticode he hine [selfne], and bebead þæt hine man on þa ilcan byrgenne to hire swa [somcucre alegde]. Þa Octauianus þyder com, þa hēt he niman oðres cynnes nædran, Uissillus is haten, seo mæg ateon ælces cynnes attor ūt of men, hī gif man tidlice to [bringð]; ac heo wæs forðfaren ǽr he þyder cōme. Siþþon Octauianus begeat Alexandriam Egypta heafodburh, and mid hire gestreone he gewelgode Rome burh [swa] swiðe, þæt man ælcne ceap mihte be twam fealdum bet [geceapian], þonne man ǽr mihte.

[Bōc V: Capitul XIV.]

1. Æfter þam þe [Rome] burh getimbred wæs VII hund wintrum and fīf and xxx, gewearð þæt Octauianus Ceasar, on his fiftan consolato, betynde Ianes duru; and gewearð þæt he hæfde anweald ealles middangeardes, þa wǽs sweotole getacnod, þa he cniht wæs, and hine man wiþ Romeweard lædde

æfter Iuliuses slege. Þy ilcan dæge, þe hine man to consule sette, [gewearð] þæt man geseah ymbe þa sunnan swylce an gylden hring; and, binnan Rome byrig, weoll an wylle ele [ealne] dæg. On þam hringe wæs getacnod, þæt on his dagum sceolde weorþan geboren se, [se] þe leohtra is and scinendra þonne seo sunne þa wære; and se ele getacnode miltsunge eallum man-cynne. Swa he eac mænig tacen sylf gedyde, þe eft gewurdon, þeah he hi unwitende dyde ón Godes bysene.

2. Sum wæs ærest,—þæt he bebead ofer ealne middangeard, þæt ælc mægð ymbe geares ryne togædere come, þæt ælc man þy gearor wiste [hwær he gesibbe hæfde]. Þæt tacnode,—þæt, on his dagum, sceolde beon geboren se, [se] þe us ealle to anum mæg-gemote gelaðoþ, þæt biþ on þam towerdan life.

3. Oþer wæs,—þæt he bebead, þæt eall man-cyn áne sibbe hæfdon, and an gáfol guldon. Þæt tacnode,—þæt we ealle [sculon ænne geleafan habban], and ænne willan godra weorca.

4. Þridde wæs,—þæt he bebead, þæt ælc þara þe on ælþeodignysse wære, come to his agenum gearde, and to his fæder éþle, ge þeowe, ge frige; and se þe þæt nolde, he bebead þæt man þá ealle ofsloge. Þara wæron VI M, þa hí gegaderad wæron. Þæt tacnode,—þæt us eallum is beboden, þæt we sceolon cuman of þisse worulde to ures fæder éþle, þæt is to [heofon-rice]; and se þe þæt nele, he wyrð aworpen and ofslagen.

[Bóc V: Capitul XV.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs VII hund wintrum and XXXVI, wurdon sume Ispaniæ leoda Agustuse wiðerwinnan. Þa ondyde he éft Ianes duru, and wið hi fyrde lædde, and hi geflymde, and hi syþþon on anum fæstene besæt, þæt hi siþþon hí sylfe sume ofslogon,—sume mid attre acwealdan,—[sume hungre ácwælan].

2. Æfter þam, mænige þeode wunnon wið Agustus,—ægþer ge Ilírice, ge Pannonii, ge Sermenne, ge mænige oðre þeoda. Agustuses latteowas manega micle gefeoht wið him þurhtugon, buton Agustuse sylfum, ær hí [hie] ofercuman mihtan.

3. Æfter þam, Agustus sende Quintillus, þone consul, on Germanie mid þrim legian; ac heora wearð ælc ofslagen, buton þam consule anum. For þære dæde, wearð Agustus swa sarig, þæt he oft unwítende sloh mid his heafde on þone wah, þonne he on his setle sæt; and þone consul he hét ofslean. Æfter þam, Germanie gesohton Agustus ungenydde him to friþe; and he him forgeaf þone nið, þe he to him wiste.

4. Æfter þam, eall þeos woruld geceas Agustuses frið and his sibbe; and eallum mannum nanuht swa gód ne þuhte, swa

hi to his [hyldo] becoman, and þæt hi his underþeowas wurdon. Ne forðon þæt ænigum folce his [agenu] ǽ gelicode to healdenne, buton on þa wisan þe him Agustus bebead. Þa wurdon Iânes duru eft betyned, and his loca rustige, swa hi næfre ǽr næron. On þam ilcan geare þe þis eall gewearð, þæt wǽs on þam twam and feowertigþan wintre Agustuses [rices], þa wearð se geboren, se þe þa sibbe brohte ealre worulde; þæt is, ure Drihten Hælende Crist.

5. "Nu ic hæbbe gesæd," cwæð Orosius, "fram frymþe þisses middangeardes, hû eall man-cyn ongeald þæs ærestan mannes synna mid miclum teonum, [ond witum]. Nu ic wylle eâc forð gesecgan, hwylc miltsung, and hwylc geþwærness siþþon wæs,—siþþon se Cristendôm wæs,—gelicost þam þe manna heortan awende [wurden], forþon þe þa ærran þing âgoldene wæron."—Her endað seo v bôc and onginð seo VI.

[Bôc VI: Capitul I.]

1. "Nu ic [wille," cwæð Orosius], on foreweardre [þisse] VI bêc, "gereccean, þæt hit þeah Godes bebod wæs, þeah hit strang wære, hu emlice þa feower anwealdas þara feower heafod-rica þisses middangeardes gestodon."

2. Þæt æreste wæs on Asirium, on þam eastemæstan anwealde, on Babylonia þære byrig; seo gestod tuwa seofon hund wintra on hire anwealde, ǽr heô gefeolle,—fram Ninûse, heora ǽrestan cyninge, oþ [Sardanopolim], heora nehstan,—þæt is [IIII] hund wintra and an M.

3. Þa Cirus benam Babylonia hire anwealdes, þa ongan ærest Romana weaxan.—Eâc, on þam dagum, wæs þæt norðemeste micliende on Mæcedoniam, þæt gestod lytle [leng] þonne VII hund wintra, fram heora ærestan cyninge Canone, [oþ] Perseus, heora æftemestan.

4. Swa eâc on Affricum, on þam suðemestan, Cartaina seo burh, heo gefeoll eâc [ymb] VII hund wintra, and ymbe lytelne fyrst,—þæs þe [hie] ærest Dîþa se wifman getimbrede, oð hi êft Scipia towearp se consul.

5. Swa eâc Romana, se is mæst and westemeste, ymbe VII hund wintra, and ymb lytelne eacan, com mycel fyr-cyn, and mycel bryne on Rome. burh, þæt þær binnan [forburnon] XV tunas, swa nân man [nyste] hwânon þæt fŷr com; and þær forwearð mæst eall þæt þǽr binnan wæs, þæt þǽr uneaðe ænig [grot] staðoles oðstod. Mid þam bryne, heo wæs swa swiðe forhyned, þæt heô [næfre] siþþon swilc nǽs, ær hi Agustus êft

swa micle bet getimbrede, þonne heo [æfre] ær wære, þy geare þe Crist geboren wæs, swa þæt sume men cwædan, þæt heo wære mid gim-stanum gefrætewod. Þone fultum and þæt weorc Agustus gebohte mid fela M talentana.

6. Hit wæs eac sweotole gesyne, þæt hit wæs Godes stihtung ymbe þara rica onwealdas, þa þa Abrahame wæs gehaten Cristes cyme, on þam twam and on feowertigan wintra þæs þe Ninus ricsode on Babylonia. Swa eac eft on þam siþemestan anwealde and on þam westemestan, þæt is Rome, wearð se ilca geboren, þe ær Abrahame gehaten wæs, on þam twam and feowertigeþan geare þæs þe Agustus ricsode; þæt wæs siþþon Rome burh getimbred wæs VII hund wintra and twa and fiftig.

7. Siþþon gestod Rome burh twelf winter, mid miclum welum, þa hwile þe Agustus [þa] eaðmeto wið God gehеold, þe he ongunnen hæfde: þæt wæs, þæt he fleah and forbead þæt hine man god hete, swa nan cyning nolde, þe ær him wæs, ac woldon þæt man to him tobæde, and him ofrede. Ac þæs on þam twelftan geare, Gaius, his genefa, for [of] Egyptum on Syriæ,—hit hæfde Agustus him to anwealde geseald,—þa nolde he him gebiddan to þam ælmihtigum Gode, [þa] he to Hierusalem com. Þa hit man [Agustuse] sæde, þa herede he þa ofermetto, and nanuht ne lehtrade. Raþe þæs, Romane onguldon þæs wordes mid swa miclum hungre, þæt Agustus adraf of Rome byrig healfe þe þær binnan wæran. Ða wearþ eft Ianes duru undon, forþon þe þa latteawas wæron Agustuse of manegum landum ungeráde, þeah þær nan gefoht þuruhtogen ne wurde.

[Boc VI: Capitul II.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs VII hund wintrum and LXVII, feng Tiberius to rice se Cesar, æfter Agustuse. He wæs Romanum swa forgyfen and swa milde, swa him nan anwealda næs ær þam, oþ Pilatus him onbead fram Hierusalem ymbe Cristes tacnunga, and ymbe his martrunga, and eac þæt hine mænige for god hæfdon. Ac þa he hit sæde þam senatum, þa wurdon hi ealle wið hine swyðe wiðerwearde, forþon þe hit man ne sæde [him] æror, swa hit mid him gewuna wæs, þæt hi hit syððon mihton eallum Romanum [cyþan]; and cwædon þæt hi hine for god habban noldon. Þa wearð Tiberius Romanum swa wrað and swa heard, swa he him ær wæs milde [ond ieþe], þæt he forneah nænne þæra senatussa ne let [cucne], ne þara twa and twentigra manna, þe he him to fultume hæfde acoren, þæt [hi] his ræd-þeahteras wæron, þa man het patricius. Ealle þa he het ofslean, buton twam; ge, his agene twegen suna. Hu God þa þa mæstan ofermetto gewræc

on þam folce, and hũ swiðe hĩ his onguldon fram heora agenum Casere! Þeah hit eallum þam folce on oðrum landum swa swiðe gewrecen nẽ wurde, swa hit oft ær wæs.

2. On þam XII geare Tiberiuses rices, wearð eft Godes wracu Romanum, þa hi æt heora theatrum wæron mid heora plegon, þa hit eall tofeoll, and heora ofsloh XX M. "Wyrðigre wrace hĩ forwurdon þa," cwæð Orosius, "þæt þa heora synna sceoldon hrywsian, and dæd-bõte dõn, swiðor þonne heora plegan begãn, swa heora gewuna wæs ær þam Cristendome."

3. On þam eahtateoþan geare his rices, þa Crist wæs onhãngen, wearð mycel þeosternys ofer ealne middangeard, and swa mycel eorð-beofung, þæt cludas feollan of muntum; and þæt þæra wundra mæst wæs, þa se mona ful wæs, and þære sunnan fyrrest, þæt heõ þa aþystrade. Æfter þam [Romane] acweal don Tiberius mid attre. He hæfde rice XXIII wintra.

[Bõc VI: Capitul III.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs VII hund wintrum and LXXXX, wearð Gaius Gallica Casere IIII gear. He wæs swiðe gefylled mid unþeawum, and mid firen-lustum, and eall he wæs swylce [Romane] þã wyrðe wæron, forþõn þe hĩ Cristes bebod hyspton, and hit forsawan. Ac he hit on him swa swiðe wræc, and hĩ him swa laðe wæron, þæt he oft wiscte, þæt ealle Romane hæfdon ænne sweoron, þæt he hine raþost forceorfan mihte; and mid ungemete mænende wæs, þæt þær þã næs swilc sacu swilc þær oft ær wæs; and he sylf fõr oft on oðre land, and wolde gewin findan; ac he ne mihte, buton sibbe.

2. "Ungelice wæronþa tida," cwæð Orosius, "siþþon Crist geboren wæs, siþþon man ne mihte unsibbe findan; and, ær þam, [hie] man ne mihte mid nanum þingum forbugan."

3. On þam dagum, cõm eac Godes wracu ofer Iudam, þæt hi ægðer hæfdon ungeþwærnesse, ge betweonum him sylfum, ge to eallum folcum; swa þeah heõ wæs swiþost on Alexandria þære byrig, and hi Gaius het ut adrifan. Þa sendon hy Filionem, heora þone gelæredestan man, toþõn þæt he him sceolde Gaiuses miltse [ge-ærendian]. Ac he [hie] for þære gewilnunge swyðe bysmorade, and bebead þæt hĩ man on ælce healfe hynde þær man þonne mihte, and bebead þæt man afylde diofol-gylda þa cyricean æt Hierusalem,—þæt man his agen diofol-gyld þær to middes asette, þæt wæs his agen anlicnes. And Pilatus he hæfde on þreatunga, oþ he hine sylfne ofstang.—He gedemde urne Drihten to deaðe.

4. Raðe þæs, Romane ofslogon Gaius [slæpendne]. Þa

funde man on his [maðm-huse] twa cysta, þa wæron attres fulle; and on oþre wæs ân gewrit, þǽr wæron on awritene ealra þæra [ricestena] manna [noman], þe he acwellan þohte, þæt he hí þe læs forgeate. Þa geât man þæt attor út on þone sǽ, and raðe þæs þǽr com úp mycel wæl dædra fisca. Ægðer wæs swiðe gesyne, [ge] Godes wracu, þæt he þæt folc costian lét, ge eft his [miltsung], þa he hí fordon né lét, swa hit Gaius geþoht hæfde.

[Bóc VI: capitul IV.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs vii hund wintra and xcv, þa feng Tiberius Claudius to Romana anwealde. On þam ærestan geare his rices, Petrus, se apostolus, com to Rome, and þær wurdon ærest Cristene men þurh his lare. Þa woldon Romane ofslean Claudius, for Gaiuses þingum his mæges, þæs ærran Caseres, and ealle þa þe þære mægþe wæron. Ac, mid þon þe hí þæs Cristendómes onfengon, hí wæron swa geþwǽre and swa gesibsume, þæt hí ealle forgeafon þam Casere þa fæhþe þe his mæg hæfde wiþ hí [ær] geworht; and he forgeaf him eallum [þæt] unriht and þæt facen, þæt hí hiin don þohton.

2. On þære tide, gewearð eác oþer tacen, on Romana anwealde, siþþon him se Cristendom to com, þæt wæs,—þæt Dalmatiæ woldon gesyllan Scribanianuse þam latteowe heora cynerice, and siþþon wið Romane winnan. Ac, þa hí gesomnad wæron, and hine to cyninge dón woldon, þa ne mihtan hí þa guðfanan upahebban, swa heora þeaw wæs, þonne [hie] anwealdas setton; ac wurdon him sylfum wiðerwearde, þæt hí hit ǽfre ongunnon, and Scribanianus ofslogon.—"Ætsace nu," cwæð Orosius, "se þe wylle, oððe se þe durre, þæt þæt angin nære gestilled for þæs Cristendomes [gode], and gesecge hwar [ænig] gewin ǽr þam Cristendome swa gehwurfe, gif hit ongunnen wǽre."

3. Oþer wundor gewearð eác þy feorþan geare Claudiuses rices, þæt he sylf for æfter gewinne, and nán findan ne mihte. On þam geare wæs mycel hungor on Siria, and on Palestina, buton þæt Elena, Æ tiubéna cwen, sealde þam munucum corn genoh, þe wæron æt Hierusalem, forþón þe heó þá wæs niwlice Cristen.

4. On þam fiftan geare Claudiuses rices, wearð óþýwed an igland betuh Therâm and Therâsiâm, [v] mila brad, and fif mila lang.—On þam [seofeþan] geare his rices, wearð swa mycel ungeþwærnes on Hierusalem, betuh þam þe þǽr Cristene næran, þæt þær wæron xxx m ofslagen, and æt þam geate oftreden; swa nán man nyste hwánon seo wroht cóm.—

On þam nigeþon geare his rices, wearð mycel hungor on Rome, and Claudius het ût adrifan ealle þa Iudeas, þe þær binnon wæron. Æfter þam, [Romane] witon Claudiuse þone hungor, þe him getencge wæs; and he wearð him swa gram, þæt he hêt ofslean þæra senatorum xxxv, and þæra oðra þreo hund, þe þêr yldeste wæron. Æfter þam, [Romane] hine acwealdon mid attre.

[Bôc VI: Capitul V.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs viii hund wintra and ix, feng Nero to Romana anwealde, and hine hæfde xiii gear. And he hæfde gyt mâ unþeâwa þonne his eam hæfde êr Gaius. To-eâcon þam mænigfealdum bismrum þe he donde wæs, he hêt æt sumon cyrre onbærnan Rome [burg], and bebead his agenum mannum þæt hi simble gegripon þæs licgendan feos, swa hi mæst mihtan, and to him brohton, þonne hit man ût oðbrude. And gestod him sylf on þam hyhstan torre, þe þær binnan wæs, and ongan wyrcean sceopleoþ be þam bryne, se wæs vi dagas byrnende and vii niht. Ac he wræc his ungewealdes, ærest on þære byrig heora misdæda—and siþþon on him sylfum, þa he hine ofstang—þæt hî Petrus and Paulus gemartredan. He wæs manna ærest ehtend Cristenra manna. Æfter his fylle wearð þara Casara mægð oðfeallen.

[Bôc VI: Capitul VI.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs viii hund wintrum and xxiiii, feng Galfa to Romana anwealde. Þæs on þam vii monðe, hine ofsloh Othôn ân man, and him to þam anwealde fêng.

2. Sona swa Romane ærest Cristenra manna ehton, swa [hit] Nero ônstealde, swa wurdon ealle þa folc heora wiðerwinnan, þe be eastan Siria wæron; ge, eâc hi sylfe him betweonum hæfdon ungerædnesse. Uitellus, Germana cyning, gefeaht þriwa wið Othôn, and hine ofsloh on þam þriddan monþe þæs þe hi winnan ongunnon.

[Bôc VI: Capitul VII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs dccc wintra and xxv, feng Uespassianus to Romana anwealde. Ða wearð eft sib ofer ealne Romana anweald. And he bead Titûse, his suna, þæt he towearp þæt tempel on Hierusalem, and ealleþa burh—[forþôn] þe God nolde, þæt hi þone [Cristendôm leng] myrdon—and forbead þæt man naðer eft ne timbrede. And he fordyde þara Iudea endlufon siþon [hund] m,—sume he of-

sloh,—sume on oðer land gesealde,—sume he mid hungre acwealde. Æfter þam, man dyde him twam þone triumphan, Uespassiane and Tituse. Seo ánsin wearð mycel wundor Romanum, forþon þe hi ǽr ne gesawan twegen men æt somne þær on sittan. Hy betyndon Ianes duru. Æfter þam, Uespassianus gefor on útsihte, on þam IX geare his rices, on anum tune buton Rome.

[Bóc VI: Capitul VIII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs VIII hund wintra and XXIX, feng Titus to Romana anwealde, and hine hæfde twa gear. He wæs swa godes willan, þæt he sæde, þæt he forlure þone dæg, þe he noht on to gode ne gedyde. He gefór eác on þam ilcan tune þe his fæder dyde, and on þære ilcan adle.

[Bóc VI: Capitul IX.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs VIII hund wintra and XXX, feng Domicianus to Romana anwealde, Tituses broþor, and hit hæfde XV gear. He wearð eft ehtend Cristenra manna; and wæs on swa micle ofermetto astigen, þæt he bead þæt man on gelice to him onbugan sceolde swa to gode. And he bebead þæt man Iohannes, þone apostol, gebrohte on [Bothmose] þam iglande, on wræc-siþe fram oðrum Cristenum mannum. And [he] bebead þæt man acwealde eall Dauides cyn, to þón, gif Crist þa git geboren nære, þæt he siþþon ná geboren ne wurde; forþón witegan sædon, þæt [he of þæm] cynne cuman sceolde. Æfter þam bebode, he wearð sylf unwyrðlice ofslagen.

[Bóc VI: Capitul X.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs DCCC wintra and XLVI, þa feng Nerfa to Romana anwealde; and, forþam þe he eald wæs, he geceas him to fultume Traianus þone man. Þa gespæcon hi him betweonum, þæt hi woldon [onwendan] ealle þa gesetnessa, and ealle þa gebodu, þe Domicianus hæfde ǽr geset, forþon þe he him wæs ǽr bam lað; and heton eft Iohannes gebringan æt his mynstre on Effesum, fram þam woruld-yrmþum þe he hwile on wæs.

2. Þa gefór Nerfa; and Traianus hæfde þone anweald XIX gear æfter him. And he underþeodde Romanum ealle þa folc þe him niwlice geswicen hæfdon; and [he] bebead his ealdormannum, þæt hi wæron Cristenra manna ehtend. Þa sæde him hiora án, Plenius wæs haten, þæt he wóh bude, and miclum on þam syngode. He hit þa hrædlice eft forbead.

3. On þære tide, wæron Iudei on miclum geflite and on

micelre unsibbe wið þa land-leode, þær þær hi þonne wæron, oþ heora fela M forwurdon on ægþre hand. On þære tide, Traianus gefôr on utsihte on Seleutia þære byrig.

[Bôc VI: Capitul XI.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs DCCC wintra and LXVII, feng Adrianus to Romana anwealde, Traianuses genéfa, and hine hæfde XXI wintra. And raðe þæs þe him Cristene bêc cuþe wæron, þurh ænne þara apostola geongrena, Quadrâtus wæs haten; he forbead ofer ealne his anweald, þæt man nanum Cristenum men ne abulge. And gif ænig Cristen agylte, þæt se þonne wære beforan him [gelædd], and [he[him þonne demde sylf, swa him riht þuhte.

2. He wearð þa Romanum swa leof, and swa weorð, þæt hi hine nânuht ne heton buton fæder; and, him to weorðscype, hi heton his wif Casern. And he hêt ofslean ealle þa Iudeiscean men, þe wæron on Palestina, þæt man het Iudea land, forþon þe hi Cristene men pinedon. And he bebead þæt man timbrede on þære stowe Hierusalem þa burh, and þæt hi mon siþþon hette be naman Eliâm.

[Bôc VI: Capitul XII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs DCCC wintra and LXXXVIII, feng [Antoninus] to Romana anwealde, þe man oþre naman het Pius. And him sealde Iustinus se Philosophus âne Cristene bôc for heora freondscipe. Siþþon he þa geleornod hæfde, he wearð Cristenum mannum swa leof, and swiðe hold oþ his lifes ende.

[Bôc VI: Capitul XIII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs DCCCC and II wintra, feng Marcus [Antoninus] to Romana anwealde, mid his breþer Aureliuse. Hî wæron þa ærestan men þe Romana anweald on twa todældon, and hi hine hæfdon XIIII gear. And hi bebudon þæt man ælcne [Cristenne] man ofsloge. Æfter þam, hi hæfdon mycel gewin wið Parðe, forþon þe hi hæfdon awest ealle Capedociam, and Armeniam, and ealle Siriam. Æfter þam, hî genamon frið wið Parthe; and him siþþon becom on swa mycel hungor, and micel man-cwealm, þæt heora feawa to lafe wurdon.

2. Æfter þam, [him becom] on þæt Denisce gewin, mid eallum Germanum. Þa on þam dæge, þe hî feohtan sceoldon, him com ân swa mycel hæte, and swa mycel þurst, þæt hî him heora feores ne wendon. Þa bædan hi þa Cristenan men, þæt hî heora on sume wisan gehulpon, and ongeatan þæt hit wæs

Godes wracu. Þa abædan hi æt þam ælmihtigum Gode, þæt hit swa swiðe rinde, þæt hi hæfdon wæter genoh on ufon þære dune; and þæt þær [wæs] swa micel þunor, þæt he ofsloh feala M manna gemang [þæm] gefeohte.

3. Ða æfter þam calle [Romane] wurdon Cristenum mannum swa holde, þæt hi on manegum templum awritan, þæt ælc Cristen man hæfde frið and sibbe; and eac, þæt ælc þæra moste Cristendome onfon, se þe wolde. And Antonius forgeaf eall þæt gafol, þæt man to Rome syllan sceolde, and hêt forbærnan þæt gewrit þe hit on awriten wæs, hwæt man on geare gyldan sceolde; and þæs on þam æftran geare he gefôr.

[Bôc VI: Capitul XIV.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs DCCCC wintra and XXX, feng Lucius Antonius to rîce, and hit hæfde XIII gear. He wæs swyðe yfel man ealra þeawa, buton þæt he wæs cêne, and oft feaht anwig. And feala þara senatorum he het ofslean, þe þær betste wæran. Æfter þam, an þunor tosloh heora Capitolium, [þæt hus] þe heora godas inne wæron, and heora deoful-gyld; and heora bibliþeca wærð [onbærned] fram þam ligette, and ealle heora ealdan bêc [forburnon] þær inne. Þær wæs an swa micel dem geburnen, swa on Alexandria wæs þære byrig, on heora bibliþecan, þær forburnon feower hund M boca.

[Bôc VI: Capitul XV.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs DCCCC wintra and XLIII, feng Seuerus to Romana anwealde, and hine hæfde XVII gear. He besæt Piscenius on anum fæstenne, oð he him on hand eode; and he hine siþþon het ofslean, forþon he wolde ricsian on Sirie and on Egypte. Æfter þam, he ofsloh Albînus þone man on Gallium, forþon þe he eâc wolde on hine winnan.

2. Siþþon he fôr on Brytannie, and þær oft gefeaht wið Peohtas, and wið Sceottas, ær he [þa] Bryttas mihte wið hi bewerian; and het ænne weall þwŷres ofer eall þæt land asettan fram sæ oð sæ. And raðe þæs he gefôr on Eofer-wic ceastre.

[Bôc VI: Capitul XVI.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs DCCCC wintra and LXII, feng his sunu to rîce Antonius, and hit [hæfde] VII gear. He hæfde twa gesweostor him to wifum. He hæfde folc gegaderad, and wolde winnan wið Parthe; ac he wearð ofslagen, on [þæm færelte], fram his agenum mannum.

[Bôc VI: Capitul XVII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs DCCCC wintra

and LXX, feng Marcus Aurelius to Romana anwealde, and hine hæfde feower gear. Hine ofslogon eac his âgene men, and his modor mid.

[Bôc VI: Capitul XVIII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs DCCCC wintra and LXXIIII, feng Aurelius Alexander to Romana anwealde, and hine hæfde XVI gear. And Mammea, his seo gôde modor, sende æfter [Origenise], þam gelæredestan mæsse-preoste, and heo wearð siþþon Cristen fram him, and wel gelæred; and gedyde þæt hire sunu wæs Cristenum mannum swyþe hold. He gefor mid fyrde on Perse, and ofsloh [Xersan] heora cyning. Æfter þam, he forlet his lif on Magestan þære byrig.

[Bôc VI: Capitul XIX.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs DCCCC wintra and [LXXXVII], feng Maximus to Romana anwealde. He bebead eft þæt man Cristene men brocude, and þæt man þa gôdan Mâmmeam gemartrode, and ealle þa preostas þe hire folgedon, buton [Origenis]: he oðfleah on Egypte. And Maximus ofsloh his [agen] ealdor-man, on þam þriddan geare his rices, on Aquilegia þære byrig.

[Bôc VI: Capitul XX.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs DCCCC wintra and XC, feng Gordianus to rice. And hit hæfde VI gear. He ofsloh þa twegen [gebroðor], þe êr Maximus ofslogon; and he sylf raþe þæs gefor.

[Bôc VI: Capitul XXI.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs DCCCC wintra and XCVII, feng Philippus to Romana anwealde, and hine hæfde VII gear. He wearð digellice Cristen, forþon he eawunga ne dorste. On þam III geare his rices hit gewearð, swa hit God gestihtade, þæt wæs ymb ân þusend wintra þæs þe Rome burh getimbred wæs, þæt ægðer ge heora Casere wearð Cristen, ge eâc þæt hi þa miclan feorme þigedon, Cristes þances, æt þæs Caseres palentsan, þe hi êr ælce geare þigedon æt heora deofulgyldum, [deofla þonces; þæt wæs,] þæt ealle [Romane] woldan ymb XII monað [bringan] togædere þone selestan dæl heora goda gegearod to heora geblote, and heora siþþon feala wucena ætgædere brucan.—Æfter þam, Decius, an rice man, beswac þone Casere, and feng him siþþont o þam anwealde.

[Bôc VI: Capitul XXII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and

IIII, feng Decius to Romana anwealde, and hine hæfde III gear; and sona gedyde sweotol tacn, þæt he Philippus ǽr besyrede, mid þam þæt he hét Cristenra manna ehtan, and manige gedyde to halgum martyrum. And gesette his sunu to þam anwealde to him, and raðe þæs hi wurdon begen æt somne ofslagen.

[Bóc VI: Capitul XXIII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and VIII, feng Gallus Ostilianus to rice, and hit hæfde twa gear. Þa wearð eft Godes wracu on Rome; swa [lange] swa seo [ehtnes] wæs þara Cristenra manna, swa lange him [wæs] ungemætlic man-cwealm getenge, þæt nán hús næs binnan þære [byrig], þæt hit næfde þære wrace angolden.

2. Æfter þam, Emelianus ofsloh Gallus, and hæfde him þone [anweald]. Þæs eác, on þam þriddon monþe, hine man ofsloh.

[Bóc VI: Capitul XXIV.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and X, þa gesettan [Romane] twegen Caseras: oþer wæs mid Emilitum þam folce, Ualerianus wæs haten; oþer wæs binnan Rome byrig, Gallienus wæs haten. Þa sceoldon on simbel beon winnende, þǽr hit þonne þearf wæs. Þa bebudon hí begen Cristenra manna ehtnysse, ac hrædlice on hi begen becom Godes wracu. Ualerianus fór mid fyrde ongean Saphan, Persa cyninge, and þǽr gefangen wæs; and siþþon he wæs Sapán þam cyninge to þam gesett, oð his lifes ende, þæt he sceolde swa oft stupian, swa he to his horse wolde, and he þonne se cyning hæfde his hric him to hlýpon.

2. And þam oþran, Gallianuse, wæron mænige folc on winnende, þæt he his rice mid micelre [unweorðnesse], and mid micelre uneaðnysse gehæfde. Ærest Gearmanie, þe be Donua wæron, forhergodon Italiam oþ Refennan þa burh; and Swæfas forhergodon ealle Galliam; and Gotan oferhergodon [eall Creca] land, and þa læssan Asiam; and Sermenne genyddon ealle Datie fram Romana anwealde; and Hunas forhergodon Pannoniam; and Parthe forhergodon Mesopotamiam, and ealle Siriæ. To-eacon þam, Romane hæfdon gewin betuh him sylfum. Æfter þam, Gallienus wearð ofslagen on Mediolane þære byrig, fram his agenum mannum.

[Bóc VI: Capitul XXV.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and XXV, feng Claudius to Romana anwealde. Þy ilcan geare, he oferwan Gotan, and hi adraf út of Creacum. And him [Ro-

mane] gedydon anne gyldenne scyld þære dæde to weorðmynte, and ánе [gyldene] anlicnysse, and [áhengon] hí úp on heora Capitolium. Þæs on þam æftran geare he gefór, and his broþor Quintillus feng to þam anwealde; and þæs on þam XVII dæge he wearð ofslagen.

[Bóc VI: Capitul XXVI.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and XXVII, feng Aurilius to Romana anwealde, and hine hæfde V gear and VI monað,—and adraf Gotan be norþan Donua, and þanon fór on Syrie, and hi genydde éft to Romana anwealde. And siþþon he fór on Gallie, and ofsloh Tetricum þone man, for þy [þe] he hí him teah to anwealde. Æfter þam, he bebead Cristenra manna ehtnysse, and raðe þæs wæs ofslagen.

[Bóc VI: Capitul XXVII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and XXXII, feng Tacitus to Romana anwealde; and þæs on þam VI monþe he wearð ofslagen on Ponto lande.—Æfter þam Floriam feng to þam anwealde, and wæs ofslagen, on þam þriddan monþe, on Tharsa þam lande.

[Bóc VI: Capitul XXVIII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and XXXIII, feng [Probus] to Romana anwealde, and hine hæfde VI gear and IIII monþas. And he adyde Hunas of Gallium, and he ofsloh Saturninus, þe æfter [þæm] anwealde wan. Æfter þam, he ofsloh Proculus, and Bonorum, þa gyrndon eác æfter þam anwealde. Æfter þam, he wearð sylf ofslagen [on] Syrmie þære dúne.

[Bóc VI: Capitul XXIX.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and XXXIX, feng Carus to Romana anwealde, and hine hæfde twa gear,—and gefeaht twywa wið Parthe, and ge-eode heora burga twa, þa wæron on Tigris staþe þære eá. Raþe þæs, hine ofsloh án þunor, and his sunu Numerianus feng to þam anwealde, and raþe þæs hine ofsloh his [agen sweor].

[Bóc VI: Capitul XXX.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and XLI, feng [Dioclitianus] to Romana anwealde, and hine hæfde XX wintra. He gesette under him gingran Casere, Maximus wæs haten, and hine sende on Gallie, forþon þe hí [þa] niwlice hæfdon gewin úpahafen, ac he hi [þa] eaþelice ofercom. On þære

tide, wæron Dioclitiæ þry cyningas on winnende:—Caucarius on Bretlande,—Achileus on Egypta lande,—and Marseus of Persum. Þa gesette he III Caseras under him:—ân wæs [Maximianus,]—oþer [Constantius,—þridda] Galerius. Maximianus he sende on Affrice, and he oferwan heora wiþerwinnan. [Constantius] he sende on Galliæ, and he oferwan Alamaniæ þæt folc, and siþþon he ge-eôde Brittaniam þæt igland.—And he sylf Diaclitianus fôr on Ægypte, and besæt Achileus þone cyning VIII monþas on Alexandria þære byrig, oð hine þa burh-leoda him ageafon, and [he] siþþon oferhergode ealle Ægypte.—And Galerius he sende on Perse, and gefeaht tweowa wiô Marseus, þone cyning, þæt heora naþor næfde sige. Æt heora þriddan gefeohte, Gallerius wearô geflymed, and mid micelre fyrhtnesse com to Dioclitiane; ac he his afeng mid micelre unwyrônesse, and hine hêt yrnan on his agenum purpuran feala mila beforan his rædwæne. Æfter þam þe his môd wæs mid þam bismre ahwæt, he fôr êft on Perse, and hi geflymde, and Marseus gefeng, and his wif, and his bearn. Þa onfeng [Dioclitianus Galeriuse] weorôfullice.

2. Dioclicianus and Maximianus bebudon ehtnysse Cristenra manna,—Dioclicianus eastene, and Maximianus westene; and, for þam gebode, wurdon feala martyras on X [wintra] fyrste.

3. Þa gewearô hi him betweonum, þæt hî woldan þa anwealdas forlætan, and þa purpuran alecgan, þe hi weredan, and woldon heora dagas on seftnesse ge-endian; and þæt swa gelæstan. Dioclicianus gesæt on Nicomedia þære [byrig], and Maximinianus gesæt on Mediolane þære byrig. And letan þa anwealdas [to Galeriuse] and to [Constantiuse], and hî hine todældon siþþon on twa.—Galerius [nom] Ilirice, and begeondon þam þone east-ende, and þone mæstan dæl þisses middangeardes.—And [Constantius] nam ealle Italie, and Affricam, and Ispanie, and Gallie, and Bryttanie; ac he wæs hwôn gyrnende þissa woruld-þinga and micelra anwealda, and forþam he forlet his agenum willan Italiam, and Affricam to Galleriuse. Þa gesette [Galerius] twegen cyningas under him:—Oþer wæs haten Seuerus, þam he gesealde Italiam, and Affricam; and [Maximianus] he gesette on þa east-land.

4. On þam dagum, [Constantius, se mildesta] man, for on Bryttanie, and þær gefôr; and gesealde his suna þæt rice, Constantinuse, þone he hæfde be Elenan his [ciefese].

5. Þa wolde Maxentius, [Maximianuses] sunu, habban þone anweald on Italiam. Þa sende Galerius him ongean Seuerus mid fyrde, þe him se anweald ær geseald wæs, and he þær beswicen wearô fram his agenum mannum, and ofslagen neah

Rafenna þære byrig. Þa Maximianus geahsode þæt his sunu feng to þam anwealde, he þa hrædlice forlet þa burh, þe he on geseten wæs, and þohte his sunu to beswicanne, and [him] siþþon fón to þam anwealde; ac, þa hit se sunu afunde, þa adræfde he þone fæder, and he fleah on Galliæ, and wolde Constantinus [beswican], his aþum, and habban him þæt rice; ac hit onfunde his dohtor, and hit Constantinuse gesæde, and he hine geflymde siþþon on Masiliam, and he þær ofslagen wearð.

6. Þa gesealde Galerius Luciniuse Italiam and Affricam, and he het ealle þa Cristenan, þe þǽr beste wæron, [gebringan] on elþeode. Æfter þam, he wearð on micelre untrumnesse, and him to gehet manige læceas, and hyra nán him ne mihte beon on nanum gode; ac him sæde hyra án, þæt hit wære Godes wracu. Þa hét he þæt man þa Cristenan men eft gebrohte on hyra earde, ælcne þær he ǽr wæs; swa þeah he geféor on þære mettrymnysse, and Lucinius feng to þam anwealde.

7. Æfter þam, wearð gewin betuh Constantinuse and Maxentiuse; and raðe þæs Constantinus ofsloh Maxentius binnan Rome, æt þære [brycg þe] man Moluia hæt.—On þam dagum, Maximinus bebead Cristenra manna ehtnysse, and raðe þæs geféor on [Tharsa] þære byrig.—On þam dagum, Lucinius bebead þæt nán Cristen man ne come on his hirede, ne on his færelde; and raþe þæs wearð gewin betweoh him and betweoh Constantinuse, and oftrædlice [gefeoht], oð Constantinus gefeng Lucinius, and hine siþþon het beheafdian, and siþþon feng to eallum Romana anwealde.

8. On þam dagum, Arrius, se mæsse-preost, wearð on gedwolan ymbe þone rihtan [geleafan]. Ymbe þone teonan, wæs gegaderod þreo hundred bisceopa and ehtatyne, hine to oferflitenne, and to amansumianne.

9. On þam dagum, Constantinus ofsloh Crispum his sunu, and Lucinius his sweostor sunu, þæt nan man nyste hwæt se gylt wæs buton him anum. Æfter þam, he underþeodde him sylfum manige þeoda þe ǽr wæron [Romanum] ungewylde; and het atimbrian ane burh on Grecum, and het hi be him hatan Constantinopolim. He het ærest manna þæt man cyricean timbrede, and þæt man beluce ælc deoful-gyld-hus. He geféor ymbe án and þrittig wintra þæs þe he rice hæfde, on anum tune neah Nicomedia þære byrig.

[Bóc VI: Capitul XXXI.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and XCI, feng [Constantius] to þam anwealde mid his twam broþrum Constantine, and Constante; and he [Constantius] hit hæfde [XXIIII] wintra. Hi wurdon ealle þa gebroþru on þam Arianis-

can gedwolan. Constantinus and Constans wunnon him betweonum, oð [Constantinus] wearð ofslagen. Æfter þam, Magnentius ofsloh Constans, and feng him to þam rice, [þæt] wæs Galliam, and Italiam. On þam dagum, Ilirice gesettan Ueteromonem þone man to hyra anwealde, to þon þæt hi siþþon mihton winnan wið Magnentiuse; and hi hine nyddon to leornunga, þeah he gewintrad wære; ac [Constantius] hine benæmde ægðer ge þæs anwealdes, ge þære purpuran þe he werede, ge þære [scole] þe he on leornode. Æfter þam, he gefeaht wið Magnentiuse, and hine geflymde, and bedraf into Lucchina þære byrig, and he hine sylfne siþþon ofsticode. Æfter þam, [Constantius] gesette Iulianus to Casere under him, se wæs ær to diacone gehalgod, and sende hine on Galliæ mid fyrde; and he hrædlice oferwan ealle þa þe on Gallie wunnon, and wæs æfter þære dæde swa úpahafen, þæt he wolde ealne Romana anweald him geagnian, and mid fyrde wæs farende, þær [Constantius] wæs mid oþere fyrde wið Parthe. Þa he þæt geahsode, and him ongean weard wæs, þa gefór he on þam færelde.

2. And Iulianus feng to þam anwealde, and hine hæfde án gear and eahta monþas. Þa wæs he sona geornfull, þæt he wolde digolice þone Cristendom [onwendan], and forbead openlice þæt man nane fæste bóc ne [leornode], and sæde eác þæt nán Cristen man ne moste habban nænne his underfolgoþa, and hi mid þam þohte beswican. "Ac ealle hi wæron þæs wordes, swa we hit eft secgan gehyrdon," cwæþ Orosius, "þæt him leofre wæs se Cristendom to beganne, þonne his scira to hæbbenne."

3. Æfter þam, he gegaderode fyrde, and wolde faran on Perse, and bebead þonne he éft wære eastene hamweard, þæt man hæfde anfiteatrum geworht æt Hierusalem, þæt he mihte Godes þeowas on dón, þæt hi deor þær inne ábitan. Ac God gewræc on þam færelde swiðe gedafenlice on þam arleasan men his [arlease] geþoht, mid þam þæt hine gemitte án man, þa he fór fram [Ctesiphonte] þære byrig, gelicost þam þe he flyma wære, and him sæde, þæt he hine mihte lædan þuruh þæt westen, þæt he on Perse on ungearuwe become. Ac, þa he hine to middes þæs westenes hæfde gelædd, þa geswac he him, þæt nan man nyste þæs færeldes hwar he com; ac foran hwearfiende geond þæt westen, þæt he nyste hwar he út sceolde, oð þæs folces wæs fela forworden, ægþer ge for þurste, ge [for hæte]. Þa com him ongean án uncuð man, and [ofstang] Iulianus.

[Bóc VI: Capitul XXXII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wǽs M wintra and an hund and XVII, feng Iuuinianus to Romana anwealde. Hine man geceas on þam westenne þy ilcan dæge, þe man Iulianus ofstang. He gesealde Persum Nissibi þa burh, and healfe Mesopotamiam þæt land, wið þam þæt hi mostan of þam lande buton laðe.

2. On þam VIII monþe þæs þe he to þam anwealde feng, he wolde faran on Ilirice. Þa wæs he sume niht on anum niwcilctan huse, þa het he betan þær inne mycel fȳr, forþon hit wæs ceald weder. Þa ongan se cealc mid ungemete stincan, þa wearð [Iuuinianus] mid þam bræþe ofsmorod.

[Bóc VI: Capitul XXXIII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and [an hund and XVIII], feng Ualentinianus to Romana anwealde, and hine hæfde XI gear. He wæs ǽr þam Iulianuses cempena ealdor-man. He him bebead þæt he forlete þone his Cristendom oþþe his folgoð, þa wæs him leofre þæt he forlete his folgoð, þonne þone Cristendom. Ac him gefylste God eft to maran áre, þa he þa læssan for hi lufe forlet, and þæt he þæs ilcan rices ahte geweald, þe his wiþerwinna ǽr ahte.

2. Raþe þæs, he gesealde Ualente his breþer healf his rice; and he het ofslean [Procopius] þe þa ricsian wolde, and manige oþre mid him. Ualens wæs gelæred fram anum [Arrianiscan] bisceope, Eudoxus wæs haten; ac he hit hæl swiðe fæste wið his broþor, forþon he wiste, þæt he hit on him [wrecan] wolde, gif he onfunde þæt he on oþrum geleafon wære, on oþrum he sylf wæs; forþon he wiste hu fæstmod he wæs ǽr on his geleafon, þa he læssan anweald hæfde.

3. On þam ilcan geare, Gódenric, Gotena cyning, gedyde feala martyra on his þeode Cristenra manna. On þam dagum, Ualentinianus genydde eft þa Seaxan to hyra agenum lande, þa hi woldon winnan [on Romane]: þa wæron eard-fæste neah þam garsecge. And Burhgendum [he] gestyrde eác, þæt hi on Gallie ne wunnon. Mid þam him wæs swiþost gestyred, þæt him man gehet fulluht. On þam XI geare his rices, Sermenne hergodon on Pannoniam: þa he þyderweard wæs mid fyrde, þa gefór he on blod-ryne.

[Bóc VI: Capitul XXXIV.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and C and XXIX, feng Ualens, Ualentinianuses broþor, to Romana anwealde; and Gratianus, Ualentinianuses sunu, feng to Italia anwealde, and to Gallia, and to Ispania under Ualense. He

þa Ualens oðywde openlice, þæt he ǽr digelice gehyd hæfde, swa þæt he bebead þæt munucas,—þe woruldlice þing forgân [sculon], and wæpna gefeoht,—þæt hi wæpna namon, and mid þam fuhton, and yfel dydan mid oþrum mannum. And sende on Ægypte, and het towyrpan ealle þa munuc-lif þe his broþor ǽr gestaþelode; and sume þa munucas he hêt ofslean,—sume on elþeode [fordrifan].

2. On þam dagum, Firmus wæs haten sum man on Affricum, se wæs þær wilniende þæs anwealdes. Þa sende Ualens þyder Þeodosius his ealdor-man mid fyrde,—þæs gôdan Þeodosiuses fæder, þe êft wæs Casere. On þam færelde, Firmus wæs gefangen, and forð gelæded to [sleanne]; þa bæd he sylf þæt hine man ǽr gefullode. And þa he gefullod wæs, he wæs, þuruh þæs mæsse-preostes lare, þe hine fullode, on swa fullan geleafon heofun-rices, þæt he cwæð to þam folce—"Doþ nu swa ge willan;" and him sylf leat forð, þæt him man asloh þæt heafod of; and wearð Cristes martir.

3. On þam dagum, Gratianus gefeaht on Gallium wið Alamanne þam folce, and hyra fela M ofsloh. On þam þriddan geare his rices, þa he þæt mæste woh dyde wið þa Godes þeowas, þa adrifon hine Gotan ût of hyra earde; and hi foron siþþon ofer Donua þa eâ on Ualenses rice, and wilnodan to him, þæt hi mostan on his rice, [mid] friþe gesittan. Þa oferhogode he þæt he him aðer dyde, oððe wyrnde, oþþe tiþode; ac hi let sittan þær þær hi woldon. Ac his [gerefan] and his ealdor-men nyddan hi æfter gafule, and micel geflit hæfdon ymb þæt, oþ þa Gotan hi mid gefeohte geflymdon.

4. Þa Ualens þæt geahsode on Antiochia [þære] byrig, þa wearð he swiðe sarig, and geþohte his misdæda, hu hi hine bædan rihtes [geleafan], and fullwihtes bæþes; and he him sende Arrienisce bisceopas to lareawum, and gedwol-men, swa he sylf wæs; and hwæt he hæfde Godes þeowum on oft-siþas to laðe gedon. Het þeah sendan æfter, þær he ænne libbendne wiste, þeah he þæt late dyde, and him siþþon het ge-ârian.—On þam feorþan geare his rices, he feaht wið Gotan, and geflymed wearð and bedrifen on ænne tun, and wearð on anum huse forbærned. Þær wæs swiðe riht dom ge-endod, þæt hi þone woruldlice forbærndon, þe hi þohte bærnan on ecnysse.

[Bôc VI: Capitul XXXV.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and C and XXXIII, feng Gratianus to Romana anwealde, and hine hæfde VI gear;—and gesette Theodosius him to fultume, forþon him geþuhte þæt þa þeoda, þe hyra winnan wæron, wæron

to swiðe gestrangode, þæt hi man leng ne mihte mid gefeohtum oferswiðan. Ac Theodosius genam frið wið hī; and, on þære sibbe, he lædde Athanaricus, hira cyning, mid him to Constantinopolim þære byrig, and þǽr raðe þǽs his lif geendode. Raþe þæs þe Gotan ongeatan hu gōd Theodosius wæs, ægþer ge hī, ge ealle [þa] þeoda þe on Sciþþium wæron, gecuron his frið.

2. On þam dagum, gecuron Bryttannie [Maximus] him to Casere ofer his willan, se wære wyrþe ealra Romana anweald, for his mænigfealdum duguþum, buton þæt he þa wið his hlaford wan for oþra manna lare. And raþe þæs, he fōr in Gallie, and Gratianus ofsloh, and Ualentinianus, his broþor, he adraf ūt of Italiam, þæt he oþfleah to Theodosiuse.

[Bōc VI: Capitul XXXVI.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and C and XXXVIII, feng Theodosius to Romana anwealde, and hine hæfde XI gear. He hæfde VI gearum ǽr, anweald ofer þa eastdælas. He þa Theodosius wǽs þencende hu he Gratianus his hlaford gewrecan mihte, and eac his broþor on þam anwealde gebringan, and fyrde gelædde on Italia, þǽr Maximus mid fyrde abād æt Aquilegia þære byrig, and his ealdor-men, Andregatia, hæfde beboden þa clusan to healdenne; ac se ealdor-man hi betæhte liþrum mannum to healdenne, and [þuhte] him sylf on scipum to farenne east ymbutan, and þonne bestelan on Theodosius hindan. Ac mid þam þe he fram þære clusan afaren wæs wið þara scipa, þa com Theodosius þǽr to, and funde þær æt feawa manna, þa wæron yfele and earge; and he hi raðe aweg aþywde, and þa clusan tobræc, and siþþon fōr ofer þa muntas, oþ he com to Aquilegia, and Maximus ofsloh. Þa þæt se ealdor-man gehyrde, þa adrencte he hine sylfne. Hu yþelice God ge-endode þæt micle gewin, mid hyra twegra fylle, þe Maximus and his ealdor-man hæfdon ūp-ahafen mid manegum þeodum!

2. Æfter þam, feng ēft Ualentinianus to his rice. And þæs ymb twa gear, þa he on [Gallie] com, hine ofsmorode Ambogæstes, his ealdor-man, and hine siþþon mid rapum be þam sweoran ūp-aheng, gelicost þam þe he hine sylfne unwitende hæfde awirged. And gesette Eugenius to [þæm] rices naman, þæt he Casere wære and feng him sylf to þam anwealde; forþam he ne mihte sylf habban þæs anwealdes naman, forþy he næs Romanisc; ac lærde þone oþerne þæt he deoful-gyld georne be-eode. Þa gelædde ēft Theodosius fyrde wið him twam to þære ilcan clusan, þe he ǽr hæfde wið Maximus. Þa sende Theodosius Gotena fultum beforan him, þæt [hie] þa clusan

tobræcon; ac hi wurdon uton ymbfaren of þam muntum, and ealle ofslagen: þæt wæron x M. Þa fór Theodosius þyderweard, and wiste þæt hine man wolde mid þam ilcan wrence beþridian. Þa hi togædereweard foran, þa þohton Eugenius and Arbogestes, þæt hi sceoldan ærest of þam muntum hi gebigean mid heora flana gesceotum; [ac him onsende God swelcne wind ongean, þæt hie ne mehton from him nænne flan asceotan,] ac ælc com oþer þara oððe on hi sylfe, oððe on þa eorþan. And Theodosius hæfde þone wind mid him, þæt his fultum mihte [mæstra] ælcne heora flana on heora feondum afæstnian. Þær wearð Eugenius ofslagen, and Arbogæstes ofstang hine sylfne. Æfter þam, Theodosius fór on Italiæ: þa he com to Mægolange þære byrig, þa ge-endode he his líf, and betæhte his twam sunum þone anweald.

[Bóc VI: Capitul XXXVII.]

1. "Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and c and xlix, feng Archadius to anwealde to þæm east-dæle, and hine hæfde xii gear; and Honorius to þam west-dæle, and nu git hæfð," cwæð Orosius.

2. And, forþam þe hi geonge wæron, he hi betæhte his [twæm] ealdor-mannum to bewitanne: Archadius wæs betæht Rufinuse, and Honorius wæs betæht Stilecan. Ac hi [gecyðdon] raðe þæs hwylce hlaford-hyldo hi þohton to [gecyþanne] on heora eald-hlafordes bearnum, gif hi hit þurhteon mihton. Rufinus wolde habban him sylf þone anweald þær east; and Stileca wolde syllan his suna þisne her west. And, for þam feondscipe, he forlet Gotan on Italiæ, mid heora twam cyningum, Alrican and Rædgotan; and þohte siþþon, þæt folc oferfunden wære, þæt hi syþþon woldon eall þæt he wolde; and wende eác þæt he þam Gotan þæs gewinnes mihte raþe gestyran, forþam he of heora lande geboren wæs. Raðe þæs, Alrica wearð Cristen, and Rædgota hæþen þurhwunode, and dæghwamlice wæs blotende deoful-gyldum mid man-slihtum, and simle him wæs leofost, þæt þa wæron Romanisce.

3. "Nú git, eow Romane mæg gescamian," cwæð Orosius, "þæt gé swá [heanlic] geþoht sceoldon on eow geniman for anes mannes ege, and for anes mannes geblote, [þæt] ge sædan þæt þa hæþenan tida wæron beteran þonne þa Cristenan, and eác þæt eow sylfum wære betere þæt ge eowerne Cristendom forleton, and to þam hæþeniscean þeawum fengan, þe eowre yldran ér be-eodan. Ge magon eác geþencean hu hean he éft wearð his geblota, and his deoful-gylda, þe he on lyfde, þa þa ge hine [gebundenne hæfdon], and hine siþþon atugon swa

swa ge woldon, and ealne his fultum, þæt wæs, swa swa ge sylfe sædon, twa C M, swa eower nân ne wearþ gewundod."

[Bóc VI : Capitul XXXVIII.]

1. Æfter þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs M wintra and C and IIII and sixtegum, God gedyde his miltsunge on Romanum, þa þa he heora misdæda wrecan let, þæt hit þeah dyde Alrica, se Cristenesta cyning, and se mildesta. And he mid swa lytlum niþe abræc Rome burh, þæt he bebead þæt man nanne man ne sloge,—and eâc þæt man nanuht ne wanode, ne ne yfelode þæs þe on þam cyricum wære. And sona þæs, on þam þriddan dæge, hi geföran ût of þære byrig heora agenum willan; swa þêr ne wearð nân hus heora wyllan forbærned.

2. Þær genam Hettulf, Alrican mæg, Honoriuses sweostor, þæs cyninges, and siþþon wið hine geþingode, and hi him to wife genâm. Siþþon sætan þa Gotan þær on lande,—sume be þæs Caseres willan,—sume his unwillan: sume hi foran on Ispaniæ, and þær gesætan,—sume on Affrice.

THE END OF THE ANGLO-SAXON TEXT.

NOTES AND VARIOUS READINGS

TO

THE ANGLO-SAXON TEXT

OF

OROSIUS.

THE Anglo-Saxon printed text is based upon the Cotton manuscript, which is in the British Museum and marked Tiberius B. I. Where there are evident mistakes or omissions in the Cotton, they are corrected by the Lauderdale manuscript, now in the possession of John Tollemache Esquire, M.P., a connexion of the Duke of Lauderdale. Every word, clause, or sentence, taken from the Lauderdale, is inclosed in brackets [ ]; in short, every word varying from the Cotton is thus inclosed, the particulars being given in the following notes. The exact reading of both manuscripts is, therefore, easily discovered; or rather, it is at once evident by the mode of printing the text, for whatever is not included in brackets is from the Cotton, and every word in brackets is from the Lauderdale, unless otherwise mentioned in the notes.

As the font, from which the Anglo-Saxon text of this work is printed, did not contain any accented capital letters, a separate accent has been generally placed *after* the accented capitals, as in PAGE 34, 34 *f* E'lena; but, when the accent would remove the following letter too far from the capital, the accent has sometimes been placed *before* the capital, in accordance with what is often found in the MSS., as in PAGE 54, 37 *b* 'Asiam.

In L and C, the contraction ⁊ is generally used for ond, and; but it is often written, in full, and, ond. In these cases, L uniformly writes ond, and C generally and; therefore, the ⁊ of L has been printed ond, and the ⁊ of C and. In the few instances, where C writes ond, the ond is, of course, retained in the printed text.

The punctuation of both manuscripts is very imperfect and often confused; but this refers particularly to the Cotton, which has been altered in punctuation, in accents, and often in orthography and in grammatical construction, by a more recent hand than that in which the original manuscript is written. Judging from the form of the letters, colour of the ink, etc. these alterations appear to have been made several centuries after the writing of the Cotton, and yet before the knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon idiom had entirely passed away. The Lauderdale is very sparing in its punctuation and accents, but upon the whole accurate: the Cotton is very profuse in both, but it often

appears to be erroneous. The scribe of the Cotton generally used our period or full stop, for our present comma, semicolon and colon; and often for our period. For our full stop or period, he used a semicolon (;), or a colon (:), and sometimes an inverted semicolon (⁏), and more frequently a colon, with a dash after it. To prevent this confusion, it has been deemed advisable to adopt the modern English punctuation in printing the Anglo-Saxon text.

In the notes, however, all the quotations from the Lauderdale and the Cotton manuscripts, are made to represent those manuscripts as nearly as possible, in their peculiar punctuation, accents, letters, and in the division of words. In all these respects the scribes have made absurd mistakes: even these are left unaltered in the quotations, that scholars, to whom almost exclusively the various readings are useful, may see the exact state of the manuscripts.

In referring to the printed Anglo-Saxon text, throughout the following various readings and notes, it must be observed, that the **PAGES** are given in thick figures, and the lines in thin figures, and the succession of the words in each line is denoted by small *Italic letters:* the first word by *a*, the second by *b*, the third by *c*, and so on, in alphabetical order. Thus 2 *a* denote *line* 2, *word* 1: and 7 *d* denote *line* 7, *word* 4, because *d* is the 4th letter in the alphabet. When two Italic letters are used, with a short dash between them, these two letters include the two extreme words of the text referred to, as well as the intermediate word or words. Thus **PAGE** 16 7 *d–g* refer to þe man hæt Fortunátus, which are in page 16 line 7, words 4 and 7, namely the extreme words þe and Fortunátus, and the intermediate words man hæt. Again, 12 *a*–14 *e* refer to the same page, to line 12 and word *a* or 1, and to line 14 and word *e* or 5, including not only the extreme words Asia and Indisc, but all the intermediate words.

ABBREVIATIONS.

A. S. stands for Anglo-Saxon.
bv. . . . . written *a*bove the line.
C . . . . the Cotton MS. Tiberius B. I, and its reading.
C f. 2. or f. 2 a stands for the Cotton MS. folio or leaf 2, and a the first or right-hand page of this second leaf.
C f. 3 b . . . . the Cotton MS. folio or leaf 3, and b the second or left-hand page of this third leaf.
C H . . . . the transcript of the Cotton MS. by Hampson.
C, L *or* C and L . . . the reading both of the Cotton and Lauderdale MSS.
ENG. *or Eng.* . . . . the ENGlish or *Eng*lish translation, in the same paragraph.
Hav. or Haver. . . . *Haver*camp's ed. of Oros. 4to. Leyden 1767.
L stands for the Lauderdale MS. and its reading.
L *p* . . . the *p*age of the **L**auderdale MS.
L B . . . the Lauderdale MS. quoted by Ballard in loco.
OROS. *or Oros.* stands for the Latin original of *Oros*ius by *Haver.*
p stands for *p*age.
rd. . . . . *r*ead.
r h i. . . . in a *r*ecent *h*and and *i*nk.
w . . . . *w*anting or omitted.

NOTES AND VARIOUS READINGS

TO PAGE 9–12: CONTENTS, BK. I—IV, CH. VI.

PAGE 9. 1 *a-e* Inserted, throughout the work by the editor, like the head lines, to facilitate reference. 2 *a* **Cotton MS. folio** 1.—2 *a*–3 *b* *w* L.

I. 4 *a* **Lauderdale MS. page** 1.—4 *a* Hu *w* C. —4 *a–f* Hu ure ieldran ealne þisne middan geard L.

II. 6 *d* kyningc C.—7 *b* middan g̃ C.—*g* cwen L.—8 *h* fæstnesse C.

III. 10 *c* heofonisce L.—*g* lond L.—11 *f–h* sodome ond go morre L.

IV. 12 *b–d* thelesci ond ciarsæt hi L.—*i* wunnan C.

V. 15 *a* seofan L.—*b* gearon C.—*g* wisdome.—15 *i*–17 *d* hu hie siþþan ealra hiora wæstma þone fiftan dæl ælce gcare heora cyninge to gafole ge sellaðˇ L.—16 *e f* ælce geare *w* C.—*k* kyninge C.—17 *g* gesette C.

VI. 18 *c* achiae C.—*h* ambictiones L.

VIII. 22 *i* monna L.—23 *a b* from hiora L.—23 *g* bosiridis L.— 24 *a* don C.—*i* ge sohtan L.—25 *a-e* ymbe monegra oþerra folca ge winn L.

IX. 26 *d* athaniense L.—*h* betweonu C.

X. 28 *d* kyning C.—*h* ge *w* C.—28 *i* **C** f. 1 b. —29 *d e* isaia C: is asia L.—*j* sint L.

PAGE 10. 1 *f* aflymde C.—2 *c*–3 *b* þa wif þe man het amathenas and ymbe ðˇa C.—3 *g* andredan L.—*l* Creca *w* L.—4 *a* kyning C.

XI. 5 *h i* on lacedomonia L.—6 *i* gefor L.—7 *a* *read* on Italie.

XII. 8 *a* **L** *p* 2.—8 *f* kyning C.—10 *b* wifman C.—11 *a* ond L.—*d* argeotere L.—*h* on licnesse L.

XIII. 13 *b* pelo pentinm C.—*d* athinentium C.

XIV. 15 *d* mesiane L.—16 *b* hiora L.

BOOK II.

CH. I. *p* 10, *line* 20 *a* on wealdas L.—*c* middang̃ C.

II. 21 *e*–22 *c* þa ge broþor getimbredan rome burg on italiam L.

III. 23 *d* brutos C.—*h i* hi gehalgedon L: hi gehalgodan C.

V. 27 *g h* egyptiescan diofolgield L.—28 *h* deo- [**C** f. 2] folgyld.—28 *c d* darius gewin C.—*f* exercis C.

VI. 30 *g* oþ iewed L.

VIII. 33 *d* ueiorem C.—34 *c* galliæ L.

BOOK III.

CH. I. 36 *b–d* sio bysmerlice sihb L.

II. 38 *c* achie C.

III. 39 *d* monn cwealm L.—40 *j* genigendan L.

IV. 42 *b* galliæ L.—*e–h* lond on III mila L.

PAGE 11. V. 1 *a* **L** *p* 3.—*b c* cartaina ærend wracan L.

VI. 3 *g* betweonum L.—4 *e* cuca L.

VII. 5 *d* kyning C.—*e–g* wonn wiðˇ romane L. —7 *e* *read* Macedonia C.—*g* ond L.—8 *d* burg L.

VIII. 10 *c* *read* bysmere C.

IX. 12 *f* bisceo C: biscep L.—13 *f* darius L.—*h* kyning C.—*i* oferwon L.

X. 15 *a* **C** f. 2 b.—16 *h* man *w* L.—17 *j*–18 *a* gefeccean to L.—18 *g* scinlacan L.

XI. 21 *f* ond L.—22 *b* héretogan.—22 *d* lif L. —*g* *read* ge-endedon.

BOOK IV.

CH. I. 25 *a*–26 *b* Hu tarentine gesawan romano scipa on ðˇæm sæ þahie plegedon L.—25 *i* yrnan *w* L.

III. 28 *a*–29 *c*. This title is printed from C, though the order of the clauses varies from the text, in *p* 79, 34 *f*–35 *f*. *The title in L is*—Hu mon ge seah weallan blod of eorþan ond rinan meolc of heofonum. *The clauses are thus arranged in the body of the work, both in* C *and* L.

IV. 31 *f*–32 *f* ond hu þaburg leode on cartaina bleo[ton] men hiora godum L. *In the MS.* bleo *is at the end of the line, and* ton *is evidently omitted by the scribe.*

V. 34 *de* án mon L.—34 *g* **L** *p* 4.—35 *i* a broken C.—36 *c* burg L.

VI. 37 *h* be tweonum L.—38 *g* kyning.—42 *b* **C** f. 3.—42 *g* hunda L.—*i* xxx. L.—43 *e* ofslog L.—44 *f* III. L.

PAGE 12. 1 *a* enilius C.—1 *j*–2 *c* and 8 *g–j* mid. III. hunde scipa L.—*i* ofer heargede L. —5 *c* kyning C.—2 *d*–5 *g*. L *has transposed these clauses thus;*—ond hu .II. con sulas foran mid .III. hunde scipa on affrice ond hu cotta se con sul ofer heargede sicilie. Ond hio on þriora con sula dæge com hasterbal se niwa cyning to libeum þæm iglande.—6 *j* gaius C: L.—7 *h* sæ C.

VII. 11 *c* romane L.—12 *g–j* toþæm godan tidan L.—15 *d* monig L.—*g* gesewen C.—16 *f* ofslog L.—*h* [xxx .M] *w* C, *but given in p* 89, 9 *c*.

VIII. 18 *a* burg L.—*ef* Pena cyning *w* L.—20 *c* monige L.

IX. 21 *c* beswác C.—21 *g* heora L.—22 *a* **L** *p* 5: also **C** f. 3 h. — 22 *h* scípian C. — 23 *e* him gesetton L.—24 *d* legian L.

X. 25 *e* fór L.—28 *e* ofslog L.—*h* asterbal L.—30 *d–h* aliefed from scipian þæm consule L.

XI. 31 *f read* ge-endod.—31 *a–f* Hu romane æfterre ge winn ond sunica [*for* punica] wearð ge-endod L. — 33 *de* mæcedoniacyng L.—*g* romano L.—35 *c* enilius L and C, *for* Æmilius.—*f* oferwon L. — *g–i* persus þone cyning C.

XIII. 39 *f read* ge-endod. — 40 *b* kyninge C, *but better leave out* kyninge, *as it is w in* L: *the English will then be*:—How the third war of the Romans, and of the Carthaginians, was ended.

BOOK V.

CH. I. 42 *a* Hu L and C, *but the* Hú, *and* 42 *gh* hú hí, *are accented here, and* hú *in p* 13, 1 *a*, 2 *e*, 3 *f*, 4 *d*, and 5 *e*, *on the authority of the Table of Contents, printed in these notes* after Bk. V: ch. xv.—42 *d–43 f* ymbe romano gielp hu hie monega folc ofer wunnon. ond hu hie monege cyningas L.—42 *i* Manega, *to agree with* folc *ought to be* manege, *but as* C *has* manega, *and* L monega, *both ending in* a, *here and in the body of the work, the* manega *of* C *is allowed to stand in the text.*—43 *e f* manega kyningas C.—44 *c* rome weard L.

PAGE 13. II. 1 *f–i* þatwa byrg toworpena L. 2 *f*–3 *a* ueriatus sehierde on gon L.—ENG. *p* 23, 25 *e* Viriathus.—4 *e* mantris C.—5 *i*–6 *b* of slog ispania lx. m̄ L.—5 *j* C f. 4.—6 *b w* C.

III. 10 *g*, *w* L *and* C, *but* wunnan, *for* wunnon, *is inserted in the text from the Contents, printed in these notes after* Bk. V: ch. xv.—*h* wiþ L.

IV. 12 *b* ENG. Licinius.—13 *h* kyninge C.—14 *d e* assia kyning C.—17 *a* **L** *p* 6.

V. 17 *b* romaua C.—18 *d* metallus C.—*e* ofer won L: ofer wann C.

VI. 19 *b* uauius C.—*e* ofercôm L.—*f* betwitus an C.

VII. 21 *c–e* wæron wiþ geo weorþan L. — *g* cyning C.

VIII. This title is neither in L nor C: it is taken from the body of the work, *p* 107, 19 *b*–20 *b*, and conformed to the other titles by prefixing Hu.

IX. 25 *c* on gun non L: agunnan C: *in the Contents inserted in these notes, after* Bk. V: ch. xv, ongunnon C.—25 *fg* be tweonum úp ahebban L.

X. 27 *f g* ENG. unnatural war.—*gh* unsibb on þæm siextan L.

XI. 29 *c* willan C.—30 *b* parhta C.

XII. 31 *d* ga iuse L, *for* gul iuse: iuse C. The scribe of C appears to have omitted the first part ga or gul, and to have copied only the last iuse.—31 *h* legan C.—32 *f* tarquatus L.—*g* pompeius C. — 33 *a* ladteow L.—*d* fæstenne L.—37 *a* **C** f. 4 b.

XIV. 37 *d* secare L.

XV. 38 *d* leode *w* L: thus, the L text seems to be the more grammatical—sume ispanie wæron *some Spaniards were*. The regular construction of C would be—sume ispan*isce* (*or* ispani*a*) leode wæron *some Spanish people* (*or of the Spaniards*) *were*: or as in the text, *p* 114, 27 *e–g* sume ispaniæ leoda *some of the people of Spain*.—38 *f* agustos C.

Besides the table of Contents of Bk. V: ch. i–xv: at *p* 12, 42 *a–p* 13, 39, taken from C folio 3 *b*–4 *b*, there is another table in C, occupying from folio 81, 19 to the bottom of folio 81 b. As it differs from the other table, and will be a specimen of C, the whole of it is here printed, like the other notes, with a strict regard to the division of words, as well as to the letters and points of the MS.

C f. 81 *line* 19.—Bk. V: ch. i. Hú órosius spræc ymbe romana gylp hú hí monega folc ofer wunnan. hú hý monega cyningas beforan hyra triumphum[c] wiðr róme weard drifan.

II. Hú on anum geare wurdon þa twa byrig toworpene. cartago and corinþum. and hú uariatus se hyrde ongan rixian on ispanian. and hú claudius se consul geflymde gallie. and hú mantius se consul. genam friðr wiðr ispanie. and hú brútus se consul ofsloh ispania .lx. m̄. and hu [C f. 81 b] an cyld wearð geboren on róme.

III. Hu romane sendon scipian on ispanie mid fyrde. and hu craccus se consul [wan][a] wiðr þa oðre consulas oðr hi hine of[s]logon[b]. and hu þa þeowas wunnan wiðr þa hlafordas.

IIII. Hu lucinius se c̄sul se þe eac wæs romana yldesta bisceop for mid fyrde ongean aristonocuse þam cyninge. and hu antiochus asia cyning wylnode partha onwealdes. and hu scipio se besta romana þegen mænde his earfoðu to romanum. and hu eþna fyr afleow. .U Hu romana hetan eft getimbrian cartaina. and hu c̄sul metellus oferwan þa wicingas.

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[a] Not in MS., but inserted from *p* 13, 9 *f*.

[b] *The MS. has* ofrlogon *for* ofrlogon.

.VI Hu fauius se consul ofercom betuitusan gallina cyning.
VII Hu romane wæron wiþ geoweorðan mumeþia cyninge.
VIII Hu romane ongunnon unsibbe him beteonan up ahebban on þam fiftan geare þe marius wæs consul.
·IX: Hu ofer ealle italia wearð ungefærlic unsib on þam sixtan geare þe iulius se casere wæs consul.
.X Hu romane sendan sillan þone consul ongean metredatis partha cyninge.
.XI: Hu romane sealdan gaiuse þam consule .VII. legian. and hu iulius besæt tarquatus pompiuses ladteow on anum fæstene. and hu iulius gefeaht wiþ tholomeus .IIIa.
.XII Hu octauianus se casere feng to romana anwealde heora unwyllum.
XIIII Hu octauianus se casere betynde ianes duru.
.XV Hu sume ispania wæron agustes wiðerwinnan.
Ends at bottom of f 81 b *of* **C**.

BOOK VI.

CH. I. 41 *d read* sprecende C.—*h* on waldus L. —42 *b* heafed rica C.
II. 43 *d–f* toromano anwalde L.—44 *a* agustus C.

PAGE 14. III. 1 *b* gaius L and C.
IV. 2 *e–g* toromano an walde L.
V. 3 *a–c* Hu ner onfeng C, *for* Hu nero feng. —*d–f* toromano an walde L.
VI. 4 *b* galua L.—*de* toromano L.
VII. 5 *b* uespasianus L.—*de* toromano L.
VIII. 6 *de* to romano L.
IX. 7 *f g* to romano L.
X. 9 *b* nerfa L.—*d e* toromano L.
XI. 10 *b* ENG. Hadrian.—*d e* toromano L.
XII. 11 *b c* pompeius C and L. — *e f* toromano L.
XIII. 12 *b c* antonius C and L.—*e f* toromano L.—13 *a* aurelius C.
XIV. 14 *d e* to romano L.
15 **L** *p* 7.—XV. 15 *d f* toromano rice L.
XVI. 16 *g* antonius C and L.
XVII. 17 *d e* toromano L.
XVIII. 18 *d e* toromano L.
XIX. 19 *b* maximus C and L.—*d e* toromano L.
XX. 20 *e f* toromano rice L.
XXI. 21 *d e* toromano L.
XXII. 22 *d e* toromano L.
23 **C** f. 5.—XXIII. 23 *d e* toromano L.
XXV. 25 *d e* toromano L.
XXVI. 26 *b* ENG. Aurelian.
XXVIII. 28 *b* brobus C.
XXXI. 31 *d f* toromana onwalde L. — 32 *a* broþ; or broþ; C, *for* broþrum.
XXXII. 33 *b* iuuinianus L.—ENG. Jovian.— *f* rice L.
XXXIII. 34 *b* ualentinus C.—ENG. Valentinian.
XXXV. 36 *b* ENG. Gratian.—37 *a* brettanie L. — *c* maximianum L. — ENG. Maximus. — *f* kasere C.
XXXVI. 38 *b* theodosius L.—*d–f* toromana on walde L.—39 *b c* ualentinus fengc C.
XXXVII. 40 *b c* archiadus fengc C: *altered to* archadius, adius *bv. r h i.*
XXXVIII. 42 *c–f* ENG. shewed his mercy to. —*f* mild sunge L.

Besides the table of Conteuts of Bk. VI: ch. i–xxxviii, at *p* 13, 40 *a*–*p* 14, 42 *f*, taken from C, folio 4 *b*–folio 5, there is another table, in C, folio 94, 15–folio 95, 2, of which the following is an exact copy, both as to the division of words, and the letters and points of the MS.
C f. 94 *line* 15.—.I Hu orosius wæs sprecende ymb þa .IIII. anwealdas þara .IIII. heafodlica þises middangeardes.
.II. Hu tiberius feng to romana anwealde se casere.
.III Hu gaius wearð casere feower gear.
.IIII Hu tiberius claudius feng to romana anwealde.
.V Hu nero feng to romana anwealde.
.VI Hu galua feng to romana anwealde se casere.
.VII Hu uespassianus feng to romana anwealde.
.VIII Hu titus feng to romana anwealde.
.IX Hu domitianus tituses broðor feng to romana anwealde.
.X Hu nerua feng to romana anwealde.
.XI Hu adrianus feng to romana anwealde.
[**C** f. 94 b] .XII Hu pompeius feng to romana anwealde.
.XIII Hu marcus antonius feng to romana anwealde mid aurelius his breðer.
.XIIII Hu lucius feng to romana anwealde.
.XV Hu seuerus feng to romana rice.
.XVI Hu his sunu feng to rice antonius.
.XVII Hu marcus feng to romana anwealde.
.XVIII Hu aurelius feng to romana anwealde.
.XIX Hu maximianus feng to roma anwealde.
.XX Hu gordianus feng to romana anwealde.
.XXI Hu philippus feng to romana rice.
.XXII Hu decius feng to romana anwealde.
.XXIII Hu gallius feng to romana rice.
.XXIIII Hu romane gesettan twegen caseras.
.XXV Hu claudius feng to romana anwealde.
.XXVI Hu aurelius feng to romana rice.

.XXVII Hu tacitus feng to romana anwealde.
.XXVIII Hn probus feng to romana rice.
.XXIX Hu curus feng to romana anwealde.
.XXX Hu diocitius feng to romana rice.
.XXXI Hu constantinus feng to romana anwealde mid his .II. hroðran.
.XXXII Hu iuuinianus feng to romana rice.
.XXXIII Hu ualentinianus feng to roma anwealde.
.XXXIIII Hu ualens feng to romana rice.
.XXXV Hu gratinianus feng to romana anwealde. and hu brettannie namon maximianus him to casere ofer his willan.
.XXXVI Hu theodosius feng to romana rice and hu ualentinianus feng eft to anwealde.
XXXVII Hu archadius feng to romana rice and honorius to þam west rice.
.XXXVIII Hu god gedyde romanum his miltsunge.

Ends at f 95, *line* 2 *of* **C**.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE 15. § 1. 1 *a* The Books and Chapters are divided exactly as in the manuscripts; but the various subjects of the Chapters are subdivided by the editor into paragraphs and numbered, to facilitate reference.—The L includes our first 4 paragraphs in one. Our next 9—from 5 to 13 inclusive—are comprehended in the second paragraph of L.—The first paragraph of C ends with our third: the 2nd is commensurate with our 4th; and the 3rd paragraph of C contains ours from 5 to 23, both inclusive; but in the body of the page of C, a new subject is often indicated by a red letter: in these cases, our paragraphs begin at the red letter, as in § 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18 and 20.

1 *a–d See notes to p* 9, 1 *a–e*.

2 *a* **L** *p* 8: **C** f. 5 b.

2 *a* The A. S. text, from *p* 15, 2 *a* to *p* 18, 27 *a*, is, in substance, translated from the Latin of OROS. Book I: ch. 2. *Haver. p* 10–23. Alfred omits the dedication and ch. i. of Orosius. See ENG. Introduction, *p* 10, note 1; and *p* 29, note 1.

§ 1. 2 *a*–3 *b*. Ure ieldran ealne þisne ymb hwyrft þises middangeardes cwæþ orosius L. —3 *a* cwæt C.—*e* oceánus C: oceanus L.—*i* man *w* L.—4 *a b* garsegc hataþ C: garsæcg hateð L.—*f–j* and hú hý þaþry dælas C: ond hie þa þrie dælas L.—5 *e* europem L: eúropam C.—6 *c* sæden L.—7 *d* eúropa C: europe L.

§ 2. 8 *e* oceano L.—*h*, be *before h*, *bv. r h i* C: *w* L.—11 *j read* ié C.—12 *b–e* L: togædere ligcgsð C.—*f* ond L.—13 *c read* ié.—*d* danaí C.—*e read* Wendel-sáes.—14 *i* licgeaþ L.

§ 3. 15 *k read* ié.—16 *f* riffeng L.—*j* In C, the i is often converted into y by a recent scribe. Here the original sindon is converted into syndon; but the second or fine stroke of y is evidently made by a subsequent scribe, as is seen from the lighter colour of the ink, the crowded letter, and also from the form it gives to the y. The i, in Anglo-Saxon, is without a dot, but the y has it, and to supply it to the y an accent is put over the ý, and the word is absurdly made sýndon. This change of i into y is very frequent in C; but, as it is by a recent hand, and the i of the original scribe is always retained in our text, this change of the letter need not be subseqnently mentioned. —18 *b c* irnð þonan L.—21 *b* **C** f. 6.—21 *f*–22 *d* wiþ eastan út on þasé flowe þemon hætt euxinus L.—21 *i read* ða C.—24 *b read* þanon. —*c–e* ut on wendel-sæ L.—26 *f* gáðes C.—*i* sciet L.—*k* wendel sæ C: wendel-sæ L.—27 *g* eac *w* C.—*j* stondaþ L.—28 *d* ond *w* C.—*e f* on hyre C.

PAGE 16. § 4. 1 *a* The second paragraph of C begins here. Affrica, the first word, is a little farther from the left margin than the other lines. A is a red letter.—*c–e* asia hiersland ge mircu L.—2 *b*–3 *a* burge ond ligeð þæt londgemære suþþonan ofernilus þa eá L.—4 *e* **L** *p* 9.—5 *g h* syla stondaþ L.—6 *b* west énde C: westende L.—*g–i* þemon athlans L. —7 *d–g* þemon hæt fortunatus L.

§ 5. 8 *a*, C begins the 3rd paragraph here. The first word, Scortlice, like 1 *a*, is indented, or is a little farther from the left margin than the other lines. S is a red letter.—In L, Scortlice begins also with a capital, written with the same ink as the rest of the MS. Scortlice begins a line, which projects a little more into the left margin than the other lines, and thus indicates the second paragraph. —8 *f–h* ymb þa þrie L.—10 *d*–11 *a* gereccan hu hie mid hiera wætrum to licgeaþ L.—10 *h* hýra C.

§ 6. 12 *a*–14 *é* asia ongen ðæm middel dæle on þæm east ende þær ligeð se muþa ut on þone garseeg þære ié þemon hateð gandis þone garseeg mon hæt indisc. L.—13 *f* garsegc C. —*h read* eá.—14 *b* garsegc C.—*e* índisc C: indisc L.—14 *j*–15 *i* wiþ þone garsegc. is se port caligardámsna. C.—15 *f–h* þe mon hæt L: *w* C.—16 *a* suþan-[**C** f. 6 b] eastan.—16 *d* ís C.—*d–f* is þæt igland L.—17 *c–k* gandes muþan þærþær caucasis se beorg endaþ L.—18 *h*–19 *j* se port samera be norþan þæm porte isse muþa þære ié þemon nem neð. ottorogorre L.—19 *f read* ié.—19 *j*–20 *a* oðcorogorre. þone garsegc C.

§ 7. 21 *c* india L: índea C.—*i* beorg L.—22 *c* índus C.—*c–e* indus seo eá L.—23 *b* garsegc C.—23 *e*–24 *a* On indea londe is ·xliiii· L.—23 *f* índea C. — 24 *c* buton L. — 24 *k*–25 *f* ·x· byrg buton oðerum monegum gesetenum iglondum: L.—25 *f* C *has*—iglandum. of þære é índus—with only (.) a comma after iglandum; while L makes (:) the common full stop, and begins the next word with a capital, thus —iglondum: Of þære ie indus. The original Latin of Orosius begins the sentence like L—A flumine Indus etc. *Haver. p* 14.—25 *i éa*, the *a* in *r h i*, and therefore omitted.—26 *h–l* ligeð betux þære ie indus L.—26 *a*, *l* índus C.—27 *c* þé C.—28 *e*–29 *a* and be tux þæm twæm ean sindon þas land arocasia L.—29 *g* passiða C.—*i* meðia L.—30 *a–i* þeh þe ge writo oft nem nen ealþa lond meþia L.—31 *e–i* swiþe beorhtte ond þær sint L. *The Latin is* —situ terrarum montoso et aspero. *Haver. p* 14, 5. Beorhte 31 *f*, C: *and* beorhtte L *may be an unusual derivative of* beorh *a mountain.*—32 *c* stan ihte L.—33 *f–h* se reada sæ L.—33 *j*–34 *f* on ðæm londe sindon twa micla eá L.—34 *e read* myccle.—35 *c* twa and twentig C; *but* L *has* XXXII, *which agrees with the Latin*—In his sunt gentes triginta duæ. *Haver. p* 14, 8.

§ 8. 36 *a*–37 *c* þonne west from tigres þære ié oþ eu frates þa eá þonne betux þæm ean L.—36 *e* **C** f. 7 36 *f read* eá.—38 *e*–39 *d* sindon ·XXVIII· ðeoda heora norð ge mæro sindon L.—39 *d* **L** *p* 10.—40 *d*–41 *d* hiera suþ gemæro licgeað toþæm readan sæ. Ond long þæs redan sæs L.—41 *j*–42 *f* scyt ligeð þæt land arabia ond sabei ond eudomane L.—42 *f* Eudomane; Eudæmon. *Hav. p* 14 n 46; from *εὖ well*, and *δῆμος a people, tribe: a happy or well located people.* Hence, Arabia Felix. 42 *g–i* ofer þære eá C: Of þære ié L.—42 *i read* eá C.—43 *k*–44 *c* þemon taurus hæt L.—45 *c* monege L.

PAGE 17. 1 *b* uenícia C.—1 *j*–3 *e* amon ond idumei ond indei ond palestina ond sarracene ond þeh hit mon hæt eal syria. L.—4 *b–e* þemon tauros hætt L.—5 *d–f* capodocia ond armenie L.—6 *a* capodotia L.—6 *i*–7 *c* þemon hætt seolæsse asia L.—8 *f* capodocia L.—9 *e* cilia C.—11 *a–c read* healfe. On norð-healfe C.—11 *b*–12 *i* On norþ healfe isseo sæ euxinus ond onwest healfe se sæ þemon hætt proponditis ond ellaspontus L.—13 *c* **C** f. 7 b.—13 *i*–14 *c* se behstabeorg olimpus L.—13 *j* hýhsta C.

§ 9. 15 *a* Sio C.—*b* ægyptus L.—16 *a* palastine L.—17 *i*–18 *j* hire se beorg þemon hæt climax. Nilus seo eá hire æwielme is neh L.—17 *l*–18 *c* ðe climax hatte C.—18 *i* ís C.—19 *c d* readan sæ C.—19 *e*–20 *b* þeah sume men secgen þæt hire æwielme sie L.—21 *a*–23 *d* ond þonne fol raðe þæs sie east irnende on þæt sond ond þonne he since eft on þæt sand ond þær neh sie eft flo wende up ofþæm sande L.—21 *a*–30 *i*: ENG. *p* 33, 11–20. That rivers sank into sand, was a prevalent opinion long after the time of Alfred, but a recent traveller says,—"There is, I am convinced, no such thing in the country (Africa) as a river running into sand and becoming lost. This phenomenon, so convenient to geographers, haunted my fancy for years; but I have failed in discovering any thing except a most insignificant approach to it." *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, by David Livingstone, LL.D. London,* 1857, *p* 68.—21 *k*–22 *f*, *w* C.—22 *i*, *w* C.—23 *j*–24 *h* ond þær hio ærest upwielð hie hatað þaland men nuchul L.—24 *f*, *w* C.—25 *h*–27 *g* he up ofþæm sonde scýt he is east irnende from east dæle þurh æthiopica westenne ond þær mon hæt þa ea ion L.—25 *m* cymð C.—27 *a* **L** *p* 11. —29 *f g* þonan up aspryngð L.—30 *f–i* hit ærbeforan sæde L.—30 *k*–31 *f* ofþæm æwielme mon hæt þæt wæter nilus L.—31 *k*–32 *b* forð west þanon C.—32 *k*–33 *e* þemon hæt meroen ond þonan L.—37 *f read* lande C.—37 *g*–38 *d* seo fyrre ægyptus liþ east ond long L.—37 *i* **C** f. 8.—39 *b–d*, *w* C.—39 *h* gar segc C.—40 *g h* neáre egyptus C.—41 *c* is C.

§ 10. 42 *f* asian L. — 43 *c*–44 *c* to hire norð dæle þæt is þonne of þæm beorgum þe mon hæt caucasus L.—43 *l*–44 *b w* C.—44 *h* sædon L.—44 *k*–45 *c* benorþan india sindon L.—45 *b* índea C.—45 *e* hie L.

PAGE 18. 1 *e*–2 *e* west ryhte oþ armenia beorgas þe þa land leode hi hatað L.—2 *a*, *w* C.—3 *e* eufraté C.—3 *j*–4 *c* þe mon parcoadras hætt L.—4 *h*–5 *g* þe mon tauros hætt oþcilium þæt lond þonne L.—6 *b* ondlang L.—7 *f* scýt L.—8 *a*–9 *a* þonan west ondlong þæs garsecges oþ þone sæ þemon hætt caspia L.—8 *f* on C.—9 *b–d* þeþær up scyt L.—9 *g read* beorgum.—9 *i*–10 *b* þæt lond mon hætt L.—10 *i* londes L.—12 *k* danais L.—13 *h–j* þe mon hætt L. —14 *g* **L** *p* 12.—14 *i* beorg L.—15 *e* garsegc C.—15 *i* lond L.—15 *k*–16 *b* þehhit mon L.—16 *j–l* ac þa lond L.—16 *m* **C** f. 8 b.—17 *a–c read* east-healfe Danaís C.—17 *c* danais L.—17 *d*–18 *a* þe þær nihst sindon albani hisint genemde L.—18 *e*–19 *f* wehie hataþ nu liubene nu hæhbe we scortlice gesæd ymbe asia londgemæro L.—18 *h read* nú C.

§ 11. 20 *a*–28 *i* nu wille we ymbe europe lond

gemære areccean swa micel swawe hit fyrmest witon; From þære ié danais west oþrin þa ea seo wilð ofþæm beorge þe mon alpis hætt ond irnð þonne norþ ryhte on þæs garsecges earm þe þæt lond uton ymb lið þemon bryttania hætt ond eft suþ oð donua þa ea þære æwielme is neah rines ofre þære ie (*near the bank of the river Rhine*) ond is siþþan east irnende wið norþan crecalond ut on þone wendelsé ond norþ oþ þone garsecg þemon cwen sæ hæt binnan þæm sindon monega þeoda ac hit mon hæt eall germania ·L.—26 *b* norþan *w* C.—26 *i* OROS. *p* 23. The Anglo-Saxon, from 26 *i*–28 *c*, and 29 *a* to *p* 23, 10 *e*, is not in the original Latin of Orosius, but written only in Anglo-Saxon by king Alfred. See ENG. *p* 35, note 2; and *p* 57 note 88.

§ 12. 29 *a*–34 *a* þoñ wið norþan donua é wielme ond be eastan rine sindon east francna ond besuþan him sindon swæfas on oþre healfe þære ié donua ond be suþan him ond be eastan sindon bæg ware se dæl þemon reg nes burg hætt ond ryhte be eastan sindon bæme ond east norþ sindon þyringa L.—35 *d*—37 *h* sindon frisan be westan eald seaxum is ælfe muþa þære ie ond frisland ond þonan west norð is þæt lond þemon ongle hæt L.—38 *d* dene L.—*h* hím C.—*j* sfdrede L.—39 *b*–*f* wilte þemon hæ feldan hætt L.—39 *e* æfeldan C.—40 *b*–*g* wineda lond þemon hætt sysyle L. — 40 *c* **C** f. 9.—40 *j*–41 *e* ofer sum dæl maro ara ond hie maro ara L.—42 *e* heg ware L.—43 *e* ie L.—44 *b*–45 *b* þemon alpis hæt to þæm ilcan beorgan liegað heg waraland gemæro L.—45 *e* and *w* L.

PAGE 19. 1 *b c* londe begeondam L.—2 *f* **L** *p* 13.—2 *h*–3 *c* maro ara londe is wisle lond L.—3 *h*–5 *b* sint datia þa þe Iu wæron gotan be norþan eastan maro ara sindon dala ment san ond be eastan dala ment san sindon horigti ond be norþan dala ment san L.—4 *c d* he eastan norðan C.—*f* syndan C.—*g* dulamensan *altered to* dalameusan C.—6 *i* sindon *w* L.—7 *d*–*g* horoti is mægþa land L.—8 *a*–*h* mægþa londe ser mende oþ þa beorgas riffen L.—8 *c* sindon *w* L,C.—8 *i* and *w* L.—10 *d*–11 *d* brettannia ond henorþan him is þæs sées earm þemon hæt ost sé L.—11 *l* him *w* L.—12 *a*–*c* sindon norð dene ægþer L.—13 *f*–14 *e* sindon afdrede ond besuþan him is ælfe muþa þære ié L.—14 *c read* Ælfe muða.—14 *j*–15 *f* norð dene hahbað benorþan him þone L.—15 *j*–16 *a* þemon hæt ost sæ L.—The East or Baltic sea, in opposition to west sé, 27 *e f* on the west of Norway and Denmark.—16 *k* afrede L.—17 *f* **C** f. 9 b.—17 *f* hím C.—17 *f*–18 *c* him þone ilcan sæs earm ond winedas ond burgendan L.—19 *c*–*f* þone sæs earm L.—19 *d* ylcan *w* L.—22 *g*–23 *c* henorþan him oferþawestenne iscwenland L.—22 *i*, *w* C.—24 *a* scride finne L.—24 *e* norþ menn L: norðmenn C.

§ 13. 25 *a* Oht here C: ohthere L. Opposite to ohthere in L, on the right margin, *r h i*, is written—*Hic incipit Periplus Ohtheri.*—25 *f* kyninege C.—25 *g*–26 *c* þæt he ealra norð monna norþ mest hude L.—27 *g*–28 *e* he sæde þeah þæt land sie swiþe lang norþ þonan L.—27 *j* þæt *w* L.—29 *c* stycce mælum L.—*g* huntoðe L.—30 *f* fiscaþe L.—*j* hé C.—31 *d* cirre L.—*g h* hu longe L.—*k* norþ ryhte L.—32 *f* mon L.—*j* westenne L.—33 *d* hé C.—33 *j* hím C.—34 *a* **L** *p* 14.—34 *i j* wid sæ L: the same as 27 *e f*, west sé.—35 *a* þrie L.—36 *a*–37 *a* firrest faraþ þafor he þagiet norþ ryhte swafeor swahe meahte L.—36 *j k* feor swa *w* C.—36 *l* hé C.—37 *g*–38 *a* ge siglan þaheag þæt land L.—geseglian. ðabeah þæt land C.—38 *d*–40 *l* oþþe seo sé in on ðæt lond henysse hwæðer buton he wisse ðæt he ðær bád westan windes ond hwon norþan ond sigldе ða east helande swaswahe meahte L.—40 *b* **C** f. 10.—40 *k* hé C.—41 *d*–43 *a* ge siglan þasceolde he ðær bidan ryht norþan windes for ðæm þæt land beag þær suþ ryhte. Oþþe seo sé L.—41 *h* þær *w* C.—43 *a* sæ C: sé L.—*g* nysse L.—43 *i*–44 *k* þasigldе he þonan suð ryhte helande swaswahe mehte on fif dagum ge siglan L.—45 *e*–*k* micel ea up in on þæt land L.—45 *g* úp C.—45 *i* on *w* C.—45 *l*–*n* þacirdon hie L.

PAGE 20. 1 *a*–2 *b* up in on ða ea forþæm hie nedorston forþ bi þære ea siglan forun friþe L.—2 *h*–3 *b* gehun on oþre healfe þære eas L.—3 *e*–4 *d* he ær nán gebun land siþþan he from his agnum hám fór L.—5 *c*–6 *d* butan fiscerum ond fugelerum ond huntum ond þæt wæron eall finnas L.—6 *b* wæran C.—7 *c*: 14 *h*: in L, the first stroke of m has been scratched out, making heor nas, but the space hetween r and n, in 7 *c*, and the faint trace of the first stroke of m in 14 *h*, and the m being clearly written in 11 *f*, shew that the word, in these three cases, was originally beormas.—7 *e*–*i* swiþe wel gebúd hira land L.—9 *d* húntan C.

§ 14. 11 *i*–12 *k* of hiera agnum lande ge of þæm landum þe ymb hie utan wæron. L.—12 *f* lande C.—13 *h*–*k* forþæm hehit self L: forðæm hé hít sylf C.—15 *a b* an geþeode L.—15 *c*–16 *g* swiþost hefor ðider to eacan þæs landes sceawunge forþæm horsc hwælum forðæm hie habbað swiþe L.—17 *c*–18 *c* hiora toþum þateð hie brohton sume þæm cyninge

ond hiora hyd L.—17 *k* cyninege C.—18 *a* C f. 10 h.—18 *c* hyd is the last word of the 7th leaf, or 14th page of L. The next 8 leaves, or 16 pages, have been torn out; L, therefore, begins again at page 31 of the manuscript.

Commencement of the defect in the Lauderdale MS.

At the bottom of this 14th *p* of L is written — "Hic desiderantur VIII folia, quæ suppeditari possunt e Cod. Cottoniano." At *p* 10 of the Junian transcript of Orosius, Dr. Marshall has made the following note: "Hic incipit lacuna in Cod. MS. Lauderdal. qua laborat usque ad cap. ix: lib. I." The printed text, from this place, that is from page 20, 18 *c* to p. 31, 42 *h*, is, therefore, entirely dependent on C.

The preceding quotations from L are so precise and ample, as to give complete clauses, which often differ from C only in the accenting or in the spelling of the words. This precision seemed to be necessary in the first part of the collation, to shew the exact state of L. When the MS. of L. begins again, as at *p* 31, 42 *h*, the references to it will be more limited, and chiefly confined to various readings. An accurate facsimile copy was made from C of the matter contained in the 8 missing leaves, and placed in L by me, at the request of the owner, John Tollemache, Esq., M.P., Helmingham Hall, Suffolk, Sep. 29th, 1856. A more minute account of the facsimiles will be found in the preface, where L is described. In consequence of this defect in L, the following notes, to *p* 31, 42 *h*, can only refer to C.

§ 14. 18 *h–j* scíp rapum. se hwæl C.—19 *g*: 22 *g* hé C.—22 hi syxasum C; hence Rask's division into syx asum is not impossible, but he thinks asum stands for ascum. *See* ENG. *p* 44 *note* 46. Gough says—"If I were to propose a different reading, it should be that of ꝩxa for ꝩxa, which might be easily mistaken by a copier, and then it would be *some fishes*." *Gough's manuscript notes in his copy of Orosius, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, p* 23. As these alterations are from conjecture, and do not seem to remove all the difficulties, I have allowed the C text, the only MS. we have of this part, to remain unaltered. See more in ENG. *p* 44 *note* 46.

§ 15. 24 *a* hé C.—25 *g* wildeorum C. Some have supposed the word to be wild-deorum; but there must then be another d, and the *eo* are of little authority, being *bv. r h i.* Dr. Ingram, with more reason, takes wildrum to be the dat. pl. of wildra, the comparative of wild, referring to æhtum in the preceding line. *Lecture, p* 62 *note k.*—25 *m* hé C.—38 *f* scíp rapas C.

§ 16. 40 *a* Hé C.—41 *a* C f. 11.—41 *d* hís C.

PAGE 21. § 17. 15 *a–e*[c].

§ 18. 16 *a* Oht here C.—*i* hé C.—18 *h* þenne C; but evidently an error: the construction requires þone.—18 *k*–19 *a* sciringes heal C.—19 *i* geseg- [C f. 11 h] lian.—22 *c* hím C.—22 *f* ıpa land C: 23 *d* ıpa lande C: the reasons for inserting ıra land or Isaland and Isalande in the text. See ENG. *p* 46 *note* 54.—24 *d–f* to scirinċges heale, *for* sciringes *as in* 18 *k*, and 25 *e*.—25 *a–c* norð wege *bi* wið suðan. The *e* is joined to weg and *bi* is written above, but they are both *r h i*, and corrupt the text.—28 *b l*–29 *a–d*, C *has* Seo sæ lið mænig hund mila up in on þæt land. and of sciringes heale. The S, in Seo, is a red capital letter, generally indicating a new subject, but the paragraph evidently begins as in the text.

§ 19. 29 *e* hé C.—30 *j* sé C.—31 *h* ín C.—*l* hé C.—32 *i*–33 *b* on þæt hæc bord. déna mearc C.—36 *f read* hí.—36 *j*–37 *f* coman and hym wæs ðátwegen dagas C.—38 *b c* in *to* dene mearce C: *to bv. r h i*, and unnecessary.

§ 20. 39 *d*: *i* hé C.—42 *j*–43 *d* læ land. and falster. and scón eg C.—43 *b* C f. 12.—45 *i* ús C.

PAGE 22. 3 *d* ús C.—7 *b* ís C.—11 *k* hít C.—14 *d* fiscnað C; the *n* is *bv. r h i*, and unnecessary.—15 *f* ún spedigan.—18 *b* Here Wulfstan's voyage ends, in *Hakluyt's Navigations, Vol. I. p* 6, 1598.

§ 21. 19 *a–p* 23, 8 *d* This is the remainder of Wulfstan's voyage, printed first by *Somner* in his *Dict. Sax.-Lat. Angl. Oxon* 1659, under Gedrync. Somner omits the last sentence *p* 23, 8 *e*–10 *e*.—20 *b* hé C.—20 *g* hís C.—21 *a* C f. 12 h.—21 *f* kyningas C.

§ 22. As some have had a difficulty in comprehending the extraordinary Horse-racing described in this paragraph, the following illustration is given with the hope of making more clear this strange division of property.

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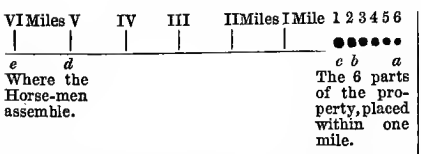
[c] Very small and light boats, probably somewhat of the same kind as are still used in Wales and Ireland. These wicker-boats, coracles, carragh, corrach, or corgw, are to be seen on the Wye, Teivy, and other rivers in Wales, and among the inlets of Clew Bay in Ireland. The coracle resembles the section of a walnut shell. It is made of basket-work, or hoops covered with hides or pitched canvas; "the dimensions are about 5 feet by 4, and the weight, when dry, from 30 to 50 lbs." The boatman can therefore readily carry his tiny bark on his back by means of a cord or strap attached to the seat, and passing over his forehead. "Sometimes 100 such coracles may be seen afloat together on the Teivy in the height of the salmon season." *Cliff's book of South Wales*, 12*mo* 1848 *p* 305: *Family Friend* 1851 *Vol IV p* 188.



The 5 or 6 parts of the property are laid within one mile, *a c* of the town: the largest part *c*, farthest from the town, and the smallest part *a* nearest. The Horse-men assemble 5 or 6 miles from the property, at *d* or *e*, and run towards *c*; the man who has the swiftest horse, coming first to 1 or *c*, takes the first and largest part. The man who has the horse coming second, takes part 2 or *b*, and so, in succession, till the least part, 6 or *a*, is taken. Each then takes away, as his own, the part he has gained.—27 *d* dæge, the *e* is *r h i*, but right, *as indicated by* þy ilcan.—35 *h*, *and in the facsimile fol* 12 b, 11 *f read* forhwaga.—37 *g* sé C.—*k* swiftoste ?—41 *f* ðan *for* ðam.—42 *d* **C** f. 13.—43 *b* hýs C.

PAGE 23. § 23. 8 *e*–10 *e* Omitted by Somner, see § 21—19 *a*.

§ 24. 11 *a* to *p* 26, 17 *b* partly taken from OROS. I, 2.—12 *b* þe *bv. r h i*, and the sense requires it.—14 *e* úp C.—20 *f* **C** f. 13 b.

§ 25. 32 *g* innrbonense C: *the second* n *has been changed into* u, *making* inarbonense, *instead of inserting an* a *to make* in narbonense.

§ 26. 42 *g*: 43 *a* profent sé *for* profentsé 44 *k*. 44 *d* **C** f. 14.

PAGE 24. 1 *c*: *i* hýre C.

§ 27. 9 *i* ús C.

§ 28. 22 *j*–23 *a* brettan- [**C** f. 14 b] nia.—24 *c* hæbbe C.

§ 29. 29 *l*: 30 *g* hé C.

§ 30. 38 *b* is *has been unnecessarily inserted bv. r h i*.—38 *c* aegyptus C.—38 *h*–39 *c* Not in C, but seems necessary for the sense.

§ 31. 42 *k*–43 *f read* be westan Rogathítus, Tribulitania sio þeod, þe—*on the west of the Troglodytæ, the country Tripolitana, which*.—43 *e* Originally þiod, but the i has been converted into e *r h i*.—43 *g* hýre C.

PAGE 25. 1 *c* **C** f. 15.—4 *a*–5 *o* C has the punctuation thus—bizantium; sio þiod.—5 *a*–*h* ENG. The country Byzacium contains the city Adrumetum and Zeugis—*Oros. has*,—Byzacium, Zeugis et Numidia. . . . Byzacium ergo, ubi Adrumetus civitas: Zeugis ubi Carthago magna, Numidia ubi Hippo Regius sunt—In Map, for Zeuge, *read* Zeugis.

§ 32. 5 *c read* þiod, as the original i has been altered to e *r h i*.—5 *e f* se beorh *the hill, rampart, citadel*, or *city*, just such as Adrumetum was, "whose site formed an amphitheatre overlooking the sea, surrounded by strong walls." *P.S. Dr. Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog.* Barrington has absurdly printed sæ beorh, and Mr. Thorpe suggests sæ burh in direct opposition to C.—5 *h* adrumétus C.—6 *c* Altered to seo *r h i*.—11 *e*–*g* gar secg mauritania· hyre—*Oros. Haver. p* 31, 7–11, *has*,—Stifensis et Cæsariensis Mauritania habent ab Oriente Numidiam, a septentrione mare Nostrum, ab occasu flumen Malvam, a meridiè montem Astrixim, qui dividit inter vivam terram et arenas jacentes usque ad Oceanum: in quibus et oberrant Gangines Æthiopes. Tingitana Mauritania ultima est Africæ.—13 *g* ENG. *read* Astrix.—14 *c* wæsm C, *for* wæstm.—14 *h i read* dead-wylle.—15 *e*–*g* þone garsecg mauritania. C.—16 *c* tingetána C.—17 *c* ENG. Abennis.—21 *j* Altered to þeod *r h i*.

§ 33. 25 *b* **C** f. 15 b.—26 *i* mesicos C: OROS. *Haver. p* 32, 4 quem Issicum sinum vocant: quem Issicum, contracted q̄m issicum, isicum, q̄m esicum, or esicus, mesicus. *Note* 204.—29 *f read* Arfatium C.—31 *c*–32 *d Oros. has*—Habet in longo millia passuum centum septuaginta duo, in lato quinquaginta. *Haver. p* 32, 10, 11.—31 *h* Originally lond; but *r h i* properly altered to long.

§ 34. 34 *d*–*j Oros. Haver. p* 32, 13 ab occidente mari Icario, *i.e.* mari Ionio.

§ 35. 41 *e read* seo C.—42 *a* hít C.

PAGE 26. 2 *g h In facsimile for* hreo. wiþ *read* hreo; wiþ C.—2 *g*–3 *c* hreoh; wiþ italia þam lande. sardina. and corsica C; but *Oros.* properly begins the sentence with Sardinia.

§ 36. 3 *d read* þa C.—4 *i* ís C.—5 *d* **C** f. 16.

§ 37. 10 *i* sardine C.

§ 38. 15 *h* sceorthice, *e* is *bv. r h i*.—16 *e* gesetenessum C, *for* gesetenum, *see p* 16, 25 *e*.

CHAPTER II.

18 *a*–*d* Inserted by editor to facilitate reference.

§ 1. 19 *a Oros.* I, 4. Alfred has not translated *Oros. I*, 3 into A. S.—19 *a*–*f* ÆRÐÆMÐEROMEBVRHGEtimbred. The first is a large green capital, accented: the other capitals, filling the first line of the MS. are smaller capitals in red ink.—19 *b c read* ðæm ðe C.—20 *a* The Anglo-Saxons, like other northern nations, reckoned their years by winters; because, from the intense cold and great length of the winter, it occupied most of their attention and their feelings.—20 *c read* þusend C.—22 *e* hergiende, *for* herigende C, *g*, *bv. r h i*

—23 *c* hé C.—23 *h* hís C.—25 *e* hé C.—26 *b–e* on sciððie; þa norð C.—26 *d read* þa C.—28 *b* ún spedegestan C, *e, bv. r h i.*—28 *i j* hé hiom C, *o, bv. r h i.*—30 *a* alyfeden, *e, bv. r h i.* —30 *d* hím C.—30 *h* for-[C f. 16 h] gulden C.—31 *a anwig, an, bv. r h i.*—31 *h* hiom C, *o, bv. r h i.*—34 *a* hé C.—35 *b c* hé híne C.

§ 2. 38 *h In facsimile, for* fenge *read* fengc C. —40 *d* bespeon, *e, bv. r h i.*—41 *g read* þa C. —44 *e* índeas C.

PAGE 27. 2 *g–i* hió hít ðurhteon C, *r* properly written *bv. r h i.*—3 *h* wæron þe C, þe, *bv. r h i.*—4 *f* hýre, the *e* properly altered to *a, r h i.*

§ 3. 7 *g* ðyrstede C.—9 *a b* mānigfealde *for*ligre, *e, for, r h i,* and *ge* in *ge*ligre expunged by a point below *ge.*—10 *a* C f. 17.—10 *i* gespeón C, *e, bv. r h i.*—13 *f* hýre C.—14 *d*–15 *h Oros. is more explicit*—Præcepit, ut inter parentes ac filios nulla delata reverentia naturæ, de conjugiis adpetendis ut cuique libitum esset, liberum fieret. *Haver. p* 39, 4–6.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. 17 *a* OROS. I, 5: Genesis xix, 24, 25.—17 *c read* ðe C.—22 *a* seo C.

§ 2. 24 *b In facsimile, for* ræþ *read* præþ C.—25 *de* hím ón C.—26 *a* hiem C, *e, bv. r h i.*—26 *i* hé C.—28 *f* hít C.—29 *d* dæl C: though *æ* is without an accent, I have not hesitated to accent it in the text, as it is accented in other places; and it seems especially necessary here to distinguish dǽl, es; *m. A part,* from dæl, es; *n. pl.* dalu. *A valley,* especially as the words are in immediate connection.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. 34 *a* OROS. I, 7. Alfred omits ch. 6 of *Oros.*—34 *c read* ðe C.—34 *f* ge-[C f. 17 h] timhred.—34 *h* þusend C.—35 *e read* ciarsathi: ci arsat. hí C, most absurdly divided and accented. The absurdity is increased by the change of hí into hý *r h i.*—36 *c* úphófon C.—38 *d e* hí hióra, *unnecessarily altered to* hý heóra *r h i.*

CHAPTER V.

PAGE 28. § 1. 1 *a* OROS. I, 8.—1 *c read* ðe C.—5 *e* ðá C.—5 *j* gód cunde C.—7 *a* hís C.—7 *c* iustinus C.—7 *j* ginst C.—8 *k* hiom C, *o, bv. r h i.*—9 *h* híne C.—10 *b* ciapemonnum C, *a, bv. r h i.*—10 *e* híne C.—11 *a* þa C.—11 *c: f* hé C.—12 *b* Of C.—12 *f*: 16 *c* hé C.—16 *i* C f. 18.—18 *e* hé C, *bv. r h i.*—18 *h* þan C, for þam.—19 *e* hé C.—21 *h* hým C.—22 *d* hé C.—23 *d* wolde C.—28 *b read* soþan C.

§ 2. 32 *e read* þæs C.—37 *f* anwealde C, *e, bv. r h i.*—38 *f* heom C, *eo, bv. r h i.*—40 *e* C f. 18 b.—43 *b* hýs C.—43 *g*: 44 *c*: 45 *i* hé C.—44 *g* god C, *o,* with a double accent.—45 *f* þonne C.

CHAPTER VI.

PAGE 29. § 1. 1 *a* OROS. I, 9.—1 *c read* ðe C.—2 *f In facsimile, for* ambictno *read* ambictio.—6 *d* woruld C, *u, bv. r h i.*—7 *j* theu halé on C, *read here and* 9 *a* Theuhaléon.—9 *f* hím C.—10 *b*: 11 *i* hé C.

§ 2. 16 *a* índea C.—16 *i* hi C.—17 *h* C f. 19. —18 *b* híne C.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. 21 *a* OROS. I, 10.—21 *c read* ðe C.—23 *i* hé C.—24 *i* ealle *bv. r h i.*—28 *c d* hé ge gearwon C, *u* altered to d, *r h i.*—30 *i* ðá C.—31 *a* un á ahlinnendlice C, *for* unáhlinnendlice, *with which the text must agree.* —36 *d* fif C, *but* te *is properly inserted bv. r h i.*—38 *e–g* þæt wyrms utsigonde *bv. r h i,* but unnecessary, for literally it is—wæron berstende, and þa worms utsionde *were bursting, and then oozing out corruption.*—39 *d read* þær C.—40 *a* hé C.—*f read* menn.—41 *c* C f. 19 b.

PAGE 30. 1 *j* wyrttruman C.—2 *a–c Oros. I,* 10, *Haver. p* 55, 17, 18 Locustarum nubes, exhaustis omnibus, ipsas quoque radices seminum persequentes.—3 *d* þysþernes C.—5 *l* frumcennede *bv. r h i.*—7 *h* þeh hwæðre Ç, þeh *bv. r h i.*—7 *j* heora, *eo, bv. r h i.*—9 *c* utfæredel C, *l* properly altered to *s, r h i.*—10 *e* fulgen C, but an l is inserted after f *bv. r h i,* and the following l expunged by a point under it, making flugen.—10 *j* hiom, *o, bv. r h i.*—12 *g* heom, *eo, r h i.*—14 *c* wíg wægna C.—15 *f* hiom, *o, bv. r h i.*—17 *a* þeh hwæðre C, þeh *bv. r h i.*—17 *f* méngé C.—19 *c* and he C.—22 *h* C f. 20.—23 *f read* ðá C.—24 *j* nu C.—25 *a* ís C.—25 *b* órgyte C, v. orgeate, orgete: Junius suggests ongyten—26 *b* gongende C, *o, altered to* a, *r h i.*—26 *j* monkynne C, *o, altered to* a, *r h i.*—27 *d*: 28 *b* hít C.—27 *j* sonde C, *o, altered to* a, *r h i.*

§ 2. 29 *j*–30 *a* worulde; Nales C.—30 *h i* geswencte· Ac C.

CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. 38 *a* OROS. I, 11.—38 *c read* ðe C.—39 *g* ón C.—*j read* fiftig C.—42 *h.* ENG. p 69, 40, 41 note 2, *read*—Reference is here made to the 50 sons of Ægyptus, and the 50 daughters of his twin-brother Danaus. The daughters of Danaus were given in marriage to their cousins.—44 *c* hé C.

PAGE 31. 1 *d* he *bv. r h i.*—2 *a* hé C.

§ 2. 3 *c* C f. 20 b.—5 *c read* hys C.—*j* orosius C.—6 *b* mé C.—9 *c* ic *bv. r h i.*—11 *c* híne C.

—*f g* godum *to*, blote *ge do, to ge do, bv. r h i.* 12 *i* hióra C.

§ 4. 18 *a* Oros. I, 12.—18 *e* Orósius.—18 *h* hís C.—19 *i read* hí C.—22 *h* anweald, *e, bv. r h i.* 23 *b* mæðe C.—*e* ís C.—25 *e* scond C, o, *altered to a, r h i.*—26 *f* hé C.—27 *i* **C** f. 21.—28 *b* hu C.—29 *a b* híne hím C.—*k* aðreotan C, *y* is written above eo *r h i.*—31 *e f* forðon ón C. —*i* ón C.—32 *d read* cuðe C.—33 *f*: 34 *c*: 36 *g* óf C.—33 *l read* ðe C.—36 *d hé bv. r h i.* —37 *f* Eng. Thyestes.—37 *i* heóra C.—38 *e* hióra C.—39 *e* hít C.—*i* hé C.—40 *b*: *f*: *i* hís C.—41 *f* ut gemetlica C.

Here the Lauderdale MS. recommences.

Chapter IX.

§ 1.—44 *a* Oros. I, 13. **L** *p* 31. The L begins again here. See Notes to page 20, 18 c.—44 *h i* siex hunde L.

PAGE 32. 1 *b* lx gum L.—*f* micel L.

§ 2. 6 *f*: 7 *f* láphite C.—7 *c* **C** f. 21 h.—9 *a–c* heton hi hie L.—9 *i* and C, *bv. r h i.*—10 *c–f* hie on horse [hie] feohtan L; *the last* hie *bv.*

Chapter X.

§ 1. 14 *a* Oros. I, 14. — 12 *h*–13 *a* ·iiii· hunde wintrum L.—15 *c* hé C. — 17 *c* áscende L.—17 *h*: 23 *d* him C, i, *altered to* heom, om *r h i.*—18 *e* oðer *erased* L.—19 *k*: 22 *j*: 25 *g* hím C.—23 *h* híne C.—24 *e read* Hí C.—30 *a read* oð.—30 *h* **L** *p* 32.—31 *e*: *h read* oððe C.—32 *b* **C** f. 22.—32 *e read* ða C.

§ 2. 34 *a* Oros. I, 15.—37 *h i* oþþe *altered to* oþ þæt C.—37 *i* þæt *w* L.—38 *c* genamón C.—39 *d* ófslege*ne*, C, *ne bv. r h i.*—*h* hióra C.—43 *c* þætte L.—*l* wéras C.

PAGE 33. 1 *e* þætte L.—5 *g* onwalde L.—8 *e f* bearna striendon L: bearn astryndon C.—9 *c* kendon C.—*f read* hy.—12 *j* amazasanas L. —13 *a* **C** f. 22 b.

§ 3. 15 *e read* here.—15 *g* tu L.—16 *e* **L** *p* 33. 17 *e* europe L: eúropam C.—18 *b* dál L.—19 *e* asiám C.—20 *f* hióra C.—23 *a*: 24 *e* hýre C.

§ 4. 26 *j*–27 *b* wifmonnum. þætte L. — 27 *c* eúrope C.—29 *f* hé: 30 *g*: *j*: 31 *f*: C.—31 *i j* These were *μακρὰ πλοῖα*, or *νῆες μακραὶ the large or war ships* of the Greeks. They were the Longæ naves, *the long war ships* of the Romans, which had often more than 50 rowers. What *Oros.* calls longas naves, Alfred translates *Dulmúnus* 32 *a*. Mr. Thorpe thinks this is a corruption of the Norse *dromundr*; but he does not give any explanation of the word. All that is said of it, in Rask's Lexicon Islandicum Haldorsonii, is this — Dromundr, *n. Dromon, navis genus*: Et skib af usædvanlig störrelse og egen bygningsmaade *a ship of uncommon size, and peculiar construction.* (*See Orkneyínga Saga, Köh.* 1780. S. 298.) —32 *g h* an áne scip C, *e, bv. r h i*: on an scip L.—34 *h* híeom, *eom bv. r h i.*—35 *d* gewín.—35 *i* þæt L.—36 *b* ge sweostor L.—37 *e* fengc C.—37 *f* **C** f. 23.

§ 5. 39 *a* Oros. I, 16.—39 *a b* Hít ís C.—40 *b* hít C.—From 40 *i* to p 34, 4 *b*, *w* C. All that there is in C, is—þá swá earme wífmen. hý. swa tintregedon. And nú ða þa gótan coman C.—40 *i*–page 34, 4 *e* L [**L** *p* 33, 26 *a* to page 34, 4 *c*].—40 *i*–p 34, 4 *a*, *w* C. What is between the brackets, in the text, is literally copied from L; except—and 41 *e*: 42 *f*: 43 *d*: *g*: 44 *b*: 45 *f*, where it would be better to *read* ond, as it is always so written in L, when uncontracted. The only stops in L are ⁂ point after 45 *a* thus, settan. and page 34 after 1 *e* thus, wæron. and before and after 1 *g* thus, ·C· See the facsimile.

PAGE 34. 1 *d* on- [**L** *p* 34] wendende.

§ 6. 8 *b–g* þæt hi hie mid gefeohten L.—8 *e f* mid gefeohte C.—9 *a* romwáre C.—9 *e* þas C. —9 *g–i* nu wyr sie L.—14 *j* landes *w* L.—16 *c*: 20 *a* hít C.—17 *f* ne hæfdon L.—20 *g*: 21 *j* ænigu L.—21 *e* hýre C.—24 *c* **C** f. 23 h. —24 *i* gearder C: middangeardes L.—25 *c* Ilalés C.—27 *e* gé C.—28 *f* hióra C.—29 *c* ón C.

Chapter XI.

§ 1.—31 *a* Oros. I, 17. — 31 *j* wintran *w* L. — 32 *c* XXXgum L.—*f* þætte L.—*h* priámises C.—33 *a* **L** *p* 35.—33 *c*: 34 *b* óf C.—35 *d* gewín. —39 *j* ís C.—*k* þætte L.—40 *e* móncynnes C.—42 *g* hít C.—43 *g* món C.

PAGE 35. 2 *e* **C** f. 24: fosceapunge C.—2 *g* món C.—*j* sægð L.

§ 2. 3 *e f* ful ·X· L.—5 *a* hwæðran L.—5 *b–d* hine bet lycian *w* L.

§ 3. 6 *a* Oros. I, 18.—7 *a* éneas C.—8 *h* sceawigean L.—9 *f* hé C.

Chapter XII.

§ 1. 11 *a* Oros. I, 19. — 14 *h* hé: 15 *j*: 17 *f*: 18 *d*: *k*: 19 *b*: 20 *a*: 21 *g*: C.—15 *a* furþumlic *luxurious, gratifying the appetite or stomach,* ?*from* þumle *viscera, Som.*—16 *d* gebæro L.—17 *c* hís C.—19 *c* híne: 21 *i*: C.—21 *b* **L** *p* 36. —21 *c* hím, C.—*f* hæfde C.—22 *h* asírie C.—26 *e* gewinne C.

§ 2. 27 *h* **C** f. 24 b.—28 *f* sé C.—29 *c* ðam *w* L.—29 *f* astiaí C.—30 *e* hís C.—31 *i* hé: 34 *i*: 39 *g*: C.—33 *e f* meða. Ac hi C: meþa. Ac hie L. Though Ac is both in L and C, it is superfluous, and therefore omitted in the text. —33 *h* úphofon C.—34 *e* Eng. Harpagus.—

37 *b* ón C.—42 *d* ónwald C, ó, altered to *á, r h i.*—43 *d* hióra C.

§ 3. **PAGE 36.** 1 *a* híne C.—*d* hé: *j*: 2 *i*: 14 *b*: 15 *b*: *g*: *k* C.—2 *f read* fyrd.—7 *c* **C** f. 25.—8 *a* hióra C.—8 *f g* wæron; and *w* C.—9 *a* **L** *p* 37.—10 *i* hi C.—13 *h* híne C.—16 *e* híom C, *o*, *bv. r h i.*—16 *f* Eng. Harpagus.—19 *d–f read* ge-endod: ac Círus C.—20 *g* ón C.

§ 4. 22 *a* Oros. I, 20.—23 *g* hé: 24 *h*: 26 *h*: 27 *g*: 28 *c*: *k*: 29 *d*: 33 *k*: C.—23 *j* cilicia C. 25 *g* hím.—27 *h*: 28 *d*: C.—26 *b* árgeotere L. —27 *f* þe *w* L.—28 *g* pínunge L.—30 *a* **C** f. 25 b.—30 *g* hít C.—32 *f* ón C.—32 *l* sé: 35 *d* C.—33 *a* æþelinge C.—33 *e*: *h* hís C.

§ 5. 39 *c* beswicað C.—40 *l*: 43 *g* þe *w* C.—41 *g* hióra: 43 *j* C.—41 *i* **L** *p* 38.

Chapter XIII.

PAGE 37. § 1. 2 *a* Oros. I, 21.—5 *k* heóra C.

Chapter XIV.

§ 1. 10 *a* Oros. I, 21. — 10 *a* **C** f. 26. — 10 *a read* Ér.—13 *d* hióra C.—14 *b* ón sægden C.—15 *f* lacedemonia L. — 16 *a* mæse C.—17 *j read* þa.—20 *d*: 22 *c read* þæt.—20 *f* hióra C.—*g* wendum L.—22 *f* ár L.—23 *a* gelendan C, but *l* altered to *w* in the original hand and ink.—23 *e* hýra C.—*g h* bearn astrynde C.—24 *i* oððe C: oð L.

§ 2. 27 *l* genealæhton C, *ge*, *bv. r h i.*—28 *b* getweode L.—*h* mihte C.—*j* hióra C.—29 *d* **L** *p* 39.—30 *k* híom, *om*, *bv. r h i.*—31 *d* mihte C.—31 *e* heóra C: *w* L.—32 *c* **C** f. 26 b.

§ 3. 36 *d e* scortlic ymbe C, *e*, *bv.* but in the original hand and ink.—36 *h* þætte L.—38 *j* ánd C.—39 *b* eáhtatig C.—40 *c* akennes C.

Book II: Chapter I.

PAGE 38. 1 *a* Oros. II, 1. — 1 *l* hé: 4 *a*: 10 *b*: 13 *g*: 14 *i*: C.—2 *a* genóh L.—*d* þætte L.—3 *a*: 4 *c*, o has a double accent in godne C.—3 *b read* gescéop C.—3 *d* ealle C.—4 *f*: 11 *k* hím C.—5 *i* syluum C.—8 *j* hé C, *bv. r h i.*—9 *c* wé: *j*: 11 *e*: 12 *b*: 14 *g*: C.—9 *h*: 10 *g* ús C.—10 *f* **C** f. 27.—10 *i j* rihtlican þingan C.—11 *c* món C.—14 *b* ís C.—15 *d e* unmetlican onwealdun L.

§ 2. 18 *a* **L** *p* 40.—18 *b* ptolome L.—*h* þæ C. —20 *e* heafodlicu rícu C.—20 *g*–21 *a* feower éndas C.—27 *b* suna C.—30 *d* hít C.—30 *g* ongietan L.—30 *h* mæge *w* L.

§ 3. 31 *a* Oros. II, 2.—31 *h* wé C.—32 *c* híne C.—*e* sloh C.—33 *b* rice C.—34 *e* **C** f. 27 b.—34 *f* hít C.—41 *c* remuses L.

PAGE 39. § 4. 4 *e* ásíria C.—6 *h* burg L.—7 *g* **L** *p* 41.—14 *j* þe *w* C.—15 *j* **C** f. 28.—16 *f* áweste L.—*h read* ealle C.—18 *e f* þó babylónia C.—19 *d* romána C.—22 *c* roma L.

§ 5. 27 *b* Oros. II, 3.—27 *e* ðone C.—34 *a* þeh þe L.—35 *j* and *w* L.—37 *f g* þætte alrica L. —38 *d* hýre C.—39 *b* **L** *p* 42.—39 *b* hwæ-[**C** f. 28 b]þere.—39 *c* on wealg L.—*h* þæm *w* L. —40 *a* þeh þe L.—41 *i* hé C.—42 *a* hýre C, *read* hyre.—42 *h read* hí C.—*i* híre C.—44 *d* hióra C.—45 *h read* hí.—*k* synd ricsiende C.

PAGE 40. 2 *e* caserum L.

§ 6. 3 *l* ongeaten L.—4 *a b* þe þa L: þá ðe C. —7 *c* gód C.—9 *f* hís C.—10 *b read* hæfdon.—11 *b* gode, o, with two accents C.—16 *c* hióra: 17 *a*: 19 *d*: C.—16 *f* **C** f. 29.—17 *b* cristenan, *e*, *bv. r h i.*—19 *i read* þæs C.—21 *d* wól gewinnan C.—22 *d* unmilt-[**L** *p* 43] sunge.—22 *d* únmiltsunge L.—23 *e*: 24 *l read* hí C.—24 *c* ærðæm L.

Chapter II.

§ 1. 27 *a* Oros. II, 4. — 28 *a* troiána C. — 29 *e–g* remus and romulus C.—30 *c* ðan *w* L. —30 *e*: 35 *e* hióra C. — 32 *d* hé C. — 34 *e* habbanne L.—*g* hí C.—35 *i* hi C.—37 *j* getygðedon L.—38 *d read* to C.—38 *k* **C** f. 29 b.—39 *f* gewín C.—39 *j* þe *w* L.—42 *d read* wíf C.—43 *a* þan C.—*b* gefeohtum L B.—*f* wæron *w* C.—44 *d read* hí C.

PAGE 41. 3 *g* hé: 4 *a*: C.—4 *b* cyning L.—*k* feng L.—7 *i* ond L.—8 *k* áspón L.—9 *c* **L** *p* 44.—9 *d e* hé hís C.—*l* híne C.

§ 2. 11 *a* hé: 12 *e*: C.—15 *e* niedlingas L.—18 *e* **C** f. 30.—18 *e* geendodon L.—22 *d* begietena L.

§ 3. 24 *e* hé: 27 *h*: 28 *h*: C.—26 *a* hióra C.—26 *b* eallra *w* L.—27 *b* ealla C.—28 *a* ligre L. —*d* hís C.—29 *g* þe L.—32 *d* werr C.—36 *f* under látteowas C.

Chapter III.

§ 1. 39 *a* Oros. II, 5. — 39 *c read* ðe C. — 39 *h*–40 *d* ·II· hunde wintrum ond ·IIII· þætte L.—40 *a* **L** *p* 45.—40 *g* se *w* C.—41 *c* **C** f. 30 b.—41 *c* ☞ *From here to p* 44, 14 *h*, C *is written by another scribe, as is evident by the form of the letters and accents. Compare* Plate III Cotton MS. *with* Plate II.

PAGE 42. 2 *h* hé C.

§ 3. 5 *a read* Tarcuínus C: tarcuinius L.—5 *b* þá C, *w* L.—*h read* aspéon C: aspón L.—6 *g* haten L.—6 *i* hé: 7 *h*: C.—6 *k l* ieð mehte L. —8 *c* an wig L.—*e* þone L.—*g* ymb L.—9 *d* tarcuinius L.—*g* on gean L.—10 *c* ofer mod gan L.—*i* of slog L.

§ 4. 12 *g* þær L: þær gif C; gif *squeezed in at the end of the line.*—13 *e* hé: 17 *e*: 18 *j*: 19 *c*: C.—13 *j read* ge-egsode C.—14 *a*: *f* híne C. —*k* hís C.—*l read* hánd C.—15 *a* bærndon C.

—18 *c read* hú C.—19 *j* wære *w* L.—21 *a* **C** f. 31.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. 25 *a* OROS. II, 5. — 25 *i* romána C. — 26 *c read* ondrædende C. — 26 *h*–28 *a* híran ladteow þonne hiera consul wære, þone ðe hie tictator heton. This is chiefly from **L**, and seems to be the best text.—26 *k* hír án L.—27 *a* **L** *p* 46.—27 *j* tictatores L.—31 *b* þær L: þær gif C; gif *bv. r h i*. See 12 *g*.—31 *f* ne, before gesémed, is expunged by points or dots underneath.—32 *d* ungetina L.—41 *i read* þær C.—42 *d* forslægene L.—44 *f* **C** f. 31 b.—44 *f* hé C.

PAGE 43. 1 *i* heafe L.

§ 2. 11 *f* heóra.—12 *c* **L** *p* 47.—14 *j* sé C.

§ 3. 23 *d* herg-[**C** f. 32] unge.—23 *g* hít C.

§ 4. 28 *j* dége C.—29 *a* hít C.—31 *d read* þa C.—32 *e* á gescéop C.—33 *i* syx cempan C.—37 *j* romane C.—38 *j* gind L.

§ 5. 40 *a* OROS. II, 6.—42 *a* hé C.—*h* índie C.—43 *d* **L** *p* 48.—44 *g–i* ænigu oþeru burg L.—44 *k* híne C.—45 *a–g* gandes seo þæs ofer færeldes longe gelette L. Gandes *Gyndes* (Γύνδες *Herod.* I, 189) a river of Assyria, running into the Tigris.

PAGE 44. 2 *h* hé C.—2 *j* **C** f. 32 b.—4 *g* hís C.—5 *d* hé C.—7 *k read* fléde C: fledu L.—9 *d* sixtig eá C, but with points under as if to be expunged: eá *w* L.—9 *f read* syððan.—11 *h* hé C.—14 *k* ☞ *Here the original scribe of* C *begins to write again. See p* 41, 41 *c*.—14 *j* L B: secgenne C.

§ 6. 17 *a* Babyloniam a Nemrod gigante fundatam .. multi prodidêre. *Oros. p* 102, 3.—18 *k read* ge-endade.—21 *b read* swiþe.—*d* an L B.—22 *e–g* firmitas et magnitudo *Oros. p* 102, 6.—24 *e* ymbgong L B.—26 *i* díc L.—26 *j* **C** f. 33.—27 *c* ungefotlicosta C.—30 *c* **L** *p* 49.—30 *h* þé C.—31 *j* westas C.—32 *i* fæstas C.—34 *b* middanearde C.—*d* éác C.—38 *c* mæge L.

§ 7. 40 *j* babilonium C.—41 *e* hé C.—41 *h* hý C: hie L.—ENG. *p* 44, 42 *b for* pleasing *read* flensing or cutting off the blubber.—44 *g* ofslog L.—45 *a* romána C.—45 *b read* bespryc þ C.

PAGE 45. 3 *b* ís C.

§ 8. 5 *a* OROS. II, 7.—6 *j* **C** f. 33 b.—6 *l* hím C.—8 *d* þar C.—9 *d* hé: *h*: 10 *c*: *h*: 13 *h*: 20 *c*: 23 *b*: C.—10 *d*: 12 *b* híne C.—11 *i* geahsade L.—17 *j*: 25 *i* hít C.—18 *d* ge-[**L** *p* 50] -metton.—27 *a* tú L.—31 *d* **C** f. 34.—32 *c–e* ENG. *p* 87 *g h read* two hundred thousand.—32 *d e Both* L *and* C *have* twa þusend,—*but* hund *must be inserted, for* OROS. *has*—Ducenta millia, *Haver. p* 105, 9.—35 *b* þé C.

CHAPTER V.

§ 1. 38 *a* OROS. II, 8.—40 *d* hé: 41 *h*: C.—41 *b* gedón.

§ 2. 43 *e* sé C.—43 *h* asiriæ L.—44 *h* hím C.

PAGE 46. 1 *c* hé: 9 *f*: 12 *b*: 23 *f*: 24 *g* C.—2 *j* hím C.—2 *k* man *w* L.—2 *l* **L** *p* 51.—4 *h* híne C.—10 *a*: 20 *h* hís C.—12 *d* þonon L B.—12 *l* for-[**C** f. 34 b] hergode,—16 *h* wisten C *bv. r h i*: *w* L.—20 *d* Miltiades ei bello præfuit *Oros. Haver. p* 108, 3, 4.—21 *d* sé C.—23 *c–f* Þa he eft hæfde L.

§ 3. 25 *a* OROS. II, 9.—25 *d* hís: 29 *f*: 31 *e*: 34 *j*: C.—26 *f* hé: 30 *j*: 31 *l*: 32 *j*: C.—26 *j* .v. C.—27 *c* ond L.—28 *b* man *w* L.—28 *f* burh C.—28 *g*: 29 *b* sé C.—31 *c read* fór C.—32 *d read* þeodum C.—34 *e* heóra C.—34 *l* **L** *p* 52.—37 *k* **C** f. 35.—38 *b* ungemætlice C.—38 *f* wæs *bv. r h i* C: *w* L.—39 *d* ús C.

§ 4. 41 *d* hé: 43 *h*: C.—41 *f* exersis L.—42 *c*: 44 *k* hím C.

PAGE 47. 2 *j* wyste C H.—4 *f g* mæst ealle L.—5 *c*: 14 *b* hím C.—5 *d* ðá C.—5 *g*: 15 *k* hís C.—5 *h* folc *bv. r h i* C.—6 *b* hé: *m*: 8 *g*: 11 *e*: 13 *j*: 15 *c*: 16 *c*: *j*: C.—8 *c* wæs C.—10 *i* geascade L.—11 *j* fyrde C.—12 *d* oþér C.—16 *i* **C** f. 35 b.—17 *d* wé: 18 *a*: C.—19 *d* on *bv. r h i* C: *w* L.—20 *c*–21 *h* Neque expectandum, vel hostem, vel diem, sed *occasione noctis* perrumpenda castra, commiscenda arma, conturbanda agmina fore. *Oros. p* 111, 6, 7.—20 *d e* þisse niht L.—21 *d* longsumast L B.—21 *i* **L** *p* 53.—23 *e* and sume C, *but* and *bv. r h i, and is unnecessary*.

§ 5. 24 *a* OROS. II, 10.—26 *f* hé C.—27 *d*: 28 *h* hím C.—28 *f* heóra C.

§ 6. 35 *k* hé C.—41 *j* and *w* C.—42 *a* Læcedemo-[**C** f. 36] nie.—43 *b* and *w* L.

§ 7. **PAGE 48.** 1 *i* adruncan C.—2 *h* híne: 21 *g*: C.—3 *d* hé: *i*: 5 *i*: 10 *i*: 12 *j*: 13 *k*: 15 *e*: *l*: 16 *h*: 21 *f*: 22 *f*: 23 *g*: C.—4 *e* úngeþwærnes L.—4 *g* hís: 9 *g*: 12 *e*: 14 *l*: 17 *d*: C.—5 *e*: 7 *e* hít C.—7 *a* winnende C.—7 *g h* cynge læste C.—10 *f* þonan L.—11 *a* **L** *p* 54.—12 *m* síþe C.—16 *i* hím: 17 *c*: 20 *f*: *j*: C.—20 *d* sé C.—21 *k* **C**. f. 36 b.

§ 8. 24 *a* OROS. II, 11.—27 *i* sé C.—29 *i* bliðran C.—31 *c* híne C.—31 *d*: 41 *d* hís C.—40 *g* hé: 41 *g*: 43 *i*: 45 *j*: C.—41 *c* **L** *p* 55.—42 *i* sceolon, *e*, *bv. r h i* C: sculon L.—43 *e* ENG. *p* 91, 35 *k or more literally*, to helwarum *to the inhabitants of hell*. No. 427 *Lambeth MSS. quoted by the Rev. Dr. Heurtley, Margaret Prof. of Divinity, Oxford, in*

his Harmonia Symbolica.—44 *l* wé C.—45 *h* góde C.—45 *k* ús C.—45 *l* **C** f. 37.

PAGE 49. 1 *g* wé C.—3 *a* hím C.—6 *g* æfteran L.—7 *b–e* naðere an þance **L**.—8 *c* gode C.—8 *de* ne þá *w* L.

§ 9, 9 *a* OROS. II, 12.—10 *b* wé C.

CHAPTER VI.

§ 1. 16 *f* getimbrad C.—20 *g* byrnenne C.—25 *j* in C, *ge* is cancelled, and *forð bv. r h i.*

§ 2. 27 *b* **C** f. 37 b.—30 *d* **L** *p* 56.—32 *i* fucísci C.—32 *i–33 ab* ENG. *p* 92, 17 *gh read* Volscian nation.—33 *g* forslege C.—35 *e* heóra C.—35 *j* gif þær C, gif *bv. r h i.*—37 *h* hím C.—38 *b* hé C.—*h* hís C.

§ 3. 40 *a* OROS. II, 13.—42 *f* þam *bv. r h i* C; *w* L.—43 *g* besuncan C.—43 *i read* hí C.—44 *k The* C *scribe erroneously wrote* on ðа eorþa eorþan; *and in correcting, crossed out* eorþan *instead of* eorþa. L *has properly*—on þa eorþan.

PAGE 50. 1 *d read* þám C.—3 *a* furwurdon C.

§ 4. 6 *e* hím C.—7 *k* **C** f. 38.—10 *d* uttrá C.—10 *i* hendæ C.

§ 5. 14 *a* OROS. II, 14.—14 *a* Ieþelice L.—14 *g* hæbbe C.—16 *b read* pleolicestan.—14 *k*: 21 *b* hít C.—18 *k* **L** *p* 57.—20 *f* swá C.—20 *h* ungetíma C: ungetina L. — 21 *d* ís C. — 21 *fg* swelce tacnung L.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. 24 *a* OROS. II, 15. — 26 *b* asponan L.—31 *d* hís C.—32 *i* myhto C.—33 *e* **C** f. 38 b.—34 *b* genydon C.

§ 2. 35 *a* Abridged from OROS. II, 18. — 36 *d* ·II· C.—39 *d* þær L, C, *but query* þæra *for* þára *of them.*

CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. 43 *a* OROS. II, 19.—43 *i* hunde L.

PAGE 51. 7 *d* hé: 11 *c*: C.—7 *e* hím C.—8 *e* **L** *p* 58.

§ 2. 15 *c* **C** f. 39.—23 *b* þa þær C, þa *bv. r h i.*—23 *hi* mæd mawe L.—23 *i* máwé C.

§ 3. 28 *d* demm L.—31 *c* heóra C.—34 *i* acwælan L.

§ 4. 39 *b* **L** *p* 59. — 40 *b* **C** f. 39 b. — 44 *d* nahto C.

PAGE 52. § 5. 2 *d*: 7 *b*: gottan, *t, bv. r h i.*—3 *hi* þrydas C, for þry dagas.—6 *cd* eac hie L, *w* C.—9 *j* namon C.—10 *j* ðæm L: þam C.—13 *g* oðfleon *w* C and L, but inserted by Junius, and necessary for the sense.—15 *cd* oflagenre geahsian L.—16 *i* hefenisc L.

§ 6. 19 *a–21 b*. Written in the same letter and ink in L as the rest of the MS; but in C, it is written in a smaller and thinner letter than the other part of the MS.—20 *b* **C** f. 40.—20 *h read* ge-endian.

BOOK III: CHAPTER I.

§ 1. 23 *a* OROS. III, 1.—**L** *p* 60. — 24 *h* gallia C. — 24 *i* roma L. — 35 *j read* him. — 39 *c* heóra C. — 40 *g* ahténe. — 41 *j* **C** f. 40 b. — 44 *b* ENG. *p* 52, 44 *b–45 k read* The Elbing comes from the east, out of Esthonia, and is absorbed by the larger stream of the Nogat.

PAGE 53. 1 *a* gebogene C.—2 *a* ásponen C.

§ 2. 10 *i* hé: 11 *j*: 12 *f*: 13 *c*: 14 *h*: 15 *f* C.—11 *c* heras feohtan C, but feohtan is in the margin *r h i*, and unnecessary: *w* L.—12 *e* **L** *p* 61.—13 *j* þam C, *bv. r h i*: *w* L.—16 *h* læcedemonia C.

§ 3. 21 *c* híne C. — 25 *d* hé C. — 25 *g* sé C. — 26 *c* gielp worde L.—28 *g* ungemetlice L.—31 *h* ænig C.—32 *a* lat-[**C** f. 41] teowas.

§ 4. 36 *g* mehte C.—37 *e read* sum.—38 *b* hé C.—41 *d*: *j* heóra C.—45 *b* **L** *p* 62.

PAGE 54. 2 *j* hé: 8 *d*: 14 *a*: *k*: C.—4 *e* **C** f. 41 b.—8 *e* héom C.—14 *c* hís C.—14 *i* þan *w* L.

§ 5. 22 *a* OROS. III, 2.—28 *a* Læcede-[**L** *p* 63] monia. In L, læcede is the last word of *p* 62, sheet IIII. In beginning the next page, and sheet, the scribe seems to have forgotten to finish the word, as he began *p* 63 with ealdor mon. The scribe of C writes the incomplete word læcede just as L, though it comes in the middle of a line in C. This is presumptive evidence, amidst many other proofs, that C was copied from L.—28 *g* **C** f. 42.

CHAPTER II.

§ 1. 41 *a* OROS. III, 2.—44 *g* gecgan C, *altered to* secgan *r h i*: gesecgan L.

PAGE 55. 2 *e* hýre C.—4 *f* arcadiusas C.—5 *j* getacnad L.—7 *e*: *j* hís C.—8 *g* hím C.—*h* þónne C.

§ 2. 9 *g* fulchi C.—10 *f* **C** f. 42 b.—12 *h* rome C.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. 16 *a* **L** *p* 64; OROS. III, 4.—20 *b* nales L.—22 *b* lencten hæte L.—*e* uugemætre L.—23 *a* æfter hæðan C: hæþan L, *but evidently for* hæte, an. *f. heat.*—23 *b* ác C.—25 *b* for C.—*fg* þeh þe L.—*j* wæron and C, but and *bv. r h i.*—26 *c* gedrehte C.

§ 2. 31 *g* þā C.—32 *d* synton LB. — 36 C **C** f. 43.—39 *h* æt C: L, but better ac.—40 *d* únárimede L.—43 *a* híne C.

§ 3. 44 *a* OROS. III, 5.

PAGE 56. 3 *h* **L** *p* 65.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. 8 *a* OROS. III, 6. — 9 *b* lxxviii C. — 9 *e read* oferhergedon. —*f* roman C. — 10 *a* ·IIII· C: L. *Oros. has*—ad quartum ab urbe lapidem, *Haver. p* 159, 20; *but* þreo *is adopted*

in the text, as it is in the table of contents; and Livy has—ad tertium lapidem. — 11 *e* gewácodan C.—13 *e* morgenne L.—*f* tidus C. —16 *f* híne C.—19 *a* gefagen C.

CHAPTER V.

§ 1. 21 *a* OROS. III, 7.—21 *j* **C** f. 43 b.—22 *b* ·II· C.—24 *a–d* hie nan laud L.—26 *d* heard sælnesse L.—27 *i* taugel, u over a *r h i* C.—29 *b c* on sumre *at one time*, L.

§ 2. 31 *h* middan eard C.—33 *f* hé: 35 *b*: C.—33 *j* iudana L.—35 *d* swiðe *w* L.—36 *g* giet L. —36 *k* **L** *p* 66.—38 *g* síþonem C.—39 *i* dágum C.

§ 3. 40 *a* OROS. III, 8.—43 *f read* mæstan C.

PAGE 57. 2 *b* romane C.

§ 4. 3 *f* **C** f. 44.—4 *i* ianas C.—*j* dura L.—7 *a–d* ær eft octauianus dæge L.—The following note is by my friend E. Thomson, Esq.—3 *f*–7 *d* gif ænig man sy, &c. . . ær eft Octauianus dæge; . . . *if* [*there*] *be any man, &c. . . . until the day of Octavianus*—(Literally) *before the day of Octavianus Cæsar again* (*afterwards*). —The hypothetical particle gif, is equivalent to a negative, as in *Ps.* 89, 35. I will not lie unto David—Gyf Dauide ic lege.—L says "The door of Janus was not shut, after the beginning of that war, (with an exception scarcely worth notice,) until the time of Octavian." That is, It was first shut in his day. This is virtually denied by C.—"If there be any one, who can find . . . that it was shut first in the time of Octavianus."—The obvious and undeniable sense is, that no man can find it so; but the fact is, and L. vouches for it, "No man, who will read the history of Rome, can miss it." C is the affected and inadequate representative of the original, while L, Alfred's contemporary, is proved to be correct, from internal evidence, and the collation of other MSS. of the 9th or 10th centuries. E. T.—10 *f* andydan L.—12 *b* miȝ L.

§ 5. 23 *j* **L** *p* 67.—24 *g* lyse C: lufe L.—26 *i* þé C.—28 *c* romana C.—*g* swa *w* L.—28 *i* **C** f. 44 b.—29 *g* on C.—31 *c* hís C.

CHAPTER VI.

§ 1. 35 *a* OROS. III, 9.—40 *a* he *w* C.—44 *e–p* 58, 1 *b* taken from L.

PAGE 58. § 2. 4 *c read* wisan C.—5 *jk* á libban L: alibban C.—6 *f* sóna *w* L.—7 *e f* beot aleag L.—9 *b* manfeld C.

§ 3. 10 *a* OROS. III, 10.—10 *g* **C** f. 45.—11 *e–g* marcellius and ualerianus C.—13 *b* **L** *p* 68.—16 *c* hit *w* C.—18 *j* hít C.—19 *e* ær C.—21 *h* and *w* L.—23 *c* ryhte *w* C.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. 25 *a* OROS. III, 11.—30 *h* ofsloh C.—33 *i* gear rime L.—34 *a* oð C.

§ 2. 35 *a* OROS. III, 12.—35 *h* ælcne C.—37 *i* **C** f. 45 b.—38 *e* and C.—39 *f* hé: 43 *a*: *d*: C. —40 *d* crecum L: grecum C.—41 *e* ·IIII· wæs C.—*h* folcenses C.—42 *i* Phipilpus.—43 *b* **L** *p* 69.—43 *d* he *w* L.—44 *bc* strenuissimum imperatorem *Oros. p* 168, 1.

PAGE 59. 1 *i* hæfde C.—2 *e* weard C.—2 *k* hé: 10 *a*: *e*: 14 *c*: 15 *a*: C.—4 *e* hýre C, *but read* hyre.—7 *j* hím C.—8 *d* londum L.—8 *f* ón C.—8 *k* hís: 9 *b*: 17 *f*: *j*: C.—9 *b* hís agen C, but agen *w* L.—12 *c* wé C.—14 *j* gewilnunge L.—16 *h* folca feohtan C, L, *but* feohtan *by. r h i*, in L. *See p* 53, 11 *c, and note.*—17 *b* þá C.—17 *l* hím C.—18 *h* **C** f. 46.—19 *a* agene L.—*d* ridende C.—*f* gongendre L.

§ 3. 22 *c* hé: 24 *c*: 25 *d*: 27 *b*: 31 *f*: 35 *j*: 36 *i*: 38 *e*: C.—22 *e* arues L.—*j* malosolum C.—23 *c* olimphiade L.—*d* heo *w* L.—24 *d* hís C.—25 *e* híne C.—25 *h* wununge C.—26 *a* ðæt *w* C.—27 *d* líf L.—*j* ón C.—*k* thona L.—28 *i* þæt *w* L.—31 *d* his *w* L.—*e* searewan L. 31 *k* **L** *p* 70.—34 *d* betwenum C.—35 *e* oþer C.—*f* underþied L.—38 *i* gewealdon L, for gewealdum: wealdan C.

§ 4. 41 *g After* ýþelice, L *has* forneah.—43 *e* of oðrum C, *but* of *w* L.—45 *b* **C** f. 46 b.—45 *b*: *g* híne C.—*f* hé C.

PAGE 60. 1 *c* hé: 5 *d*: 7 *f*: C.—1 *d* hím: 9 *b*: *j*: C.—1 *g* ondred L.—1 *j* thesalíf C.—2 *j* nathene L.—3 *g* firde L.—*k* heóra C.—4 *h* mihte.—6 *e* gefór L.—8 *f* þæt *w* L.—9 *c* irre L.—10 *c* wære C.—11 *e* oferwunn C.—*i* þam *w* L.—13 *b* his swice C.—13 *c*: 15 *b* ofslog L. —14 *h i* þrie gebroðor L.—16 *g* **L** *p* 71.—19 *b–e* ge medren acwæron ge fæderen L.

§ 5. 21 *d* ric L.—22 *h* hé: 27 *c*: 30 *h*: 34 *d*: 40 *d*: C.—25 *f* ofslog L.—26 *b* **C** f. 47.—26 *f* bæm L.—28 *e* clusa C.—*h* belucen L.—31 *c–e* hie hie oferwunuen.—31 *d* hý C.—33 *e* buta *w* C.—34 *j* gewealdon L.—34 *l*: 38 *c* hís C.—36 *d* þæt *w* L.—36 *f* hít C.—37 *a* ægðer C.—*b* wáa L.—38 *k* ricestan L.—41 *i–l* ofermonig oþru anwald L.

§ 6. 44 *a* OROS. III, 13.—44 *f* hé C.

PAGE 61. 1 *c* hé: 3 *b*: 13 *g*: 21 *e*: 25 *e*: 37 *b*: 44 *f*: 45 *b*: C.—2 *k* **L** *p* 72.—3 *a* ceas C.—3 *k read* haten C: hatenu L.—4 *h*–5 *a* þær mehten betst frið binnan habban L.—5 *i* on *w* C.—6 *b* **C** f. 47 b.—7 *jk* anwaun L.—13 *e* hím C.—15 *b* and sum, *but* and *w* L.—18 *f* geþohta L.—18 *i* his driana L.—23 *f* mon menie L.—23 *g Over* mænige *is* weredes *r h i*.

—26 *l* feohton C.—30 *a* wæpned monna L.—30 *d* **C** f. 48.—31 *i* bewuna L.—33 *a* **L** *p* 73.—34 *d* fór C.—40 *c* cyningas C.—40 *d* fylle *w* L.—43 *c* standon C.—*g* hie *w* C.

PAGE 62. 1 *g* hý C, *bv. r h i.*—5 *d* his *w* C.—7 *a* hé C.—9 *b* **C** f. 48 b.—10 *g* na *w* C.

§ 7. 12 *a* OROS. III, 14.—12 *e* fird L.—13 *f* tintrade L.—14 *a read* hý.—*b* mid *w* C.—*e* fórdón L.—16 *i* hé: 21 *d*: C.—18 *g* **L** *p* 74. 18 *h*–19 *b* he his dohtor him sellan wolde L.—22 *e* his *w* C.

§ 8. 27 *c* mænað C.—*e* hít C.—29 *k read* þæt C: þæ L, *for* þæt.—30 *h* owre C.—31 *h* heóra C, *but read* heora.—33 *d* heóra C.—33 *g* **C** f. 49. 35 *g* ellþeode C.—*h* forsende C, L.—36 *g* ealneg C, *altered*—ealne dæg—*bv, r h i.*—39 *c*: *l* íc C. *f* dæd C.—*i* gesugian L.

CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. 42 *a* OROS. III, 15.—43 *ab* ond ·VI· ond XX· gum L.—43 *d* furculas L.

PAGE 63. 1 *i* wé C.—2 *c* **L** *p* 75.—2 *e* somnita L.—6 *i* besierede L, *perf. of* hesyrian *to ensnare*: hismere C.—8 *g* núrewett C, nú *altered to* ný *r h i*: nirewett L.—10 *d* alætan L.—*h* ahánd C.—11 *j* heóra C.—12 *g* ascian L.—13 *d* **C** f. 49 b.—13 *l* hé: 16 *d*: C.—14 *h* gerenian L.—18 *d* hím C.—20 *a–g* on heora agnum landum C.

§ 2. 22 *d* cwæð L.—*f* iowra C, L, for eowra.—23 *g* wé C.—25 *g* to dæge C.—26 *e* alugon L.—27 *a* sealdon L.—30 *a* gelæstanne L.

§ 3. 33 *j* **L** *p* 76.—38 *e* **C** f. 50.—40 *a* beléd L.—*j* hy C.—41 *h* hé: 42 *g* C.

CHAPTER IX.

§ 1. 44 *a* OROS. III, 16.

PAGE 64. 2 *f* æresta C.—3 *a* gecydde C.—*c* hé C.—*g* hís: 17 *b* C.—4 *a* geniendde C, *altered to* genydde *bv. r h i.*—*f* híne C.—*h* úpahofon L.

§ 2. 5 *h* sceoldon C.—6 *i* hé: 8 *d*: 15 *j*: 16 *h*: 20 *e*: C.—11 *i* hím C.—13 *i* est **C**, for æst, ærest *first.*—14 *g* an nilirice C: annili rice L. 19 *g* orososius C.—19 *h* **C** f. 50 b.—20 *d* þæt *w* C.—*f g* swa mid L.—21 *b* **L** *p* 77.—22 *a* lytlan C.

§ 3. 23 *c* ærestan L.—28 *e* feþa C.—31 *i* hím C.—32 *e*: 34 *h* hé C.—33 *g* beorg L.—34 *a* micel L.

§ 4. 36 *j* úngemettlice L: ungemetlicne C.

§ 5. 41 *e* þusenda *w* L.—43 *l* hé C.—44 *d* **C** f. 51.

PAGE 65. 3 *f* micel *w* C.—5 *l* dohtor L.—7 *a* ah L.—9 *a* **L** *p* 78.—9 *d* hé: 11 *f*: 13 *g*: C. 9 *e* hím C.—12 *a* gefliemde L.—13 *d* eaþ mod nessum L.—15 *a* sum L.

§ 6. 16 *i* hé: 29 *e*: C.—17 *a* siþþan tobræc L.—20 *m*–21 *f* ond þæt het þa burg atimbran L.—23 *d* amones L: ámones C.—*i* Jiobéses C.—24 *b* **C** f. 51 b.—29 *a* gegaderede L.—*f* hím C.—*h* hís C.—*k* þam *w* L.—31 *i* godas C.—32 *e* hít C.—*k* gehlóðe C.—34 *b* þara L.

§ 7. 35 *a* OROS. III, 17.—38 *c* longsumon C.—39 *a* ne *w* C.—39 *g* hé: 40 *d*: 43 *d*: C.—39 *i* **L** *p* 79.—40 *e* híne C.—44 *h* persibulis L.

PAGE 66. 1 *b–h Literally*—that his own relations had (hæfde *for* hæfden) bound Darius: *In Latin*—quod Darium tenerent vinctum sui propinqui. 1 *g* agene *w* L.—2 *b* racentan C, *altered r h i to* racentegan: racentan L.—3 *c* **C** f. 52.—*i* tosticad L.—4 *b* hé: 5 *d*: 6 *b*: 8 *c*: C.—4 *e* hím C.—5 *e* híne C.—6 *k*: 7 *l* hís C.

§ 8. 16 *h* ís C.—19 *a* cecilia C.

§ 9. 22 *a* OROS. III, 18.—*g* twegea L.—23 *h* agidis L.—25 *f* **L** *p* 80.—26 *b* eam *w* L.—*k* **C** f. 52 b.—28 *i*–29 *d* cyninges in sciþþie mid firde gefór L.—28 *j*–29 *a* in sciþþie *w* C.—28 *j*–29 *a* ENG. *p* 114, 35 *h read* army into Scythia.—29 *f–i* hé hís and folc C, and, *bv. r h i, evidently put, in haste, after* hís, *instead of before it.*—29 *l* þér *w* L.—31 *g* oþre C.—*j* hé C.—32 *d* híne C.—*f* minotho L.—33 *h* heo L.

§ 10. 36 *b* hé: *j*: 37 *e*: C.—36 *f* ofslog L.—37 *k* euergetas C.—38 *e* aspanias L.—39 *a* þé C.

§ 11. 41 *e* hís C.—42 *a* hé C.—43 *c* Æst C, *for* ærest *first.*

PAGE 67. 1 *i* sé C.—5 *i* hyldo L.—6 *b* **C** f. 53.—6 *b* mare L.—6 *g*: 7 *k* hé C.—7 *a–h* áhleop ond hiene for þære sægene ofslog he alexander to ecan L.

§ 12. 11 *b* **L** *p* 81.—*h* hcalisten L.—12 *b* hé C.—*d* hís C.—13 *d* aristolose C.

§ 13. 16 *a* OROS. III, 19.—16 *j* he *w* C.—16 *k*: 26 *k* hís C.—17 *h* hé: 23 *c*: 24 *e*: *j*: 25 *i*: 26 *k*: 27 *h* C.—20 *e* híre C.—21 *d* índie C.—27 *j* mid *w* C.

§ 14. 32 *e* **C** f. 53 b.—*f* on C.—34 *b* þær gif C.—34 *c* hím: 38 *f*: C.—34 *d* hís: 36 *c*: C.—34 *k* hé: 37 *g*: 38 *d* C.—35 *f* híne C.—36 *a* dyde C: gedyde L.

§ 15. 40 *e* ræstan C.—41 *c* persidas C.—*f* geangeridas C.—43 *b* hím C.—43 *e* **L** *p* 82.—*h* monna *w* C.

PAGE 68. 1 *g read* wic-stowa C.—2 *e* hé: 3 *e*: C.

§ 16. 4 *c* hé: 7 *d*: C.—7 *c* and *w* L.—7 *e*: 9 *d* hím C.—10 *h* lang C.—12 *b* **C** f. 54.

§ 17. 16 *h* hé: 28 *h*: 29 *k*: 30 *e* C.—17 *h* hís C.—18 *e* hís C.—21 *d* þonne L.—25 *g* hím C.—27 *e* þæt oðer C.—28 *i* **L** *p* 83.—31 *i read*

untweogendlice C: ún tweogend L.—34 *d* heóra C.—*k* híne C.—35 *c* cneowu C.

§ 18. 36 *f* **C** f. 54 b.—37 *f read* Ambíra.—37 *l read* fórwearð C.—38 *f* ætredum C.—40 *a* oðýwed.—40 *d* hé C.

§ 19. 43 *a* OROS. III, 20.—*b* hé C.—44 *d* ánbide. 45 *f* áffrica C.

PAGE 69. 1 *h* hé: 9 *c*: Ç.—2 *h* hím: 3 *g*: 10 *h*: C.—8 *h* giet L.—9 *h* affrica C.

§ 20. 13 *a* Eale C.—15 *e* **L** *p* 84.—15 *h* hít: 16 *e*: C.—16 *m* **C** f. 55.—17 *i* hú C, L.—18 *f* walde C.—*i* hím C.—*k* swa *w* L.—19 *d* þæt he C.—21 *a* ungewiss L.—25 *d* firð C, for frið.—*jk* æt ham *w* C.—26 *c* hie werian L.—26 *l*–27 *c w* C.

CHAPTER X.

§ 1. 29 *a* OROS. III, 21.—30 *j k* haten wæs L.—31 *c d* oðren aman L.—32 *e f* oðre noman.—32 *i*: 41 *e* héora C.—32 *j read* [feorþan] consulatu, feorþan *w* C.—33 *e* strengestan C, *est, bv. r h i.*—33 *h*: 53 *j*: 40 *b* hím C.—36 *j* mehten L.—39 *e* þæt C: *e–h* þa hie þæt geascedon L.—40 *p* ENG. *p* 69, 40 *p read* Ægyptus.—ENG. *p* 69, 41 *g*: *k read* Danaus.—42 *e* **C** f. 55 b.—43 *i* faius C: fauias L.

PAGE 70. 2 *c* **L** *p* 85.

§ 2. 4 *c* hierde L.—5 *a* hít C.

§ 3. 8 *b* fumus C, L.—10 *g* sé C.—*h* géféa C.—13 *b–e* forþy þær wæs L.

§ 4. 15 *a* OROS. III, 22.—*i* romanam C.—17 *f* awendan æfter þæm L.—18 *b* héora C.—19 *i* ealle *w* L.—20 *e–h* him to consule papirius L.—22 *g* **C** f. 56.—*i* bude C.—*k* hé C.—25 *f* biscepum L.—28 *c* sé C.—29 *f* deofoles cræftum, *es, bv. r h i.*

§ 5. 34 *d read* þæs þe.—34 *g* **L** *p* 86.—35 *d* ENG. *p* 120, 6 *c read* Gurges.—36 *d e* wolde án senatus L.—36 *f* híne: 45 *e*: C.—37 *a* hé: 39 *f*: 41 *i*: 42 *d*: 43 *b*: 44 *j* C.—37 *e* fleame C, *e, bv. r h i.*—37 *i* hís: 44 *a*: C.—38 *d e* þa senátū C, the stroke over u, denoting an m, is altered into s, *bv. r h i*, making senátus: þa senatum L.—39 *d* biddan C.—*l* oðrum L.—40 *j* hím: 44 *k*: C.—44 *i* hefagen C.—45 *g* geanmette, gean-mette, ?*from* gean-métan,—*To meet, find or gain again.*—2. *To encourage, please. See also* III, 11 § 10; *p* 75, 25 *d*.

PAGE 71. 2 *j* **C** f. 56 b.—2 *j* gewinn C.—3 *g* héora C.

§ 6. 7 *a read* be þon C.—7 *g* ond *w* C.—8 *a* mihtan C.

CHAPTER XI.

§ 1. 13 *d* ymbe C.—16 *h* hé C: *w* L.—18 *a* swa *w* C.—*h* romana ne*h* C, hut *h, bv. r h i.*—19 *g* **L** *p* 87.—21 *d* géþencan C.

§ 2. 23 *a* OROS. III, 23.—23 *d* gemýndgan C.—25 *e–g* hú hý hé hí C: hu hie hie L.—26 *f* hé C.—27 *a read* his *w* C.—28 *c* om L.—30 *a* eúrope C.—*b* **C** f. 57.—*d* dæle C.—*i* hít C.—*j k* nánés C: nanæs L.

§ 3, 4. These paragraphs in L are—

§ 3. Alexander ·XII· gear þisne middan geard under him þrysmde ⁊ egsade. ⁊ his æfterfolgeras feowertiene geár hit siþþan totugon ⁊ totæron þæm gelicost þonne seo leo bringð his hungregum hwelpum hwæt to etanne hie ðonne gecyðað on ðæm æte hwelc heora mæst mæg gehrifnian.

§ 4. swa þonne dyde ptholomeus alexandres þegna an þa he to gædere ge sweop ealle egyptum ⁊ arabia ⁊ laudamenda his oþer þegn se he feng ealle asirie ⁊ thelenus cilicium ⁊ filotos hiliricam ⁊ ecrapatas þa maran meðian ⁊ stro men þa læssan meðian ⁊ perdice þa læssan asiam ⁊ susana þamaran frigan ⁊ antigonus liciam ⁊ pamphiliam ⁊ nearchus cariam ⁊ leomontus þalæssan frigan ⁊ lisimachus thraciam ⁊ eumen capadotiam ⁊ paflagoniam ⁊ se leucus hæfde ealle þæðelestan men alexandres heres ⁊ on lengðe mid him he hegeat ealle þa east lond ⁊ cassander þacempan mid chaldeum ⁊ on pactrium ⁊ on indeum wæron ða ealdor men þe alexander ge sette ⁊ ðæt lond hetux þæm twam ean induse ⁊ iðasfene hæfde itaxiles ⁊ ithona hæfde calonie þa þeode on indeum ⁊ parapemenas ⁊ hæfde uxiarches æt þæs beorges ende caucasus ⁊ aracha sihedros hæfde siburtus ⁊ stontos hæfd þranceas ⁊ areas þaþeoda ⁊ omintos hæfde atrianus ⁊ sicheus hæfde satianos þæt folc ⁊ itacanor hæfde parthos ⁊ philippus ircanus ⁊ fratauernis hæfde armenie ⁊ theleo mom mos hæfde meþas ⁊ feucestas hæfde babylonias ⁊ po laus us hæfde archos ⁊ archolaus mesopotamiam. **L** *p* 87, 16–88, 10.

§ 3. 36 *h* geár L.—37 *de* þæm gelicost L.—*i* bringð his L, *but* his *bv. r h i* C.—39 *f* gehwyrftnian C.

§ 4. 40 *i* hé C.—41 *b* gesceop C.—42 *e* sé C.—43 *a* cilicium L: ciciliam C.—44 *h* perdice L.

PAGE 72. 2 *d* pamphilian C: pamphiliam L.—*f read* Nearchus L: narchus C.—7 *c* chaldeum L.—8 *a* **L** *p* 88.—11 *i* and ara, and C.—13 *a* **C** f. 57 h.

§ 5. 20 *d* hé: 21 *j*: 28 *j*: 33 *c*: C.—20 *k* wreccan C.—21 *c* lete C.—25 *e* wið *w* L.—33 *d read* wæs C.—37 *i* ongann C.—38 *b* ariarata L.—39 *a* **C** f. 58.—40 *c* **L** *p* 89.

PAGE 73. § 6. 1 *k* hé: 5 *c*: *h*: 20 *c*: *g*: 30 *l*: 33 *h*: C.—8 *e* þegn *w* L.—*h* micle L.—9 *c* híne: 17 *d* C.—9 *d* heswícendan *sic, with three dots* C.—14 *a* eumen L.—18 *c* hwile *w* C.—

20 *b* **C** f. 58 b. — 20 *k* from L. — 21 *a* hamfærelte L B.—23 *d* eall C, L.—27 *h* **L** *p* 90.—28 *h* hý *w* L.—30 *e–h* he him on him L.—*f* ǽr *w* L.—*i* gereafode L.—31 *j* hím C.—33 *c read* hý C.—36 *g* þé C.

§ 7. 37 *b* þæm ðe L.—*c* euredica L.—41 *c* hé C.—44 *e* Olimpi–[**C** f. 59] aðum.

PAGE 74. 1 *d read* gewíldum.—*h* olimpade L.—2 *d* híre: *h:* C.—7 *e* hé C.—8 *i* triewde C.—9 *e* sé C.—*k* hio *w* C.—10 *a* genom L.—11 *f* **L** *p* 91.—15 *f* oðre C.

§ 8. 19 *d* þa we L, we *bv.* — 20 *f* úmen C: eumen L.—21 *a* polipérenon C.—*c* olimpiadas L. — 22 *c* sé: 30 *e* C. — 24 *h* hé: 25 *e:* 26 *h:* 39 *g:* 41 *f:* C. — 25 *d* **C** f. 59 b. — 32 *b–h* Antigonus in eo bello cum filio Demetrio, vincitur. *Oros. Haver. p* 206, 8, 9.—32 *g* hís: 43 *i:* 44 *h:* C. — 35 *i* híne: 40 *g:* C. — 35 *k* hýs C.—36 *e* æfter *w* C.—40 *a* wæs *w* L.—41 *b* oþre *w* C.—42 *e* **L** *p* 92.—42 *f–h* wið winnan C.—43 *b* cansander C.

PAGE 75. 1 *d* hé: 3 *d:* 4 *j:* C. — 1 *f* anwealdes C.—3 *b* and æfter C, and *w* L.—3 *j* **C** f. 60.—5 *g* hýs C.

§ 9. 18 *i* híre C.—20 *a* hé: 20 *e:* C.—20 *b* hím C.—21 *e* hýne C.

§ 10. 23 *a* sílimachus C.—*b read* ne C.—24 *c* hím: 28 *e* C.—25 *c* þearle *w* C.—*d* gean-mett, *See* III, 10 § 5; *p* 70, 45 *g.* — 26 *e* hé: *h:* 28 *d:* 35 *g:* 42 *i:* C. — 26 *j* **L** *p* 93. — 28 *g* **C** f. 60 b.—29 *g* rice L, *w* C.—31 *h* lisimachus C, L.—34 *d* hýne C.—34 *e* hís C.—36 *g read* níð C.—37 *b* þá *w* L.—38 *a* ác C.—39 *c* hund C *bv. r hi.*—43 *d* hýs C.—43 *f read* tofaren C.—43 *j* þær ofsloh L, þær *w* C.

PAGE 76. § 11. 1 *c* hæfdon L, *w* C.

§ 12. 7 *de* án annm L.—8 *b* hít: 11 *i:* C.—8 *c* ís C.—*d* ús C.—8 *f* **C** f. 61.—9 *d* wé C.—10 *f* hwæt C.—10 *i* geréfað C.—11 *h* hwýlc C.—13 *f* gefryn C. — 13 *j* gebroðor L. — 14 *f*–15 *c* L.

BOOK IV: CHAPTER I.

§ 1. 17 *a* OROS. IV, 1: **L** *p* 94, 5.—17 *h*–18 *d* feower hunde wintrum ond feower ond siextegum þættie tarentine L.—20 *h* ðæm L.—23 *a* bnto L.

§ 2. 32 *c* be æftan L.—33 *d* heóra C.—33 *e* **C** f. 61 b.—37 *a* metton L.

§ 3.—38 *d* ægwar C: ægwern L.—39 *j* **L** *p* 95.—40 *j* ræde here L.—41 *a–c* L, *w* C.—41 *d* Hé C.

PAGE 77. 2 *a* hís: 4 *d:* 9 *e: h:* 10 *h:* 39 *j:* C.—3 *d* þé: 6 *e:* C.—4 *k* thesalium L.—5 *g* hé: 6 *k:* 7 *k:* 10 *a: e:* 11 *g:* 13 *i:* 20 *f:* 21 *d:* 34 *d:* 36 *d:* 40 *c:* C.—9 *d* híne: 20 *g:* 39 *i:* C.—10 *b* begonde L.—10 *i* godas *w* L.—11 *c* onðrum C.—12 *d* and ða L, and *w* C.—12 *g* hím C.—14 *c* hít C.—17 *i* **C** f. 62.—19 *i* minuntius C.—20 *a* genedde L.—*d* elpent L.—25 *d* wære C.—*g* þe C.—29 *b* **L** *p* 96.—35 *k* se *w* C.—37 *f* þær *w* L.—40 *b read* hwy C.—41 *i* **C** f. 62 b.—42 *b* eft gefare L.—42 *f* æt C.—45 *j* ða *w* L.

PAGE 78. 1 *g read* þa C.

§ 4. 4 *e read* wúnd C.—*g* þam oðran C, þam o, *bv. r hi:* þam *w* L. — 9 *f* þonne wæran L: wæran *w* C.—11 *a* ælcán C.—12 *ef* swa swiðe *w* L.—14 *a* enlefan L.—*b* guðfonon C.—*c* **L** *p* 97. — 16 *b* sirraccasa C. — *d* þa L. — 17 *g* hé C.

§ 5. 19 *a* OROS. IV, 2. — *i* oretreowe C: ortriewe L.—23 *b* hím C.—23 *c* **C** f. 63.—25 *e* héora C.—26 *i* arosiuss C.—27 *i* þan L.—30 *a* slealde C.—31 *j* hund *w* L.—33 *k* to C.—34 *g* hé: 35 *b:* C.—36 *c* ane L.

§ 6. 37 *a* OROS. IV, 3. — 38 *e* áfrice L.—40 *f* anfundan L.—*g* cartaginenses L.—41 *b* hie L.—43 *h* **L** *p* 98.

PAGE 79. 1 *a* mehte L.—*h* þé C.—2 *h* **C** f. 63 b.—3 *g* hé: 5 *b:* C.—7 *c* ceorf æxnm L.

CHAPTER II.

§ 1. 9 *a* OROS. IV, 4.—14 *e* hýne C.

§ 2. 24 *k* andrædende C.—25 *f* ofergán C.—25 *h* **L** *p* 99.—27 *j*–28 *b* hæfde. þa feawan C.—28 *b* þe *w* C.—28 *d* **C** f. 64.—29 *g* hýre C.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. 32 *a* OROS. IV, 5.—33 *g* monegum *w* L.—34 *f*–35 *f See* note *p* 11, 28 *a*–29 *c.* — 40 *c* nære L.

PAGE 80. 5 *j*–6 *g w* L.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. 10 *h*–11 *c* 'cccc' wintrū. and 'lxxx' C. — 12 *d* æt C.—*h* hwæt C.—14 *f* **C** f. 64 b.—16 *c* hít C.—*g* **L** *p* 100.—19 *a* hy C, *bv. r hi.*

§ 2. 21 *d* hýre C.—23 *j* hiere L.—25 *e* héora C.—*f* ahgenum C.—27 *d* wé C.

§ 3. 30 *a* OROS. IV, 6. — 30 *a–c w* L. — 32 *j* 'lxxxii' C.—35 *c* iústinianus.—*e* heora *w* C.—40 *e* gelær-[**C** f. 65] don C.—40 *k l* onhælede C.—43 *e* dleofla C.—*k* hít C.

PAGE 81. 2 *g* **L** *p* 101.—8 *b* hwæðer, h, *bv. r hi* C.—*d* heóra C.—9 *h* hie *w* C.—10 *e* se, *r hi* at end of line C.—10 *i* hís C.—11 *h* hé: 12 *h:* 18 *a:* C.—12 *a* híne C.—12 *g–j* and he oferfón C: ond hiene ofer fón L.—14 *b* forþon þe L.—*c* hít C.—17 *j* æt C.

CHAPTER V.

§ 1. 21 *a* OROS. IV, 6.—23*f* hít: 35 *b*: C.—24 *g* he *w* C.—24 *k* **C** f. 65 b.—24 *k* hís: 32 *i*: 36 *a*: 37 *h*: 39 *i*: C.—25 *b* þonan L, *w* C.—25 *k* to lafe L, *w* C.—29 *i* un tweogend lice L.—31 *i* geomor-[**L** *p* 102] lic.—33 *d* lyþerlican C.—33 *i* hé: 35 *h*: 38 *g*: 39 *g*: *m*: C.—34 *a* sylf *w* L.—*b* wepende *w* C.—36 *d* uppweardnes C n expunged hy a dot or point under it.—37 *i* agenne C.—39 *d* wyrrest L.—40 *f* híne: *l*: C.

§ 2. 43 *g*–44 *a* unge mete girnende þæs cyne domes L.—44 *f* hé C.

PAGE 82. 1 *d read* tó C.—*h read* to C.—1 *l* hé: 2 *h*: 3 *k*: 4 *k*: 5 *h*: 6 *f*: *k*: 8 *j*: 9 *i*: C.—2 *f* gehét C.—3 *e* hít: 7 *f*: 15 *d*: C.—3 *f* wearð L.—7 *d* **C** f. 66.—7 *g* hím: 8 *b*: C.—8 *i* gelende L, C; *altered to* gewende in C.—11 *f* gefungon C.—15 *f g* on uferan dagum C, on *bv. r h i*: uferan dogore *on an after day* L. 16 *c* **L** *p* 103.—16 *c d* swelc anginnan L.—*h* philippus C.

§ 3. 19 *c* trium C.—20 *b* L puts the Runic letter éþel, instead of writing the word.—20 *f*–*k* hý eác to him cumon woldon C.—22 *d* wítan C.—22 *g* hé: 26 *b*: C.—22 *h* hít: 23 *i*: C.—24 *e* mid C, *bv. r h i*.—25 *i* híne C.—26 *d* swilcdomes C, but the *l* rightly expunged hy a point under it.

§ 4. 31 *b* hé: 36 *j*: C.—32 *j* **C** f. 66 b.—33 *h* þe C.—36 *b* cartainense L.—37 *g* hís C.—40 *e* æt C.—41 *b* híne C.—45 *b* **L** *p* 104.

PAGE 83. § 5. 2 *d* hé: 10 *i*: 12 *e*: 13 *d*: 14 *f*: 17 *b*: 19 *h*: C.—5 *f* hý *w* L.—9 *e* cyng L.—10 *c* agothocles C.—10 *g* híne: 11 *a*: C.—13 *f* **C** f. 67.—14 *a* hegietan L.—17 *g* hís C.

CHAPTER VI.

§ 1. 22 *a* OROS. IV, 7.—23 *b* ·lxxiii· L.—24 *g* mehte L: feohte *bv. r h i* C.—26 *c–e* mid heora folcum *w* L.—29 *c* hís C.—31 *b* talentana C.

§ 2. 32 *d* **L** *p* 105.—33 *h* hé C.—37 *hi* ond hund eahtatig L.—39 *h* **C** 67 b.—40 *b* diiulius C: diulius L.—41 *c* þæt C.—*f read* daga *as it is so in* C *and* L.—42 *b* ácorfen L.—43 *h* se *w* L.—44 *b c* sé géfór C.

PAGE 84. 1 *g* hé: 2 *f*: C.—1 *h* híne C.—4 *c read* and C.

§ 3. 7 *j* hé C.—8 *b* sardianiam L.—9 *f* hý *w* L.

§ 4. 11 *a* OROS. IV, 8.—12 *g* hím C.—13 *d* hé C.—16 *d*–17 *d w* L.

§ 5. 20 *b* hé: *k*: 21 *c*: C.—22 *a* hýne C.—22 *c* **C** f. 68.

§ 6. 23 *c* **L** *p* 106.—24 *j read* ·III· *or* þrim, *though C has* IIII, *and L* fcower, *for Oros. has* —cum trecentis triginta navibus,—*and, in the table of contents,* L *gives*—mid þrim hunda scipa ond mid XXX,—*and* C—mid þrim hund scypa and þritigan. *Hence the* ENG. *has*—three hundred and thirty ships.—25 *f* hý *w* L.—28 *e* álpeam C: alpeam L.—*f* heóra C.

§ 7. 30 *d* sé C.—31 *c* hé: 32 *a*: C. 35 *a–c w* L.—36 *e* færelte L B.—38 *c* hít C.—38 *g read* þa C.—38 *i* hé C.—39 *h* hí *bv. r h i* C.—40 *c* híre: 41 *a*: C.—43 *g* heóra C.—44 *h* cleopendra C.

PAGE 85. 1 *f* brigan C.—2 *f* twelf-[**C** f. 68 b] tiges.

§ 8. 6 *f* VII C and L, *but Oros.*—cæsa sunt Carthaginiensium *septemdecim* millia *p* 237, 20.—6 *j* In C it is XV, but L has properly VX, that is V from X = V, *and Oros. has also*—quinque millia *p* 237, 21.—7 *d* XI L, *but* C *has* IX, *and Oros.*—decem et octo, *p* 237, 21.

§ 9. 9 *a* OROS. IV, 9.—10 *k* hé: 20 *c*: C.—10 *l* **L** *p* 107.—12 *h* niede L.—12 *j* fornome L.—16 *d* þohtan L.—21 *g* regules C.—23 *c* gefagen C.—23 *h–j* þiss gewearþ L.—26 *b* forþonne C.—26 *e* hís C.—26 *g* æt C.

§ 10. 28 *c* enilius L, C.—29 *c* **C** f. 69.—31 *j*–32 *b* hiora twentig gefan L.—31 *k* scipa *w* L.—32 *h* adrucen C.—38 *g h* gedraf twa .cc. C: gedeaf ·II· c c. L.

§ 11. 41 *c* ámicor C: amilcor L.—43 *b* **L** *p* 108.—43 *d* hý *bv. r h i*.—44 *a* VI C, *but Oros. has* —tertio anno *p* 240, I.—45 *i* áfrice C.

PAGE 86. § 12. 5 *a* forhergade C.—6 *e* æt C.

§ 13. 7 *d* iliuses L.—9 *i* **C** 69 h.—10 *e* helpenda C.—11 *j* helpendas C.

§ 14. 15 *a* OROS. IV, 10.—17 *c* hie L.—17 *i* ramanum C.—19 *i* hé: 24 *h*: 25 *b*: 29 *h*: 33 *f*: 35 *a*: *h*: C.—20 *c* noman L.—21 *d* híne C.—22 *c* hít: 24 *i*: C.—28 *g* heóra: 33 *g*: C.—30 *d* hís C.—31 *b* **L** *p* 109.—32 *b* sé C.—32 *f read* folce C: L.—32 *i*–33 *a w* C.—32 *k* of L.—34 *c* hím C.—34 *k* egan C.—35 *g* **C** f. 70.

§ 15. 36 *f* mallius L.—38 *i* híne C.

PAGE 87. § 16. 1 *f* se L.—2 *i read* ungemetlice L: ungemetlic C.

§ 17. 4 *c* lutalia C.—6 *e f* þurh oðer L: þurh þæt oðer C.—6 *h read* þæs C.—6 *i* om L.—8 *c* hé C.

§ 18. 12 *a* OROS. IV, 11.—13 *b* hít C.—13 *k* siliciam C.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. 17 *i* **C** f. 70 h.—18 *h* **L** *p* 110.—19 *d* hít C.—19 *i* hie *w* C.—22 *e* heóra C.—24 *a* hí *bv. r h i* C: *w* L.

§ 2. 25 *a* OROS. IV, 12.—25 *e* þa *bv. r h i* C.—26 *d* hætt C.—30 *a* wæran C.—30 *i*

heóra: 31 *c*: C.—32 *c read* hí: hé C.—32 *d* æt C.

§ 3. 36 *e* winnon C.—38 *f* hæfdon C.—39 *g* hít: 41 *e*: 43 *d*: C.—40 *c* æt C.—40 *k* yldestan C.—41 *f* abid-[**C** f. 71] dan.—43 *c* hé C.

§ 4. 44 *ef* wé síndon C.—44 *f* sendon L.

PAGE 88. 2 *e* ealneg L: æfre *r h i*, *bv.* ealnig C: 31 *d*.—3 *i* monega C.—4 *f* þé C.

§ 5. 8 *j read* wiþ C.—9 *d* **L** *p* 111.—9 *j read* nú C: nú *w* L.—12 *e* hít: 13 *i*: C.—13 *e* hé: 13 *k*: *l*: C.—14 *e* ontyndre C, *altered r h i to* ontendre.

§ 6. 17 *a* OROS. IV, 13.—17 *h* cynig L.—18 *b* hé: 18 *k*: 22 *e*: C.—20 *ef* the A. S. has the two names as *one* consul, but *Oros.* gives *two* consuls — Fulvio Posthumioque consulibus. *Haver. p* 248, 6, 7.—21 *b* fór C.

§ 7. 24 *d* **C** f. 71 b.—24 *g* fol L.—32 *f* guldon C.—34 *e* heóra: 36 *h*: C.—35 *h* him *w* C.—36 *g* hé C.—38 *e read* swyle C: L.—38 *h* noht C, *o* changed to *a r h i*.—38 *j* Æt C.

§ 8. 40 *h* **L** *p* 112.—42 *c d* ·III· M L: ·III· hund ·M· C.

§ 9. 43 *g* wundor L.—44 *d e* In Piceno flumen sanguine effluxit, *Oros. p* 250, 13.—44 *e* wicéno C.—45 *f* geseah L.

PAGE 89. 1 *j* dæg C.—2 *c–j* Tunc magno terræ motu Caria et Rhodus insulæ coneussæ sunt. *Oros. p* 250, 16, 17.—3 *e* hrúras C.

§ 10. 5 *i* hé: 6 *f*: 9 *f*: C.—5 *j* **C** f. 72.—6 *g* hít C.—7 *ij* L: *Oros.* decem et septem millia *p* 251, 3: XV C.—13 *f* isþrie, L, C.

CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. 16 *a* OROS. IV, 14.—16 *h*–17 *c* L: ·VI· hund wintrum and ·XXIII· C.—18 *d* þe *w* L.—18 *i*–19 *a* romane sibbe healdan C.—19 *i* hé: 22 *c*: *i*: 24 *k*: 25 *f*: 26 *b*: C.—20 *j* héora C.—21 *b c* him to L.—21 *g* bædon *bv. r h i* C: firmetton L.—23 *j* oðrum *w* C.—26 *a* **L** *p* 113.

§ 2. 28 *f* consulas *w* L.—30 *d* spaneum L.—30 *g* hé: 31 *d*: 33 *k*: 34 *h*: C.—33 *g h* L: munti for C.—34 *h* **C** f. 72 b.—34 *i* híne C.—36 *f* His C.—36 *h* wæs *w* L.—36 *i–k* án ·M· C, L, *but a* C *appears to have been omitted, for Oros. has*—centum millium peditum *p* 252, 17.

§ 3. 38 *b* hé: 41 *j*: 42 *c*: C.—39 *a* ticenan L.—41 *k* hýne C.—43 *c* ðæt *w* C.—*g* æt C.

PAGE 90. 1 *c* hé: 8 *h*: 9 *f*: 10 *c*: 11 *b*: *j*: 15 *b*: 19 *d*: C.—1 *e* áfor L.—2 *i* æfter C.—5 *g* hit *w* L.—*k* wæren L, *but query* wæs *or* wære.—12 *g* þæt C: þætte L.—13 *e* **L** *p* 114.—13 *h* þón C.—15 *g* **C** f. 73.—16 *f read* geond C: gind L: *See* 18 *b*.—18 *b* gind L: *See* 16 *f*.—23 *e* gefengon L.

§ 4. 27 *a* OROS. IV, 15.—30 *a* fuhte L.—33 *g* þæt C.—*i* héora C.—*k* rípan C.—34 *g* eall C.

CHAPTER IX.

§ 1. 37 *a* OROS. IV, 16.—40 *d* hé: 41 *a*: 42 *h*: C.—41 *b c* æt heóra C.—41 *e* gemetingge L.—42 *d* coðon L.—44 *h–j read* þæra [þe þær].

PAGE 91. 1 *b* **C** f. 73 h.—1 *b* hím C.—1 *h* **L** *p* 115.—3 *i* on C.—4 *b* hé: 7 *j*: 8 *g*: 13 *f*: C.—5 *l* æt C.—7 *i* dæg C.—9 *h* carína C.—12 *c* hít C.

§ 2. 14 *e* romana C.—17 *c* furþum L.—19 *b* þæt L.—19 *c* hé: 20 *d*: *h*: 21 *f*: 23 *d*: 26 *d*: C.—19 *d* hís: 22 *c*: C.—20 *d* híne C.—21 *a* oeþel L.—22 *b* swa *w* L.—25 *a* héora: *f*: C.—28 *b* hý CH.—28 *c* **C** f. 74.—29 *j* hý C.—31 *g*–32 *b* oð hine an gode. þæt hy mihton C.—31 *j* **L** *p* 116.—38 *b* hwæðre C.

§ 3. 43 *d* longbeardan L.—44 *d* hím C.

PAGE 92. 2 *c* hé C.—3 *d* hæfde C.—5 *b* híne C.

§ 4. 10 *b* **C** 74 b.—10 *g* cyning L.

§ 5. 12 *e* hé: 13 *c*: C.—14 *d* craccus C, L.—16 *c* geslagen L.

§ 6. 18 *h* **L** *p* 117.—19 *f* underfongon C.—19 *g* ·I· C.—21 *a* æt: 25 *e* C.

CHAPTER X.

§ 1. 28 *a* OROS. IV, 17.—31 *b* þe C.—31 *l* hé C.—32 *f* sume C.

§ 2. 33 *k* hé C.—35 *a* æt C.—36 *f* hít C.—37 *d originally* hú, *altered r h i to* hý C.—40 *b* **C** f. 75.

PAGE 93. 1 *j* gewealden C.—2 *g* rén L.—2 *k* **L** *p* 118.—4 *j* hé C.

§ 3. 7 *g* hwonne L.—9 *a* æt: 11 *b*: C.—9 *e* rén L.—*f* abbiddan C.—11 j Hít C.—12 *h* Crist *w* C.—13 *h* tó C.—14 *g h read* to þon C.—14 *h* þonne C.

§ 4. 19 *d* wæron L.—21 *c* ieldestan L.—21 *g* campaina L.—22 *b* **C** f. 75 b.—23 *j* hé C.—25 *a* hæfden L.

§ 5. 27 *b* wæron L.—30 *i* hé: 31 *f*: 32 *d*: 33 *d*: C.—31 *h* færelde C.—32 *g* he L: *w* C.—33 *e* hít C.—33 *g* **L** *p* 119.—33 *h* þa *w* C.—37 *j* on þæm L.—38 *f read* hæfde C.—39 *b* ·I· C.

§ 6. 41 *a* OROS. IV, 18.—42 *f* hé: 43 *e*: 45 *k*: C.—44 *j* his *w* C.

PAGE 94. 3 *a* witena L.—*c* þæra C.—4 *b* **C** f. 76.—4 *ij* hé hít C.

§ 7. 6 *f* sé C.—7 *g read* agrigentum C.—8 *f g read* .Siððan.—10 *i* ón C.—11 *k*–12 *a* mid macerellis C.

§ 8.—19 *f* **L** *p* 120.—20 *e* hé: 24 *e*: *l*: 25 *f*: C.—20 *j* híne C.—26 *d* ac he L.—28 *c read* hý C.

§ 9. 29 *e* marcolia C, L.—31 *e* hannîle C.—32 *g* **C** f. 76 b.—32 *h* hím C.—33 *a* hé C.—33 *b* swa *w* C.—34 *j* swiþost **L**.—36 *h i* þær wæs L. —37 *f* his *w* C.—39 *a* áweorpan C: L.

PAGE 95. 2 *b* rome C.—2 *e* hé: 3 *e*: C.—4 *b* **L** *p* 121.—4 *e f* of slagen wearð L.—5 *b* gefeaht L.

§ 10. 7 *c d* pene foran L.—8 *c* wicstowe C.—13 *d read* þær C.—13 *i* hé: 18 *b*: C.—15 *i* hís C.—16 *a* on-[**C** f. 77] bærndon.—16 *f* þé C.—17 *j* hít C.—19 *j* fæstenna C.—22 *b* dæg C.—*f* hie L: *w* C.—*j read* þone C.—26 *g* ENG. *p* 150, 33 *b read* Crete.—28 *g* héora C.—29 *b* siþþan L: *w* C.

§ 11. 30 *a* OROS. IV, 19.—32 *h* hé: 35 *b*: C. —33 *f g* þære bene *w* L.—34 *b* he *w* L.—*j* þæs *w* C.

§ 12. 37 *b* hé: *g*: 38 *g*: 39 *f*: *i*: 43 *k*: 44 *h*: C.—37 *d* **L** *p* 122.—44 *i j* ær to L: *w* C.—45 *b* **C** f. 77 b.

PAGE 96. 4 *b gefeohtum* C, *ge e bv. r h i*.—4 *e* and to C, and *w* L.—7 *a–d* ·D· ond ·LXXX· L.—9 *f* þæt *w* C.—*h* soelest L.—10 *f* wilnaden L.—12 *f* senatuses C.—14 *f* gesealden L.—15 *c* hím C.—*e* aliefden L.—20 *f* swylc C.

CHAPTER XI.

§ 1. 23 *a* OROS. IV, 20: **L** *p* 123.—24 *d–h* ge endad punica þæt æfterre ge win L.—27 *c* heóra C.—27 *d–g* ærest þæt ge winn under feuge L.—28 *b* **C** f. 78.—30 *g h* hít hím C.—34 *c* Nauiða *w* C.—37 *f* hé C.

§ 2. 38 *d read* Subres [ond Eudi] L.—38 *d–f* Insubres, Boii atque Cænomani. *Oros. p* 270, 6, 7.—39 *b* hý *w* L.—39 *h* breðer C.—40 *b* hé: 43 *b*: C. — 40 *k* foran C, *bv. r h i*. — 43 *c* hiene L.

PAGE 97. 5 *d e* wearð geflymed *w* L.

§ 3. 9 *d* asiria C.—9 *i* **C** f. 78 b.—11 *b* **L** *p* 124. —11 *g* gefenge *w* L and a blank left.—12 *h* hierde L.—15 *k* leng ne L.—23 *k* gewealde L. —24 *i j* su men L.—25 *h* æt L.

§ 4. 29 *i read* ne C.

§ 5. 34 *d e* romana fela L.—36 *i* **C** f. 79.—39 *j* fleam L.—42 *g* **L** *p* 125.

PAGE 98. 4 *k* ungerisno L.—5 *d* senatos L. —*j* hís C.—7 *b* fulcani C.

§ 7. 10 *c–f* C, L; *but Oros. has*—Lepido et Mucio consulibus, *p* 275, 1—the A. S. therefore, should be—Lepidus and Mucius wæron consulas,—hence ENG. The present text, however, is retained as it is both in C and L.—12 *c* hungarie L.—*f* cumon C, for cuman: *w* L.—13 *h* swa *w* L.—15 *b c* mæst ealle *w* L.

§ 8. 17 *g* **C** f. 79 b. — 18 *d* mæstum L. — 20 *e* argeatas L.—21 *c* eumenis L.—25 *c* gefliemede L.—28 *h* **L** *p* 126.—29 *c* on *w* C.—*g* ís C.—*l* secganne C.

CHAPTER XII.

§ 1. 37 *a* OROS. IV, 21.—42 *e* hé: 44 *b*: *h*: C.

PAGE 99. 1 *b c* ond on mislecum L.—2 *a read* Servis C.—2 *e* **C** f. 80.

§ 2. 6 *c* abead C, *bv. r h i* for is written, making forbead: onbead L.—6 *f* hít: 13 *j*: C.—7 *c* hé C.—8 *j* hís C.—10 *f* gesomnad L.—13 *d* bigongað L.—13 *g h* seþe cristen C: se *w* L.—13 *k l* swa swiðe *w* L.

§ 3. 17 *a* genamon C. — 18 *h* **L** *p* 127.—19 *d* þé C.—*f* underþeow L.

CHAPTER XIII.

§ 1. 21 *a* OROS. IV, 22.—24 *e* senatos L.—25 *g* Cartaina *w* L.—26 *j* héora C.—31 *k* him *w* C. —32 *a* **C** f. 80 b.

§ 2. 37 *b* íc C.—*g* See *p* 104, 36 *h* and note.—38 *a* hýre C.—38 *b–e* ymbeganges ·XXX· brad C.—39 *b* begangen C.—40 *e* ealna C.—*j* binan C.—41 *i* twege L.—42 *g* þam C.

PAGE 100. § 3. 1 *a* OROS. IV, 23.—2 *k* hé: 3 *f*: C.—3 *h* to L: *w* C.—5 *g* hie *w* C.—6 *h i* ærest utgán L: *w* C.—7 *a b* L: XXXVI·M· C. 8 *b* **L** *p* 128.— 8 *c* híne C.

§ 4. 15 *h* **C** f. 81. — 16 *e* gemót L. — 18 *j k* standon forletan C.—19 *g* onwoce L.—*h* forþon þe L.

§ 5.—22 *j* sé C.—27 *c* eac *w* L.—27 *e* hé: 30 *d*: C.—28 *g* ámirre L.—29 *h*: ENG. *p* 156, 33 *f* Malmstone is placed by geologists at the bottom of the chalk formation, which is divided into—

1 *Upper*, soft, white chalk, containing flints.
2 *Lower*, hard, grey chalk, without flints.
3 *Chalk marl*, also called *Malm.—Transact. of Geol. Soc. Lond. 2nd Series Vol. IV. part* 2, *p* 256: *and Dixon's Geology.*

Professor Phillips says in a letter to the editor —"Malm is still used to denote a rock in the South-Saxon region about Petersham. As a member of the cretaceous system, it is often difficult to separate from the chalk, the lower part of which, generally called chalk marl, rests upon green sand, and often passes so gradually into it, that the two are scarcely separable. Thus it appears in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, where at Tattinghoe it has been quarried from the earliest times. This rock at Tattinghoe, though perishable, has been extensively used in building, and is rather full of fine grit, so as to be fit for smoothing or polishing wood. That it was actually used by joiners for this purpose, I cannot declare, from a remembrance of what

was said by my uncle, W. Smith, but it seems to me to be so. He told me, in walking along the passages in Woburn Abbey, that the stone was gritty, and capable of polishing wood, in proof of which, he drew the wood of his cedar pencil along the wall. I think this was accompanied by the statement, that it was actually used in polishing. The word 'Malm' is also employed in the vicinity of Aylesbury to designate a soft chalky stratum above the Portland rocks."—30 *h* hwestan C.—31 *d e* ís mé C.—31 *l* áhwettanne L.—32 *c* hít C.—*d* nawþer L. After 32 *j*,—in **C** f. 81, line 19—to the end of f. 81 b,—there is a table of contents to Book V. as it differs from the table at the beginning, (*p* 12, 42 *a*–*p* 13, 39 *e*) it is printed entire in the notes following *p* 13, 38 *f*.

BOOK V: CHAPTER I.

§ 1. 34 *a* OROS. V, 1.—34 *a* **C** f. 82.—35 *i* manega C.—37 *b* godcundan C.—39 *c* folce C.—40 *b*–*f* wæron hí C.—40 *d* **L** *p* 129.—41 *k* þe *w* C.—43 *c d* ðá wæran C.

PAGE 101. § 2. 3 *c* on *w* C.

§ 3. 4 *g* ascien L.—6 *i* locode C, o altered to *i*, *bv. r h i*: licade L.—7 *f* racentum L.—8 *f* romane C.—9 *c* oð ðe C: ðe *w* L.—10 *h*–*l twice given in* C.—11 *b* héora C.—*c read* earman C.—*g* hít C.—12 *e f* sint on L.—13 *d* mid *w* L.—14 *h* **C** f. 82 b.

CHAPTER II.

§ 1. 17 *a* OROS. V, 3.—17 *d e* rome burg L.—20 *e* The first sentence of the original Latin is very clear—Anno ab urbe condita sexcentesimosexto,—hoc est, eodem anno, quo et Carthago deleta est, Cn. Cornelio Lentulo, L. Mummio Coss.—ruinam Carthaginis eversio Corinthi subsecuta est. *Haver. p* 289, 23–25. 22 *c* gyldenne C.

§ 2. 26 *a* OROS. V, 4.—26 *b read* ÞAM C.—26 *a*–*d* BE ÞAM YRDE UARIATO *w* L.—27 *d* ueriatus L.—28 *e* hé: 29 *a*: 30 *k*: 36 *j*: 37 *e*: C.—29 *b* hím C.—29 *i* **L** *p* 130.—33 *i* hís C.—35 *a* Folucius *w* L.—37 *b* gewrecan L.—*f* hít C.—37 *j*–38 *f* geíecte swíþor ond uneaþe self cóm aweg L.

§ 3. 41 *b* **C** f. 83.—*j* gefliemde L.—42 *b* wurdon *w* L.—*k* feriatus C.—43 *h* hís C.—44 *a* L: *of*sceat C, *of a bv. r h i*.—*g* híne C.

PAGE 102. 1 *d* hé C.—3 *h* leng *w* C.

§ 4. 6 *k* hé: 7 *d*: 9 *d*: C.—7 *i* hím: 8 *c*: C.

§ 5. 10 *a*–*c* BE ÞAM MANN-CWEALME *w* L.—13 *g* þæt ilce L.—17 *a* godas *w* L.—17 *d* hít: 18 *b* C.—18 *e* **L** *p* 131.

§ 6. 21 *b* dyde altered to dæde C: dæd L.—21 *d* hé: 22 *l*: C.—21 *e* aspón L.—21 *f* **C** f. 83 b.—22 *c* hím: *i*: C.—24 *b* fór *w* C.—25 *i* winnan *w* C.—28 *d* þeah *w* L.—30 *f* dæde L.

§ 7. 32 *a* þam *w* L.—33 *g* cynicg C.—34 *j* eán C.—35 *b*–*d* induse ond iþasfe L.—36 *c* hé: 38 *i*: C.—37 *a* demetrias L.—37 *e* tuwa L.

§ 8. 41 *g* hé: 42 *f*: C.—41 *h* genom L.—44 *e* híne: *m*: 45 *i*: C.—45 *e* **C** f. 84.

PAGE 103. 1 *f* hé C.—2 *e f* hé hís C.

§ 9. 3 *a* OROS. V, 5.—4 *k* hé C.—5 *f* **L** *p* 132.—7 *d* hís C.—9 *c* hít C.—*e* nu *w* C.—10 *b* heóra C.—*g h* feawa gearon C.

§ 10. 13 *a* OROS. V, 6.—15 *e* eagon C.—16 *f g* on Sicilium *w* L.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. 19 *a* OROS. V, 7.—21 *b* hít C.—*d* sylf C.—24 *d* syndon C.—25 *c* sylf C.—*i* awearddedon C, *with a point under* a, *expunging it and making* awerdedon.

§ 2. 27 *c* **C** f. 84 b.—28 *k* fornebde C.—29 *h* se *w* L.—30 *g* hé C.—*i* hís C.—*k* feohton C.—31 *l*–32 *a* wæron þa *w* C.—33 *h* sylf C.—35 *e* ongunnon C.—36 *f read* numentia C.—37 *a* ond *w* C.—37 *b* **L** *p* 133.—37 *i* for bærdon L.—38 *k l* eald gestreonum L.

§ 3. 40 *a* OROS. V, 8.—40 *a*–*c* þa scipia L.—40 *d* híne: 42 *a*: C.—41 *k* se *w* L: sé C.—44 *b* hearde *w* L.

PAGE 104. 3 *b* þam *w* L.—3 *e* andwearde, ea *altered to* y, *in the original hand and ink*.—3 *i*–4 *b* ealle romana weotan L.—4 *e*–5 *d* andwyrde mid wordum swiþe ge egsade L.—5 *f* hé C.

§ 4. 7 *a* OROS. V, 9.—7 *k* hé C: he *w* L.

§ 5. 9 *f* **C** f. 85.—10 *g h* ·VI· m̄· L.—12 *g* hundred C.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. 14 *a* OROS. V, 10.—15 *g* hé C: he *w* L.—16 *c* hé: 24 *g*: 25 *h*: 29 *b*: 30 *c*: C.—18 *a* attalis L.—18 *b* hís: 26 *i*: C.—20 *b*–23 *a* cumen. an wæs nicomedia. twegen of bithinia. þry of panto. IIII of armenia. V. of argeata. VI. of capadocia. VII. of filímine. VIII. of paflagónia. C.—24 *d* gefliemed L.—25 *k* **L** *p* 134.—26 *f* unwærne C.—27 *b* eall *w* L.—28 *a* híne: 29 *c*: C.—28 *e* ealle *w* L.—29 *b* he *w* L.—30 *a* besceufon C.

§ 2. 31 *e* asia L.—31 *i* hé: 32 *g*: 35 *h*: C.—33 *g* híne C.—34 *f* ofsloh C.—35 *e* ne *w* L.—35 *g* **C** f. 85 b.—36 *h* L: hwylce C; *See p* 99, 36 *g*.—37 *b* héora C.

§ 3. 38 *f*–39 *d* betsta romana þegn mænde L.—40 *g* for *w* L.—*i* hie L: *w* C.—*j* híne C.—41 *c* hís C.—42 *h* hé: 44 *f*: C.—43 *e* hiera L: *w* C.—44 *c* ·siðum *w* L.

PAGE 105. 1 *j* hé: 3 *e*: 6 *c*: C.—1 *k* hím C.—

2 *e* ispaniæ C.—2 *i* and þa on C.—3 *d–j w* L. —4 *e*–5 *c w* L.—5 *f* híne C.—6 *d* hís C.

§ 4. 9 *d* ærest C: orestestes L.—11 *d* liwara C.—*j* niht C.—13 *b* þæm L.—*e* forburnan L: forburnen C.—14 *c* þeah C.—15 *a* fiscas L.

§ 5. 16 *a* OROS. V, 11.—16 *g* **L** *p* 135.—17 *d* uht C.—*e* forscurfon **L**.—*g* **C** f. 86.—18 *d*–19 *e w* C.—19 *j* adruncenne C: ádruncne L. —21 *i* wildeor C.

CHAPTER V.

§ 1. 24 *a* OROS. V, 12.—*d e* rome burg L.—25 *c* ·XXIIII· C.—26 *f* þam *w* L.—27 *b c* getimbran cartainam L.—29 *c*–30 *b* þa tugon wulfas þa stacon úp. þa for hí þæt C.—30 *i j* ymb þæt *w* C.

§ 2. 33 *a* OROS. V, 13.—35 *b* þe *w* L.—*e* eac *w* C.

CHAPTER VI.

§ 1. 37 *a* OROS. V, 14.—38 *c* ·XXVII· C, L, but *Oros.* XXVIII.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. 41 *a* OROS. V, 15.—42 *g* nusica C.—*j* furnius L.

PAGE 106. 1 *d* on rome L.—*h* numedia L B. —3 *h* geoðe C.—4 *d* tyhtan L B.—5 *b* hé: 7 *c*: *i*: 8 *e*: 11 *b*: 14 *b*: C.—6 *b* geweorþan L.—6 *c* **C** f. 86 b.—6 *g* þriddan C.—7 *g* sunu C.—8 *i* **L** *p* 136.—13 *h* wæron *w* L.—14 *c* híne C.—16 *d* ne *w* C.

§ 2. 19 *a* mostúmus C: mostumius L.—20 *e* colima L.—24 *e* hé: 25 *e*: 29 *g*: 30 *d*: 32 *a*: *j*: C.—27 *g* þy L.—29 *c–e* a swa hredende C. —30 *k* **C** f. 87.—32 *g h* toþrum C.—34 *i* ealle C.—36 *g* him *w* C.—37 *a* cynicge C.—40 *f* gehor-[**L** *p* 137] sedra.—*i j* Næsna L: *w* C.—41 *c* næs ær C, næs *bv. r h i*.—41 *g read* heard C.—43 *h* mitinc C.—45 *d* econ C.

PAGE 107. 1 *d read* and C.—6 *a b* ut á fuhten L.—9 *i* ylpendan C.—9 *f–h w* L.—9 *j* mihta C.—10 *d* gefliemde L: geflymed C.—10 *f* **C** f. 87 b.—11 *e f* spynge déð L.—12 *b–f* ·xl· m̄. and ·r· hund C.—12 *g* manna *w* L.

CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. 17 *a* OROS. V, 16.—17 *d* romane C.—17 *i*–18 *a* hunde wintra L.—18 *f* pallius C.—19 *b*–20 *b* Taken as the title to Ch. VIII *p* 13. *See note to Ch. VIII.*—21 *e* mon L.—22 *c* romane L.—*e* hund *w* L.—24 *f* fæstenne L.—24 *h* hít C.—25 *b* hé C.—25 *d e* wolde faran L.—26 *a* wolden L.—*g* **L** *p* 138.—29 *j* wé C.—30 *k* hís C.—32 *a* hí C.—32 *e–g* gefeahte to cumon C. —33 *a* romana C.—34 *f* hund *w* L.

CHAPTER IX.

§ 1. 36 *a* OROS. V, 17.—38 *d* romana C.—39 *g* **C** f. 88.

§ 2. 43 *c* saturius C.

PAGE 108. 1 *j* þa L: swa C.—2 *a* oþþyncende L.—3 *g* adræfdon C.—5 *b* saturnius C. —8 *c* hít C.—8 *c d* hie hit L.

CHAPTER X.

§ 1. 11 *a* OROS. V, 18.—12 *k* care L.—13 *h* Italia *w* L.—14 *i* pompeniuse C.—17 *a* **L** *p* 139.—18 *g* tarentan L.—19 *g* wrát L.—20 *j k w* C.—24 *a* hring L.—*g* **C** f. 88 b.

§ 2. 28 *a b* weligni C.—*d* marruéme C.—29 *c* betweonon C.—30 *c* canis C.—31 *d* onsended L.—*j* nietenu L.—32 *g* an C.

§ 3. 33 *h* eal *w* C.—34 *h* cesar L.—35 *g* And *w* L.—37 *i* hé C.—38 *j* bloce, *o* altered to *a r h i*: blace L.—40 *e* ongean *w* C.—40 *i j read* toge heton, þæt.

§ 4. 43 *h* þæm L.

PAGE 109. 1 *b* romana C.—2 *h* hé: 3 *g*: C. —3 *i* **L** *p* 140.—5 *b* gesettan C.—6 *a* ofculum C.—*e* nærsum L.

CHAPTER XI.

§ 1. 10 *a* OROS. V, 19.—10 *a* **C** f. 89.—11 *d* þætte L.—12 *d* cyninge C.—13 *i*–14 *b* nolde him be tæcan L.—15 *g* þe hit L: þe *w* C.—18 *e* hé C.—19 *i* burg L.—21 *h* agifon C.—22 *a* fealh L.—22 *d read* nihte C.—*m read* dæg C.—23 *i* africam C.—23 *h*–24 *c w* L.—24 *j* rómeweard C H.

§ 2. 27 *a* OROS. V, 20.—*j* to *w* L.—28 *e f* ut afugon L.—30 *c* sillan C.—31 *g* gefeaht L.—33 *a* marius C.—33 *i* **C** 89 b.—35 *f* **L** *p* 141.

§ 3. 37 *a* OROS. VI, 4.—38 *g* þam C H.—40 *a* híne C.—*d* armenie L.—41 *f* arhalaus L.—*h* latteow L.—42 *a* hé C.—*f* is *bv. r h i*.—*g* nú *w* L.—43 *c* hwæt C.

PAGE 110. 1 *a* þeóde C: þeoda L.

§ 4. 2 *a* OROS. VI, 6.—2 *g*–3 *a* þa lande C.—3 *d* alyfon C.—5 *h* onlæg C.—6 *h* aþrytton L. —7 *k* began C.—9 *h* aristobolus L.

CHAPTER XII.

§ 1. 12 *a* OROS. VI, 7.—12 *i j* hunde wintra L. —13 *g* iulius C.—14 *a* legan L.—*d* hé C.

§ 2. 15 *a* OROS. VI, 9.—*k* bryttoniæ C: bretanie L.—16 *d* **C** f. 90.—18 *e* eft *w* L.—*g* L: centland C.—*k* gefliemede L.—19 *g* þæra C. —20 *b–h* This is one of Alfred's important additions to Orosius. This battle is mentioned by Cæsar, about 54 years B.C. Then by Orosius about A.D. 416. They both speak in detail of stakes being driven into the Thames, but do not mention the place. Though Alfred gives a very short abridgment of Orosius, in his A. S. translation about A.D. 893, he is the only one who points out the locality, as being "*near the ford called Wallingford.*"—20 *e* **L** *p* 142.—*h* welenga-ford L. —21 *j* þa *w* C.—22 *d* circenceastre L.

§ 3. 24 *a* Oros. VI, 15.—25 *f* onbudon L.—25 *j* hé: 31 *f*: C.—26 *i* hís: 34 *h*: C.—30 *b*–31 *f* þa legian wæron pompeiuse on fultume geseald. þe on romane onwealde wæron. þæt hé C: þa legean wæron pompeiuse tofultume ge scalde þe on romana anwalde wæron. þæt he L.—33 *g* man *w* C.—33 *g h* him mon L.—35 *c–f* him siþðan áspon to L.—36 *a read* Silomóne.

§ 4. 37 *j* hierdon L.—39 *a* and on C.—*k* abræc L.—40 *b* maðm hús L.—*f g* L: *w* C.—41 *e* gesecganne L.—42 *c* **C** f. 90 b.—*e* hé C.—*g h* to samariam C: on marisiam L.—44 *k* ispaniæ C.

PAGE 111. 1 *b* pompeius C.—*g* twæm L.—2 *a* hé C.—*g* And æfter L.—3 *j*–4 *a* ·xxx· cyningan C.—4 *f* **L** *p* 143.—8 *c* Iulius *w* L.—9 *f* on *w* C.—*k* healfe *w* L.—10 *d* healfe *w* L.—11 *d* eft *w* C.

§ 5. 13 *e f w* C.—*e–h* octoginta et octo *Oros. p* 420, 4.—14 *a* coortana L: cóoratána C.—15 *a b* of hund C.—16 *c* L: *w* C.—19 *d* midmestam C: L.—21 *e* romana L.—21 *k w* C.—23 *a–g* geferædenne and cwydrædenne to lange ne oferbræc C.—23 *b* **C** f. 91.—24 *h* sumere C.—25 *h* ne *w* L.—26 *c d* laþost is L.—*f* wæs *w* L.—28 *e* æt C.

§ 6. 32 *b* his C.—32 *e* æt: 39 *h*: 42 *b*: C.—33 *n* ofáceorfon C.—34 *b* **L** *p* 144.—34 *g* onsendon C.

§ 7. 43 *a* Oros. VI, 16.—45 *j* hyrre C.

PAGE 112. 1 *i* hé: 2 *g*: 3 *f*: 5 *n*: 7 *j*: C.—2 *c* caton L.—4 *b* **C** f. 91 b.—5 *c* man *w* L.—6 *j* mæg C.—*l* æt C.—7 *d* híne C.—7 *i* worde C.—10 *a* mænende C, *bv. r h i.*

§ 8. 12 *g* nefan L.—13 *f* he *w* L.—15 *f* he *w* C.—17 *i* hé C.—18 *d* híne: 20 *c*: *g*: C.

§ 9. 21 *a* Oros. VI, 17.—21 *a* **L** *p* 145.—25 *f* híne C.—26 *b* inne L: *w* C.—*e* ge mot ærne L.—*i* ·xxiii· L, and *Oros.* has—viginti tribus vulneribus, *p* 426, 1: ·xxvii· C.

Chapter XIII.

§ 1. 28 *a* Oros. VI, 18.—29 *c* ·x· L: *Oros. has*—x *p* 428, 20: ·lxx· C.—30 *i* híne: 32 *j*: C.—31 *d* **C** f. 92.—31 *i* hé: 32 *i*: 37 *c*: C.—32 *a* hím.—33 *h* iiii C.—33 *h*–35 *a* ·v· gefeoht ungeferlice þurhteah. swa iulius dyde ær. L.—35 *e* án wæs L.—36 *a* oþer L.—*d–f w* C.—*g* þridde L.—37 *h* wurde L.—38 *f* ond þæt L.—39 *a* iulinse L.

§ 2.—41 *a* Oros. VI, 19.—41 *f* gewealdon L. 42 *c* hé C.—43 *d* opene C.—43 *i read* hét.—44 *c* cleopatron L.

PAGE 113. 1 *e f* ealle egypti L.—3 *j* ut *w* L.—6 *b* hund *w* L.—7 *e* hé: 17 *d*: C.—9 *h* næran C.—9 *j* **L** *p* 146.—11 *e* octauianuses C, L.—11 *f* **C** f. 92 b.—13 *g read* hí C.—14 *e* cleopatron L.—15 *a* wæs *w* L.—*e* kl. C.

§ 3. 18 *e* clopatran C: cleopatro L.—20 *c* þyder weard L: þyder ward C, ward *bv. r h i.*—21 *c read* hí C.—21 *h* tune *w* C.—21 *i* lytlum C.—22 *f* hýre: 24 *g* híre: 31 *f*: C.—24 *a* úp nális C.—25 *a–k* L: *w* C.—27 *i* þæt *w* C.—28 *a* þæt C.—30 *f* selfne L: in margin *r h i* C.—*j* híne C.—31 *h i* somcucre alede C, *cu, bv. r h i.*—32 *f* hé C.—34 *a b read* gif hí.—*f* brincð C.—*j* gefaren L.—36 *j* swa *w* C.—37 *k* cepian C.

Chapter XIV.

§ 1. 40 *a* Oros. VI, 20.—40 *a* **C** f. 93.—40 *d* romane C.—42 *c* consulato L.—42 *d* **L** *p* 147.—44 *c* hé C.

PAGE 114. 1 *h* híne C.—2 *a* dyde L.—*b* gewcarð *w* C, L.—*i* swyla C.—3 *b* bring L: ring C.—4 *a* ealn C.—4 *j* hís C.—5 *f* se *w* C.—8 *f read* hí.

§ 2. 9 *e* hé C.—10 *k* man *w* L.—11 *d–g* hwar hí sibbe hæfdon C.—12 *c* hís C.—*i* se *w* C.—13 *d* gelaþaþ L.

§ 3. 14 *b* is L.—*d* hé C.—15 *c* án C.—16 *a–d* seculon. ænne geleafon habbon C.

§ 4. 18 *g* earde L.—19 *k* hé C.—20 *g* **C** f. 93 b.—23 *a* heofenum ríce C.

Chapter XV.

§ 1. 26 *a* Oros. VI, 21.—26 *g* wæs *w* L.—27 *e–g See note to p* 13, 38 *d*.—27 *i* wiþer wearde L.—28 *k l* fird ge lædde L.—29 *b read* hí C.—30 *h* atre L.—31 *a–c w* C.

§ 2. 32 *d* þeoda L.—32 *h* **L** *p* 148.—33 *f* sermende L.—35 *f* hie L: *w* C.

§ 3. 39 *c* hé: 40 *j* C.

§ 4. 43 *a* Oros. VI, 22.—43 *c–e* eall þeos worold L: þeos worold eall C.

PAGE 115. 1 *d* hyldon C.—*i* hís C.—2 *c* ferþan L.—*h* agenum C.—*i* **C** f. 94.—3 *e read* wísan C.—4 *d* fæste L.—6 *i* rice C.—7 *a* .Ða C.—8 *d* hælend C.

§ 5. 11 *f g w* C.—14 *d* wurden *w* C.—15 *c–k* Her enþaþ (for endaþ) sio sixte boc ⁊ onginð seo siofoðe L. As the Vth book of Alfred's A. S. translation contains book V and VI of the original Latin of Orosius, L says, in relation to the original,—Here *the sixth* book ends, and *the seventh* begins,—that is, *of the Latin original.*

After 15 *k*,—in **C** folio 94, line 15 to folio 95, line 2 inclusive,—there is a table of contents to Book VI. As it varies from the table printed *p* 13, 40 *a–p* 14, 42 *f*, it is given entire in the notes following *p* 14, 42 *f*.

BOOK VI: CHAPTER I.

§ 1. 17*a* OROS. VII, 2.—17 *a* **C** f. 95.—17 *a* Nu *w* **L**, a space being left for ornamental letters. —*c–e* L: WVLLE CWÆÐ OROSIS C.—*h read* þisse C.—*i* scofeþan L.—18 *d* hít: *j*: C. —19 *e* cmnlice L.

§ 2. 22 *h* **L** *p* 149.—24 *d* sarþanoplum C.—25 *a–f* ·III· hund wintra and an ·m̄· C, L; *but Oros. has*—post mille quadringentos . . . annos *p* 455, 12.

§ 3. 26 *ef* hiere onwealde L.—28 *d* macedoniam C: mæcedonium L.—*h* leng L: *w* C.—30 *a* on C.

§ 4. 32 *e* ymb L: binne C, *r h i at the end of the line*.—32 *j* ymb L.—33 *b* þás C.—*d* hie L: heó C.

§ 5. 35 *h read* westemest C: westmest L.—36 *h*–37 *e* micel fyrbryne on rome burg L.—37 *i* forbarn C.—38 *e read* nyste C.—39 *k* **C** 95 b.—40 *a* groht C.—*c* aðstod L.—41 *a* forhynend C: forhiened L.—*d read* næfre C. —*h i read* ár hí C.—*j k* eft agustus L.

PAGE 116. 1 *g read* æfre C, L.

§ 6. 7 *h* feowerteoþan L.—8 *e* OROS. VII, 3.—9 *h* roma L.

§ 7. 14 *f* þe C.—15 *g* hé: 20 *i*: 21 *j*: C.—16 *m* **L** *p* 150.—17 *f* gehæde L.—18 *h* of L: *w* C.—19 *e* hím C.—20 *hi* þe hé C.—21 *f* aguste C.—22 *b* **C** f. 96.—26 *g* gefeoht C.

CHAPTER II.

§ 1. 29 *a* OROS. VII, 4.—31 *f* and *w* C.—32 *a* onwald L.—33 *g* martyrunga L.—34 *h* hé: 39 *i*: 40 *e*: 41 *i*: 43 *e* C.—34 *i* hít: 36 *b*: *i*: C.—35 *h* swyðe *w* L.—36 *f* héom C, *bv. r h i*. —37 *h* cyðon C.—40 *b c* ond ieþe *w* C.—41 *a* cucune C.—41 *j* hím.—42 *e* hi *w* C, L.

PAGE 117. 2 *fg* folcum of L: folcum on C.

§ 2. 4 *d* **C** f. 96 b.—*f* **L** *p* 151.—5 *c d read* hí æt C.—7 *h* þa þe C: þe *w* L.—8 *b* hwyrsian C, *altered to* hrywsian, *r* and *w* in the original hand and ink.—9 *b* began *w* L.

§ 3. 10 *e* hís C.—*j* ahangen L.—14 *h* romana C.—15 *e* hé C.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. 17 *a* OROS. VII, 5.—18 *j* hé: 20 *b*: 21 *h*: 22 *k*: 23 *i*: 25 *m*: C.—20 *e* romana C.—21 *e* hít: *i*: C.—22 *a* swa *w* L.—23 *g* swcoran L.—23 *j* híne C.

§ 2. 28 *b read* wæron þa C.—29 *d* **C** f. 97.—29 *h* findon C.—30 *b* hie L: *w* C.—*i* forbugon C.

§ 3. 31 *e read* eác C.—32 *a* hí C.—35 *b* **L** *p* 152.—35 *h* hé: 36 *f*: 41 *d*: *i*: 42 *b*: C.—36 *d* geárndian C.—36 *g* hie L: *w* C.—39 *a read* áfylde C H.—39 *e* æt C.—*g* ond þæt L. —40 *j* agen *w* L.—41 *j* híne C.

§ 4. 43 *f* slæpende C.

PAGE 118. 1 *e read* maþm huse C.—3 *c* ricestera C.—*e* namon C.—3 *g* hé: 6 *h*: 7 *g*: C. —4 *a–f w* L.—5 *b* and *w* C, L: *j* deadra C.—6 *d* ge L: *w* C.—*k* costígan L.—7 *e* miltsunge C.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. 10 *a* OROS. VII, 6.—10 *h*–11 *b* DCCXCV *Oros. p* 466, 25.—11 *b* ·XCI· L.—12 *f* **C** f. 97 b.—15 *i* þáre C.—*k* wære C.—18 *i* ær L: *w* C.—19 *d* þa C.—19 *j*–20 *a* he him dón þohte L.

§ 2. 24 *e* **L** *p* 153.—25 *l* guðfonan L.—26 *c* heóra C.—*g* hie L: *w* C.—*h* onwaldas L.—28 *e* oðsace L.—29 *b* se se L.—30 *a* gestlled C.—*e* godes C.—*i* æni C.

§ 3. 34 *c* hé C.—35 *h* síria C.—36 *d* æt iubena L.—37 *d* æt C.—*k* niwilice C.

§ 4. 40 *b* **C** f. 98.—*f* v L: seofon C.—41 *b* long L.—*e* feorðan C, *but Oros. says*—anno septimo, *p* 469, 12.—*g* hís C.—43 *b* wæron L.—*j* æt C.

PAGE 119. 1 *d* gare C.—2 *b* gaius L.—*c* hét C. —*e* adrifon C.—3 *d* romana C.—4 *f* hé: *l*: C. —5 *c* triginta quinque, *Oros. p* 470, 3.—6 *g* romana C.

CHAPTER V.

§ 1. 9 *a* OROS. VII, 7.—10 *j* híne: 20 *i*: C.—10 *k* hæfde L: *an erasure in* C, *and* hæfde *r h i*.—11 *c* and *w* L.—11 *d* hé: 13 *a*: *d*: 19 *b*: 20 *h*: C.—11 *g* þe ma L.—11 *j* hís: 14 *c*: C.—12 *a* hæfde C.—13 *c* wæs C.—*f* æt C.—*i* onbærnan C.—13 *j* **L** *p* 154.—13 *k* byrig C.—20 *k*–21 *d*. This clause would make the sentence more clear, if it were placed after misdæda (20 *a*), as by Junius, Elstob and Ballard, and in ENG., but it is not sanctioned by the MSS., for both L and C have the arrangement given in the text.—21 *e* **C** f. 98 b.—23 *a* of feallen L.

CHAPTER VI.

§ 1. 25 *a* OROS. VII, 8.—26 *e* galua L.—27 *c* híne C.

§ 2. 30 *a* hit L: *w* C.—34 *d read* hí C.—*e* winnon C.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. 36 *a* OROS. VII, 9.—38 *i* bebead L.—39 *c* hé C.—40 *b* fordón C.—40 *ij* L.—40 *i*–41 *a* cristendóm mierde leng L: cristendome lencg myrdon C.—41 *e* mon L.—42 *c–g* iudena ·XI· hund ·m̄· L.—42 *f read* hund C.

PAGE 120. 2 *d* **L** *p* 155.—3 *g* þa micel L.—

4 *c* þe *w* L.—*j* æt C.—5 *d* Hí C.—*j* wespanianus L.—6 *g* nigeþam L.

CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. 9 *a* **C** f. 99.—10 *e* títus C.—11 *f* gṍdes C: gódes L.—*l* hé C.—12 *ef* hé naht C.—*i* gṍde C.

CHAPTER IX.

§ 1. 16 *a* OROS. VII, 10.—17 *e* domitianus L. —18 *j* hetend L.—19 *f* micle on C: on *w* L. —19 *j* hé: 24 *k*: 26 *g*: C.—19 *j*–21 *a w* L.—20 *g* onbugon C.—22 *a* thomore C.—23 *c* he L: *w* C.—24 *e–m* crist geboren nære þa giet. þæt he nasiþþan L.—25 *hj* L: of C.—26 *i* him sylf C, him *bv. r h i.*

CHAPTER X.

§ 1. 29 *a* OROS. VII, 11.—31 *a* he *w* L.—32 *c* hí C.—*i* towendon C.—34 *e* hé C.—35 *a–e* iohannes æt his mynstre gebrengan L.—35 *b* **L** *p* 156.—*c* æt C.—35 *i* **C** f. 99 b.—36 *a* woruld *w* L.

§ 2. 37 *a* OROS. VII, 12.—37 *f* hæfde L: hædon C, altered to hæfde *bv. r h i.*—37 *i* ·x· L, but *Oros.* has—decem et novem, *p* 486, 5.—38 *e* hé: 42 *c* C.—39 *c* níwlice C.—*g* he *w* C. —41 *a* híorá C.—42 *d* hít C.

§ 3. 43 *e* iudan L.

PAGE 121. 1 *e* lande C, *the* e *expunged by a dot, prick or point underneath the* c.—*h read* hí C.

CHAPTER XI.

§ 1. 5 *a* OROS. VII, 13.—6 *b* ·XLVII· L: *Oros.* DCCCLXVII, *p* 488.—7 *f* winṫ C.—11 *c* sé C.—*h* L: *w* C.—*j* L: *w* C.

§ 2. 13 *k* hí: 15 *a* C.—14 *c* né C.—*d read* héton C.—15 *g* hé: 17 *h* C.—16 *j* iudena L.—17 *a–f In* L, *this clause comes after* Iudeiscean men (16 *b*).—18 *c* oþerre L.—19 *a* **C** f. 100.—19 *c* hétte C.—19 *f* helium L.

CHAPTER XII.

§ 1. 21 *a* OROS. VII, 14.—22 *b* LXX^{x}VIII, ^{x} *bv. r h i* C.—22 *d* ronpeius C: ponpeius L.—24 *g* **L** *p* 157.—24 *h* hé C.—25 *g–i* swa leof and *w* L.

CHAPTER XIII.

§ 1. 28 *a* OROS. VII, 15.—29 *d* antonius C, L. —31 *f read* hí C: *w* L.—32 *a and* 33 *j* hi, *read* hí C.—32 *f* cristene C.—33 *g* parthe L. 34 *a* awést C.

§ 2. 38 *c d* hi hecoman C.—39 *i* feohton C: ge feohtan L.—40 *c* on L.—*f read* héte C.—41 *g read* hí C.—42 *c* an L.—42 *j* hít C.

PAGE 122. 1 *b* wrácu C.—*e read* hí C.—*f* æt C.—2 *a* hít C.—*d* rínde.—*f read* hí C.—3 *e* wæs L: *w* C.—3 *k* **C** f. 100 b.—4 *d* þæm L: *w* C.

§ 3. 5 *d e* romana ealle C.—11 *i* hé C.—*j* agiefan L.

CHAPTER XIV.

§ 1. 13 *a* OROS. VII, 16.—13 *i* wintra *w* L.—15 *a* **L** *p* 158.—15 *j* hé C.—17 *f* þam *w* L.—*i* tó slóh C.—18 *b c* L: *w* C.—19 *d* bibliotheoco L.—19 *e read* wearð C.—*f* forbærnend C.—*h* þam *w* L.—20 *e* ealdon C.—*g* forburnan C.—21 *b* á L.—*e* L: demn C.

CHAPTER XV.

§ 1. 25 *a* OROS. VII, 17.—25 *fg* wæs getimbred L.—27 *e* pisceninus L.—*j k* hé hím C.—28 *c* eóde C.—*ef* hé híne C.—29 *i* he *w* L.—30 *b* **C** f. 101.—30 *f* forþón C.—*h* hé C.

§ 2. 32 *b* hé: 33 *f*: C.—33 *g* þa L: *w* C.—*k read* hí C.—35 *k* eofer wíc C.

CHAPTER XVI.

§ 1. 37 *a* OROS. VII, 18.—37 *a* Æter L.—38 *k* hædde C, *d bv. r h i.*—40 *f* on L.—*i* hé C.—41 *c d* þam fælede C, *expunging* l *by a point under it, and writing* r *and* l *bv.*, fælede *is altered to* færelde *r h i.*

CHAPTER XVII.

§ 1. 43 *a* Æter L.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PAGE 123. § 1. 5 *a* **L** *p* 159.—6 *d* aureliusnus C.—7 *c d* C, L, but *Oros.* tredecim annis, *p* 507, 4.—8 *c* oriense C.—10 *c* híre.—11 *i* persan C.—12 *e* fórlet C.—*i* magentsan L.

CHAPTER XIX.

§ 1. 14 *a* OROS. VII, 19.—15 *b* L: LXXXVII *Oros. p* 509: LXXXVI C.—16 *h* **C** f. 101 b.—17 *i* hine C.—18 *c* orienis C.—18 *d* he *w* L.—18 *h*–19 *e* Ond maximus ofslog his agen ealdormon L.—19 *b* ofslóh C.—*d* agene C.

CHAPTER XX.

§ 1. 23 *l* and he C.—24 *d* gehroðro C.—25 *a* hé C.

CHAPTER XXI.

§ 1. 27 *a* OROS. VII, 20.—29 *h* hé C.—30 *d* þriddan L.—33 *c* hí: 34 *d*: C.—33 *j* æt 34 *i*: 38 *a*: C.—35 *b–i* deofla þonces þæt wæs þæt ealle romane woldon L: þæt wæs deofla þances. þæt ealle romana woldan C.—36 *d* bringon C. 37 *a* godra L.—37 *c–e* to heora gehlote *w* L. —38 *a* æt gædere C, L.—38 *i* **L** *p* 160.—39 *fg read* siþþon to C: si þ on *w* L.

CHAPTER XXII.

§ 1. 41 *a* OROS. VII, 21.—41 *b* þam *w* L.

PAGE 124. 2 *g* **C** f. 102.—3 *c* þæm þe L.—*e* hé C.—5 *l* æt C.

CHAPTER XXIII.

§ 1. 10 *i read* lange C: longe L.—11 *a* ehtinge C, eh *is in the original hand, and* tinge *on an erasure r h i.*—11 *i* wæs L: *w* C.—13 *b* burig C: byrige L.

§ 2. 15 *a read* anweald C.

CHAPTER XXIV.

§ 1. 17 *a* OROS. VII, 22.—18 *c* romana C.—18 *f*–20 *d These clauses are transposed in* L: *the clause* 19 *g*–20 *d stands first in* L, *and then* 18 *f*–19 *f*. *The* ENG. *follows* L.—22 *i* cóm L.—23 *i* cyning L.—25 *j* hé C.—25 *k*–26 *a* swa oft sceolde L.—27 *f* hliepan L.

§ 2. 28 *b c* þæm oþrum L.—*f* monog L.—28 *i* winende C.—29 *h* inwearðnesse C.—30 *c* **C** f. 102 b.—30 *e* germaniæ.—31 *b* forhergedon C. 32 *g*–33 *a* ealle grecon C.—34 *a* **L** *p* 161.

CHAPTER XXV.

§ 1. 40 *a* OROS. VII, 23.

PAGE 125. 1 *a* romana C.—2 *b* an L.—*c* gyldenne C.—*f* hengon C.—*h* hí *w* L.

CHAPTER XXVI.

§ 1. 8 *c* aurelius L.—12 *b c read* þyþe C.—*d* hé C.—13 *h* wearþ L.

CHAPTER XXVII.

§ 1. 15 *a* OROS. VII, 24.—16 *g* **C** f. 103.—17 *g* þæm lande L.—18 *g* ofslagen þæs C.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

§ 1. 22 *c* brobus C, L.—23 *a* ger L.—*d* monað L B.—*h* minas L B.—24 *f* þæm L: *w* C.—25 *f* bororum L.—26 *i read* on syrmie C.

CHAPTER XXIX.

§ 1. 29 *a* **L** *p* 162.—31 *d* tuwwa L.—34 *f g* sweortor C.

CHAPTER XXX.

§ 1. 36 *a* OROS. VII, 25.—37 *c* dioclicianus C.—*e* romano L.—39 *j* þa L: *w* C.—40 *a* gewinn C.—*f* þa L: *w* C.

PAGE 126. 1 *c* dioclicie L.—*g* winende C.—2 *c* and achileus L.—*d* of L.—*e* eypta C.—3 *f* causeras C.—4 *a* maximus C.—*b* constantinus þridde C.—5 *e* affricam L.—5 *f* **C** f. 103 b.—5 *g* hé: 6 *h*: 7 *f*: C.—6 *b* constantínus C.—8 *d* dioclitianus.—10 *e* he *w* C.—*f* siþþan L.—12 *b* marserius C.—14 *b* fyrfhtnesse C.—14 *i* onfeng L.—15 *d* híne C.—*i* anum L.—*j* pupuran C.—18 *c* marseus L: C.—19 *b c* dioclicius ualeriuse C.—*d* weorðlice L.

§ 2. 20 *a* Æfter þæm dioclitianus L.—20 *e* ehtnys-[**L** *p* 163] se.—21 *c* eastane L.—*f* westane L.—22 *e* gewurdon L.—*g* martyra L.—*j* wintrum C.

§ 3. 25 *h read* bý C.—27 *g* burig C.—27 *h*–28 *f* *w* L.—28 *a* maximianus C.—*d* mediolane C.—29 *b c w* C.—29 *f* constantinuse C.—30 *a* **C** f. 104.—*f* L: *w* C.—32 *c* constantinus C.—32 *f* italiæ C.—33 *a* ispaniæ C.—*c* galliæ C.—36 *b* galius C.—37 *i* maximinus C.

§ 4. 39 *d*–*f* com constantinus mildeortesta C, *for* mildheortesta.—41 *h* ciefese L: wife C, *written upon an erasure. The original word in* C *was* ciefese, cifese *or* cyfese, *as is evident from the letters* fese *being still legible.* There can be little doubt that Alfred, misled by the word concubina improperly used by Orosius, translated it ciefes. The word ciefese remains in L, the older MS: and, in C, it has apparently been altered to wife by a subsequent hand. The probable reason for this alteration will soon appear.—It has been proved that Helena was the lawful wife of Constantius, and that their son, Constantine the Great, was born in wedlock. (*Tillemont, Histoire des Empereurs, vol IV, Note* 1. *Constantin.*) The facts are briefly these. When Constantius was raised to the dignity of Cæsar, or the second rank in the empire, he was obliged to divorce his wife Helena, that he might marry Theodora, the step-daughter of his friend and patron, the emperor Maximian. This divorce is of itself a proof that Helena was the lawful wife of Constantius. Yet the friends and flatterers of Constantius and Theodora intimated that Helena was never married. The Greek historian Zosimus, a pagan, prejudiced against Christians, as is shewn in his account of the conversion of Constantine the Great, gave currency to the report that the Christian Helena was not the lawful wife of Constantius. The history of Zosimus spread and gave permanency to this false report. It was so prevalent as to mislead Orosius, who says—(Constantius) Constantinum filium ex *concubina* Helena . . . reliquit. VII, 25, *Haver. p* 529, 10, 11. Orosius was implicitly followed by Bede, who uses the same words—Hic (Constantius) Constantinum filium ex concubina Helena reliquit. I, 8, Smith *p* 47, 27, 28. Alfred, in translating Orosius into A. S. states, in our text, that Constantius *gave the empire to Constantine, his son,*—and then, closely following Orosius, he says—þone he hæfde be Elenan his ciefese—*whom he had by Helena his concubine.* In subsequently translating Bede, Alfred softens down the Latin concubina by using wif, instead of ciefes thus—(Constantinus) wæs of Elena þam wife acenned—*Constantine was born of the woman Helena. I,* 8, *Smith p* 479, 31. To make the A. S. manuscript of Oros. to agree with the A. S. of

Bede, or perhaps with the intention of proving that Helena was the wife of Constantius, the ciefese of the original scribe of C has been altered by a later hand to wife. If the latter was intended, the object of the interpolator has not been fully accomplished, for his alteration of ciefese to wife only moderates or softens the meaning. The word wíf in A.S. is sometimes used, in a restricted sense, to denote a married woman, in the sense of our present word *wife;* but the general meaning of wíf is *woman;* mulier, fœmina. In this sense it is put in opposition to man. The A.S. term for a lawful wife is ǽw, e; *f a female bound by law, a wife;* conjux legitima, uxor justa. An example or two will be sufficient proof.—Se man, þe his riht ǽwe forlǽt and oþer wíf nimð, he bið ǽw-bréca—*the man,* (vir) *who forsakes his lawful wife* (suam legitimam uxorem) *and takes another woman* (aliam mulierem) *he is an adulterer. Ecg. Poen. II,* 8; *Thorpe p* 184. Gif hwylc man wið oþres riht ǽwe hǽmð, oþþe wíf wið oþres gemæccan, fæste VII gear—*If any man* (vir) *commit adultery with the lawful wife* (cum legitima uxore) *of another, or a woman* (mulier) *with the husband of another, let him* (*or her*) *fast seven years. Ecg. Poen. II,* 10: *Thorpe p* 186.—There can be no doubt then, that Orosius was misled by the false rumour, and the statement of Zosimus, that Helena was not married to Constantius, and that Bede, copying Orosius, fell into the same error, both using the word concubina. In translating Orosius into A. S. Alfred literally follows the Latin text, and states that Helena was *the concubine,* ciefes of Constantius. Though Alfred, in his subsequent version of Bede, styles her wíf, *the woman,* he does not call her ǽw, *the lawful wife* of Constantius. Ciefes is, therefore, given in the A. S. printed text, on the authority of the best MS., and because it was the word used by Alfred to represent the concubina of the Latin Orosius. In translating, the word is necessarily retained, both in the A. S. and Eng., but this note is intended to correct the historical error, as Helena was ǽw, *the lawful wife,* and not the concubine of Constantius.

§ 5. 42 *a* OROS. VII, 28.—*d* maximianus C.—44 *c*–*f* se him seanweald C.

PAGE 127. 1 *a* refanne L.—2 *e* hé: *l*: 5 *a*: *e*: 7 *i*: 8 *f*: C.—3 *j* hé C.—4 *g* hít C.—4 *j* anfunde L.—6 *a* beswicon C: L.—*e* L: habbon C.—7 *f* constantius L.—*g* asæde L.—8 *a* afliemde L.

§ 6. 9 *d* **L** *p* 164.—9 *d* lucinuse L.—9 *h* **C** f. 104 b.—10 *f* þé C.—10 *h* betst L.—*j* gebringon.—11 *d* hé: 14 *d*: 15 *e*: C.—12 *d e* monigne læce L.—13 *a* on *w* L.—*b* nane L.—*c* gőde.—14 *i* men *w* L.—16 *c* lucius L.

§ 7. 19 *b* æt C.—*d* byrig C, L.—*e* þe L: þér C.—21 *b* tharra C.—*h* lucinus L.—24 *b* oftrædlica L.—*c* gefeaht C.

§ 8. 27 *d* The Canons of Ælfric thus speak of the condemnation of Arius—Ða gegaderode he (Constantinus) sinoð, on þære ceastre Nicéa, þreo hund bisceopa and eahtatyne bisceopas, of eallum leodscipum, for þæs geleafan trymminge.... Hy amansumodon þér þone mæssepreost Arrium, forþan þe he nolde gelyfan þæt þæs lifigendan Godes sunu wære ealswa mihtig swa se mæra fæder is. Ða fordemdon hy calle þone deofles mann; ac he nolde geswícan ærþam þe him sáb se innoð eall éndemes út, þa þa he to gange eode—*He* (*Constantine*) *then* (*A.D.* 325) *gathered together a synod, in the city Nice,* (apud Niceam, urbem Bithyniæ. *Oros.*) *of three hundred and eighteen bishops, from all nations, for confirmation of the faith.... They there excommunicated the mass-priest, Arius, because he would not believe that the Son of the living God was so mighty as the great Father is. Then they all condemned the devil's man; but he would not leave off, till, in the end, his inward parts all fell out, when he went to ease nature. III: Thorpe, vol II, p* 343, 344.—28 *e* geleafon C.—28 *h* ENG. About this mischief or crime: timan L.—29 *g* híne C.—30 *d* amansumian L.

§ 9. 33 *b* wæs C.—34 *b* **C** f. 105.—34 *g* romane C.—35 *g* crecum L.—*j read* hí C.—36 *a* hatan L: haton C.—*c* hé: 38 *j*: C.—*d read* hét: bebead L.—37 *h* hus *w* L.—38 *c* ymbe C.—39 *e* **L** *p* 165.

CHAPTER XXXI.

§ 1. 41 *a* OROS. VII, 29.—42 *c*: 43 *f* constantinus C.—*h* hís C.—43 *e* hé C.—44 *a* L: viginti quatuer, *Oros. p* 541, 10: XXIII C.—44 *c* hí C.

PAGE 128. 2 *c* constantinus *Oros. p* 542, 9: constans C, L.—3 *j* þæt L: þa C.—5 *j read* hí C.—7 *c* hé: 8 *j*: 9 *f*: 11 *e*: 18 *c* C.—7 *g*: 12 *c*: 17 *d* constantius *Oros:* constantinus C, L.—9 *d read* scole C.—*j* þam *w* L.—10 *e* híne: 11 *f*: C.—11 *a* lucthina C.—12 *c* constantinus C.—13 *d* ærþæm L.—14 *f* **C** f. 105 b.—14 *h i* þá þé C: þa þa L.—15 *f* dædæ L.—16 *d* anwealde C: onwald L.—17 *d read* constantius C.—19 *a b* he gefór L.

§ 2. 20 *a* OROS. VII, 30.—21 *d* monað L.—

g hé: *k* C.—22 *e* onwendon C.—23 *d read* náne C.—*h* lornode C.—23 *j* Aperto præcepit edicto, ne quis Christianus docendorum liberalium studiorum professor esset. *Oros. Haver. p* 545, 6–8. — 24 *i* hís C. — *j* sunderfolgeþa L.—25 *b* hí: *i* C.—26 *c d* wé hít C.—26 *e* eft *w* L.—*g* hierdon L.—27 *f* **L** *p* 166.

§ 3. 29 *c* hé: 30 *e*: 31 *h*: 35 *b*: *k*: 36 *g*: 37 *d*: 38 *a*: 39 *i*: 40 *f*: *i*. — 30 *h* eastane L.— 31 *e* æt C.—32 *f g read* hí deór.—*j* abite L.—34 *c* arleasa C.—35 *e* actesifonte C, L.—36 *e read* sæde C.—*h* híne: 38 *b*: C.—37 *h* úngearuwe C.—39 *c read* nán: *e* nyste C.—39 *g* **C** f. 106. —*h* hwár: *l* fóran C.—40 *a* hweárfiende C.—42 *b c* eac for hungre C.—43 *a* ofsloh C.

CHAPTER XXXII.

PAGE 129. § 1. 2 *a* OROS. VII, 31.—6 *f* þám C.—*g* þe L.—*h read* hí C.—*i* mosten L.

§ 2. 8 *c* eahto þan L.—*g* hé: *l*: 9 *g*: 10 *e*: C. —9 *l* ni cealtan L.—10 *b read* húse C.—*d read* hét C.—*k* forþón C.—12 *c* iuuinius C, L.—*g* ossmorod C.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

§ 1. 14 *a* OROS. VII, 32.—14 *h*–15 *d* MC XVIII *Oros. p* 548, 4: m̄· wintra and XCVIII C, L. —16 *d* endlefan L.—*f* hé: 17 *f*: 18 *j*: 20 *m*. —17 *b* **L** *p* 167.—19 *g* gefylsted L.—20 *h read* his C.—20 *i* lufan L.

§ 2. 22 *h* **C** f. 106 b.—23 *b* hé: 25 *f*: 26 *d*: *g*: 27 *b*: *e*: *l*: 28 *d*: *h*: 29 *e*.—23 *c read* hét C. —*e* percopiosus C.—*f* þé þá C.—24 *i* arrianisco C.—25 *b* endoxius L.—*g* hít: 26 *h*: C.—26 *c* forþón: 28 *c*: C.—*k* wrecon C.—27 *h* geleafan L.—28 *f g read* hú fæstmód C.

§ 3. 33 *b read* hí 35 *i*: C.—*d* winnon.—*e f* wiþ romana C.—34 *f* his C.—35 *g* þam þe C. —36 *d* gehét C.—*h* enleftan L.—38 *f* Subita effusione sanguinis, quod Græcè apoplexis vocatur, *Oros. p* 550, 9, 10.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

§ 1. 40 *a* OROS. VII, 33.—41 *e* ualerianuses C.—43 *j* hé C.

PAGE 130. 1 *f* hé: 2 *c*: C.—3 *a* sceoldan C. —*f read* hí C.—4 *b* **C** f. 107.—4 *b* fuhte L.—*e* dyde L.—5 *d read* hét C.—7 *c* fordrifon C.

§ 2. 9 *b* wearð L.—10 *a* theodosius L.—10 *d*–11 *a w* L.—11 *i* **L** *p* 168.—12 *f* sleane C.—*i* hé: 13 *g*: *j*: 15 *d*: C.—13 *a* híne: 14 *f*: C. 13 *d* gefulwade L.—*h* gefulwad L.—14 *g* gefulwad L.—14 *j*–15 *a* fullum geleafan L.—17 *g* martyre L.

§ 3. 19 *e* hýra C.—20 *b* hís C.—20 *e* hé: 24 *b*: *d*: C.—20 *h* wóh C.—21 *d e* híne gótan C.—22 *j* wilnedon L.—23 *c*: 25 *a*: 27 *f read* hí C.—23 *h i read* mid friþe C.—*l* oferhode L.—24 *a* hógode C.—25 *j* gerefon C.

§ 4. 28 *g* **C** f. 107 b.—28 *g* þær C.—29 *b* hé: 32 *a*: *f*: 35 *h*: C.—29 *i read* hú C.—*j read* hí: 38 *b*: *g*: C.—30 *c* geleafon C.—32 *e* hwæt C. — 33 *c* gedón L.—33 *j*–34 *b* ænigne wiste libbendne L.—33 *k* libbendene C.—34 *f* to late L.—35 *a* géarian C.—*i* gefeaht L.—37 *b read* húse C.—*g* ryht L.

CHAPTER XXXV.

§ 1. 41 *a* OROS. VII, 34.—44 *i* wiðer winnan L: *ge*winnan C, *ge r h i on the left margin.*— *j* wæren L.

PAGE 131. 1 *e read* hí C. — 3 *i* hím C. — 4 *b* **L** *p* 169.—5 *g read* hú C.—6 *g* þa L: *w* C.

§ 2. 8 *f* Maximus *Oros. p* 556, 14: maximianus C, L.—9 *j read* anwealda C: onwaldes L.— 10 *b* hís: *j*: C. — 10 *e* **C** f. 108. — 10 *g* hé: 11 *j*: 13 *f*: C. — 11 *b* wann C, *n bv. r h i.* — 11 *j* he *w* L.—*l* on L.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

§ 1. 15 *a* OROS. VII, 35.—18 *g*: 31 *c read* hú C.— 18 *h* hé: 25 *j*: C.— 20 *f* italie L.— 21 *b* bád L.—*i* ealdor-men C.—23 *b read* hí: 28 *c* C.—24 *a* þohte C.—27 *e* æt C.—*g* men L.— 28 *e* aweg *w* L. —*f* áþewde L. — 31 *h read* mycle C.—32 *d* þa L.

§ 2. 34 *g* hís C. — 35 *d* **C** f. 108 b. — 35 *e* hé: 37 *f*: 40 *a*: *j*: C.—35 *g* gallium C.—35 *j* ofsmórode C.—37 *f*–38 *a* he hiene self awierged L.—37 *g* híne C.—38 *f* þæs C.—*h* noman L.— 39 *d* **L** *p* 170.—39 *k* forþon þe L.—40 *i* forþý C.—40 *k* wæs L.—44 *b* gotene L.—*g* hí C.

PAGE 132. 1 *c read* hí: 4 *c*: 5 *d*: *i*: 8 *i*: C. —6 *f*–8 *a* L: *w* C.—8 *j* selfe L: sylf C.—9 *j* hís C.—10 *c* mæstne C.—13 *b* hé C.—*e* mægelan L: mægelange C.—14 *b* betahte L.—*g* onwald L.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

§ 1. 16 *a* OROS. VII, 36.—16 *f* **C** f. 109.—17 *i* þam C.—18 *f* onorius L.

§ 2.—20 *a* OROS. VII, 37, 38. — 20 *d* hí: *h*: 22 *h*: 23 *f*: 24 *f*: 29 *d*: C.—21 *a* II C.—22 *i* gecyðdon C.—23 *cd* þæs hwílce C.—23 *e* hlaford-hyldo L: hlaford-hylda C.—*i* cyþonne C.— 24 *g* hít C.—25 *c* hábban C.—26 *g* hér C.— 27 *b* hé: 29 *i*: 30 *e*: 31 *c*: C. — 28 *b* alrícan C.—*d* ræ̀dgotan C.—29 *c* **L** *p* 171.—30 *d e* þæt he, *in margin r h i.*—32 *a* alríca C.—*e* ræ̀dgota C.—34 *g* þá C.

§ 3. 36 *d read* heanlic C.—*j* fór C.—37 *b read* ége C.—*g* gehlóte C.—*h* þe C.—*i* gé: 39 *g* C. —39 *h* eower L.—41 *h i* hú héan C.—41 *j* hé: 42 *i* C.—42 *c* **C** f. 109 b.—42 *k* gelifde L.—43 *c* híne: *g*: C.—43 *d e* gebundene hæfdan C.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

PAGE 133. § 1. 1*f* hís C.—*l* gé C.—4 *a* OROS. VII, 39.—5 *h* hís C.—6 *d* hé: 7 *i*: C.—7 *c* cristena L.—8 *c* níþe C.—9 *a b* nænne mon L.—9 *d read* slóge C.—11 *d read* hí C.—11 *e* aforan L.—*k* agnum L.—12 *a* willum L.—*g read* hús C.

§ 2. 13 *a* OROS. VII, 40.—13 *b* genom L.—*c* héttulf.—*f* onorius L.—*g* swostor L.—14 *i read* hí C.—15 *b* nam L.—*d* sæton L.—16 *i* foron L.—17 *d* gesæton L.

CORRECTIONS IN PREFACE.

p xii *line* 4 *c* *read* 1654.
„ xxxi „ 37 *j* „ 1698.
„ xxxii „ 4 *e–j* „ also of this college.
„ xxxv „ 37 *g h* dele a year.

CORRECTIONS IN THE PLATES, MAPS, AND THE FACSIMILES.

Plate III. **C**, 4 *i for* geewæð *read* gecwæð.

IN THE MAP OF EUROPE.

For Sarmondisc *read* Sermendisc.

The southern boundary of Cwén-sæ (White Sea), *and the* Sermendisc Garsecg (Gulf of Finland), *and the east of* Ost-sæ (the Baltic Sea), *and the* Lake Ladoga *and* Onega *ought to have been in very faint outline, or in dots, and not coloured, as these parts were not definitely known in the time of Alfred.*

IN THE MAP OF AFRICA.

For Astrix *read* Astrix M.
„ Zeugo „ Zeugis.

CORRECTIONS IN THE 8VO. AND 4TO. FACSIMILES.

Pl. I. 15*f*	*for*	eþel	*read*	éþel.
L *p* 1, 4 *e*	„	nonþ	„	nopþ.
L *p* 1, 15 *c*	„	þıð	„	þıð.
C f. 12 b. 11*f*	„	forhwæga	„	forhwaga.
C f. 16. 12 *a*	„	Æ	„	Æ′.
C f. 16 b. 9 *d*	„	fenge	„	fengc.
C f. 17. 16 *b*	„	ƿæƿ	„	pæƿ.
C f. 18 b. 9 *b*	„	ambıcno	„	ambıccıo.

CORRECTIONS IN MR. HAMPSON'S ESSAY.

The signatures must follow thus—1, 3, 4, 5 *etc.* and the paging 7, 8, 17, 18 *etc.* as sig. 2 and *pp* 9—16 were omitted by the compositor.

p 4, 19 *c–e read* Obadiah Walker, Master of University College.
p 25, 18*j* „ proceeded.
p 25, 34 *b* „ Warnefeld.

A

LITERAL ENGLISH TRANSLATION

OF

KING ALFRED'S ANGLO-SAXON VERSION

OF

THE COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THE WORLD

BY

OROSIUS.

CONTENTS.

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Here beginneth the book, which men call Orosius.

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Extent of Alfred's Germania, § 11.—of the East Franks, Bavarians, Bohemians, Frisians, Danes, Angles, Old-Saxons, etc. § 12.

The first voyage of Ohthere § 13.—Of the Biarmians § 14.—Ohthere a rich man, § 15.—Of the country of the Northmen, § 16.—Of Sweden, § 17.

Ohthere's second voyage, § 18. He sails into the Baltic, § 19.

Wulfstan's voyage, § 20.—Customs of the Esthonians, concerning the dead, § 21.—Horse races, § 22. Of keeping the dead, § 23.

1 What is placed between the brackets is not in Anglo-Saxon: it is inserted to complete the Table of Contents.

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Extent of AFRICA, § 29, 30, 31.—Of Byzacium, Carthage, Numidia, § 32.

Islands in the MEDITERRANEAN, Cyprus, Crete, § 33.—The Cyclades or Dodekanista, § 34.—Of Sicily, § 35.—Of Sardinia, § 36. —Of Corsica, § 37.—The Balearic Islands, § 38.]

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AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

OF

KING ALFRED'S

ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF OROSIUS

Book I, Chapter I.[1]

1. Our elders, said Orosius, divided into three parts, all the globe of this mid-earth, as it is surrounded by the ocean, which we call Garsecg[2]; and they named the three parts by three names,—Asia, and Europe, and Africa: though some said there were but two parts, one Asia and the other Europe.

2. Asia is encompassed by the ocean—the garsecg—on the south, north and east; and so, on the east part, contains one half of this mid-earth. Then on the north part of Asia, on the right hand[3], in the river Don, there the boundaries of Asia and Europe

1 Alfred omits the dedication of Orosius to S. Augustine, and the first chapter, on the origin of history and of misery from Adam [initium miseriæ hominum. Haver. p. 6—10.] The royal translator commences with, l. I, c. 2, of Orosius;—Majores nostri orbem totius terræ, oceani limbo circumseptum, triquadrum statuere. Havercamp's edition, Leyden 4to 1767; p. 10: v. Introduction, p. 10, note 1.

2 Grimm, Kemble, etc. write gár-secg, literally a spear-man, the ocean; homo jaculo armatus, oceanus.—Mr Kemble adds, "it is a name for the ocean, which is probably derived from some ancient myth, and is now quite unintelligible."—Ettmüller gives the word, thus:—Gârsecg, es; m. Carex jaculorum; vel, vir hastatus, i. e. oceanus.

Mr Hampson suggests, that the myth of an armed man,—a spear-man,—being employed by the Anglo-Saxons, as a term to denote the Ocean, has some analogy to the personification of Neptune holding his trident. He then adds: "Spears were placed in the hands of the images of heathen gods, as mentioned by Justin.—Per ea adhuc tempora reges hastas pro diademate habebant, quas Græci sceptra dixere. Nam et ab origine rerum, pro diis immortalibus veteres hastas coluere; ob cujus religionis memoriam adhuc deorum simulacris hastæ adduntur. l. xliii: c. iii.

3 In tracing the frontier of Asia from north to south, the Don is on the right hand.

lie together; and, from the same river Don, south along the Mediterranean Sea, towards the west of the city Alexandria, Asia and Africa lie together.

3. EUROPE begins, as I said before, at the river Don,[4] which runs from the north part of the Rhipæan [4] mountains, which are near the ocean, called Sarmatian. [5] The river Don runs thence right south, on the west side of Alexander's altars to the nation of the Roxolani. [6] It forms the fen which is called Mæotis, [Sea of Azov]; and then runs forth, with a great flood, near the city called Theodosia [Kaffa], flowing eastward into the Black Sea; and then, in a long strait, south easterly, where the Greek city Constantinople lies, and thence out into the Mediterranean Sea.—The south-west boundary of Europe is the ocean, on the west of Spain, and chiefly at the island Cadiz, where the Mediterranean Sea shoots up from the ocean; where also, the pillars of Hercules stand. On the west end of the same Mediterranean Sea is Scotland [Ireland]. [7]

4 Oros. l. I: c. 1, p. 11.—The river TANAIS or DON, which Alfred calls Danai, was supposed by ancient geographers, as stated by Orosius, and repeated by Alfred, to have its source in the northern parts of the Rhipæan mountains. [τὰ Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη, and Ῥίπαι.] It is difficult to ascertain the precise locality of these mountains, as ancient writers give a diversity of opinions: Arrowsmith places them in Lat. 52 degrees 45 minutes, E. Long. 37 degrees. It is now known, that the Don has its source in the small lake Ivanofskoe, in the government of Toula, Russia, about 54 degrees N. Lat. and 37 degrees E. Long.

5 Sarmatico oceano, in Orosius; Alfred calls it, Sarmondisc garsecg.—FORSTER says—"It is pretty clear, that the Sarmondi must be the Sauromatæ or Sarmatæ." They dwelt in the northern part of Europe, and were supposed to extend to the northern ocean. Alfred follows Orosius, who gives the vulgar and erroneous opinion of his time. The Sermende are mentioned in BOOK I, CH. I, § 12, note 25.

6 Roxolani, a people of European Sarmatia. They dwelt north of the sea of Azov, in a part of the country now inhabited by the Don Cossacks.

7 This last sentence is an addition by Alfred. In early times, Ireland was called Scotland. In paragraph 28, Alfred says, "Ireland, we call Scotland."—Ireland was exclusively called Scotia or Scotland, from the fifth to the tenth or eleventh century. The first we hear of the Scoti or Scots, is as a people inhabiting Ireland. In the fifth century, they contended with the Hiberni, the earlier inhabitants, and soon gained supreme power, and gave their name to the country. About A. D. 503, a colony of these Scoti, having given their name to Ireland, emigrated to North Britain, gained influence there, and also imposed their name on that country. Skene's Highlands of Scotland, 2 vol. 8vo, 1837. But Ireland is north of Spain. Ancient geographers placed Ireland much more to the south, and Alfred, being guided by them, speaks of it, as being on the west of Spain. Orosius erroneously says—Hibernia insula, inter Britanniam et Hispaniam sita. Haver. p. 28.—Correct information was not supplied, till after the time of Alfred. Though, in most cases, he was in advance of his age, yet in regard to the position of Ireland, he appears to have fallen into the error of the time.

4. The division between AFRICA and Asia begins at Alexandria, a city of Egypt; and the boundary lies thence south, by the river Nile, and so over the desert of Ethiopia to the southern ocean. The north west limit of Africa is the Mediterranean Sea, which shoots from the ocean, where the pillars of Hercules stand; and its end, right west, is the mountain, which is named Atlas, and the island called Canary. [8]

5. I have already spoken shortly about the three parts of this mid-earth; but I will now, as I promised before, tell the boundaries of these three regions, how they are separated by water.

6. Over against the middle of Asia, at the east end, there the mouth of the river, called Ganges, opens into the ocean, which they call the Indian ocean. South from the river's mouth, by the ocean, is the port they call Calymere.[9] To the south-east of the port is the island of Ceylon; and then to the north of the mouth of the Ganges, where mount Caucasus ends, near the ocean, there is the port Samera.[10] To the north of the port is the mouth of the river, named Ottorogorre.[11] They call the ocean Chinese.

7. These are the boundaries of India, where mount Caucasus is on the north, and the river Indus on the west, and the Red Sea[12] on the south, and the ocean on the east. In the district

8 Orosius says, Insulæ quas Fortunatas vocant; Haver. p. 12. But Alfred only names one island.

9 Orosius has Caligardamna; and Alfred Caligardamana, [about N. Lat. 10 degrees, 15 minutes, E. Long. 79 degrees, 50 minutes]. Asia ad mediam frontem orientis habet in oceano Eoo ostia fluminis Gangis, a sinistra promontorium Caligardamna, cui subjacet ad Eurum insula Taprobane: e qua oceanus Indicus vocari incipit, a dextra habet Imai montes, ubi Caucasus deficit, promontorium SAMARAM [See § 10, note 17]: cui ad aquilonem subjacent ostia fluminis OCTOROGORRÆ: ex quo oceanus SERICUS [pro Sericus vulgari errore SYRICUS quidam edidit. HAVER. p. 13, note 33] appellatur. L. I: c. II. Haver. p. 12, 13: 21.

10 The modern names of places are given in the translation, except where the old name is almost as familiar as the modern designation. When the position, or present name cannot be discovered, there is no alternative, but to retain the word used in the Anglo-Saxon text, and to add the various readings in the notes. Thus Alfred has Samera, and Orosius, Samara, Somora, Samaræ and Samarata. See § 6 note 9; also § 10 note 17.—Sometimes, however, the modern names are put in brackets immediately after the ancient name, as in § 3, Mæotis [Sea of Azov].

11 The Ottorocorræ were in the N. E. of Tibet, about N. Lat. 34 degrees 20 minutes—E. Long. 99 degrees; and, according to Arrowsmith and Cluverius, the river Ottorocorre was in the same locality. See § 6 note 9, also, § 10, note 17.

12 The Red Sea, in ancient geography, comprehended not only the present Red Sea, but what we now call the Persian gulph, and the Arabian Sea: thus, the Tigris, as well as the Indus, are said to run into the Red Sea, and the whole country between the Indus and the Tigris, is described as having the Red Sea for its southern boundary.

of India are forty four nations; and, besides many other inhabited islands, the island of Ceylon, which has in it ten towns. The river Indus lies to the west of the district: between the river Indus, and that which lies to the west of it, called Tigris, both of which flow south into the Red Sea,—between these two rivers,—are these countries, Arachosia, [Candahor,] and Parthia and Assyria, and Persia, and Media;[13] though writers often name all these countries Media or Assyria; and they are very mountainous, and there are very sharp and stony ways. The northern boundaries of these countries are the Caucasian mountains; and on the south side, the Red Sea. In these countries are two great rivers, Hydaspes [Jhylum], and Arabis [Pooralee]. In this dictrict are thirty two nations: now it is all called Parthia.

8. Then west from the river Tigris to the river Euphrates,—between the rivers,—are these countries, Babylonia and Chaldea, and Mesopotamia. Within these countries are twenty eight nations. Their northern boundaries are the mountains Taurus, and Caucasus, and their southern boundaries lie to the Red Sea. Along the Red Sea,—the part that shoots to the north,—lies the country of Arabia and Saba [Saade], and Eudomane.[14] From the river Euphrates, west to the Mediterranean and north almost to the mountains, which are called Taurus, to the country which they call Armenia, and again south to Egypt,—there are many nations in these districts; that is, Comagena, and Phœnicia, and Damascus, and Coelle, and Moab, and Ammon, and Idumea, and Judea, and Palestine, and Saracene; though it is all called Syria. Then to the north of Syria are the mountains, called Taurus; and to the north of the mountains, are the countries of Cappadocia, and Armenia. Armenia is to the east of Cappadocia. To the west of Cappadocia is the country called Asia the Less. To the north of Cappadocia, is the plain of Themiscyra.[15] Then, between Cappadocia and Asia the Less, is the country of Cilicia and Isauria.

13 This involved sentence is very much shorter and clearer in Orosius.—"A flumine Indo, quod est ab oriente, usque ad flumen Tigrim, quod est ad occasum, regiones sunt istæ.—Aracosia, Parthia, Assyria, Persis, et Media. Haver. p. 14.—Arachosia is, S. E of Cabul, about N. Lat. 30 degrees 45 minutes, E. Long. 65 degrees 30 minutes. Arrowsmith.—Arachosiæ, nunc Candahor, populi Margyetæ qui ante Arimaspi, postea Euergetæ dicti, Sydri, Roplutæ, Eortæ. Urbes Arachotus, Alexandria, quæ ad Arachotum ponitur fluvium. Cluverii Introduct. Geog. Amstel. 4to 1729. l. V: c. XIII: § IV, p. 550.

14 Orosius has "Arabia Eudæmon." Haver. p. 14.

15 Themiscyra, in the north west of Pontus [Roum] in Asia Minor: about N. Lat. 41 degrees: E. Long. 36 degrees 56 minutes. Arrowsmith.

This Asia is, on every side, surrounded with salt water, except on the east. On the north side is the Black Sea; and, on the west, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles; and the Mediterranean Sea, on the south. In the same Asia, the highest mountain is Olympus.

9. To the north of the nearer Egypt is the country of Palestine, and to the east of it, the district of the Saracens, and to the west the country of Libya, and to the south the mountain called Climax.—The spring of the river Nile is near the cliff of the Red Sea; though some say that its spring is in the west end of Africa, near the mountain Atlas; and then soon running on sand to the east, it sinks into the sand. Nigh there, it flows up again, from the sand, and there forms a great sea. Where it first springs up, the men of the country call it Nuchul, and some Dara. Then, from the sea, where it shoots up from the sand, it runs easterly through the desert of Ethiopia, and there it is called Ion, as far as the east part; and there it becomes a great sea. It then sinks again into the earth; and, north of that, afterwards springs up, near the cliff by the Red Sea, which I formerly mentioned. Then, from this source, the water is called the river Nile. Running thence onward to the west it separates into two, about an island which is called Meroe; and thence bending northward, flows out into the Mediterranean Sea. In the winter time, the river at the mouth is so driven back by the northern winds, that it flows over all the land of Egypt; and by this flooding very thick crops are produced in the land of Egypt.—The farther Egypt lies east along the Red Sea, on the south side. On the east and south parts of the country, lies the ocean; and, on its west side, is the nearer Egypt. In the two Egypts are twenty four nations.

10. We have already written about the south part of Asia: now we will take the north part of it; that is from the mountains called Caucasus, of which we have before spoken, and which are to the north of India. They begin first on the east from the ocean, and then lie right west to the mountains of Armenia, which the people of the country call Parachoathras[16]. There, from the south of these mountains, springs the river Euphrates; and, from the

16 Parachoathras, Arrowsmith. Alfred writes it Parcoadras. Orosius describes it as, "mons Armeniæ inter Taurum et Caucasum." Haver. p. 19.

mountains called Parachoathras, extend the mountains of Taurus right west, to the country of the Cilicians. Then [17] to the north of the mountains, along the ocean to the north-east of this mid-earth, there the river Bore shoots out into the ocean; and thence westerly along the ocean to the Caspian Sea, which there shoots up to the mountains of Caucasus. That district they call Old Scythia, and Hyrcania. In this district are forty three nations widely settled, because of the barrenness of the country. Then, from the west of the Caspian Sea unto the river Don, and to the fen called Mæotis, [Sea of Azov]; and then south to the Mediterranean Sea, and to Mount Taurus; and north to the ocean is all the country of Scythia within; though it is separated into thirty two nations. But the countries, that are near, on the east side of the Don, are named Albani in Latin; and we now call them Liobene.—We have thus spoken shortly about the boundaries of Asia.

11. Now we will speak, as much as we know, about the boundaries of Europe.—*From the river Don, westward to the river Rhine,* (which springs from the Alps, and then runs right north into the arm of the ocean, that lies around the country called Britain;)—*and again south to the river Danube,* (whose spring is near the river Rhine, and which afterwards runs east, by the country north of Greece, into the Mediterranean [1] Sea;)— *and*

17 This is a description of the north and east of Asia, or rather, as Orosius states, "ab oriente ad septentrionem." Alfred has so much abridged this description, and included so large a space, in few words, that it is not easy, from the A. S. text alone, to ascertain the locality of the places, which he mentions. The original Latin of Orosius [from p. 19 to 22 of Haver.] is more full and satisfactory: from the text and the following extract, it will be seen, that the river Bore was supposed to be near the promontory of the same name, on the north or north-east coast of Asia. Its name alone would indicate this position, it being in Latin Boreus, and in Greek βόρειος northern. A short extract from Orosius will make all plain.—A fonte fluminis Gangis usque ad fontes fluminis Ottorogorræ [see § 6, note 11] qui sunt a Septentrione, ubi sunt montani Paropamisadæ, mons Taurus: a fontibus Ottorogorræ usque ad civitatem Ottorogorram, inter Hunnos et Scythas et Gandaridas, mons Caucasus. Ultimus autem inter Eoas et Pasiadras, mons Imaus, ubi flumen Chrysorrhoas, et promontorium Samara orientali excipiuntur oceano. Igitur a monte Imao, hoc est, ab imo Caucaso, et dextra orientis parte, qua oceanus Sericus tenditur, usque ad promontorium Boreum, et flumen Boreum, inde tenus Scythico mari, quod est a septentrione, usque ad mare Caspium, quod est ab occasu, et usque ad extentum Caucasi jugum, quod est ad meridiem, Hyrcanorum et Scytharum gentes sunt quadraginta duæ, propter terrarum infœcundam diffusionem late oberrantes. l. I; c. II. Haver. p. 21, 22.

1 Into what is now called the Black Sea, which Alfred considered a part of the Mediterranean. Snorre calls it a gulf of the Mediterranean, in the first chapter of his Heimskringla. In other places, Alfred mentions the Black Sea, under the name Euxinus. Rask's Afhandlinger, Köbenhavn, 1834. vol. I. p. 332, note c.

Facsimiles of part of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius, — taken from the Lauderdale Manuscript. — the property of John Tollemache Esq.re M.P. of Helmingham Hall, Suffolk, and Peckforton Castle, Cheshire, — beginning Page 12. Line 6, with The Geography of Europe.

Nu wille we ymbe europe lond gemǽro arec
cean swa micel swa we hit fyrmest witon; From þǽre ie da
nais west oþ rin. þa ea seo wilð of þǽm beorge þe mon alpis
hǽt 7 irnð þonne norþ ryhte on þæs garsecges earm
þe þæt lond utan ymblið þe mon brittania hǽt 7 eft
suþ oð donua þa ea þǽre æwielme is neah rines ofre þǽ
re ie 7 is siþþan east irnende wið norþan creca lond ut
on þone wendelsǽ 7 norþ oþ þone garsecg þe mon Cwen sǽ hǽt.
binnan þǽm sindon monega þeoda ac hit mon hǽt eall ger
mania. þonne wið norþan donua æwielme 7 be eastan rine
sindon east francna 7 be suþan him sindon swǽfas on oþre
healfe þǽre ie donua 7 be suþan him 7 be eastan sindon
bægware se dǽl þe mon regnes burg hǽt 7 ryhte be eastan
him sindon bǽme 7 east norþ sindon þyringa 7 be nor
þan him sindon eald seaxan 7 be norþan westan him sin
don frisan be westan eald seaxum is ælfe muþa þǽre
ie 7 frisland 7 þonan west norð is þæt lond þe mon ongle
hæt 7 sillende 7 sumne dǽl dene 7 be norþan him is apdre
de 7 east norþ wilte þe mon hæfeldan hǽt 7 be eastan hi
is winedalond þe mon hǽt sysyle 7 east suþ ofer sum
dǽl maroara 7 hie maroara habbað be westan him þy
ringas 7 behemas 7 bægware healfe 7 be suþan him on oþre
healfe donua þǽre ie is þæt land carendre suþ oþ þa beorgas
þe mon alpis hǽt to þǽm ilcan beorgan licgað bægwara land
gemǽro 7 swǽfa. þonne be eastan carendran londe be
geondan þǽm westenne is pulgara land 7 be eastan þǽm is

crecaland ⁊ be eastan maroara londe is wisle lond · ⁊ be
eastan þæm sint datia þa þe iu wæron gotan be norþan
eastan maroara sindon dalamentsan ⁊ be eastan dala
mentsan sindon horigti ⁊ be norþan dalamentsan sin
don surpe ⁊ be westan him sysyle be norþan horoti is mæg
þaland ⁊ be norþan mægþalonde sermende oþ þa beorgas
riffen · be westan suþdenum is þæs garsecges earm þe liþ ymb
utan þæt land brettannia · ⁊ be norþan him is þæs sæs earm
þe mon hæt ostsæ ⁊ be eastan him ⁊ be norþan sindon norð
dene ægþer ge on þæm maran landum ge on þæm iglandum ⁊
be eastan him sindon apdrede ⁊ be suþan him is ælfe muþa
þære ie ⁊ ealdseaxna sumdæl · norðdene habbað be norþan
him þone ilcan sæs earm þe mon hæt ostsæ ⁊ be eastan
him sindon osti þa leode ⁊ afrede be suþan osti habbað
be norþan him þone ilcan sæs earm ⁊ winedas ⁊ burgen
dan ⁊ be suþan him sindon hæfeldan · burgendan habbað
þone sæs earm be westan him ⁊ sweon be norþan ⁊ be eastan
him sint sermende ⁊ be suþan him surfe · sweon habbað
be suþan him þone sæs earm osti ⁊ be eastan him sermende
⁊ be norþan him ofer þa westenne is cwenland · ⁊ be westan nor
þan him sindon scridefinne ⁊ be westan norþmenn ·
ohthere sæde his hlaforde ælfrede cyninge þæt he ealra
norð monna norþ mest bude · he cwæð þæt he bude ·
on þæm lande norþ weardum wiþ þa west sæ · he sæde
þeah þæt land sie swiþe lang norþ þonan · ac hit is eal
weste buton on feawum stowum styccemælum wiciað fin
nas on huntoðe on wintra ⁊ on sumera on fiscaþe
be þære sæ · he sæde þæt he æt sumum cirre wolde
fandian hu longe þæt land norþ ryhte læge oþþe
hwæðer ænig mon be norðan þæm westenne bude ·
þa for he norþ ryhte be þæm lande · let him ealne weg

þæt ƿeste land on ðæt steorbord ⁊ ƿid sæ on ðæt
bæcbord · þrie daȝas þa ƿæs he sƿa feor norþ sƿa þa
hƿælhuntan firrest faraþ · þa for he þaȝiet norþ
ryhte sƿa feor sƿa he meahte on þæm oþrum þrim da
ȝum ȝesiȝlan · þa beaȝ þæt land þær eastryhte oþþe
seo sæ in on ðæt lond he nysse hƿæðer buton he ƿisse
ðæt he ðær bad ƿestan ƿindes ⁊ hƿon norþan ⁊ siȝlde
ða east be lande sƿa sƿa he meahte on feoƿer daȝum ȝe
siȝlan · þa sceolde he ðær bidan ryht norþan ƿindes for
ðæm þæt land beaȝ þær suþryhte · oþþe seo sæ in on
ðæt land he nysse hƿæþer · þa siȝlde he þonan suð ryh
te be lande sƿa sƿa he mehte on fif daȝum ȝesiȝlan ·
ða læȝ þær an micel ea up in on þæt land · þa cirdon hie
up in on ða ea forþæm hie ne dorston forþ bi þære
ea siȝlan for unfriþe ; forþæm ðæt land ƿæs eall
ȝebun on oþre healfe þære ea · ne mette he ær nan
ȝebun land siþþan he from his aȝnū ham for · ac
him ƿæs ealne ƿeȝ ƿeste land on þæt steorbord butan
fiscerū ⁊ fuȝelerū ⁊ huntū ⁊ þæt ƿæron eall finnas ⁊
him ƿæs a ƿid sæ on ðæt bæcbord · þa beormas hæfdon
sƿiþe ƿel ȝebud hira land · ac hie ne dorston þæron
cuman · ac þara terfinna land ƿæs eal ƿeste bu
ton ðær huntan ȝeƿicodon oþþe fisceras oþþe fuȝelas
fela spella him sædon þa beormas æȝþer ȝe of hiera
aȝnum lande ȝe of þæm landū þe ymb hie utan ƿæron ·
ac he nyste hƿæt þæs soþes ƿæs forþæm he hit self
ne ȝeseah · þa finnas him þuhte ⁊ þa beormas spræ
con neah an ȝeþeode · sƿiþost he for ðider to eacan
þæs landes sceaƿunȝe forþæm horschƿælum for
ðæm hie habbað sƿiþe æþele ban on hiora toþum
þa teð hie brohton sume þæm cyninȝe ⁊ hiora hyd

north[2] *to the ocean, which is called the White Sea*[3]: within these are many nations; but they call it all, Germania.[4]

12. Then to the north, from the spring of the Danube, and to the east of the Rhine are the East Franks[5]; and to the south of them are the Suabians, on the other side of the river Danube. To the south and to the east are the Bavarians,[6] that part which is called Ratisbon.[7] Right to the east of them are the Bohemians; and north-east are the Thuringians. To the north of them are the Old Saxons,[8] and to the north-west of them are the Friesians. To the west of the Old Saxons is the mouth of the river Elbe and Friesland. From thence, north-west is the country called Anglen,[9] and Zealand[10] and some part of Denmark. To the north are the

2 From this place to the end of § 23, Alfred leaves Orosius, and gives the best information that he could collect. It is the king's own account of Europe in his time. It is not only interesting, as the composition of Alfred, but invaluable, as an historical document, being the only authentic record of the Germanic nations, written by a contemporary, so early as the ninth century.

3 The Cwen-sæ' of Alfred. The plain detail, which Ohthere gave to king Alfred, [§ 13] can scarcely be read by any unprejudiced person, without coming to the conclusion, that Ohthere sailed from Halgoland, on the coast of Norway, into the White Sea. See § 13, and note 39. The Germania of Alfred, therefore, extended from the Don on the east, to the Rhine and the German ocean on the west; and from the Danube on the south, to the White Sea on the north.

4 Alfred's Germania embraced nearly the whole of Europe north of the Rhine and the Danube. Its great extent will be seen by the countries mentioned, in the notes from 5 to 39, and in the text. See also the end of note 3, and Cluverii Introductionis in universam Geographiam, Libri VI, Amstelædami 4to 1729. Lib. III, Cap. 1. De veteri Germania, p. 183—186, and the map of Europe, p. 72.—Also the very learned work—Cluverii Germania antiqua. Lugd. Batavorum. Elzevir. Fol. 1616: Lib. I: cap. XI. De magnitudine Germaniæ antiquæ, p. 94—98, and the map, p. 3.—Also Cellarii Geographia Antiqua. Cantab. 4to 1703. p. 309—313.—Warnefried's Hist. Longob. l. I: c. I.

5 The locality of the East-Franks is not given with great precision: it probably varied at different periods. Alfred speaks here indefinitely of their dwelling east of the Rhine, and north of the source of the Danube. They were called East-Franks to distinguish them from the Franks in the west, inhabiting Gaul.

6 A. S. Bæg&ware the Bavarians.

7 Regnesburh the district as well as the city of Ratisbon, on the Danube—Beme the Bohemians.

8 A. S. Eald-Seaxe, and Eald-Seaxan The Old Saxons, inhabiting the country between the Eyder and the Weser, the parent stock of the Anglo or English-Saxons, and therefore of great importance in the mind of Alfred; for he speaks of other countries, as they are located in regard to the Old Saxons. They were a very warlike and powerful people, who once occupied the whole north-west corner of Germany.

9 Anglen, the country between Flensburg and the Schley, whence the Angles came to Britain. Thorpe's An.

10 In A. S. Sillende Zealand, or Seeland, in Danish Sjalland, the largest island in the Danish monarchy, on the eastern shores of which Copenhagen is built.

Afdrede,[11] and north-east the Wylte,[12] who are called Hæfeldan. To the east of them is the country of the Wends[13], who are called Sysyle;[14] and south-east, at some distance, the Moravians.[15] These Moravians have, to the west of them, the Thuringians, and Bohemians, and part of the Bavarians. To the south of them, on the other side of the river Danube, is the country, Carinthia,[16] [lying] south to the mountains, called the Alps. To the same mountains extend the boundaries of the Bavarians, and of the Suabians; and then, to the east of the country Carinthia, beyond the desert, is the country of the Bulgarians;[17] and, to the east of them, the

11 The Laud MS. always has Afdrede [p. 12, l. 23 l: 13, 11e, 14g] Cotton has Afdrede in fol. 9a, l. 21g: Afdræde, fol. 9a, 25d; and Apdrede, in fol. 8b. 24g. Alfred's Afdrede, were the Obotriti or Obotritæ, a Slavonic tribe, who, in the 9th century, dwelt north of the Old-Saxons, and occupied the western, and the greater part of what is now the Duchy of Mecklenburg. Hampson, Notes and Qrs. No. 17, p. 257. Thorpe's An. Glos.

12 The Wylte, or Wilte, were a Slavonic race, that occupied the eastern part of Mecklenburg, and the Mark of Brandenburg. Eiginhard says, "They are Slavonians who, in our manner, are called Wilsi, but in their own language, Welatibi." [Vit. Kar. Magn. and Annal. Francor. ann. 822.] The name, as Eiginhard has noticed, is Slavonic, and is an adoption of welot or weolot a giant, to denote the strength and fierceness which made them formidable neighbours. Hampson.—Why the Wilti were sometimes called Heveldi [Alfred's Hæfeldan, Laud. p. 12, l. 24g: æ'feldan C. C. fol. 8b, 25c] will appear from their location, as pointed out by Ubbo Emmius: "Wilsos, Henetorum gentem, ad Havelam trans Albim sedes habentem." [Rer. Fris. Hist. l. IV, p. 67] Schaffarik remarks; "Die Stoderaner und Havolaner waren ein und deselbe, nur durch zwei namen unterscheidener zweig des Weleten stammes." Albinus says: "Es sein aber die richten Wilzen Wender sonderlich an der Havel wonhaft." They were frequently designated by the name of Lutici, as appears from Adam of Bremen, Helmold, and others. The Slavonic word liuti signified wild, fierce, etc. Being a wild and contentious people, they figure in some of the old Russian sagas, much as the Jutes do in those of Scandinavia. It is remarkable that the names of both should have signified giants or monsters. Notker, in his Teutonic paraphrase of Martianus Capella, speaking of other Anthropophagi, relates that the Wilti were not ashamed to say, that they had more right to eat their parents than the worms. S. W. Singer. Notes and Qrs. No 20, p. 313.

13 In. A. S. Wineda land, Weonod-land, Winod-land, c. Wineda lond, l. The country of the Venedi or Wends, which at one time comprehended the whole of the south coast of the Baltic, from the mouth of the Vistula to the Schley.—The Greeks called the Slavonians Ἐνετοί; the Romans, Venetæ, Veneti, Vineti, Venedi: and the Germans, Wenden, Winden. R. T. Hampson.

14 Sysyle, v. note 23.

15 A. S. Maroaro, the Slavi Maharenses or Moravians, from the river Marus or Mabarus, which runs through their country, and into the Danube a little below Vienna.

16 A. S. þæt land Carendre. The present Duchy of Carinthia, perhaps formerly inhabited by Slavi Carenthani, or Carentani. Forster.

17 In A. S. Pulgara land, the country of the Bulgarians, comprehended the present Moldavia, and Bulgaria, on both sides the Danube. Bulgaria was south of Dacia. Eiginhard says an embassy came in A. D. 824 to Charlemagne from the Abotritæ, "qui vulgo Prædenecenti vocantur, et contermini Bulgaris Daciam Danubio adjacentem incolunt. In Bk III, ch. 7, § 2, Alfred adds Iliricos, þe we Pulgare hataþ, Illyrians whom we call Bulgarians.

country of the Greeks.[18] To the east of the country Moravia, is the country of the[19] Wisle, and to the east of them are the Dacians, who were formerly Goths. To the north-east of the Moravians are the Dalamensan,[20] and to the east of the Dalamensan are the Horithi,[21] and to the east of the Dalamensan are the Surpe,[22] and to the west of them are the Sysele.[23] To the north of the Horiti is Mægtha-land,[24] and north of Mægtha-land are the Sermende[25] even to the Rhipæan mountains.—To[26] the west of the South-Danes

18 Creca land, the Byzantine empire and not ancient Greece, which is mentioned in a subsequent paragraph.

19 Wisle is the river Vistula. Wisleland is the country about the source of the Vistula, a part of Poland called Little Poland.

20 Dalamensan, Dalamensæ, a Slavonic race, who dwelt in Misnia, on both sides of the Elbe.

21 Horithi, Horiti, C.—Horigti, L. A Slavonic race, placed by Alfred to the east of the Slavi Dalamenti, who occupied the district north-east of Moravia with the Surpe, Serbi, or Servi, on their north, and the Sysele, Siculi, another Slavonic race, on the west. See note 23. R. T. Hampson, Notes and Qrs, No 17, p. 258.—S. W. Singer says,—The Horiti of Alfred are undoubtedly the Croati, or Crowati of Pomerania, who still pronounce their name Horuati, the h supplying the place of ch. Nor does it seem unreasonable to presume that the Harudes of Cæsar (De Bel. Gall. I, 31, 37, 51) were also Croats; for they must have been a numerous and widely spread race. They are also called Charudes, Ἀρούδες. The following passage from the Annales Fuldenses, A. 852, will strengthen this supposition;—"Inde transiens per Angros, Harudos, Suabos, et Hosingos . . . Thuringiam ingreditur." Notes and Qrs, No 20, p. 314.

22 Surpe, Surfe, Sorabi, or Soravi, Sorbi, or Servi, Serbi, or Servi, a Slavonic race inhabiting Lusatia, Misnia, part of Brandenburg, and Silesia. Forster.

23 Are the Sysele, Sysyle, the Szeklers, or Siculi? A part of the Hungarians is called Szekler, pronounced Sekler. In the work, known as that of the Notary of king Bela, we have:—"Siculi, qui primo erant populi Attilæ regis," Not. c. 50. Also—"Tria millia virorum, eadem de natione (Hunnorum) . . . metuentes ad Erdewelwe confinia videlicet Pannonicæ regionis se transtulere, et non Hunos sive Hungaros, sed ne illorum agnoscerentur esse residui, Siculos, ipsorum autem vocabulo Zekel, se denominasse perhibentur. Hi Siculi Hunorum prima fronte in Pannoniam intrantium etiam hac nostra tempestate residui esse dubitantur per neminem, quum in ipsorum generatione, extraneo nondum permixta sanguine et in moribus severiores et in divisione agri cæteris Hungaris multum differre videantur." Thwrocz, ap. Schwandtn. p. 78. Dr Latham's Germ. of Tacitus, Epileg. ciii.—Porthan says, the Sysyle dwelt in the South-eastern part of Newmark. See Porthan's Swedish Trans. and notes. Also, Rask's Danish Trans. p. 344, note a.

24 Mægða-land is north of the Horithi, and perhaps a part of Great Poland, and East Prussia, or the Polish province of Mazovia. An.

25 Sermende a people to the north of Mægtha-land, and to the east of the Burgundians, inhabiting the modern Livonia, Esthonia and part of Lithuania.

26 Alfred, having described the continent north of the Danube, goes to the islands and countries of the East-Sea or Baltic, including the Cattegat, first coming to Denmark. Porthan remarks, that the king seems to turn the north a little to the east, and to speak of North and South Denmark, as separated by the East-Sea or Baltic, for Alfred expressly says, the North-Danes are "on the continent and on the islands," that is in the province of Halland, and of Skaney or Schonen, on the continent, the present South west of Sweden, and on the islands Zealand, Moen, Falster, and Laland. To the South-Danes he assigns

is the arm of the ocean, which lies around the country of Britain; and to the north of them is the arm of the sea called the Baltic[27]; and to the east and to the north of them are the North-Danes,[26] both on the continent and on the islands: to the east of them are the Afdrede[28]; and to the south of them is the mouth of the river Elbe, with some part of the Old Saxons.[29] The North-Danes have to the north of them the same arm of the sea called the Baltic[27]: to the east of them are the Esthonian population; and the Afdræde to the south. The Esthonians[30] have, to the north of them, the same arm of the sea, and also the Wends[31] and Burgundians[32]; and to the south are the Hæfeldan.[33] The Burgundians have the same arm of the sea to the west of them, and the Swedes[34] to the north: to the east of them are the Sermende,[24] and to the south the Surfe.[35] The Swedes have, to the south of them, the Esthonian arm of the sea; and to the east of them the Sermende[25]: to the north, over the wastes, is Cwén-land,[36] and to

the islands Langland, Funen, Arroe, Alsen, as well as the provinces of Jutland, Schleswig and part of Holstein. Rask, *p.* 348, note c.—Mr Thorpe thinks that the South-Danes inhabited the south of Jutland; and the North-Danes, North-Jutland, the Danish islands and probably Scania.

27 In A. S. Ost-sæ´ or East-Sea, included the Cattegat as well as the Baltic. It was called Ost-sæ´ in opposition to the sea, on the west of Denmark and Norway.

28 v. note 11. 29 A. S. Eald-Seaxan, v. note 8.

30 Esthonians, Æstii, Osti, Esti, a Finnish race—the Estas of Wulfstan [note 72] and Osterlings of the present day. They dwelt on the shores of the Baltic, to the east of the Vistula. An.—See also Dr Latham's Germ. of Tacitus, p. 166—171, and Prol. p. liii.

31 Note 13.

32 Burgendas, Burgendan, Burgundiones, the Burgundians, who occupied the north part of Germany, east of the Upper Vistula, or the district between the Vistula and the river Bug.—Pliny [H. N. IV, 14] writes, "Germanorum genera quinque: Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones, etc." Dr Latham's Germ. of Tacitus, Epileg. p. lvi.

33. Hæfeldan, Æ´feldan, v. note 12.

34. Sweon, Sweoan, Suiones, Sueones, the Swedes.

35. Surfe, Surpe, &c. v. note 22.

36. Cwén-land. The country east and west of the Gulf of Bothnia, from Norway to the Cwén or White Sea, including Finmark on the north. Malte-Brun says that the inhabitants of Cwén-land were a Finnish race. They were called Quaines, and by Latin writers Cayani. Gerchau maintains, in his history of Finland, 1810, that the Laplanders only were called Finns, and that they were driven from the country by the Quaines. "They settled in Lapland, and on the shores of the White Sea, which derived from them the name of Quen Sea or Quen-vik." . . . Adamus Bremensis happened to be present at a conversation, in which king Sweon spoke of Quen-land or Quena-land, the country of the Quaines, but as the stranger's knowledge of Danish was very imperfect, he supposed the king had said Quinna-land, the country of women or Amazons; hence the absurd origin of his Terra Feminarum, mistaking the name of the country, for quinna a woman. Malte-Brun's Universal Geog. Edin. 1827, vol. VI, p. 495.—Dr Latham's Germania of Tacitus, 174, 179.

the north-west are the Scride-Finns,[37] and to the west the Northmen.[38]

13. Ohthere[39] told his lord, king Alfred, that he dwelt northmost

37 The Scride-Finnas of Alfred,—Crefennæ of Jornandes, for Screde-Fennæ,—Scritifinni of Procopius, seem to have inhabited the present Russian Lapland, and the country around; and to have extended into the modern Swedish Finland. In short, they appear to have occupied the country to the north and west of the White Sea. They were called Scríde, Skriðe Finnas, Striding Finns, from their swiftness in passing over frozen snow, on their skates.—Skríða kann eg á skíðum, I can stride on skates. Dahlmann's Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte, Erster Band, p. 452. Altona, 12mo. 1822. Rask, note i, p. 352.—The Scride-Finns were a branch of the Ugrians or Finns, who were a distinct race occupying Lapland, Finland, Esthonia, and Hungary. In Hungary, the Finn population is of recent introduction, the present Ugrian indigenæ being the Lapps, Finlanders and Esthonians. Dr Latham's Germ. of Tacitus, Proleg. XXXVII, and 178, 179.

38 These Northmen were Norwegians. The Northmanna land generally comprehended the present Norway, the chief locality of Northmen. But by Northmen, as the name implies, may be understood, men that dwelt in the north. [See more in Note 40.] They spoke the Old Norse language [norræna] which was common to Denmark, Norway and Sweden. In A.D. 874 it was conveyed to Iceland by Ingolf, and his followers, the first Norwegian settlers in Iceland. Norse was also the language of the Faroe Isles, Greenland, &c. The nearest representative of this old Scandinavian or Norse language, once pervading the north-west of Europe, is the present Icelandic, which, from its northern locality, has undergone so little change, that the oldest documents are easily read by the present Icelanders. See Origin of the English, Germanic, and Scandinavian languages, p. 145.

39 This name has been written Octher, Othere, Ottar, and Ohthere. The last is the only correct mode of writing it; for the Laud. MS. has Ohthere, and the Cotton MS. has the same orthography, but the word is divided into Oht here, indicating its derivation from OHT fear, dread, and HERE an army. Rask observes, that the A. S. ht answers to the Icl. tt, and ere to the Icl. ari and ar, and thus is formed the well known old Norse name, O´ttar the dreadful, timendus, metuendus, from Icl. ótti timor, metus.—Ohthere was a Norwegian nobleman of great wealth and influence, anxious to state nothing, but that to which he could bear personal testimony. It appears impossible for any one to read this simple narrative, without being convinced, that this daring Northman is giving a detail of his voyage, on the west and on the north coast of Norway into the White sea. Iceland had already been discovered by Gardar, the Dane, in A.D. 860, and it was colonized by Ingolf, a Norwegian, in 874. Greenland was discovered in 877 and inhabited by Northmen soon after. Accustomed as these Northmen were, to the most daring enterprises, it was not likely that Ohthere one of the most powerful, adventurous, bold and inquiring of them, should come to the renowned king of England, to relate the events of a common voyage. Ohthere had made discoveries, which he communicated to the king, and Alfred thought them of such importance, that he wrote and inserted this detail of them in his Geographical and Historical view of Europe. It has always been considered an extraordinary voyage. On its first publication by Hakluyt, in 1598, it was acknowledged, as every unprejudiced reader must now allow, that Ohthere doubled the north cape, and entered the White Sea. "The voiage of Octher made to the north-east parts beyond Norway, reported by himselfe vnto Alfred, the famous king of England, about the yere 890." Hakluyt's Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques, and Discoueries of the English Nation, &c. page 5, Fol. 2nd Edn. London, 1598. Again, a little below, Hakluyt says:—"Wil it not, in all posteritie, be as great renowne vnto our English Nation to haue bene the first discouerers of a sea beyond the North cape [neuer certainly knowen before] and of a conuenient passage into

of all Northmen.[40] He said that he dwelt northward, on the land by the west sea.[41] He said, however, that the land is very long thence to the north; but it is all waste [desert], save that in a few places, here and there, Finns reside,—for hunting in winter, and in summer for fishing in the sea. He said, that, at a certain time, he wished to find out how far the land lay right north; or whether any man dwelt to the north of the waste. Then he went right north near the land: he left, all the way, the waste land on the right,[41] and the wide sea on the left, for three days. Then was he as far north as Whale-hunters ever go. He then went yet right north, as far as he could sail in the next three days. Then the land bent there right east, or the sea in on the land, he knew not whether; but he knew that he there waited for a western wind, or a little to the north, and sailed thence east near the land, as far as he could sail in four days. Then he must wait there for

the huge Empire of Russia by the bay S. Nicolas and the riuer of Duina? &c." Id. p. 5.—The subsequent editors and translators of Ohthere's voyage are of the same opinion as Hakluyt.—Sir John Spelman and Oxonienses Alumni, in 1678:—Bussæus, in 1733:—Langebek in 1773:—Daines Barrington, and J. R. Forster, in 1773: Forster again in 1786 in his Hist. of voyages and discoveries in the north.—Ingram, in 1807.—Rask, in his notes to his Danish translation, published in 1815, expressly says—"Ohthere was the first who undertook a voyage to Beormia [Permia] or sailed round the North-cape, and all Lapland," &c. note k. p. 352—355.—Dahlmann, in 1822, states that Ohthere sailed into the White Sea.—Mr Thorpe comes to the same conclusion, in 1846.—Malte-Brun, before Rask, Dahlmann, and Thorpe, speaks, in 1812, of Ohthere's northern voyage from Halgoland in Norway [see note 52 and text] to the White Sea; and south to Schleswig; and also of Wulfstan's voyage from Schleswig to Truso in Prussia. [Note 63.] Through the liberality and kindness of S. W. Singer Esq. the reader is presented with an extract from Précis de la Géographie Universelle, of the celebrated Malte-Brun:—"Othere retraçait ses voyages depuis le Halogaland en Norwége, jusqu' à la Biarmie à l'est de la mer Blanche; et, d'un autre côté, le long des côtes Norwégiennes et Danoises par le sund, jusqu' à la ville de Hæthum ou Schleswig. L'autre relation était celle d'un voyage du Danois Wulfstan, depuis Schleswig jusqu'à Truso, ville de commerce dans le pays d' Estum ou la Prusse. Tom. I, Liv. XVII, p. 382. Paris, 8vo, 1812.

40 Norðmen dwelt on Norðmanna land which extended, on the west coast of Norway, from the district [scír,] of Halgoland [Note 52] to the south of Sciringes heal, [Note 53] probably as far south as the river Gotha-Elf, both the branches of which enter the Cattegat not far from Gottenburg. The Norðmanna land is also called by Ohthere [Norðwege] Norway, which was on his left when sailing from Halgoland to Sciringes heal. These particulars are all drawn from Ohthere's simple narrative. Malte-Brun, in his Précis de la Géog. Univers., speaking of the country of Northmen, says, in p. 383, "La Norwége ou Northmannaland consistait dans la côte occidentale de la Scandinavie depuis la rivière Gotha jusqu'à Halogaland. Les côtes méridionales se nommaient Viken, c'est à dire le golfe; c'est là qu'il faut chercher la ville de Kiningsheal, le Koughille moderne, nommé Scyringes-heal par une faute de copiste." S. W. Singer.

41 A. S. West-sæ´, the sea to the West of Norway, in opposition to the Ost-sæ´, or the Baltic. See Note 27.—A. S. Steor-bord, star-board, the right hand. Bæc-bord, the left hand.

a right north wind, because the land bent there right south, or the sea in on the land, he knew not whether. Then sailed he thence right south, near the land, as far as he could sail in five days. There lay then a great river up into the land: they turned up into the river, because they durst not sail beyond it, on account of hostility, for the land was all inhabited, on the other side of the river. He had not before met with any inhabited land, since he came from his own home, but the land was uninhabited all the way on his right, save by fishermen, fowlers and hunters, and they were all Finns; and there was always a wide sea on his left. The Biarmians[42] had very well peopled their land, but they durst not come upon it: the land of the Terfinns[43] was all waste, save where hunters, fishers or fowlers encamped.

14. The Biarmians told him many stories both about their own country and about the countries which were around them; but, he knew not what was true, because he did not see it himself. The Finns and the Biarmians, as it seemed to him, spoke nearly the same language. He chiefly went thither, in addition to the seeing of the country, on account of the horse-whales, [walruses],[44]

42 The Biarmians inhabited the country on the shores of the White Sea, east of the river Dwina. Alfred calls them Beormas. They were called Biarmians by Icelandic Historians, and Permiaki by the Russians, and now Permians. In the middle ages, the Scandinavian pirates gave the name of Permia to the whole country between the White Sea, and the Ural. Malte-Brun's Univer. Geog. Vol. VI, p. 419. In an Icelandic MS. on Geography, written in the 14th century, Beormia and two Cwenlands are located together. Kvenlönd II, ok ero þau norðr frá Bjarmalandi. Duæ Quenlandiæ, quæ ulterius quam Bjarmia boream versus extenduntur. Antiquitates Americanæ, p. 290.—Haldorsen's Lexicon Islandico-Latino-Danicum, edited by Rask, has—"Biarmaland, Biarmia, quæ ob perpetuas nives albicatur, Bjarmeland, Permien. Biarmia ortum versus ad mare album vel gandvikam sita est."

43 Terfinna land, the country between the northern point of the Bothnian Gulf and the North Cape. An.

44 One particular reason for Ohthere's sailing northward was to capture the Walrus, which was, and still is to be found in abundance in the White Sea about Archangel, and the coast of the country of the Biarmians. This is additional evidence to what was advanced in Note 39, to prove that Ohthere doubled the north cape and entered the White Sea,—that his first voyage was not into the Baltic, where the Walrus is scarcely ever found, but into the White Sea. [Forster's notes in Barrington's Orosius, p. 243.] We have Forster's opinion confirmed by the best Zoologists of the present day. Mr Broderip assures me in a letter, "I do not think it likely that Ohthere, a Norwegian, would go into the Baltic to take the Walrus.—I do not believe that Walruses or Whales were ever so numerous in that sea, within the time of authentic history, as to attract the attention of fishers."

Ohthere seems to have been a plain practical man, and to have described every thing just as he saw it. Alfred exercised his usual talent and judgment, in implicitly following the simple detail of the narrator; for, he was as fully aware as the most scientific of the present day, that he who most closely observes and describes nature, cannot wander far

because they have very good bone in their teeth: of these teeth they brought some to the king; and their hides are very good for ship-ropes. This whale is much less than other whales: it is not

from scientific truth. They were, therefore, upon the whole, correct in associating the monstrous Whale, and the smaller Horse-Whale, Sea-horse or Walrus, in the same class of animals; for both the Whale and the Walrus suckle their young, have warm blood, and are viviparous, and aquatic. The great Linnæus was the first to place the Whale in the class of Mammalia, in allusion to which a gentleman, who has written much and well on Zoology, Mr Broderip, has properly remarked—"Here then we find the decisive step taken, with the unflinching firmness of a master mind, relying upon the philosophical principles that demanded the separation, and no longer yielding to popular prejudice by calling that a fish, which Linnæus knew to be a mammiferous animal." May not this remark be applied to our glorious Alfred, and to this intrepid and close observing Northman, Ohthere, who first placed the Whale and Walrus in the same class of animals? I have the authority of Linnæus, as well as of Mr Bell, one of the Secretaries of the Royal Society, whose zoological works are known over the whole of Europe, for saying, that the Walrus belongs to the same class as the Whale, that is to the Mammalia, but to a very different order. The Horse-whale or Walrus belongs to the Carnivora, and to the family Phocadæ or Seals, although the structure and arrangement of the teeth remove it far from the more typical forms of this order. The bulky proportions of the body, the aquatic habits, and the modification of the limbs into paddles give a general resemblance to the cetacea, which might well lead observers, unacquainted with the details of their structure, to consider them as more nearly allied than they really are.

Mr Broderip, in writing to me, says:—You are, in my opinion, right in giving Ohthere's "hors-hwæl" as the Walrus, Morse, or Sea-horse.—Bell (British Quadrupeds p. 288) writes—"The knowledge of this chase," (that of the Walrus) "says Pennant, is of great antiquity: Octher the Norwegian, about the year 890, made a report to King Alfred, having, as he says, made the voyage beyond Norway for the more commoditie of fishing of Horse Whales; which have in their teeth bones of great price and excellence, whereof he brought some on his return to the king." Hakluyt's Coll. Voy. I, 5.—Bell, then, thus continues.—"The above quotation leads to some observations upon the Etymology of the different names which have been given to this animal.—Horse-Whale is a literal translation of Whal-ros, in Norwegian Hwal-ros. Rosmar, another Norwegian name, appears to be a compound of the Teutonic Ros horse, and the Latin mare, the sea. Morse is from the Russian Morss; the Lapponic name being Morsk."—Charleton, physician to Charles 2nd, in his Onomasticon Zoicon, small 4to London, 1668, thus writes of the Walrus.—VII. Walrus, aliis Mors, Danis et Islandis Rosmarus (quod in Septentrionali oceano saltem reperiatur, ut credit Ol. Wormius, in Musæo) non nullis Vacca marina, nobis the Mors or Sea-cow, (quia monstrosum animal est et amphibium, bobus nostratibus, ubi adolevit, interdum majus.) Cute tegitur pilosa, nec a vitulo marino multum abhorrente. Dentes duos habet, e superiori maxilla propendentes, et ante recurvos; cubiti nonnunquam longitudine, quorum usus ac pretium ebori comparatur. Ex iis enim varia conficiunt, annulos contra Spasmum [Cramp-Rings], manubria gladiorum, framearum et cultorum; &c.

Mr Broderip has given the following precise information. The length of the Walrus is from 10 to 15 feet, girth 8 or 10 feet, and upwards. Length of the tusks, when cut out of the skull, generally from 15 to 20 inches, sometimes 30, and their weight from 5 to 10 lbs. Other facts have been communicated by the Rev. W. Scoresby D. D. The tusks of the Walrus, which are hard, white and compact ivory, are employed by dentists in the fabrication of teeth. The skin is used for defending the yards and rigging of ships from being chafed by friction against each other. When cut into shreds and plaited into cordage, it answers admirably for wheel ropes, being stronger and wearing much longer than hemp. In ancient times, most of the ropes of ships, in northern countries, appear to have been made

longer than seven ells;[45] but, in his own country, is the best whale-hunting: they are eight and forty ells long, and the largest fifty ells long; of these, he said, that he [was] one of six, [who] killed sixty in two days.[46]

of this substance. Arctic Regions and Whale Fishery, 2 vols 8vo: and a neat little vol. with the same title, published by the Tract Society at the moderate price of 10 pence, p. 164.

Dr Scoresby speaking of the common Greenland Whale, Mysticetus, observes that the size has been much overrated. Authors of the first respectability give a length of 80 to 100 feet to the Mysticetus, and that some specimens were found of 150 to 200 feet in length, or still longer. Even Linnæus has given 100 feet. Some ancient naturalists have gone so far, as to assert, that whales have been seen of above 900 feet in length. Dr Scoresby, like Ohthere, speaking from what he had known and seen, makes this statement—"Of three hundred and twenty two individuals, in the capture of which I have been personally concerned, no one, I believe, exceeded 60 feet in length, and the largest I ever measured was 58 feet, from one extremity to the other, being one of the largest in appearance, that I ever saw.—The greatest circumference of these Whales is from 30 to 40 feet." Id. p. 140, 141.

"The largest sort of Whale is, however, not the Mysticetus, but the Physalus. This is probably the most powerful and bulky of created beings. In comparison with the Mysticetus, the Physalus has a form less cylindrical, a body longer and more slender. . . . . Its length is about 100 feet, and its greatest circumference 30 or 35 feet. . . . A whale, probably of this kind, 101 feet in length, was stranded on the banks of the Humber about the middle of September 1750." Id. p. 152—154.

45 In giving the size of the Horse-whale, or Walrus, and of the Whale, Ohthere would most probably calculate by the measure of Scandinavia, the Ell of Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Molbeck, in his Dansk Ordbog, thus defines it: — "Alen, et vist længdemaal, som deles i 24 tommer . . . Tomme een 12te fod, og een 24de alen," . . That is, Ell, a certain measure of length, which is divided into 24 inches . . . An inch one 12th of a foot, and one 24th of an ell. Alfred followed the calculation of Ohthere, who says that the Horse-whale or Walrus is 7 ells long, that is 14 feet, and the Whales 48 ells, and the largest 50, that is, 96 feet, and the largest 100 feet long. These calculations approach very nearly to those given by Mr Broderip and Dr Scoresby, in Note 44.

46 Every translator has found a difficulty in this passage, as it appeared impossible for 6 men to kill 60 whales in two days. The earliest translators understood it in its plain and obvious meaning.—"Hakluyt gave it in 1598. He affirmed that he himself was one of the six, which, in the space of three days, killed threescore." The Oxford Alumni in 1678—"Dixit se sextum fuisse, qui sexaginta bidui spatio interfecerit."—Porthan adhered to the literal sense, in his Swedish translation, in 1800. Af dessa sade han, at han sjelf sjette dödat sextio paa tvaa dagar.—For six men to kill 60 whales, of the larger sort, in two days, appears most extraordinary, though in the time of Alfred, whales seem to have been more plentiful in the northern than they now are in the southern ocean; yet, in the latter, eleven have been killed one morning, as will appear by the following extract from "The Log-book containing the proceedings on board the Barque Gipsy, commanded by John Gibson, owners Almon and James Hill, Esqrs, 13 Austin Friars, London. "Cruising from Sooloo Archipelago towards Japan—Tuesday May 31st, 1836. All these 24 hours moderate breezes and fine weather. Ship's head N. E. at 6 a. m. saw whales at 7 a. m. Lowered the boats at 9 a. m; struck and killed ELEVEN. At noon the boats employed collecting the whales to the ship."

I have so great an objection to conjectural criticism, that I have retained the text of the Cotton MS. though it is the only MS. known to exist, that contains this clause. At the same time I ought not to omit the emendation of the A. S. text suggested by my friend, the

15. He [Ohthere] was a very wealthy man in those possessions in which their wealth consists, that is in the wilder [animals]. He had, moreover, when he came to the king, six hundred tame deer of his own breeding.[47] They call these rein-deer: of these, six were decoy-deer, which are very valuable among Finns, because with them they take the wild-deer. He was amongst the first men in the land, though he had not more than twenty horned cattle, twenty sheep and twenty swine; and the little that he ploughed, he ploughed with horses. But their revenue is chiefly in the tribute, that the Finns pay them, which tribute is in skins of animals, feathers of birds, in whale-bone, and ship-ropes, which are made from the whale's hide, and from the

late Professor Rask—Instead of the Cotton reading syxa sum, he proposes syx asum, or ascum; and translates it in Danish, 1815,—"At han med 6 harpuner (eller 6 skibe) dræbte 60 paa 2 dage," i. e. that he with 6 harpoons (or 6 ships) killed 60 in two days.—Asum d. pl. of æs, or as, Lat. æs; and ascum of æsc a ship.—Dahlmann, in 1822, supposes Ohthere to mean 6 large ships; and, therefore, gives it in his German translation, "Dass er mit sechs grossen schiffen ihrer sechzig in zwei tagen tödtete."

Feeling it difficult to come to a satisfactory conclusion; and being anxious to obtain the best information on the subject, I wrote to the Rev. W. Scoresby, D.D. F.R.S. &c. an old college friend,—a man of great scientific acquirements, who published a most interesting work, on the Arctic Regions, and the Whale-fishery in 1820, and in early life had been engaged in capturing no less than 322 whales. See note 44.—To the following queries; 1st, Is it possible that 6 men could kill 60 whales in 2 days? 2dly, Could 60 be killed in 2 days with 6 harpoons, as Rask suggests? 3dly, Could 6 ships be so employed, as to kill 60 in 2 days? He replied—1. I do not conceive it at all possible, that 6 men could kill 60 Whales of the large size [Balæna Mysticetus] in two days. I know of no instance of even one whale having ever been killed, of the largest size, by a single boat's crew of 6 or 7 men. Ordinarily 3 or 4 boats, with 18 to 25 men, are deemed necessary for the capture of a single whale—2. It might be possible, if the whales were sunning in vast numbers, in any of the bays of the Arctic regions, that 60 might be killed by 6 harpoons, and men in proportion, say 36 to 40 men. But, I may add, though whales have been met with occasionally, in great numbers together, no such feat as this, I am persuaded, had ever been performed by the crew of one ship containing 6 or 7 boats and 50 men. A single whale may, on an average, cost about 3 hours for its capture, with 4 to 6 boats. If two, therefore, or three, were constantly under attack, at the same time, and neither accident nor failure happening, it would be a wonderful feat for 50 men with half a dozen or eight harpoons, to capture half the number specified!—3. Six ships, with their ordinary complement of men and boats, might, no doubt, be so employed, if the Whales were very numerous and the circumstances, as to ice or position, favourable, as to kill 10 large Whales a piece in two days. In Whales of a small size, this proportion has often been reached; but never, that I am aware of, where the kind was of the largest. The pleasing process, indeed, so interferes with the enterprize of slaughter, that more than half a dozen, of any size, is seldom killed at once. I have known 10 or 12 within one period of unceasing exertion." Upon the whole, then, it appears that the proposed emendation of the text does not remove the difficulty, and it is, therefore, best to retain the Cotton reading, as represented in the present translation.

47 Tamra deora, unbebohtra, syx hund.—Literally, Of tame deer, unbought [non emptus, Ettmüller] untrafficked or traded in, six hundred.

seal's. Every one pays according to his means: the richest must pay fifteen skins of the marten, and five of the rein-deer, and one bear's skin, aud forty bushels of feathers, and a bear or otter-skin kirtle, and two ship-ropes, each sixty ells long, one made from the whale's hide, and the other from the seal's.

16. He said that the country of Northmen was very long and very narrow. All that can be either pastured or ploughed lies by the sea, and that, however, is in some places, very rocky; and, on the east, lie wild mountains[48] along the inhabited land. In these mountains [wastes] Finns dwell; and the inhabited land is broadest eastward, and always narrower more northerly. Eastward it may be sixty miles[49] broad, or a little broader, and midway thirty or broader; and northward, he said, where it was narrowest, that it might be three miles broad to the waste, and moreover, the waste, in some places, [is] so broad that a man may travel over it, in two weeks; and in other places, so broad that a man may travel over [it,] in six days.

17. Then, over against this land southward, on the other side of the waste, is Sweden,[50] extending to the north; and over against the land northward, is Cwena land.[51] The Cwenas sometimes make war on the Northmen over the waste; sometimes the Northmen on them. There are very large fresh water meers beyond the wastes; and the Cwenas carry their boats over land into the meers, and thence make war on the Northmen. They have very little boats, and very light.

18. Ohthere said that the district in which he dwelt was called

48 Rask translates it:—Der ligger vilde Fjælde östen for og oven for langs med det beboede Land. Afhandlinger, p. 313, 315.—Dahlmann:—Im Osten liegen wilde Gebirge, hoch über und längs dem angebauten Lande; p. 425.—Mór denotes waste land generally, a moor, heath: waste land from rocks, hence a hill, mountain: &c.

49 Rask observes, when Norway is reckoned 60 miles wide, in the broadest part and 3 miles in the narrowest, it is evident that the king used the exact phrase of Ohthere, and did not alter it, as on another occasion, to agree with the Anglo-Saxon measure. See note 74. One mile of the Northman, Ohthere, contained about 5 Anglo-Saxon miles,—hence the broadest part would be about 300 miles and the narrowest 15. Rask's Afhandlinger, 8vo, Köbenhavn, 1834: vol. I, p. 379, note r.—A Danish mile is 4.68 English, and a Swedish mile is 6.64 English miles.

50 A. S. Sweoland. The country of the Sweons, the Suiones of Tacitus. The names Suedia or Suecia, and Svidiodar, or Svithiodar, as applied to the Swedes, occur in their earliest annals. Wheaten, and Crichton's Scandinavia, vol. I, p. 24.

51 See note 36.

Halgoland.[52] He said that no man abode north of him. Then there is a port, on the south of the land [Norway], which is called Sciringesheal.[53] Thither he said, that a man could not sail in a month, if he anchored at night, and every day had a fair wind. All the while he must sail near the land.—On his right hand, is first[54] Iceland, and then the islands which are between

52 Halgoland, a division [scír] of the northern part of ancient Norway. Ohthere dwelt in the most northerly part of it: to the north of his residence, the country was uninhabited. Even at the present day, this district is called Helgeland. It is in Nordland, or Northland, in the province of Trondhiem, or Drontheim, pronounced Tronyem. Drontheim is now the most northerly province of Norway, extending from 62 deg. to 71 deg. 10 min. N. Lat. It is divided into Trondhiem Proper, Nordland, and Finmark. Nord or Northland was the most northerly part inhabited in Ohthere's days. Helgeland is now the southern district of Nordland, and lies on the coast between the island Leköe, N. Lat. 65 deg. 10 min., and Cape Kunnen near the arctic circle. The Kiölen range of mountains, separating Helgeland from Sweden, is about 60 miles from the sea; and, in some places, not so far. Helgeland has a rocky coast of considerable elevation. The interior is filled by mountains rising from 1000, to 1500 feet. A considerable portion of the land might be cultivated, but agriculture is often neglected, because fishing offers greater advantages. This is more particularly the case in the islands, on the coast of Helgeland, which rise to an elevation of 2000 and to 4260 feet. Such is Helgeland in the present day.—In this wild district, Ohthere first saw the light. He was brought up amid stupendous mountains, and exposed to the severity of the climate in the care of herds of deer, and in superintending the rude culture of the land. From a child he was not only accustomed to the exertions and perils of the chase in the Norwegian Alps, but to brave the dangers of the vast waves of the Northern Ocean, raging amongst the exposed and elevated islands, and the high, rocky shore of Norway. Thus educated amid the magnificent scenery of Halgoland, and inured to danger, Ohthere was well prepared for a daring enterprise, such as his exploring voyage to the most northerly regions. It was a voyage worthy of Ohthere, and deserving the permanent record which Alfred—the first man of that age—has here given of it.

53 This is a minute description of Ohthere's second voyage. His first was to the remote north: this voyage is to the south. The first place he mentions is a port "on the south of this land [Norway], called Sciringesheal." Judging from Ohthere's narrative, Sciringesheal seems to be in the Skager Rack, near the Fiord or Bay of Christiana. Snorre Sturleson, an Icelander, born in 1178, in his Ynglinga Saga, ch. 49, places Sciringesheal in Westfold, on the west side of the bay of Christiana. The note, appended to Professor Rask's Afhandlinger, published by his son, in 1834, concludes,—"Thus, it cannot be doubted, that Skiringssal really existed at that time, [the age of Snorre,] and that it is the same that Ohthere and king Alfred call Sciringesheal." vol. I, p. 384.—Ohthere says to the south of Sciringesheal is a very great sea, apparently the Cattegat, opposite to which was Jutland, and then Zealand. Sailing from Sciringesheal to Haddeby near Schleswig, Ohthere said he had Denmark on his left, that is Halland and Skaane [Scania], the early seat of the Danes. Then, two days before his arrival at Schleswig, taking a westerly course, he had Jutland on his right. As he mentions islands on his left, it appears that he sailed between Moen and Zealand. An.

54 The Cotton MS., the only one that contains this part of Ohthere's voyage, has Iraland. Though I have the greatest objection to conjecturale mendations of a text, in this case, after reading the context, and all that commentators have written upon it, I prefer substituting Isaland for Iraland. To what Dr Ingram and Rask have advanced to justify the insertion of Isaland in the text, it may be added that Ireland was generally called Scotland from the fifth to the eleventh century [v. note 89]. If any other name was used, it was

Iceland and this land [Britain]. Then this land continues till he comes to Sciringesheal; and all the way, on the left, [is] Norway.[55] To the south of Sciringesheal, a very great sea runs up into the land: it is broader than any man can see over; and Jutland[56] is opposite, on the other side, and then Zealand. This sea lies many hundred miles up into the land.

19. He said that he sailed in five days, from Sciringesheal to the port which they call[57] Haddeby [near Schleswig], which stands

Ibernia or Igbernia; thus, when Alfred is speaking of Britain, he adds, "Ibernia þæt igland,"—and, "Igbernia, þæt we Scotland hataþ." In Alfred's translation of Bede, Hibernia is used, as Ybernia is, in the earliest part of the Saxon Chronicle. In the year 891, Dr Ingram inserts Hibernia in the text, and gives Yrlande in the notes, as the reading of the Cot. MS. But this is taken from a collation by Junius of one of the latest MSS. and which Dr Ingram says is of the least authority, because the writer has taken great liberties in using "his own Normanized dialect." Yrlande occurs again in the year 918, and in 1051, and 2, but these two instances do not invalidate the assertion of Alfred, just cited, that in his days Igbernia was called Scotland. Alfred confirms this, by adding to his translation of Orosius in § 3—"On the west end of the Mediterranean Sea is Scotland." Though wrong, as to geographical position, this is an additional proof that our Ireland was called Scotland in the time of Alfred.—Upon the whole then, I prefer inserting Isaland in the text.

Langebek and Porthan retained Iraland in the text and Forster sanctioned this reading, but they all thought erroneously, that Scotland was intended. Dr Ingram, in his Inaugural Lecture, published in 1807, preferred reading Isaland, and gives his reasons thus; "I suspect that the true reading in the original, instead of Ira-land, [i. e. Scotland] should be Isaland, Iseland, (or, as it is sometimes improperly written, Iceland.) How frequently the Saxon letters ſ and r have been confounded and interchanged, is well known to every person conversant in the language. As Ohthere sailed from Halgoland, Iseland was the first land to his right, and then the islands of Faroe, Shetland, and Orkney, between Iseland and this land [i. e. England]; then this land continued on his right hand, till he entered the Baltic, which he soon afterwards describes very accurately, as running up many hundred miles into the land, and so wide that no man could see over it." p. 79, note q.—Rask in 1815, reprinted in 1834, gives Isaland in his A. S. text, and a long note to the same effect, in p. 319, note 2, of his Afhandlinger.

Professor Dahlmann in his Forschungen 1822, thinks that Ireland was intended, and that Ohthere spoke of Ireland indefinitely, placing it more to the north, and on his right hand. He has a long and interesting article in No 4 of his Erläuterungen, "Iraland, oder Isaland?" He gives a very fair statement of the opinions of Langebek, Porthan, and Rask, p. 443—449.—After all, I prefer Isaland, notwithstanding what Dahlmann and others have written.

55. A. S. Norðweg, in Saxon Chronicle 1028, Norðweg and Norweg; in 1045 and 7 Norweg, so in 1058, &c. In 1066 Norweg and Norwéi; and in 1070 Norwæg. Literally, the north way or way to the north. Pliny, l. IV, c. 16, calls it, Nerigon, and Malte-Brun suggests Nor-Rige, kingdom of the north, or rather, assuming Nor to be a gulf, kingdom of gulfs. Geog. vol. VIII, 517.

56. A. S. Géðland, the country of the Hreth Goths: Jótland, Jutland. An.—Zealand, A. S. Sillende—v. note 10. The old name of Zealand was in Danish Sia-Lund, a forest near the water, from sia sea, and lund a forest. Now sia, sea, or Zea-land, Sea land, land surrounded by the sea: like the Dutch Zee-land, Sea-land, from zee the sea.

57. A. S. Þe mon hæt æt Hæðum, which Porthan translates, som kallas Hæthum, which

in the midst of the Winedi,[58] Saxons, and Angles, and belongs to the Danes. When he sailed thitherward from Sciringesheal, then Denmark [59] was on his left; and, on his right, a wide sea for three

is called Hæthum. Rask more properly translates it—"som man kalder Hedeby," p. 321 and 323, and Dahlmann,—"den man zu Hädum [at Hædum, Hedaby] nennt." p. 427. Rask observes, that it is customary, especially in Icelandic, to put a preposition before the name of a place, which is then to be in the dative case; as in Icl. í Rípum, and occasionally in A. S. as, æt Hæ´ðum. These dat. plur. may be read, as in the singular. The sing. Hæ´ð, is the Icl. heiðr, now heiði a heath; hence its Icl. and old Danish name Heiðaby´r, or Heiðabær, present Hedeby, from modern Danish, hede a heath, and by a town. Langebek has rightly explained, þe mon hæt æt Hæ´ðum, quem vocant Hæthe. Rask, p. 374, note n.

Hæ´ðe is mentioned, in connection with Schleswig, by Ethelweard about two centuries after Alfred; and, in the subsequent half century by William of Malmsbury as in the following extracts.—Ethelweard or Elward, is known only by his Chronicle or History of the Anglo-Saxons. He says he was descended from Ethelred, the brother of king Alfred. We are not informed when his book was compiled, but he was still alive in 1090 [Wright's Biographia Britannica Literaria, Vol. 1, p. 522]. This Ethelweard says that, "Anglia vetus sita est inter Saxones et Giotos, habens oppidum capitale, quod sermone Saxonico Sleswic nuncupatur, secundum vero Danos Haithaby." Chronicorum Ethelwerdi Libri Quatuor: v. Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui [edited by Saville]. Fol. Francof 1601, pp. 831—850. What Ethelweard has stated, is confirmed by that "great lover of truth," William of Malmsbury, who died about 1143. He says—"In oppido quod tunc Slaswick, nunc vero Eitheisi [al. Hurtheby] appellatur, est autem regio illa Anglia vetus dicta, unde Angli venerunt in Brittanniam, inter Saxones et Giothos constituta."

Alfred says "Se [Hæ´ðe] stent betuh Winedum, and Seaxum, and Angle, and hyrð in on Dene." This agrees with the locality of Schleswig. The A. S. Hæðe and the subsequent Eitheisi, Haithaby, and Hurtheby are in the preceding extracts associated with Schleswig. The termination -by is Danish, and signifies a town. There is a place on the south of the river Schley, opposite Schleswig, engraved in the map of Mercator in 1623, Haddebuy, and called by Rask Hedeby, by Dahlmann Hedaby and by others Haddeby. This is concluded to be the Hæ´ðe of Ohthere, Wulfstan and Alfred—Dr Ingram adds, "At Hæthum, a port by the heaths, afterwards changed into Haithaby, and called to this day Haddeby, is situated on the south side of the river Schley, opposite to Schleswig, which having since become of greater importance, has eclipsed the fame of its ancient rival. Hence Sir J. Spelman, Somner, Lye, and others, following the authority of Ethelweard, a Saxon writer, have considered At-Hæthum, or Haddeby, to be the same with Schleswig." Inaugural Lecture, p. 109, note k.

58 Winede, the Venedi or Wends, who, at one time, occupied the whole coast from the Schley in Schleswig, South Jutland, to the Vistula in Prussia. An. v. Note 13, and 64.

59 A. S. Denamearc, [see note 65] That is, the provinces of Halland, Scania or Schonen, the early seat of the Danes. Halland and Schonen are in South Gothland, in Sweden, having the Cattegat, the Sound, and the Baltic for its maritime boundaries. v. note 53.

60 A. S. Engle ær hí híder on land comon, the Engles before they came hither on land, i. e. into Britain. Alfred expressly states here, that the Engles before they came to Britain dwelt not only in Jutland, but in Zealand and many islands. Hence we conclude that the Engles or Angles came hither not only from Anglen, in South Jutland, between Schleswig and Flensburg, but from the Danish islands. The majority of settlers in Britain were the Engles, and from them we derive not only our being, but our name, for England is literally, Englaland, the land or country of the Engles. The Engles were the most powerful and energetic of the tribes, that constituted the great Saxon confederacy, which, in the third and two following centuries, had the greatest extent of territory in the north west of Germany. The Saxon confederacy increased, till it possessed the vast extent of country

days; and, the two days before he came to Haddeby, he had on his right, Jutland, Zealand, and many islands. The Angles dwelt in these lands, before they came into this country.[60] And, these

embraced by the Elbe, the Sala, and the Rhine, in addition to their ancient territory between the Elbe, and the Oder. Bosworth's Origin of the Eng. and Germ. lang. and nations, p. 14—17.—It will be evident, from the following authorities, as well as from the testimony of Alfred given in the text, that in the seventh century, and in the time of Alfred, Schleswig was considered the locality from which England received its chief population. It will be interesting to see what Bede says, on the population of England, confirmed by the A. S. version of Alfred, and by the A. S. Chronicle. "Advenerant autem de tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, id est, Saxonibus, Anglis, Jutis. De Jutarum origine sunt Cantuarii et Victuarii, hoc est, ea gens quæ Vectam tenet insulam, et ea quæ usque hodie in provincia Occidentalium Saxonum Jutarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Vectam. De Saxonibus, id est, ea regione quæ nunc antiquorum Saxonum cognominatur, venere Orientales Saxones, Meridiani Saxones, Occidui Saxones. Porro de Anglis, hoc est, de illa patria quæ Angulus dicitur et ab eo tempore usque hodie manere desertus inter provincias Jutarum et Saxonum perhibetur, Orientales Angli, Mediterranei Angli, Mercii, tota Nordanhymbrorum progenies, id est, illarum gentium quæ ad Boream Humbri fluminis inhabitant cæterique Anglorum populi sunt orti. Duces fuisse perhibentur eorum primi duo fratres Hengist et Horsa; e quibus Horsa postea occisus in bello a Brittonibus, hactenus in Orientalibus Cantiæ partibus monumentum habet suo nomine insigne." Smith's Bede, Fol. Cambridge 1722, lib. i, ch. 15, p. 52.—Alfred's Saxon translation of which is: "Comon hi of þrim folcum þam strangestan Germanie, þæt of Seaxum, and of Angle, and of Geatum. Of Geata fruman syndon Cantware, and Wihtsætan, þæt is seo þeod þe Wiht þæt Ealond oneardað. Of Seaxum þæt is of þam lande þe mon hateð Eald-Seaxan, coman East-Seaxan, and Suð-Seaxan, and West-Seaxan. And of Engle coman East-Engle and Middel-Engle, and Myrce, and eall Norðhembra cynn, is þæt land þe Angulus is nemned betwyh Geatum and Seaxum. Is sæd of þære tide þe hi þanon gewiton oð to dæge þæt hit weste wunige. Wæron þa ærest heora latteowas and heretogan twegen gebroðra, Hengest and Horsa." Id. p. 483.

The Saxon Chronicle gives the following account: "An. ccccxlix. Her Martianus and Valentinianus onfengon rice, and ricsodon vii winter. On heora dagum Hengest and Horsa, from Wyrtgeorne gelaðode Brytta cyninge to fultume, gesohton Brytene on þam stæðe, þe is genemned Ypwines-fleot, ærest Bryttum to fultume, ac hy eft on hy fuhton. Se cing het hi feohtan agien Pihtas, and hi swa dydan, and sige hæfdon swa hwar swa hi comon. Hi þa sende to Angle, and heton heom sendan mare fultum, and heom seggan Brytwalana nahtnesse, and þæs landes cysta. Hi þa sendon heom mare fultum, þa comon þa menn of þrim mægðum Germanie, of Eald-Seaxum, of Anglum, of Iotum.

"Of Iotum comon Cantware and Wihtware [þæt is seo mæið þe nu eardað on Wiht,] and þæs cynn on West-Sexum, þe man nu gyt het Iutna-cynn. Of Eald-Seaxum comon East-Seaxan, and Suð-Seaxan, and West-Seaxan. Of Angle comon, se á siððan stod westig betwix Iutum and Seaxum, East-Engle, and Middel-Angle, and Mearce and ealle Norðymbra. Heora here-togan wæron twegen gebroðra, Hengest and Horsa."

Though the Friesians are not named by Bede, as forming part of this migration to Britain, it is probable, from their locality in the north west of Germany, that many of them may have accompanied the Angles, Saxons, and other tribes to this Island. But we are not left in doubt, on this subject, for Procopius, who lived two hundred years nearer the Saxon expedition to Britain than Bede, expressly states, in his fourth book on the Gothic war, that Britain was peopled by three nations, the Britons, the Angles, and the Friesians [*Ἀγγίλοι καὶ Φρίσσονες*]. This is the opinion still prevalent among the Friesians and Dutch. They even claim Hengist as their country-man; and the old Chroniclers are at a loss whether to make Hengist a Friesian or a Saxon. Macrlant, the father of Dutch,

two days, the islands,[61] which belong to Denmark, were on his left.

20. Wulfstan[62] said that he went from Haddeby,—that he was in Truso[63] in seven days and nights,—that the ship was running all the way under sail. He had Weonodland,[64] [Mecklenburg and Pomerania] on the right [star-board,] and Langland, Laaland, Falster and Sconey, on his left, and all these lands belong to Denmark.[65] And then we had,[66] on our left, the land of the Burgundians[67] [Bornholmians], who have their own king.[68] After

or rather Flemish Poets, for he was born in Flanders about 1235, speaks of him, thus:—

Een hiet Engistus een Vriese, een Sas,
Die uten lande verdreven was;
One, a Saxon or Friesian, Hengist by name.
From his country was banished in sorrow and shame.
Spiegel Historial, C. XV, p. 16.

Thus again:—

Engistus wart dus onteert,
Ende is in Vrieseland gekeert.
Hengist was thus so much disgraced,
That he, to Friesland, his steps retraced. Tom. III, p. 29.

The Chronicle of Maerlant is founded upon the Speculum Historiale of the Monk Vicentius, who wrote about the year 1245. Bosworth's Origin of the Eng. and Germ. Lang. and Nations, p. 15, § 4, note †: p. 52, § 50, note ‡: p. 53, § 52.—Latham's Germania of Tacitus, Epileg. p. CXXII, and 117.—Also, Latham's English Language, 3rd Edn, for Friesians and Jutes.

61 These are the islands Moen, Falster, Laaland, &c.: he, therefore, sailed between Zealand, Moen, &c.

62 Forster says—"Wulfstan appears to have been a Dane, who, perhaps, had become acquainted with Ohthere in the course of his expedition, and had gone with him to England." Northern Voyages, p. 69, note 73.

63 Truso, a town on the shore of the mere or lake Drausen, or Truso, from which the river Ilfing [Elbing] flows in its course towards the town of Elbing [v. note 75]. Forster says:—"There is at this time, a lake between Elbing and Prussian Holland, called Truso, or Drausen, from which, probably, the town Truso . . . took its name." Forster's Northern Voyages, 4to, 1786, p. 69, note 74.

64 Weonoðland the country of the Wends on the coast of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, &c. in Prussia [see notes 13 and 58.].—A. S. Langa-land, the long island.—A. S. Scóneg, the beautiful island.

65 Denmark from daim low, mark ground, land, country. Malte-Brun's Geog. Vol. VIII, p. 577.—A. S. Dene-mearc—Dene The Danes,—Dene from denu a plain, vale, valley; and mearc a boundary. The Saxon Chronicle in 1005, 1023, 1035, has Denemearc; Denmearc, in 1019, 1075; Dænmarc, in 1070; Denmarc, in 1070 and 1119. In Danish, mark signifies a country; hence Denmark the low country of the Danes.—Finmark the country of the Finns. Forster says;—"Wulfstan [Alfred] is the most early writer hitherto known, who mentions this name. Notes to Barrington's Orosius, p. 257, note 36.

66 Wæron us, literally erant nobis. The pronoun of the first person plural, we and us, proves that Wulfstan is relating to the king his own account of their voyage.

67 Burgenda land is the Icl. Burgundarhólmr of which the present Dan. and Swed. name Bornholm is a contraction. Rask's Afhandlinger, p. 374, note o.

68 And þá habbaþ himsylf cyning, literally, and who have to themselves a king.

the land of the Burgundians, we had,[66] on our left, those lands that were called first Blekingey,[69] and Meore, and Oeland and Gothland; and these lands belong to Sweden. And we had Weonodland, on the right, all the way to the mouth of the Vistula. The Vistula[70] is a very large river, and near it lie Witland[71] and Weonodland; and Witland belongs to the Esthonians.[72] The Vistula flows out of Weonodland and runs into the Frische Haff[73] [Est-

69 A. S. Blecingaæg, the province of Bleking, on the southwest of Sweden.—Meore, the Upper and Lower Moehre, in the province of Smoeland or Smaland, also in Sweden.—Eowland and Gotland, the two islands on the coast of Sweden, Oeland and Gothland.

70 A. S. Wisle, in Polish Wisla. German Weichsel: by other nations, and by Latin writers, it is called Vistula. Before reaching the Baltic, the Vistula first divides into two branches, the smaller and eastern branch of which, called the Neugat or Nogat, runs north easterly, and discharges itself into the Frische Haff [see note 73]. The larger or western branch, after flowing 35 or 40 miles farther, again divides, about 9 miles from Danzig, into two branches, the smaller of which runs easterly into the Frische Haff, the main stream of the Vistula taking an opposite direction, discharges itself into the Baltic at Weichselmünde, north of Danzig. So there are, at least, three great branches of the Vistula, the Nogat at the commencement of the great Werder; the second, above Danzig: this second branch and the Nogat run into the Frische Haff, and the third passes by Danzig into the Baltic. Jornandes, de reb. Get. c. 3, correctly describes this river. He speaks of Scancia thus:—"Hæc a fronte posita est Vistulæ fluvii; qui Sarmaticis montibus ortus, in conspectu Scanziæ septentrionali oceano trisulcus illabitur: for, besides the smaller streams of the Nogat, this river has three great branches. The most westerly is near Danzig; the easterly branches just described, enter the Frische Haff, with the Elbing. v. note 76.

71 Porthan says that Witland is a part of Samland in Prussia. In old times it extended to the eastern bank of the Vistula. The monk Alberik, who lived a century and a half after Alfred, is the first that mentions Witland.—"In Prutia [Prucia], quæ est ultra Pomeraniam, Episcopus Mutinensis, missus a Papa legatus, ingenio et sapientia sua, non fortitudine, multos paganos ad fidem attraxit. . . . Erant autem hoc anno, in illis partibus, quinque tantummodo provinciæ paganorum acquirendæ: ista videlicet, de qua agitur, Prutia [Prucia], Curlandia, Lethonia, Vithlandia, et Sambria. Rask's Afhandlinger, p. 375, note q.—Witland was celebrated for its amber at the time of the Crusades, it was still called Witland. Forster's North. Voyages, p. 70.—Professor Voigt, in his Geschichte Preussens von den ältesten Zeiten, Königsberg, 1827—39, advances many arguments to prove, that part of Witland has been absorbed by the Frische Haff,—that Witland, not only occupied the north-eastern part of the Frische Haff, from the old castle of Balga or Honeda, but extended far into the sea on the west and north of Samland. The space is marked in his map. See note 76.

72 A. S. Estum dat. pl. of Este, or Estas of Alfred, mentioned in note 30 and its text. These Esthonians or Osterlings dwelt on the shores of the Baltic to the east of the Vistula. An.

73 A. S. Estmere, [est east, mere a lake] the present Frische Haff or fresh water lake is on the north of east Prussia. Hav or Haff signifies a sea, in Danish and Swedish. It is written Haff in German and it is now used to denote all the lakes connected with the rivers, on the coast of Prussia and Pomerania. The Frische Haff is about 60 miles long, and from 6 to 15 broad. It is separated by a chain of sand banks from the Baltic sea, with which, at the present time, it communicates by one strait called the Gat. This strait is on the north east of the Haff, near the fortress of Pillau. Malte Brun's Univ. Geog. Vol. VII, p. 14. This Gat, as Dr Bell informs me, "seems to have been formed, and to be kept open by the superior force of the Pregel stream." This gentleman has a perfect

mere]. The Frische Haff is, at least, fifteen miles[74] broad. Then[75] the Elbing[76] comes from the east into the Frische Haff, out of the lake [Drausen] on the shore of which Truso stands; and [they] come out together into the Frische Haff, the Elbing from the east, out of Esthonia; and the Vistula from the south out of Weonodland. Then the Vistula takes away the name of the Elbing, and runs out of the lake into the sea, by a western [opening] on the north [of the Frische Haff]; therefore, they call it the mouth of the Vistula.—[77]Esthonia [Eastland] is very large, and

knowledge of the Frische Haff, and the neighbourhood, as he received his early education in the vicinity, and matriculated at the University of Königsberg, near the west end of the Haff. I am indebted to Dr Bell for the map of the celebrated German Historian, Professor Voigt, adapted to his "Geschichte Preussens von den ältesten Zeiten, 9 vols 8vo, Königsberg, 1827—39." In this map, there are four openings from the Frische Haff to the Baltic. "It is certain," says Malte-Brun, that in 1394 the mouth of one strait was situated at Lochsett, 6 or 8 miles north of the fortress of Pillau." Voigt's map gives the year, 1311. Id. vol. VII, p. 15. The next is the Gat of Pillau, at present the only opening to the Baltic, with the date 1510. The third Gat, marked in the map with the date 1456, is about 10 or 12 miles south west of Pillau; and the fourth, without any date, is much nearer the west end of the Frische Haff.

74 It is evident, that Alfred has here altered the measure of Ohthere, the Northman, and has made it to agree with the Anglo-Saxon miles. Hence, the dimensions of Estmere, given by Alfred, perfectly accord with those of the Frische Haff of the present day, as mentioned in the preceding note. See also note 49.

75 Literally, Then comes the Elbing from the east into Estmere [the Frische Haff] from [out of] the mere, on the bank of which Truso stands [or, which Truso stands upon the bank of [i. e. the lake of Drausen]. Truso, therefore, was on the border of the lake Drausen, and not of the Estmere or Frische Haff. The river Elbing [Ilfing] flows from the lake Drausen towards the town of Elbing. Rask's Afhandlinger, p. 379 and 380, note s.—V. note 63.—Hence Rask has translated this passage into Danish—Ilfing löber östen fra ind i det friske Hav, og kommer fra den Sö, paa hvis Bræd Truso staar." Id. p. 325.—Dahlmann translates it—"Der Ilfing [Elbing] läuft von Osten in das Esthenmeer von der See her, an dessen Gestade Truso steht." p. 428.

76 A. S. Ilfing, the river Elbing in Western Prussia, to the east of the Vistula. The Elbing flows from the small lake Drausen to the town of Elbing called also Elbinga, in Polish Elbiag or Elblag, and urbs Drusinia. Malte Brun says:—"The flourishing and commercial town of Elbing, is built on a low and fruitful valley: its name is derived from the small river Elbach, which issues from the lake of Drausen." Univer. Geog. Vol. VII, p. 23.—V. note 75.

77 Wisle múða, the mouth of the Vistula. The most westerly stream of the Vistula, which flows into the Baltic, a little to the north of Danzig, is still called in German, Weichselmünde [v. note 70]. Forster observes, every thing that Alfred here mentions, incontestably shews, that Wulfstan had an intimate and personal knowledge of what he was stating. The Elbing came out of Esthonia and from the east, so far as regards that arm of the Elbing, which ran from east to west, into the Nogat the eastern branch of the Vistula; but the Vistula comes [súðan of Winodlande] out of Weonodland from the south. The two rivers, the eastern branch of the Vistula, and the Elbing, flow together under the former name, and enter the Frische Haff. This Haff or lake extends from west to north, that is in a north-easterly direction and flows into the Baltic at Pillau. Forster then adds:—"It is

there are many towns, and in every town there is a king. There is also very much honey and fishing. The king and the richest

possible, that this, as well as the western arm, may have formerly borne the name of Weichselmünde or the mouth of the Vistula." Northern Voyages, p. 71 note 83.

Barrington translates it:—"The Ilfing, having joined the Wesel, takes its name, and runs to the west of Estmere, and northward, into the sea, when it is called the Wesel's mouth." p. 17.

Dr Ingram's translation is,—"Then the Weissel deprives the Ilfing of its name; and, flowing from the west part of the lake, at length empties itself northward into the sea; whence this point is called the Weissel-mouth." Lect. p. 81.

Rask gives the whole passage thus: Ilfjng löber östen fra ind i det friske Hav, og kommer fra den Sö, paa hvis Bræd Truso staar, de löbe begge tilsammen ud i det friske Hav, Ilfing östen fra ud af Estland og Vejksel sönden fra ud af Venden, da betager Vejkselen Ilfing dens Navn, og löber fra bemældte friske Hav nordvest paa ud i Söen, derfor kalder man dette [Udlöb] Vejkselmundingen. Afhandlinger, p. 325.

Dalhmann translates the same passage:—"Der Ilfing [Elbing] läuft von Osten in das Esthenmeer von der See her, an dessen Gestade Truso steht; sie strömen beide gemeinsam ins Esthenmeer aus, Ilfing aus Osten von Esthland, und die Weichsel aus Süden von Wendenland; und hier benimmt die Weichsel dem Ilfing seinen Namen, und strömt aus dem [Esthen-] Meere nordwestlich in die See; davon nennt man das Weichselmünde." Forschungen, p. 428.

The literal translation of the last sentence of the A. S. text is,—Then the Vistula deprives the Elbing of its name, and flows out of [of þæm mere, from or out of the mere or lake: v. note 75] the Lake or Haff, west and north into the sea; therefore, they call it the mouth of the Vistula.

This would seem to imply, that there were then two openings from the Frische Haff, one on the west, and the other on the north. This supposition is not impossible; for, in different ages, there have been four openings from the Frische Haff to the Baltic, one of which was near the western extremity of the Haff. [v. note 73.] But these two openings do not accord with the conclusion, where the singular is used, "therefore, they call it, the mouth of the Vistula."

Rask and Dahlmann, seeing this difficulty, have given a different translation of "west and norð"; Rask gives "nordvest," and Dahlmann "nordwestlich."—They appear to admit of only one gat or opening, and that on the north-west, towards the present Weichselmünde, on the west of the Haff, but without authority from the A. S. text, and without a reference to history to prove there was such a gat on the west.

Though the translation I have given in the text, does not accord with the present locality of Weichselmünde, and it is not translated verbally; yet, I think, it gives the plain meaning. I allude to the latter part of the sentence: and flows out of the Lake [the Frische Haff] west and north into the sea; that is, flows out of the gat or opening at Pillau, on the west side of the most northerly part of the Frische Haff, which is west of Koningsberg.

The great difficulty here is to ascertain whether there is any truth, in what Forster suggests, that the gat of Pillau was called Weichselmünde, as well as the western branch of the Vistula, which flows into the Baltic to the north of Danzig. This uncertainty, with some other difficulties, has led to several suggestions, one of which is by W. Bell Esqr. Dr Phil. who thinks that the Truso of Wulfstan is the present Dirschau about 30 miles south of Danzig, and 4 west of the Vistula. He supposes, that the Baltic may have extended so far up the valley of the Vistula, that Dirschau may have been on the shore of the Baltic, in the

men drink mare's milk,[78] but the poor and the slaves drink mead.[79] There is very much war among them; and there is no ale brewed by the Esthonians, but there is mead enough.

21. There is also a custom with the Esthonians,[80] that when a man is dead, he lies, in his house, unburnt with his kindred and friends a month,—sometimes two; and the king and other men of high rank, so much longer according to their wealth, remain unburnt sometimes half a year; and lie above ground in their houses. All the while the body is within, there must be drinking and sports to the day, on which he is burned.

22. Then, the same day, when they wish to bear him to the pile, they divide his property, which is left after the drinking and sports, into five or six parts, sometimes into more, as the amount of his property may be. Then, they lay the largest part of it within one mile from the town, then another, then the third, till it is all laid, within the one mile; and the least part shall be nearest the town in which the dead man lies. All the men, who have the swiftest horses in the land, shall then be assembled, about five or six miles from the property. Then they all run towards the property; and the man, who has the swiftest[81] horse, comes to the first and the largest part, and so each after the other, till it is all taken: and he takes the least part, who runs to the property nearest the town. Then each rides away with

time of Alfred. See his Ein versuch, den Ort Schiringsheal, &c. p. 8. This supposition seems to be surrounded with very great difficulties.

78 Forster observes:—This mare's milk was not merely milk, but milk which had undergone a kind of fermentation, and was changed into a species of brandy, such as the inhabitants of the desert plains of Asia Media drink in great quantities, calling it kumyss. . . . Adam of Bremen [§ 138] says, that the ancient Prussians ate horse-flesh, and drank the milk of their mares to intoxication; and Peter of Duisburg [§ 80] relates of these people, that at their feasts, they drank water, mead, and mare's milk. Northern Voyages, p, 71, note 85.

79 Mead, even so early as in the ninth century, had the name of Medo, medu and meodo in Anglo-Saxon; in the Lithuanian tongue it is called Middus; in Polish, Miod; in Russian, Med; in German, Meth. Hence it appears probable that mead is a beverage of great antiquity, as the name, by which it is known, is exactly the same in languages of so different an origin. With these it is perhaps worth while to compare the Greek verb μεθύω I intoxicate, from μέθυ wine. Id. p. 72, note 86.

80 The following particulars, relating to the manners of the Esthonians n the ninth century, the preservation of which we owe to the diligent pen of King Alfred, form a valuable supplement to the short sketches of aboriginal manners delineated by Cæsar and Tacitus. Ingram's Lect. p. 82, note e.

81 In A. S. þæt swifte hors, for þæt swiftoste, the swiftest.

the property, and may keep it all; and, therefore, swift horses are there uncommonly dear. When his property is thus all spent, then they carry him out, and burn him with his weapons and clothes.[82] Most commonly they spend all his wealth, with the long lying of the dead within, and what they lay in the way, which the strangers run for and take away.

23. It is also a custom with the Esthonians, that there men of every tribe must be burned; and, if any one find a single bone unburnt, they shall make a great atonement.[83]—There is also among the Esthonians, a power of producing cold; and, therefore, the dead lie there so long, and decay not,[84] because they bring the cold upon them. And if a man set two vats full

82 That the ancient Prussians burnt their dead, and buried them together with their horses, weapons, clothes, and valuable possessions, appears from a treaty concluded through the mediation of the Archdeacon of Liege, in quality of the Pope's Legate, between the German Knights and the newly converted Prussians, wherein the Prussians expressly promise never in future to burn their dead, nor bury them with their horses, arms, clothes and valuables. Forster's Northern voyages, p. 72, note 88.

A similar custom is mentioned, in Cæsar's Commentaries, as prevailing in Gaul:—"Funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum magnifica, et sumptuosa; omniaque, quæ vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia; ac, paulo supra hanc memoriam, servi, et clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, justis funeribus confectis, una cremabantur." De Bello Gallico, l. VI, c. 19.—The custom of burning the dead, *νεκροκαυστία*, or cremation, was almost universal, among rude nations, from the age of Homer to that of Alfred. Ingram's Lect. p. 83, note h.

83 The A. S. gebétan to atone for, or to make atonement, is similar to the Icl. bœta, Swed. bode, to reconcile: miclum dat. pl. multo, used adverbially. The atonement, sacrifice or offering, did not apply merely to the individual, but to his whole race, as is evident by the pl. hi sceolan they shall. The meaning, as Rask says, is this:—"Saa skulle de udsone det med et stort offer." Thus shall they atone for, or expiate this, with a great offering, sacrifice, or atonement. Afhandlinger, p. 381, note œ.

Atonement is at-one-ment, an expressive English compound, from atone, to set at one, to reconcile, make peace. Thus the Greek of St. Paul, in the Acts—*καὶ συνήλασεν αὐτοὺς εἰς εἰρήνην*, Ch. VII, 26, is in our version, "and would have set them at one again": this follows Tyndale's translation of 1534—and wolde have set them at one agayne.—He made the Jewes and the Gentiles at one betwene themselues, euen so he made them both at one with God, that there should be nothing to breake the atonement. Udal. Ephesians, C. 2.

84 Phineas Fletcher, who was ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to Russia, gives an account of the same practice continuing in some parts of Moscovy. "In winter time, "when all is covered with snow, so many as die are piled up in a hovel in the suburbs like "billets on a wood stack; they are as hard with the frost as a very stone, till the spring-"tide come and resolve the frost, what time every man taketh his dead friend, and com-"mitteth him to the ground." See a note to one of Fletcher's Eclogues, p. 10, printed at Edinburgh, in 1771, 12mo. See also a poem written at Moscow, by G. Tuberville, in the first volume of Hakluyt, p. 386, where the same circumstance is dwelt upon, and the reason given, that the ground cannot be dug. Bodies, however, are now [1773] buried at

of ale or of water, they cause that either shall be frozen over, whether it be summer or winter.[85]

24. Now will we speak about Greece, on the south of the river Danube.* The sea, Propontis, lies on the east of Constantinople, a city of the Greeks. On the north of Constantinople, the arm of the sea shoots up right west from the Euxine; and, on the north-west of the city, the mouth of the river Danube shoots out south-east into the Euxine sea; and, on the south and on the west side of the mouth, are the Moesians, a tribe of Greeks; and, on the west of the city, are the Thracians; and on the west[86] of these, the Macedonians. On the south of the city, and on the south side of the arm of the sea which is called Archipelago [Ægæum], is the country of the Athenians and of Corinth. To the south-west of Corinth is the country of Achaia, by the Mediterranean Sea. These countries are peopled by Greeks. On the west of Achaia, along the Mediterranean, is the country Dalmatia, on the north side of the sea; and on the north of Dalmatia are the Bulgarians, and Istria. On the south of Istria is that part of the Mediterranean Sea, which is called Adriatic; and on the west, the Alpine mountains; and on the north, that waste, which is between Carinthia and the Bulgarians.

25. Then the country of Italy,† extends a long way north-west, and south-east;—and all around it lies the Mediterranean Sea, save on the north-west. At that end, it is bounded by the

Moscow during the winter. D. B. — As the poem of G. Tuberville, to which Mr Barrington refers, in Hakluyt, is addressed to so great a poet at Spenser, the reader may perhaps be amused with the following specimen, relating to the subject.

> Perhaps thou musest much, how this may stand with reason,
> That bodies dead can uncorrupt abide, so long a season!
> Take this for certain trothe; as soon as heate is gone,
> The force of colde the body binds as hard as any stone,
> Without offence at all, to any living thing;
> And so they lye in perfect state, till next returne of apringe."
>
> Ingram's Lect. p. 84, note m.

85 This power, so much admired by King Alfred, of producing cold either in summer or in winter, by which the putrefaction of dead bodies was prevented, and ale and water were frozen, must have been effected by some sort of ice-house, and this, every Prussian of any consequence had in, or near his house. Forster's Northern Voyages, p. 73.

86 A. S. and be eastan þære byrig, and on the east of the city, note 89.

* Partly from Oros. l. I, c. 2, Haver. p. 23, 24: see note 88.

† Partly from Oros. l. I, c. 2, Haver. p. 24.

mountains called the Alps: these begin on the west, from the Mediterranean Sea, in the country Narbonensis, and end again on the east in the country of Dalmatia by the [Adriatic] Sea.

26. The countries called GALLIA BELGICA *:—on the east of these is the river Rhine, and on the south the mountains called the Alps, and on the south-west the ocean which is called Britannic; and on the north, on the other side of the arm of the ocean, is the country Britain. On the west of the Loire is the country Aquitania; and, on the south of Aquitania, is some part of the country Narbonensis; and on the south-west the country of Spain; and, on the west, the ocean. On the south of Narbonensis is the Mediterranean Sea, where the river Rhone empties itself; and, on the east of it, Provence; and on the west of it, over the wastes, the nearer Spain [Hispania Citerior], and on the west and north, Aquitania; and Gascony on the north. Provence has, on the north of it, the Alps; and on the south of it is the Mediterranean Sea; and, on the north and east of it, are the Burgundians, and on the west the Gasconians.

27. The country of SPAIN † is three-cornered, and all encompassed with water by the Atlantic [87] ocean without, and by the Mediterranean Sea within, more than the countries named before. One of the corners lies south-west, opposite to the island, called Cadiz, and another east, opposite the country Narbonensis, and the third north-west, towards Betanzos, a city of Galicia, and opposite Scotland [Ireland], over the arm of the sea, right against the mouth of the river called the Shannon. As to that part of Spain,[88] more distant from us, on the west of it, and on the north is the ocean, on the south the Mediterrannean Sea, and on the east the nearer Spain; on the north of which are the

* Oros. l. I, c. 2. Haver. p. 25. † Oros. l. I, c. 2. Haver. p. 25, 26.

87 Literally:—and all encompassed with water without, and also encompassed within, more than [ofer over, above, more than] those lands [þa land those lands, or countries Provence, Aquitania, and Gallia Belgica] both by the ocean and by the Mediterranean Sea.

88 It must be recollected, that Orosius is supposed to speak, and not Alfred.—The royal Geographer, indeed, appears to have deserted Orosius entirely, as an insufficient guide, till he came to those territories, which are situated to the south of the Danube. This, therefore, is the only part of his description which can be strictly considered as a translation. The division also of all Europe into the countries lying north and south of the Danube, so clear and simple, which is completely original, shews how much we owe to King Alfred. Ingram's Lect. p. 86, note q.

Aquitani, and on the north-east the forest of the Pyrenees,‡ and on the east Narbonensis, and on the south the Mediterranean Sea.

28. The island Britain.—It extends || a long way north-east; it is eight hundred miles long, and two hundred miles broad. On the south of it, and on the other side of the arm of the sea, is Gallia Belgica; and on the west part, on the other side of the sea, is the island Hibernia[89]; and on the north part, the Orkney islands §. Ireland, which we call Scotland, is on every side surrounded by the ocean; and because it is nearer the setting of the sun than other lands, the weather is milder there, than in Britain. Then on the north-west of Ireland, is that outmost land called Thule; and it is known to few because of its great distance.—Thus, have we spoken about the boundaries of all Europe, as they lie.

29. Now, we will [speak] of Africa,* and how the boundaries lie around it.—Our elders said, that it was the third part of this mid-earth, not because there was so much of the land, but because the Mediterranean Sea has so divided it: because it breaks more into the south part than it does into the north; and the heat has taken more hold on the south part, than the cold has on the north; and because every creature can better withstand cold, than heat; for these reasons, Africa is less than Europe, both in land and in men.

‡ Pyrenæi saltus a parte septentrionis. Oros. l. I, c. II. Haver. p. 26, 8.—A. S. Be norðan eastan is se weald Pireni.

|| Britannia oceani insula, per longum in boream extenditur. Oros. l. I, c. II. Haver. p. 27, 4.

89 Ibernia, Hibernia, Igbernia, now Ireland, was denominated Scotland from about the fifth to the eleventh century. The Scoti were first heard of, as inhabiting Ireland. As they imposed their name on Hibernia, so in settling in North Britain they gave it the name of Scotland, which it still retains. [See note 54: Also Alfred's Orosius § 3 note 7] Bede says, "Hæc [Hibernia] proprie patria Scottorum est." l. I, c. 1; p. 42. So in Alfred's translation. This [Hibernia] is agendlice Scotta eþel. id. p. 474.—Diodorus Siculus calls Ibernia, Ἶρις, Strabo Ἰέρνη, Ἰερνὶς νῆσος, Ptolemy Ἰουερνία, Pomponius Mela Juverna, Claudian Ierna. In the names Iris, Ierna, Juverna, Hibernia, the native Irish, Eri or Ir is discoverable. The Irish, to indicate a country, prefix Hy, or Hua denoting "the [dwelling of the] sons, or family of." In prefixing Hy to a name beginning with a vowel, a consonant is often inserted, thus; Hy-v-Each, the country or descendants of Each or Æacus. This prefix requires a genitive, which in Eri is Erin: and thus, all the variations in the name seem to be accounted for,—as Eri, or Ire-land; Hy-b-ernia, Hibernia; —Hy-ernis, Iernis.

§ Orcadas insulas habet. Oros. l. I, c. II. Haver. p. 27, 10.—A. S. Orcadus þæt igland.

* Oros. l. I: c. II. Haver. p. 28, 29.

30. On the east, Africa begins, as we said before, westward of Egypt, at the river Nile. Then the most easterly country is called LIBYA † CYRENAICA; on the east of it is the nearer Egypt, and on the north the Mediterranean Sea, [and on the south the country] that is called Libya Æthiopum; and on the west the Syrtis Major.

31. On the west of Libya Æthiopum is the farther EGYPT ‡; and on the south the sea which is called Æthiopic; and, on the west the Troglodytæ. The country Tripolitana, which is also called Arzuges:—It has, on the east of it, the Syrtis Major, and the country of the Troglodytæ; and on the north the [part of the] Mediterranean Sea, which is called Adriatic, and the country which is called Syrtis Minor; and, on the west, to the salt lake, Byzacium; and, on the south of it to the ocean, the Natobres, and Getuli, and Garamantes.

32. The country BYZACIUM,‖ in which is the city Adrumetus, and Seuges, and the great city Carthage, and the region of Numidia. They have, on the east of them, the country Syrtis Minor, and the salt lake; and, on the north of them, is the Mediterranean Sea; and, on the west of them, Mauretania: and, on the south of them, the mountains Uzera; and, on the south of the mountains to the ocean, the ever-wandering Æthiopians.—Mauretania:—On the east of it is Numidia; and, on the north, the Mediterranean Sea; and, on the west, the river Malva; and on the south, Astria, about the mountains, which separate § the fruit-bearing land, and the barren whirling-sand, which then lies south all the way to the ocean.—Mauretania is called also Tingitana. On the east of it, is the river Malva; and, on the north, the mountains, Albenas, and Calpe another mountain, where the end shoots up from the ocean, between the mountains eastward, where the pillars of Hercules stand; and, on the west of them to the ocean is the mountain Atlas; and, on the south, the mountain called Hesperium; and, on the south of them to the ocean, the country Aulolum.—Thus have we spoken about the landmarks of Africa.

† Oros. l. I: c. II. Haver. p. 29.

‡ Oros. l. I: c. II. Haver. p. 30.

‖ Bisacium, Byzacena Regio, *βυζάκιον, βυζακὶς χώρα* the south part of Tunis. Oros. l. I: c. II. Haver. p. 30.

§ Qui dividit inter vivam terram et arenas jacentes usque ad Oceanum.—Tingitana Mauritania ultima est Africæ. Oros. l. I: c. II. Haver. p. 31.

33. Now, we will speak about the islands,† which are in the Mediterranean Sea.—The island Cyprus lies opposite Cilicia and Isauria, on the arm of the sea which is called Issicus.‡ It is a hundred and seventy five miles long, and a hundred and twenty two miles broad.—The island, Crete:—On the east of it, is the sea which is called Carpathian; and westerly, and on the north, the Cretan Sea; and, on the west, the Sicilian, which is also called the Adriatic. It is a hundred and seventy miles long, and fifty miles broad.

34. Of the islands, called Cyclades ¶, there are fifty three. On the east of them, is the Icarian sea; and, on the south, the Cretan; and, on the north, the Ægæan; and, on the west, the Adriatic.

35. The island, Sicily || is three-cornered. At each corner there are hills[90]: the north corner is called Pelorus, near to which is the city Messina: the south corner is called Pachynum, near which is the city Syracuse; and the west corner is called Lilybæum, near which is the city Lilybæum. On the north and south,[91] it is a hundred and fifty-seven miles long; and the third side, along the [east][92] is a hundred and seventy seven. On the east of the land is [that part of] the Mediterranean Sea, which is called Adriatic; and, on the south, that which is called African; and, on the west, what is called Tyrrhenian; and, on the north, is the sea, which is both narrow and rough, towards Italy.

36. The islands, Sardinia § and Corsica are separated by a little arm of the sea, which is twenty two miles broad.—Sardinia is

† Oros. l. I: c. II, Haver. p. 32.

‡ Ὁ Ἰσσικὸς κόλπος Issicus sinus: Issicum sinum vocant. Oros. I. I: c. II, Haver. p. 32.

¶ Insulæ Cyclades sunt numero quinquaginta tres. Oros. I. I: c. II, Haver. p. 32.—They were called κυκλάδες, because they lay ἐν κύκλῳ in a circle.

|| Oros. l, I: c. II. Haver. p. 33.

90 A. S. beorgas. Oros. promontoria, from promontorium. i. e. mons in mare prominens.

91 There is not in the text, the usual accuracy observed in giving the dimensions of this island. Dr Smith gives them thus:— "The north and south sides are about 175 miles each in length, not including the windings of the coast; and the length of the east side is about 115 miles." Classical Dict. of Geog. &c. 8vo. 1850.

92. A. S. west-lang. Here seems to be some mistake; for, the north and south-west sides having been named, there only remains the east to be mentioned. The scribe seems to have erroneously written west-lang instead of east-lang.

§ Oros. l. I, c. II: Haver. p. 33, 34.

thirty three miles long, and twenty two miles broad. On the east of it, is [that part of] the Mediterranean Sea, which is called Tyrrhenian, into which the river Tiber flows. On the south is the sea which lies towards the country of Numidia; and, on the west, the two islands which are called Baleares; and, on the north, the island Corsica.

37. CORSICA:—On the east of it is the city of Rome; and, on the south, Sardinia; and, on the west, the Balearic islands; and, on the north, the country of Tuscany. It is sixteen miles long, and nine miles broad.

38. The two islands, BALEARES:*—On the [south][93] of them, is Africa; and Cadiz on the west, and Spain on the north.—We have now spoken shortly about the inhabited islands, that are in the Mediterranean Sea.

BOOK I: CHAPTER II.†

1. One thousand three hundred years before the building of Rome,[1] [B. C. 2053: Clinton, B. C. 2182.] Ninus, king of Assyria, first began to reign in this mid-earth; and, from an immeasurable longing for power, he harassed and fought for fifty years, until he had brought all Asia under his sway, from the Red Sea on the south, to the Euxine on the north. He, moreover, often went with great armies into the north country of the Scythians, who are said to be the hardiest of men; though, in worldly goods, they are the poorest. Whilst he was fighting with them, they became skilful in the arts of war,[2] though before they lived a peaceable life. They afterwards bitterly repaid him for the art of war,[3] which they had learned from him; and, in their

* Oros. l. I: c. 2. Haver. p. 34.

93 A. S. be norðan.

† Oros. l. I: c. 4. Haver. p. 37—39. The 3rd chapter of Orosius, "De diluvio sub Noë," Alfred has entirely omitted.

1 Before the building of Rome 1300 years, add 753 years, from the foundation of Rome to the birth of Christ, make 2053 years, B. C., according to Orosius.—Blair says, the kingdom of Assyria began under Ninus, B. C. 2059; but Clinton states, that the Assyrian Chronology of Ctesias, according to Diodorus, gives B. C. 2182, for the beginning of the Assyrian empire. Then, B. C. 2182, take 50 years, the reign of Ninus, make 2132 years B. C. for the death of Ninus, and the beginning of Semiramis's reign. She reigned 42 years; and, therefore, [from 2132 take 42, make 2090] she died B. C. 2090. As these dates appear to be the most correct, they are given in the text, and at the head of the page. Clinton's dates are generally adopted for the Chronology of Greece and Rome. See An epitome of the civil and literary chronology of Greece, etc. by Henry Fynes Clinton Esqr. M. A. late Student of Christ's Church. 8vo. Oxford, 1851. pp. 101—114.

2 A. S. wig-cræfta, war-crafts.

3 A. S. wig-cræft, war-craft.

minds, it was as agreeable to see the shedding of man's blood, as it was to see the milk of their cattle, upon which they mostly lived. Ninus overcame and slew Zoroaster, king of the Bactrians, who was the first man, that knew the arts of the wizzard.[4] At last, when he was in a city fighting against the Scythians, he was there shot dead with an arrow.

2. After his death Semiramis, his queen, succeeded, both to the war and to the kingdom. For forty two years, she carried on the same war, which she brought upon herself by her manifold wicked desires. Still, the power, which the king had gained, seemed too little for her; and, therefore, with womanly zeal, she fought against the harmless people of Ethiopia; and against the Indians, with whom no man but Alexander, either before or since, went to war. She wished to overcome them in war, though she could not accomplish it. Such desires and wars were then more fearful than they now are, because they before knew no example of them, as men now do; for they lived a harmless life.

3. The same queen Semiramis, after the kingdom was in her power, was not only always thirsting for man's blood; but also, with unbounded profligacy, formed plans for such manifold lewdness, that she enticed to her bed every one of those, that she knew to be of the king's family, and afterwards, with guile, put them all to death. Then, at last, she took her own son to her bed; and, because she could not fulfil her wicked desire without the infamy of mankind, she published, over all her kingdom, that there should be no bar to marriage between any kindred.

Book I: Chapter III.*

1. One thousand one hundred and sixty years before the building of Rome, [B. C. 1913: Blair, B. C. 1897] the fruitful land, on which were the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, was burnt up by fire from heaven. That [land] was between Arabia and Palestine. There was an abundance of fruit, chiefly because the river

4 A. S. dry-cræftas, wizzard-crafts.

* Oros. l. I: c. 5. Haver. p. 40—43.—Alfred omits the first part of this chapter, which relates to Pentapolis [*Πενταπόλις*] the five "cities of the plain" [Gen. XIII, 12] of southern Jordan, Sodom, Gomorrah, Adama, Zeboim and Zoar, all of which, except Zoar, were destroyed, and the valley in which they stood was buried beneath the waters of the Dead Sea. Pentapolis is mentioned in the Book of Wisdom, X, 6, where Lot is said to have escaped *καταβάσιον πῦρ Πενταπόλεως*. The other parts of this chapter, Alfred has much abridged.

Jordan, every year, overflowed the mid-land with water a foot deep; and thus manured it.

2. Then the people immoderately enjoyed this great wealth, till great sensuality waxed within them; and, for this sensuality, God's wrath so came upon them, that he burnt up all the land with sulphurous fire. Afterwards there was standing-water over the land, through which the river formerly flowed. The part of the dale, which the flood did not reach, is to this day fertile in fruits of every kind; [1] and they are very fair, and pleasant to look

1 This isnot in the original Latin of Orosius, as edited by Havercamp, but the edition of 1471 by Schuszler [see Introduction p. 10 note 2] contains the whole sentence. This would lead to the conclusion, that Alfred translated from a MS. connected with that from which Schuszler printed [See ch. XIV, § 3, note 1]. The edition of 1471 inserts—"Spectes illic poma virentia et formatos uvarum racemos, ut edentibus gignant cupiditatem, si carpas, fatiscunt in cinerem, fumumque excitant, quasi ardeant."—Hegesippus, and S. Ambrose make the same statement, in almost the very same words: see Hegesippus, or Egesippus, De bello Judaico et urbis Hierosolymorum excidio, Paris, 1511. Book IV, ch. 18.

Though POMUM is employed to denote any kind of fruit, as an apple, pear, plum, peach, cherry, grape, olive, nut, etc. [Valpy's Etym. Dict.] like the Spanish and Italian pómo, yet pómo, in these languages, is particularly used, as the French pomme, only for the fruit of the apple tree. Hence perhaps, the Latin poma has been taken in its restricted sense, to signify apples. Hence also, the expression poma Sodomitica has been translated the Apples of Sodom, and the prevalent impression that the f uit of Sodom here alluded to, as well as that by which Eve was tempted, was an apple.

It is pretty clear, that the poma Sodomitica gave rise to the strange story, that all the fruits, growing near the Dead sea, though beautiful to the sight, dissolved into smoke and ashes, when they were gathered. This exaggerated story, though alluded to by Strabo, seems to have been first generally propagated by Josephus, who, however, affirms, that he had it from eye-witnesses. His words are these—"*Εστι δὲ κἀν τοῖς κάρποῖς σποδιὰν ἀναγενωμένην, [ἰδεῖν] οἳ χρόαν μὲν ἔχουσι τοῖς ἐδωδίμοις ὁμοίαν, δρεψαμένων δὲ χερσὶν εἰς καπνὸν ἀναλύονται καὶ τέφραν· τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὴν Σοδομῖτιν μυθευόμενα τοιαύτην ἔχει πίστιν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως.* Insuper et in fructibus cineres renascentes, qui specie quidem et colore edulibus similes sunt, manibus autem decerpti in favillam et cinerem resolvuntur. Atque his quidem, de terra Sodomitica narratis, ejusmodi fides habetur ex testibus oculatis. Flavii Josephi de bello Jud. Lib. IV, cap. VIII, § 4. Hudson, p. 1195, line 40.

The fruit is mentioned by Pliny, l. V, c. 17: Solinus c. 36 and others have given the same story as Josephus, with some alterations and additions. Tacitus says.—"Terramque ipsam specie torridam vim frugiferam perdidisse. Nam cuncta spontè edita, aut manu sata, sive herbæ tenues aut flores, ut solitam in speciem adolevêre, atra et inania velut in cinerem vanescunt." Hist. l. V, c. 6.—Syr John de Maundeville, in his "Voiage and Travailes" written about 1322, gives the story thus.—And there groweth trees, that beareth fruit of fair colour, seemeth ripe, and when men breaketh it, they findeth them nought but ashes, in tokening that, through vengeance of God, those cities were burnt with fire of hell.—

This diversity of description seems to bave arisen from the indefinite expressions of the promulgators of the story—the *καρπὸς* of Josephus, and the pomum of others. It has been previously stated, that pomum was used to denote an apple, a plum, grape, etc. Though there is much exaggeration on the subject, there must have been some truth in it, for Moses speaks of the fruit of Sodom, in the ears of all the congregation of Israel, and surely he would not have mentioned this extraordinary fruit, if his hearers had not known of its

upon; but, when they are taken into the hand, they turn to ashes.

existence. Moses only mentions the "vine of Sodom," and that metaphorically, in the following manner,—"But their vine, [is] of the vine of Sodom, and of the field of Gomorrah; their grapes [are] the grapes of רוש poison, their clusters are bitter: their wine is the poison of dragons." Deut. XXXII, 32.

Michaelis, in his Recueil, Quest. 64: and suppl. ad Lex. Heb. p. 345, says, that the vine of Sodom is the Solanum or night-shade, which bears a considerable resemblance to the vitis or white vine, in its leaves and fruit, which is vinous but poisonous, and which the Arabs call עגב אל חעלב Fox-grapes. See Parkhurst's Hebrew Lex. under נפן.

In the Solanum, night-shade, or fox-grape, though resembling the vine, there is nothing like explosion, nothing like smoke and ashes, as Hasselquist remarks, "except when the fruit is punctured by an insect [Tenthredo], which converts the whole inside into dust, leaving nothing but the rind entire without any loss of colour." Therefore, Dr Robertson objects to the Solanum, and thinks that the Asclepias gigantia vel procera of Botanists [Sprengel Hist. Rei Herbar. I. p. 252] is more in accordance with the ancient story, especially as, in Palestine, it is peculiar to the shores of the Dead Sea, while the Solanum is found in other parts of the country. The Asclepias, called by the Arabs العشر el-ösher, was seen by Dr Robertson about the middle of the western shore of the Dead Sea. He thus describes the fruit of the Asclepias or ösher. "Externally it greatly resembles a large smooth apple or orange, hanging in clusters of three or four together; and, when ripe, it is of a yellow colour. It was now fair and delicious to the eye, and soft to the touch; but, on being pressed or struck, it exploded with a puff, like a bladder or puff-ball, leaving in the hand only the shreds of the thin rind, and a few fibres."—"It must be plucked and handled with great care to preserve it from bursting." Josephus states in the preceding Greek quotation that "there are still to be seen ashes reproduced in the fruits, which indeed resemble edible fruit in colour; but, on being plucked with the hands, are dissolved into smoke and ashes." Dr Robertson then observes, "In this account, after a due allowance for the marvellous, in all popular reports, I find nothing which does not apply almost literally to the fruit of the ösher, as we saw it."

We noticed several ösher trees, the trunks of which were six or eight inches in diameter, and the whole height from ten to fifteen feet. They had a grayish cork-like bark, and long oval leaves. See Dr Robertson's Biblical Researches in Palestine, &c. 3 vols. 8vo. London vol. II, p. 235—238.

Dr Robertson seems to have been influenced by the popular opinion that this fruit of Sodom was an apple—the Hebrew תפוח an apple, or rather the citron, lemon or orange.

The Honourable Mr Curzon, in his recent and most interesting work—"Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant," thinks he has discovered this fruit of Sodom in what had the appearance of a plum. His account of the discovery is so graphic, that it must be given in his own words. "We made a somewhat singular discovery, when travelling among the mountains to the east of the Dead Sea, where the ruins of Ammon, Jerash, and Adjeloun well repay the labour and fatigue encountered by visiting them. It was a remarkably hot and sultry day: we were scrambling up the mountains through a thick jungle of bushes and low trees, which rises above the east shore of the Dead Sea, when I saw before me a fine plum-tree, loaded with fresh blooming plums. I cried out to my fellow traveller, 'Now, then, who will arrive first at the plumtree?' And, as he caught a glimpse of so refreshing an object, we both pressed our horses into a gallop, to see which would get the first plum from the branches. We both arrived at the same moment, and each snatching a fine ripe plum, put it at once into our mouths; when, on biting it, instead of the cool, delicious, juicy fruit which we expected, our mouths were filled with a dry, bitter dust, and we sat under the tree upon our horses, sputtering, and hemming, and doing all we could to be relieved of the nauseous taste of this strange fruit. We then perceived, and to my great delight, that we had discovered the famous apple of the Dead Sea, the existence of

Book I: Chapter IV.*

1. One thousand and seventy years before the building of Rome [Orosius B. C. 1823], the people of Candia [Telchines] and Scarpanto [Carpathus] began a war, and carried it on, till they were all slain, save very few. However, those Candians, that were left there, gave up their land and went to the island of Rhodes, hoping that they had fled from all war, but there the Greeks found them and utterly put an end to them.

Book I: Chapter V.†

1. Eight hundred years before the building of Rome [Orosius B. C. 1761: Blair, B. C. 1715], the Egyptians had very great fertility in their land, for seven years; and afterwards, they were in the greatest famine for the next seven years. Then Joseph, a righteous man, helped them by divine aid. Of this Joseph, Pompeius, the heathen bard, and his follower Justin,[1] thus said:—Joseph was the youngest of his brethren, and also the wisest of them all; so that the brethren, being afraid, took Joseph and sold him to chapmen, and they sold him into the land of Egypt. Pompeius also said, that he there learnt the arts of magic, and that by these

which has been doubted and canvassed since the days of Strabo and Pliny, who first described it; but, up to this time, no one had met with the thing itself, either upon the spot mentioned by the ancient authors, or elsewhere. I brought several of them to England."

This deceitful apple is a kind of gall-apple, about 2 inches long, produced by a small insect. "A kind of oak-gall, formed by an insect upon the branches of a species of ilex, and is the only fruit or apple hitherto met with by travellers, which answers the description of the ancient writers, though the gourds of the colchicum, solanum melongena called abeschaez, the ösher plant—have been by some thought to be the one in question."

After taking into consideration, what travellers have written, on this subject, it is difficult to determine, which is correct, and what particular fruit is meant when we speak of the apple or rather the fruit of Sodom. There seems to be some ground for the statement of Josephus, that the fruit "dissolved into smoke and ashes," if his informant had seen the gall-apple, mentioned by Mr Curzon as like "fresh blooming plums." But even the fruit itself, as well as the sort of fruit, is doubtful. Neither Maundrell nor Carne could see or hear any thing of the Apple of Sodom, and neither they nor Lord Bacon believed that it had any existence. The scriptural statemant, as to the "vine of Sodom," cannot be doubted, and it seems to be followed by Orosius in his "formatos uvarum racemos." In this case, the Solanum would appear to be the fruit [not the apple] of Sodom alluded to, and mentioned by Michaelis and Hasselquist, especially if what the latter has said be considered, that when the fruit of the Solanum is punctured by an insect, the whole inside is converted into dust, without any loss of fulness or colour.

* Alfred has omitted the sixth chapter of Orosius, Comparatio cladis Sodomiticæ et Romanæ, Haver. p. 43, 44: and, in this IV chapter, he comprises the VII Chap. of Orosius, Haver. p. 45—47.

† Oros. l. I: c. 8, Haver. p. 48—51.*

1 Justin, l. XXXVI, c. 2.

arts he used to work many wonders,—that he could thus well explain dreams; and that, therefore, by this art he became very dear to Pharaoh, the king. He [Pompeius] said that he [Joseph] by the art of magic had so learned divine wisdom, that he had foretold the fruitfulness of the land for those seven years, and the want of the next seven years, that came after; and how, by his wisdom, he stored up in the former seven years, so that during the following seven years, he supported all the people in the great famine. He said that Moses was Joseph's son,[2] and that the arts of magic were naturally from him, because he wrought many wonders among the Egyptians. For the plague, which came upon the land, the bard said that the Egyptians drove out Moses with his people; because, Pompeius and the Egyptian priests said that the godlike wonders, which were wrought in their land, were ascribed not to the true God, but to their own gods, which are idols, because their gods are teachers of the arts of magic. The people still keep up this token of Joseph's law, because, every year, they give up, as tribute to the king, the fifth part of all the fruits of the earth.

2. The famine in Egypt was in the days of the king, who is called Amasis, though it was their custom to call all their kings, Pharaoh. At the same time, Belus reigned in Assyria, where Ninus was before. Among the people, called Argives, Apis reigned as king. At that time, there were not any kings, except in these three kingdoms, but afterwards their example was followed over all the world. It is a wonder, that the Egyptians felt so little thanks to Joseph for his having rid them of the famine, that they soon dishonoured his kindred, and made them all their slaves. So also it is still, in all the world: if God, for a very long time, grant any one his will, and he then takes it away for a less time, he soon forgets the good, which he had before, and thinks upon the evil which he then hath.[3]

Book I: Chapter VI.*

1. Eight hundred winters and ten years before the building of

2 Orosius has:—Filius Joseph Moyses fuit [non secundum carnem, sed secundum naturam, quia filius Mambre fuit Moses;] quem præter paternæ scientiæ hæreditatem etiam formæ pulchritudo commendabat. l. I: c. 8. Haver. p. 48, 49, and note 10.

3 This is one of those beautiful moral conclusions of Alfred, which he so frequently adds to his version of Boethius.

* Oros. l. I: c. 9. Haver. p. 51, 52.

Rome [Orosius, B. C. 1563], Amphictyon, the king reigned in Athens, a city of the Greeks. He was the third king that reigned after Cecrops, who was the first king of that city. In the time of this Amphictyon, there was so great a flood over all the world,—though most in Thessaly, a Grecian city, about the mountains, called Parnassus, where king Deucalion reigned,—that almost all the people perished. King Deucalion received all those, that fled to him in ships to the mountains, and fed them there. Of this Deucalion, it was said, as a proverb, that he was the parent of mankind, as Noah was.

2. In those days, there was the greatest pestilence among the Ethiopians, a people of Africa; so that few of them were left.—It was also, in those days, that Liber Pater overcame the harmless people of India, and almost brought them to an end, either by drunkenness, by lusts, or by manslaughter: nevertheless, after his days, they had him for a god; and they said that he was lord of all war.

Book I: Chapter VII.*

1. Eight hundred and five years, before the building of Rome [B. C. 1558: Blair, B. C. 1491], Moses led the people of Israel out of Egypt, after the many wonders, that he had done there.—The first was, that their waters became blood.—Then, the second was, that frogs came over all the land of the Egyptians, so many that no work could be done, nor any meat cooked, that there was not nearly as much of the vermin, as of the meat, ere it was cooked.—After that, a third evil was, that gnats came over all the land, both within and without, with fire-smarting bites, and gave endless pain to man and beast.—Then, the fourth was, what was most disgraceful of all, that dog-flies[1] came over all mankind; and they crept upon men, between the thighs, and over all the limbs, as it was well fitting that God should bring low the greatest pride, with the most vile and disgraceful punishment.—The fifth was the death of their cattle.—The sixth was, that all the people had blisters, which painfully burst, and then

* Oros. l. I. c. 10. Haver. p. 52—57.

1. A. S. Hùndes fleogan, literally hound's or dog's flies. Orosius wrote:—Post muscas caninas, etiam per interiora membrorum horridis motibus cursitantes, acerbeque inferentes tam graviora tormenta quam turpia. Haver. p. 55,—In Exod. VIII, 21. it is translated,—Ic send eall fleogena cynn.

putrid matter oozed out.—The seventh was, that there came hail, which was mingled with fire, so that it slew both the men and the cattle, as well as all that was waxing and growing in the land.—The eighth was, that locusts came and ate all the blades of grass, that were above the earth; and also gnawed the germs, and roots.—The ninth was, that there came hail, and so great a darkness, both by day and night, and so thick that it might be felt.—The tenth was, that all the young men and all the maidens, who were the first-born in the land, were killed in one night; and, though the people would not before bow down to God, they now unwillingly yielded to him. As they before hindered Moses and his people, from going away, so now they were much more eager that they should go from them. But their repentance very soon turned to a worse resolve. The king then, with his people, quickly followed after them, and wished to turn them back to Egypt. Pharaoh the king had six hundred war-chariots, and so great was his other army, that we may know why those were afraid, that were with Moses: there were six hundred thousand men! However, God lessoned Pharaoh's great multitude, and brought low their overweening pride,—and dried up the Red Sea into twelve ways, before Moses and his people, so that they went over the sea with dry feet. When the Egyptians saw that, then their magicians, Geames, and Mambres,[1] encouraged them; and they trusted, that, through their arts of magic, they might go the same way. When they were within the passage of the sea, then were they all overwhelmed and drowned. The mark, where the wheels of the war-chariots went, is still to be seen on the sea-shore. God gives this as a sign to all mankind: though the wind, or sea-flood, cover it over with sand, yet it is seen again, as it was before!

2. At that time, there was such excessive heat in all the world,

1. These names are the addition of Alfred. He evidently refers to the 2nd of Timothy, III, 8, which the Vulgate gives, "Iannes et Mambres restiterunt Moysi." Our authorized version has, "Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses." The names are not given in Exodus VII, 11, but St Paul quotes them from the old records of the Jews. The Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel writes them "Janis and Jambris": the Babylonian Talmud, "Joanne and Mambre."—Wiclif's version of A. D. 1380 has, Iammes and Manbres agenstoden Moises—Tyndale in 1534, Cranmer in 1539, and the Geneva in 1557, have, "Iannes and Iambres:" the Rheims in 1582 has, "Iannes and Mambres"—and our authorized version of 1611 has, "Iannes and Iambres." The Iammes or Jammes and Mambres of Wiclif, and of the Vulgate, in Anglo-Saxon times, would be Alfred's "Geames and Mambres."

that men not only suffered much, but nearly all the cattle died. The most southern Ethiopians had burning instead of heat; and the most northern Scythians unknown heat. Then many unwise men used this saying and leasing-speech, that the heat was not for their sins; but said, that it was for the fault of Phaëton,[1] who was only a man.

Book I: Chapter VIII.*

1. Six hundred and five years before the building of Rome, [Alfred, B. C. 1358, Orosius B. C. 1528] fifty men, in Egypt, were all slain in one night, by their own sons;[2] and all these men were the offspring of two brothers. When this was done, the brothers were still living. The elder, with whom this evil began, was called Danaüs. He was driven from his kingdom, and fled into the country of Argos, and Sthenelas the king welcomed him there; though he afterwards repaid him with evil, when he [Danaüs] drove him from his kingdom.

2. In those days, it was the custom of Busiris, king of Egypt, to sacrifice all the strangers that visited him, and to offer them to his gods.—Orosius said, I wish now that they would answer me, who say that this world is worse, at present, under Christianity, than it was before in heathenism, when they made such sacrifices, and were guilty of such murder, as I have just said. Where is it now, in any Christian country, that, among themselves, a man needs dread such a thing, as to be sacrificed to any gods! or where are our gods, that desire such crimes as theirs!

3. In those days, Perseus the king went from Greece into Asia with an army, and made war on those people, till they yielded to

1 An allusion is here made to the fabulous account, given by the poets, of Phaëton, who drove the chariot of his father Phœbus or the sun, so near the Ethiopians, that their blood was dried up, and their skin became black, and that therefore this colour is prevalent among the inhabitants of the torrid zone.—The A. S. of the last part of the sentence is very brief:—for Feotontis forscápunge, ánes mannes, for the misconduct or fault of Phaëton, one man,—or for the fault of one man, Phaëton.

* Oros. l. I: c. XI. Haver. p. 59, 60. This VIII chap. of Alfred contains the XI and XIIth of Orosius, v. § 4.

2 This is an error, from taking the Latin of Orosius in too literal a sense: —Inter Danaï atque Ægypti fratrum filios quinquaginta parricidia una nocte commissa sunt. Here, parricidium [quasi patri- vel parenti-cidium, a cædendo] is taken too literally as the murder of a father only, while it denotes the murder of any relation, and, in the present case, the murder of husbands by their wives. Reference is here made to the 50 sons of Danaüs and the 50 daughters of his twin-brother Ægyptus. The daughters of Ægyptus were given in marriage to their cousins, and they all, except Hypermnestra, murdered their husbands in the bridal night. Apollodorus, II, 1, § 5.

him. He gave his own name to the people, so they were afterwards called Persians.

4. Orosius† said, I know well that I must here pass over much, and must shorten the story which I tell,—because the Assyrians bore rule one thousand one hundred and sixty years, under fifty kings,—that it never was without war until Sardanapalus was slain,—and, afterwards, power was given to the Medes. Who is there that can count or relate all the evils, which they did!—Moreover, I will be silent about the most shameful stories of Tantalus and Pelops;—how many scandalous wars Tantalus waged, after he was king;—about the boy Ganymedes, whom he took by force;—and how he killed his own son for an offering to his gods, and he himself dressed him as meat for them.—I shall also weary if I speak about Pelops, and about Dardanus, and about the wars of the Trojans, because their wars are known in history, and in poetry. I must also pass over all things that are said of Perseus and of Cadmus; and also those which are said of the Thebans, and of the Spartans. I will, likewise, pass over in silence the wicked deeds of the Lemniades, and of king Pandion, how cruelly he was driven away by the Athenians, his own people. How Atreus and Thyestres slew their own fathers, I pass over, and all about their hateful adulteries. I also pass over, how Œdipus slew his own father, and his step-father, and his step-son. In those days, were such unbounded evils, that men of themselves said,—the very stars of heaven fled from their wickedness.

Book I: Chapter IX.*

1. Six hundred and sixty years before the building of Rome [Orosius B. C. 1313.—Alfred B. C. 1413] there was that very great battle between the Cretans and the Athenians. The Cretans gained the bloody battle, and took all the most noble children of the Athenians and gave them for food to the Minotaur, which was half man and half lion.

2. It was in those days, that the Lapithæ and Thessalians were at war with each other. When the Lapithæ saw the people of Thessaly, on their horses, fighting against them, they called them Centaurs, which are half horse and half man, because they never before saw them fight on a horse.

† Oros. l. I: c. XII. Haver. p. 60—62

* Oros. l. I: c. XIII; Haver. p. 62, 63.

Book I: Chapter X.*

1. Four † hundred and eighty years before the building of Rome, [Orosius B. C. 1233] Vesoges, king of the Egyptians, waged war in the south of Asia, until the greatest part yielded to him. Vesoges afterwards went with an army unto the Scythians, in the northern parts, and sent his message bearers before to the people, and told them to say without wavering, that they must either pay him for the freedom of the land, or he would harass and bring them to an end by war. They then wisely answered him and said,—"That it was greedy and unjust, that so wealthy a king should go to war with so poor a people, as they were." They, however, told them to say, in answer,—"That they would rather fight against him, than pay taxes." They so followed it up, that they soon put to flight the king with his people, and pursued him, and laid waste all Egypt, save only the fen-lands. They then turned towards home by the west of the river Euphrates. They forced all Asia to pay them taxes, and were there fifteen years, harassing and wasting the land, till their wives sent messengers after them, and told them,—"That they should make their choice: either they should come home, or they would choose other husbands." They then left the country, and went homeward.

2. At the same time,‡ two noble men, called Plynos and Scolopythus,[1] were driven from Scythia. They left the country, and abode between Capadocia and Pontus, near Asia the Less: there they fought till they took the land. After a short time, they were slain, through treachery, by the people of the country. Then their wives, not only the wives of the princes, but of the other men slain with them,—were so sore in their minds and so much grieved, that they took up arms with the view of revenging their husbands. Soon after, they slew all the men, that were in their neighbourbood. They did so, because they wished the other wives to be as full of grief as themselves, that they might afterwards have their help, and be more able to revenge their husbands. Then, all the women came together and waged war

* This chapter contains c. XIV, XV, and XVI of Orosius; Haver. p. 63—69.

† Oros. l. I: c. XIV. p. 63, 64.

‡ Oros. l. I: c. XV. Haver. p. 64—67.

1 Oros. has Scolpythus, Scolopitus, Scolopesius and Scolopetius. Haver. p. 64, note 2.

on the people, and slew all the males, taking much of the land into their hands. In the midst of the war, they made peace with the men. It was afterwards their custom, that, each year, about twelve months, they went together, and then bore children. Whenever the women had children, they reared the females, and slew the males. They seared the right breast of the female children to stop its growth, that they might have a stronger bow; they were, therefore, called in Greek Amazons, that is in English, seared.[1]

3. Two of them, called Marpesia and Lampeto, were their queens. They divided their army into two parts;—one to be at home to hold their land,—the other to go out to war. They afterwards overran the greatest part of Europe and Asia, and built the city of Ephesus, and many others in Asia the Less. Then they sent the greatest part of their army home with their booty, and left the other part there to hold the country. Marpesia, the queen was slain there, and a great part of the army, that was with her. There also, her daughter Sinope became queen. Sinope, the same queen, besides her courage and her manifold virtues, ended her life in maidenhood.

4. In those days there was so great a dread of these women, that neither Europe, nor Asia, nor any of the neighbouring countries could think or plan, how to withstand them, till they had chosen Hercules the giant to overcome them, by all the arts of the Greeks. Yet he durst not venture to attack them with an army, before he began with Grecian ships, called Dulmunus,[2] of which, it is said, that one ship would hold a thousand men. Then he stole upon them unawares by night, and grievously slew and destroyed them; and yet he could not take away their land. In those days, two of their queens, Antiope and Orithyia, were sisters; and Orithyia was taken. After her Penthesileia took the sovereignty, who, in the Trojan war, became very great.

1 Orosius has.—Inustis infantium dexterioribus mamillis, ne sagittarum jactus impedirentur, unde Amazones dictæ. Haver. p. 65.—Diodorus says, it was their custom [τὸν δεξιὸν μαζὸν ἐπικαίειν] to burn the right breast, and it was for this reason that [τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἀμαζόνων] the nation of the Amazons received their name [lib. II.]; that is, ἀ without, μαζός a breast. Amongst the various opinions, as to the derivation of this word, one is, that it is composed of ἀ or ἀμ intensive, and ἄζω to dry, parch, or sear. If this be correct, Alfred has given the right explanation—"On Greacise Amazonas, þæt is on Englise, fortende."

2 Oros. Longas naves præparârit. Haver. p. 67.

5. It is shameful, * said Orosius, to speak about what then happened, when such poor and such strange women had overcome the most powerful part, and the bravest men of all the world, in Europe and Asia. Then they almost entirely wasted and destroyed the old cities and old towns. After they had done that, they both settled kingdoms, and built new cities; and, for nearly a hundred years, they ruled the whole world as they wished. Men were then so familiar with every trouble, that they held it as little or no disgrace, and as no evil, that the poor women [the Amazons] so tormented them.

6. Now the Goths came from the bravest men of Germany, whom both Pyrrhus, the fierce king of the Greeks, and Alexander, as well as Julius, the powerful emperor, all feared to meet in battle. —How immoderately, O Romans! do ye murmur and complain, that it is worse with you now, under Christianity, than it then was with the people, because the Goths harassed you a little, and broke into your city, and slew some of you! From their knowledge, and their bravery, they might have had power over you against your will; but they now quietly ask a peaceable agreement with you, and some part of the land, that they may be able to help you. Ere this, it lay barren and waste enough, and you made no use of it. How blindly many people speak about Christianity, that it is worse now, than it was formerly. They will not think nor know, that, before Christianity, no country, of its own will, asked peace of another, unless it were in need; nor where any country could obtain peace from another by gold, or by silver, or by any fee, without being enslaved. But since Christ was born, who is the peace and freedom of the whole world, men may not only free themselves from slavery by money, but countries also are peaceable without enslaving each other. How can you think that men had peace before Christianity, when even their women [the Amazons] did such manifold evils in this world!

Book I: Chapter XI.†

1. Four hundred and thirty years before the building of Rome, [Orosius B. C. 1183: Clinton, B. C. 1192] it happened, that Alexander, [1] the son of Priam, king of the Trojans, took Helen the wife

* Oros. l. I: c. XVI. Haver. p. 68, 69.

† Orosius, l. I: c. 17. Haver. p. 70, 71.

1 This second son of Priam was generally called Paris, but he was also known by the

of king Menelaus, from Lacedæmon, a city of the Greeks. About her, there arose that celebrated war, and the great battles of the Greeks and Trojans. The Greeks had a thousand ships of the great Dulmunus [2]; and they took an oath among themselves that they would never return, till they had wreaked their vengeance. For ten years, they surrounded the city and fought. Who is there that can reckon how many men were slain, on both sides, of which the poet Homer has most clearly spoken! Orosius, therefore, said, I have no need to relate it, because it is tiresome, and also known to many. Nevertheless, whoever wishes to know it, may read in his books, what evils, and what victims there were, by man-slaughter, and by hunger, and by shipwreck, and by various misdeeds, as we are told in histories.

2. War was waged between these people for full ten years. Think then of those times, and of these, which are the better!

3 Then * that war was soon after followed by another. Æneas with his army went from the Trojan war into Italy. In books we may also see in how many labours, and in how many battles he was there engaged.

Book I: Chapter XII.†

1 Sixty four years before the building of Rome, [Orosius B. C. 817: Clinton B. C. 630] Sardanapalus, the king reigned in Assyria, where Ninus was the first king, and Sardanapalus was the last that reigned in that land. He was a very luxurious man, and effeminate, and very lascivious, so that he loved the company of women more than of men. When that was found out by Arbaces, his chief officer, who was set over the country of the Medes, he began to plot with the people over whom he was, to deceive the king, and to withdraw from him all those who, it was feared, would support him. When Sardanapalus found, that he had been deceived, he burnt himself to death; and then the Medes became rulers over the Assyrians. It is hard to say, after this, how many wars there were between the Medes, Chaldeans and

name of Alexander [Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλέξω to defend, ἀνὴρ, ἀνδρὸς a man] because he valiantly defended the shepherds on mount Ida.

2 This is Alfred's translation of the "mille navium" of Orosius, Haver. p. 70. In page 67 he calls them "longas naves," for which the king puts Dulmunus. v. b. I: ch. X, § 4, note 2.

* Orosius, l. I: c. 18. Haver. p. 72.

† Orosius, l. I: c. XIX. Haver. p. 73—77.

Scythians; but this we may know, that, while such mighty kingdoms were at war, there must have been dreadful slaughter in their battles.

2 After this, king Phraortes reigned in Media. Next to Phraortes, Deïoces reigned, who greatly enlarged the empire of the Medes. After Deïoces, Astyages, who had no son, succeeded to the sovereignty; but he took Cyrus, his nephew, from the country of Persia, as his son. Then, as soon as Cyrus was grown up, being unwilling, as well as the Persians, to be under the power of his uncle and of the Medes, they went to war. Then Astyages, the king, especially turned his thoughts to Harpalus, his chief officer,—trusting that he, with his skill, might withstand his nephew in battle; for the king did not call to mind the many wrongs, that each had done the other in former days, nor how the king ordered his son to be slain, and afterwards to be dressed as meat for the father.[1] However, their quarrel was made up. Then the chief officer went with an army against the Persians; and soon fleeing, he wholly misled the great part of the people, and with treachery put them into the power of the Persian king. In that battle fell the power and dignity of the Medes.

3. When the king had found out the deceit, which the chief officer had practiced against him, he gathered what forces he could, and led them against his nephew. Cyrus, king of the Persians, kept a third part of his army behind him, for this reason, that, if any one in the battle should flee farther than the people that were behind, they should slay him, as they would their enemies. However, it happened that they turned a little to flee, when their wives, running towards them, were very angry, and asked, if they durst not fight, whither they would flee:—that they had no refuge, unless they went into the womb of their wives.[2] Then after the wives had so indignantly reproached them, they turned again, and put his whole army to flight, and took the king. Cyrus then gave his uncle all the honour, which he formerly had, save being king; and he gave up all that, because Harpalus the chief officer, for-

1 This refers to the well known account of Astyages, who, by a shocking artifice, compelled Harpagus to eat the flesh of his only son, because he had not put to death the infant Cyrus. This most horrid fact was made known to the wretched father before he left the table, by exposing to Harpagus the head and hands of his beloved and only son. Herodotus, Clio, § 119. A minute account is given, from § 107 to 129.

2 Num in uteros matrum vel uxorum vellent refugere. Oros. l. I: c. XIX. Haver. p. 77.

merly betrayed him to his own people. But Cyrus, his nephew, gave him the country of Hyrcania to govern. Thus the empire of the Medes ended, of which Cyrus with the Persians, took the government. But the towns, in many countries, which formerly paid tribute to the Medes, caused Cyrus many battles.

4. In * those days, a certain prince called Phalaris, wished to rule in the country of Agrigentum. He was of the island of Sicily; and he tortured the people with immeasurable pain, that they might submit to him.—There was there a certain brass-founder, who could make various images. Then the founder, thinking to please the prince, offered to assist him in torturing the people. He did so, and made an image of a bull in brass, so that, when it was hot, and they put wretched men into it, the noise would be greatest when they were suffering the torment; and also, that the prince should have both his pleasure and his wish, when he heard the torture of these men. When it was heated, and every thing done as the founder formerly promised the prince, he then viewed it, and said:—"That it became no man better to prove the work, than the workman, who had made it."—Then he ordered them to take him, and put him into it.

5. Why do men speak against these Christian times, and say that they are now worse, than they were, when if any one did wrong, even by the desire of kings, they could thereby find no mercy from them? Now, kings and emperors, if any one become guilty, in opposition to them, grant forgiveness for the love of God, according to the measure of the guilt.

Book I: Chapter XIII.†

1. Thirty years before the building of Rome [Orosius B. C. 783.—Clinton, B. C. 432] it was, that the Peloponnesians and Athenians, people of Greece, with all their forces, fought with each other; and the slaughter was so great on both sides, that few of them were left. In those days, the women [Amazons] who were formerly in Scythia, waged war a second time in Asia, and very much wasted and harassed it.

Book I: Chapter XIV.‡

1. Twenty years before [Clinton 30 after] the building of

* Orosius, l. I: c. 20, Haver. p. 77. 78.
† Oros. l. I: c. XXI, Haver. p. 79.
‡ Oros. l. I: c. XXI, Haver. p. 79—84.

Rome [Orosius B. C. 773 : Clinton B. C. 723] the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, people of Greece, had been at war with each other for twenty years, because the Messenians were unwilling that the Lacedæmonian maidens should offer with theirs, and sacrifice to their gods. At last, when they had drawn all the people of Greece to the war, the Lacedæmonians surrounded the city of Messene for ten years ; and took oaths that they would never come home till they had avenged themselves. They then reasoned among themselves, and said that they should very soon be without help from their posterity, since they thought they should be there so long, and had confirmed that by their pledges ; and that they did more good than evil to their enemies. With that, they resolved that those, who were not at the taking of the oaths, should go home and have children by all their wives. The others surrounded the town, till they had taken it. They were, however, but a little while obedient to them.

2. But they chose an Athenian poet † for their king, and went again with an army against the Messenians. When they came near, then they doubted whether they were able to withstand them. Their king then began to sing and play ; and by his poetry so greatly strengthened their courage, that they said, they were able to withstand the army of the Messenians. However, there were few left on either side, and the people of Greece suffered many years, as well from the Lacedæmonians, the Messenians, and the Bœotians, as from the Athenians ; and they drew many other nations into the same war.

3. Thus, it is shortly stated what formerly happened before Rome was built, which, from the beginning of the world, was four thousand, four hundred, and eighty two years [Blair 3251] ; and, after it was built, our Lord's birth was about seven hundred and ten [1] years [Blair and Clinton 753].

4. Here the first book ends, and the second begins.

† The famous lyric poet Tyrtæus.

1 The dates are not given in the Latin text of Havercamp [see p. 10, note 1] ; but, in the first German edition by Schuszler, 1471 [v. p. 10, note 2], the following gloss has found its way into the text, and Alfred may have translated from a MS. like that, from which Schuszler printed, [see ch. III, § 2, note 1. p. 63] but differing as to the precise dates—Ab orbe condito usque ad urbem conditam anni IIII mille, CCCCLXXXVII. Ab urbe condita usque ad nativitatem Christi, DCCXV colliguntur. Ergo ab origine mundi in adventum Domini nostri anni V mille XCVIIII [5192]. Finit liber primus feliciter."

Alfred's calculation, though differing in particulars, exactly agrees in result with the MS.

Book II : Chapter I.*

1. I ween, said Orosius, that there is no wise man, who knows not well enough, that God created the first man just and good; and all mankind with him. And because he forsook the good, which was given to him, and chose the worse, then God at length avenged it; first on [man] himself, and afterwards on his children, with manifold miseries and wars throughout all the world: yea, he also lessened all the earth's fruitfulness, by which all moving creatures live. Now, we know that our Lord made us: we know also that he is our governor, and loves us with a more just love than any man. Now, we know that all empires are from him: we know also, that all kingdoms are from him; because all empires are from kingdoms. Now, as he is governor of the less, how much more, think we, that he is over the greater kingdoms, which had such unbounded powers.

2. The first [empire] was the Babylonian, where Ninus reigned :—The second was the Grecian,[1] where Alexander reigned :—The third was the African, where the Ptolemies reigned :—The fourth is [that]of the Romans, who are yet reigning [2] [A.D. 412 ?]. These four chief empires are, by the unspeakable providence of God, in the four parts of this mid-earth. The Babylonian was the first, on the east :—the second was the Grecian, on the north : —the third was the African, on the south :—the fourth is the Roman, on the west. The Babylonian the first, and the Roman the last, were as father and son, as they could easily rule as they wished. The Grecian and African were as if they obeyed,

from which Schuszler printed.—Alfred gives 4482 years, from the beginning of the world to the foundation of Rome, and from thence to the birth of Christ 710 years, making a total of 5192 years, from the Creation to Christ.—Schuszler's MS. gives, for the same periods, 4487, to which add 715, making the total of 5192 years, the same as Alfred. They both follow the calculation of Eusebius, who adopted the longer generations of the Septuagint [See Book VI, Ch. 38 § 23 note,]—The shorter generations of the Hebrew Bible are generally followed, as is seen from what is given between brackets in the text, from Dr Blair: thus to 3251 add 753, make 4004 years from the creation to the birth of Christ.

* Oros. l. II. c. I, II, and III, Haver. p. 85—91 : this first chap. of Alfred, therefore, contains the first three chapters of Orosius.

1. Oros. has Macedonicum, the Macedonian empire. Haver. p. 86, 7. Alfred calls it, the Grecian empire, considering Macedonia as part of Greece.

2 Orosius lived in the time of the emperor, Arcadius, who reigned in the east, twelve years, from A. D. 396 to 408; and he wrote this work, in the time of Honorius, the emperor of the west, from A. D. 4 10 to 416. See Book VI, Chapter 37, § 1. Also, Introduction, p. 14, and 15.

and were subject to them. But I will tell this more fully, that it may be better understood.

3. † The first king was called Ninus, as we said before; [3] and, when he was slain, then Semiramis his queen seized the government, and built the city of Babylon, so that it should be the capital of all the Assyrians; and it stood as such for many years afterwards, until Arbaces, a chief officer of the Medes, slew Sardanapalus, king of Babylon. Then the empire of the Babylonians and Assyrians was brought to an end, and turned to the Medes. In the same year, in which this happened, Procas, Numitor's father, began to reign in the country of Italy, where Rome was afterwards built. This Procas was the father of Numitor and Amulius, and [grandfather [4]] of Silvia. This Silvia was the mother of Remus and Romulus, who built Rome.—This will I say, that the kingdoms were not strengthened by the powers of man, nor by any fate, but by the providence of God.

4. All historians say, that the kingdom of the Assyrians began with Ninus, and the kingdom of the Romans began with Procas. From the first year of Ninus's reign, till the city of Babylon was built, were sixty-four years; also, from the first year, in which Procas reigned in Italy, were sixty four years, ere the city of Rome was built. In the same year, that the kingdom of the Romans began to grow and enlarge, in the days of king Procas, in the same year Babylon fell, and all the kingdom and the power of the Assyrians. After their king, Sardanapalus, was slain, the Chaldeans had free possession of the lands, which were nearest to the city, though the Medes had the government over them, until Cyrus king of the Persians began to reign, and laid waste all Babylonia, and all Assyria, and brought all the Medes under the power of the Persians. It so happened, that, at the same time, in which Babylon fell under the power of Cyrus the king, Rome was freed from the thraldom of the most unrighteous, and the proudest kings, called Tarquins. When the eastern power fell in Assyria, the western power arose in Rome.

5. I shall now, said Orosius, speak much more fully against those who say, that empires have arisen from the power of the fates, [and] not from the providence of God. How justly it hap

† Oros. l. II. c. 2. Haver. p. 87—89.

3 Book I, c. 2, § 1. p. 61.

4 A. S. eam, uncle.

pened to these two chief empires, the Assyrian and the Roman, [is clear] from what we have lately ‡ said, that Ninus reigned in the eastern empire fifty two years; and, after him, his queen Semiramis, forty two years; and, about the middle of her reign, she built the city of Babylon. From the year in which it was built, the empire lasted one thousand one hundred and nearly sixty four years, before it was deceived, and its power taken away by its own chief officer, Arbaces, and by the king of the Medes; though, as we lately said, there was afterwards, for a little while, about the city, the freedom of the Chaldeans without dominion. So likewise it happened with the city of Rome, about one thousand one hundred and nearly sixty-four years, that Alaric, her governor, and king of the Goths, wished to take away her empire. She, however, after that kept her full power. Yet each of these cities, through the hidden power of God, thus became an example:—First Babylon, through her own chief officer, when he deceived her king; so also Rome, when her own governor, and king of the Goths, wished to take away her empire, God did not suffer it, because of their Christianity—neither because of their emperor's, nor of their own; but they are even yet reigning [A. D. 412 ?] as well in their Christianity, and in their empire, as by their emperors.

6. This || I say now, because I wish that they understood, who speak evil against the times of our Christianity, what mercy there has been since Christianity came; and, before that, how manifold was the misery of the world;—and also that they may know how seasonably our God, in former times, settled the empires and the kingdoms,—the same, who is now settling, and changing all empires and every kingdom, as he wishes. How like was the beginning, that the two cities had, and how like their days were, both in good and in evil! But the ends of their empires were very unlike; for the Babylonians and their king lived in manifold wickedness and sensuality, without any remorse, [so] that they would not amend, till God humbled them with the greatest disgrace; when he took away both their king and their dominion. But the Romans, with their Christian king, served God, wherefore he gave them both their king and their empire. They, therefore, may mo-

‡ Oros. l. II: c. 3. Haver. p. 89, 90.

|| Oros. l. II: c. 3. Haver. p. 90, 91.

derate their speech, who withstand Christianity, if they will remember the uncleanness of their elders, and their deadly battles, and their manifold enmity, and their want of kindness, which they had to God, and also among themselves; [so] that they could not obtain any mercy, until the remedy came to them from that Christianity, which they now most strongly blame.

Book II: Chapter II.*

1. The city Rome was built by two brothers Remus and Romulus, about four hundred and forty years [Clinton B. C. 753] after Troy, a city of [Mysia],[1] was laid waste. Soon after that, Romulus sullied their beginning by killing his brother, and afterwards also by his own marriage, and [that] of his companions. Such examples he there set, when they prayed, that the Sabines would give them their daughters for wives, and they refused their prayers. Nevertheless, without their consent, they obtained them by stratagem, in as much as they prayed they would assist them, that they might the more easily sacrifice to their gods. When they granted this, then they seized their daughters for wives, and would not give them back to their fathers. There was the greatest strife about this, for many years, until they were almost entirely slain and brought to naught on both sides. They could, by no means, be made to agree until the wives of the Romans, with their children, ran into the battle, and fell at the feet of their fathers, and prayed that, for the love of their children, they would make an end of the war. So worthily, and so mildly, was the city of Rome hallowed in the beginning, with the blood of a brother, and of fathers-in-law, and with that of [Amulius][2] the uncle of Romulus, whom he also slew, when he was king, and afterwards took the kingdom to himself! Thus, in the beginning, did Romulus bless the kingdom of the Romans,—the wall with his brother's blood, and the temples with the blood of their fathers-in-law, and the kingdom with his uncle's blood!

* Oros. l. II: c. 2. Haver. p. 92—95.

1 In A. S. Creaca burh, a city of the Greeks. An error—for the city of Priam king of the Trojans, who dwelt in Mysia, in Asia Minor. According to Alfred, the fall of Troy was B. C. 1193; for, 440 years, from the fall of Troy to the building of Rome, added to 753 years from the building of Rome to the birth of Christ, make 1193, B. C. Clinton gives the dates more accurately, thus; 430 years after the fall of Troy, added to 753, make 1183 years B. C. See Book I, 11, § 1.

2 A. S. Numetores—Numitor was grand-father to Romulus. See II, 1. § 3, p. 79.

And he afterwards betrayed his own father-in-law to death, when he enticed him to him, and promised that he would divide the kingdom with him, and then slew him.

2. Then Romulus himself, after this, undertook a war against the Cæninenses,[3] because he had, as yet, little power over the country, but only in the city. Romulus and all the Romans were thought to be mean by other states; because, in their youth, they had been servants to others. When they had surrounded the city of the Cæninenses, and were suffering great famine, they said that they would rather lose their lives by hunger, than leave the war or make peace. They, therefore, fought till they stormed the city; and, after that, they were always at war with the people of the country, on all sides, until they had taken many towns in the neighbourhood.

3. But those kings, that reigned after Romulus, were more wicked and vile than he was, and more hateful and troublesome to the people; but Tarquin, of whom we have spoken before, was the worst of them all,—the most vile, the most lustful and the proudest. He forced to adultery the wives of all the Romans that he could, and suffered his son to lie with Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, the sister of Brutus, when they were with the army, though by the king they were the most esteemed of the Romans. For that reason, Lucretia then killed herself. As soon as Collatinus her husband, and Brutus her brother, were told of it, they left the army, which they should have commanded; and, when they came home, they drove both the king and his son, and all, who were there, of the king's family, altogether from the kingdom. After that, the Romans set over themselves leaders, whom they called consuls,—that one man should hold the government one year.

Book II: Chapter III.*

1. Two hundred and four years, after the building of Rome [B. C. 509], Brutus became the first consul. Romulus their first king, and Brutus their first consul, were equally cruel.

3 The people of Cænina, one of the petty cities of Latium bordering on the Sabines. They were the first to rise up in arms against the Romans to avenge the seizing of their daughters. They were routed by Romulus, and their city probably destroyed, as its name does not occur in history after this time. The victory of Romulus is recorded by Livy I, 10; Dionys. II, 32, 33. Eutropius says, Romulus "Cæninenses vicit, Antemnates, Crustuminos, Sabinos . . . ; hæc omnia oppida urbem [Romam] cingunt." l. I, 2.

* Oros. l. II. c. 5. Haver. 96, 97.

Orosius.—Cotton MS. fol. 30 b. 8—15

Tarquinius þa. þe ær romana
cyning wæs. aspeon tuscea cyning him on fultum.
porsenna wæs haten. þæt he þe eað mihte winnan. wið
brutuse. 7 wið eallum romanum. hepa brut ge ræd
annwig wið þæne cyning. embe heora freond scipe;
ac him tarquinus oðerne þegn on gean sende. arrunses
sunu. þær ofer modigan. 7 heora þær ægðer oðerne
of sloh.

Orosius.—Lauderdale MS. Page 45. 9—16.

tarcuinius
ðe ær romana cyning wæs · asspon tuscea cyning hi
on fultum porsenna wæs haten · þæt he ðe ieð mehte
winnan wið brutuse 7 wið eallū romanū ; heða brutus
geswæd anwig wið þone cyning emb heora freond scipe · ac
him tarcuinius oðerne ðegn ongean sende arrunses
sunu ðæs ofermodgan · 7 heora þær ægðer oðerne of
sloz;

2. Romulus slew his brother, and his uncle and his father-in-law. Brutus slew his five sons, and his wife's two brothers; because they said, it would be better, that the Romans should take back the royal family, which they had before; he, therefore, gave orders to bind them, and scourge them with rods, before all the people, and afterwards to cut off their heads with axes.

3. Then Tarquin, who was formerly king of the Romans, drew Porsenna, the king of the Tuscans, to his aid, that he might more easily overcome Brutus and all the Romans. Then, on account of this enmity, Brutus himself proposed a single combat; but Tarquin sent against him another officer, the son of Aruns,[1] the proud; and there each of them slew the other.

4. After that, king Porsenna and Tarquin surrounded Rome, and would have taken it, had it not been for Mucius, a man of the city, who frightened them with his sayings. When they had taken him prisoner, they tortured him in such a manner, that they burnt off his hand, one finger after another, and commanded him to say how many men there were, who had especially conspired against king Tarquin. When he would not tell them, then they asked him, how many men there were, such as he was. He told them, that there were many of those men, and they had also sworn, that they would either lose their own life, or [take] king Porsenna's. When Porsenna heard that, he altogether gave up the siege and the war, which he had already been carrying on for three years.

Book II: Chapter IV.

1. Afterwards * there was the Sabine war, which the Romans very much dreaded, and they set over themselves a higher leader than their consul, whom they called Dictator, [B. C. 501] and with the dictator they gained a great victory. After this, the Romans stirred up a great strife between the rich and the poor, and that would have ended in a lasting evil, had they not been quickly reconciled. In those days, the greatest troubles happened to the Romans both by famine and by plague, under the two consuls, Titus and Publius. Then, for a while, they put an end to their contests, though they could not to the famine and the

1 It was Aruns the son of Tarquin the proud and Brutus, who killed each other in single combat. Livy, I, 56: II, 6: Eut. I, 10.

* Oros. l. II: c. 5, Haver. p. 97—99.

plague, for manifold miseries greatly afflicted the weary city. Before the plague was ended, the Veientes and Etruscans waged war against the Romans, and against the two consuls, Marcus Fabius and Caeius Manlius [B. C. 480]. The Romans marched against them, and took an oath that none of them would return home, unless they had the victory. Though they had the victory, the Romans were so very much slaughtered, that their only consul, who was left, [Fabius] would not have the triumph, which they offered him, on his way home; and he said, that they would have done better to have come to meet him with weeping than with triumph.

2. What they called a triumph † was, when they had overcome any people in battle, it was their custom for all the senators to meet their consuls, after the battle, six miles from the city, with a chariot adorned with gold and precious stones; and to bring two white horses. As they went homeward, the senators rode in chariots after the consuls, and the men, who had been taken, they drove before them bound, that their great actions might be seen in a more lordly state. But, if they brought any people under their power without a battle, when they came homeward, they were to meet them, from the city, with a chariot, mounted with silver, and one of each kind of four-footed beasts, in honour of their consuls. That was then a triumph.

3. Romulus was the first to form a senate; that was a hundred men; though, after a time, there were three hundred of them. These always dwelt within the city of Rome, in order—that they might be their counsellors, and appoint consuls,—that all the Romans should obey them,—and, that they should keep, under one roof, all the wealth which they had gained, either by tribute or by pillage,—that they might afterwards apply it, in common, to the use of all, who were free from bondage.

4. ‡ The consuls, who, in those days, undertook the Sabine war, were of the Fabian family, which was the highest in rank and the most powerful of all the Romans. Now, to this very day, it is sung in verse, what a loss their fall was to the Romans. Moreover many rivers had their names from that battle; and

† This account of a Roman Triumph, and the appointment of a senate in § 3, are not mentioned by Orosius: they are added by Alfred.

‡ Oros. l. II: c. 5, Haver. p. 99.

also the gates, through which they marched from Rome to the battle, took, from the family, the names, which they still keep. Afterwards, the Romans chose three hundred and six champions, that they should go alone to fight against as many of the Sabines* ; and trusted that they, by their bravery, would gain the victory ; but the Sabines, by their stratagems, slew them all but one, who made known the sad story at home.—It was not among the Romans only, but it was thus sung in poetic lays over the whole world, that there was care, and labour, and great fear.

5 || While the Sabines and Romans were waging war in the west, Cyrus, king of the Persians, of whom we have before spoken, at the same time, waged war both in Scythia and in India, till he had laid waste almost all the east. He afterwards led an army to Babylon, which was then more wealthy than any other city. But the river Gyndes,—the greatest of all fresh waters, save the Euphrates,—long hindered him from going over, because there were not any boats there. Then one of his officers proposed to go over the river by swimming with two tyncenum,[1] but the stream drove him down. Cyrus, being so vexed in his mind, and so angry with the river, threatened that he would so avenge his officer, that women should wade over it only up to the knees, where it was formerly nine miles broad, when it was flooded. He followed that up by deeds, for he divided it into four hundred and sixty streams, and then went over there with his army ; and after that [he passed over] the river Euphrates, which is the largest of all fresh waters, and runs through the middle of the city of Babylon. By digging he divided it into many streams, and afterwards marched with all his people in the water-course and reached the city. How hard it is to be believed, when one states either how any man could build such a city as that was, or afterwards how it was taken!

6.‡ Nimrod, the giant, first began to build BABYLON ; and, after him, king Ninus, and then Semiramis his queen finished it, in the middle of her reign. The city was built on open and very level land : it was very fair to look upon, and it was quite a true square. The greatness and firmness of the wall, when stated, is hardly to be believed. It is fifty ells broad, and two hundred ells high,

* See Ch. VI, § 1. || Oros. l. II : c. 6, Haver. p. 100, 101. ‡ Id. p. 102, 103.

1 Mr Thomson suggests—tunchens [tonnikens] barrels, now puncheons—Tyncen, dim. of tunne, a tun; so Ger. tonne gives tönnchen (u : y : : o : ö).

and it is seventy miles and the seventh part of a mile, round. It is built with bricks and earth-tar; and round the wall is a very great dike, in which runs the deepest stream. Outside the dike, a wall is built two ells high. Above, and all round the greater wall, stone towers are built. This very city, Babylon, which was the greatest and first of all cities, is now the least and most desolate. Now the city, which was formerly the strongest, most wonderful and greatest of all works, is as if it were set for a sign to all the world; and as if it spoke to all mankind, and said:—"Now I am thus fallen and gone away: lo! in me ye may learn and know, that ye have nothing with you so fast and strong, that it can abide for ever!"

7. * At the time, when Cyrus, king of the Persians, stormed Babylon, Croesus, king of the Lydians, came with an army to help the Babylonians; but, when he knew that he could not help them, and that the city was stormed, he went homeward to his own kingdom. Cyrus followed after him, till he took and slew[1] him.—Now, our Christians speak against Rome, because her walls decay with age,—not because she has been disgraced by pillage, as Babylon was: but Rome, for her Christianity, is even yet so shielded, that both she and her empire are fallen more from age, than by the violence of any king.

8. ‡ Cyrus, after that, led an army into Scythia, and there a young king, and his mother Tomyris, marched against him with an army. When Cyrus went over the boundary,—the river Araxes,—there the young king might have stopped his going over; but he would not, because he and his people trusted that they should be able to entrap him, after he was within the boundary, and had taken a place for his camp. When Cyrus understood that the young king would attack him there, and also that the drinking of wine was almost unknown to that people, he went away from the camp, into a hiding place, and left behind him every thing that was good and sweet; the young king, therefore, thought it much more likely, that they had fled, than that they durst practice a stratagem. When they found the camp so

* Oros. l. II: c. 4, Haver. p. 103, 104.

1 This is a mistake of the translator. Orosius says,—Croesum cepit, captumque et vita et patrimonio donavit. Herodotus gives all the particulars of Croesus being taken, devoted to the flames and saved by Cyrus, for uttering the name of Solon. Croesus was then taken as the friend and counseller of Cyrus, and of his son Cambyses.

‡ Oros. l. II: c. 7, Haver. p. 104, 105.

forsaken, they, with great joy, drank so much wine, that they had little power over themselves. Then Cyrus there ensnared and slew them altogether. Afterwards he marched where the king's mother was waiting with two parts of the people, he having entrapped the third part with the king. Then, she—the queen Tomyris,—in great grief, was thinking about the slaughter of the king, her son, and how she might wreak her vengeance. She carried out her wish, by dividing her people into two parts, both women and men; for there, women fight the same as men. She, with one half, went before the king, as if she were fleeing, till she led him into a great plain, and the other half followed after Cyrus. There Cyrus was slain, and two thousand men with him. The queen then commanded the king's head to be cut off, and to be thrown into a vessel, which was filled with man's blood; and thus said :—"Thou, who for thirty years hast thirsted for man's blood, drink now thy fill."

Book II: Chapter V.

1. * Two hundred and six years after the building of Rome [Clinton B. C. 529: Orosius B. C. 508: Alfred B. C. 547] Cambyses, son of Cyrus, succeeded to the kingdom of the Persians. When he overcame Egypt, he did what no heathen king durst do before, which was, that he cast off all their worship of idols, and then overthrew them altogether.

2. † After him reigned Darius, who brought back to the Persians all the Assyrians, and Chaldeans, that had formerly gone from them. He then waged war on the Scythians, both because of their slaughter of Cyrus, his kinsman, and also because they would not give him a wife. His army was seven hundred thousand, when he went against the Scythians. The Scythians, however, would not attack him, in a pitched battle; but, when they were scattered over the land, they slew them in parties. This made the Persians have very great fear and dread, lest the bridge, which was at the boundary, should be broken down; for then, they knew not how they could come from thence. Then the king, after a great many of his people were slain, left eighty thousand behind him to carry on the war still longer. He himself went thence into Asia the Less, and laid it waste; and afterwards

* Oros. l. II: c. 8. Haver. p. 106.

† Oros. l. II: c. 8. Haver p. 106—109.

against the Macedonians, and against the Ionians, a tribe of the Greeks, and overcame them both. And further, he went against the Greeks, and waged war against the Athenians, because they had helped the Macedonians. As soon as the Athenians knew, that Darius would attack them in battle, they chose eleven thousand men and marched against him. They met the king on the plain, called Marathon. Their leader was named [Miltiades], who did more by bravery, than by great forces: he gained great glory in that battle. Two hundred thousand of the Persians were then slain, and the others put to flight. When Darius had again gathered an army among the Persians, and thought to wreak his vengeance, then he died.

3. ‡ After Darius, his son Xerxes succeeded to the empire of the Persians. For five years, he secretly built ships, and gathered forces for the war, which his father had undertaken. There was then with him, from Lacedæmon, a city of the Greeks, a stranger named Demaratus, who told the plot to his country, by writing it on a board, and afterwards covering it with wax. When Xerxes went against the Greeks, he had eight hundred thousand of his own people, and he had asked four hundred thousand from other nations. He had one thousand two hundred of the large ships, Dulmunus; and there were three thousand ships, which carried their food. His whole army was so very large, that it might well be said, it was a wonder where they could find land, on which to encamp, or water to quench their thirst. However, it was then easier to overcome this very great multitude of people, than for us now to reckon or think.

4. * Leonidas, king of Lacedæmon, a city of the Greeks, had four thousand men, when he marched against Xerxes, in a narrow land-fastness, and withstood him there in battle. Xerxes scorned the other people so much, that he asked, why there should be any more help against so small an army, save from those only whose anger was before roused, in the former battle, on the plain of Marathon. He formed, into one band, those men, whose kinsmen were slain in that country, for he knew they would be more eager for revenge, than others, and so they were, as they were almost all slain there. Xerxes, being very angry that so many of his people were killed, then marched thither himself, with all the

‡ Oros. l. II: c. 9, Haver. p: 109, 110.
* Oros. l. II: c. 9, Haver. p. 110—112.

force that he could bring together, and there they fought for three days till there was a very great slaughter of the Persians. He then gave orders to surround that fastness [fast-land] that they might be attacked on more sides than one. When Leonidas understood that they would thus surround him, he went away and led his army into another faster land, and waited till night. He gave orders that all the citizens, whom he had asked to help him, from other countries, should go away that they might be safe; for he could not bear that any more should die, for his sake, than himself and those of his own country. But he thus spoke and lamented:—"Now we undoubtedly know, that we shall lose our own lives, because of the very great hatred there is in those who are coming after us. Let us, however, plan how we can, in this night, most weaken them, and earn by our deaths the best and most lasting praise." How wonderful it is to say, that Leonidas, with six hundred men, so brought to shame six hundred thousand, by slaying some, and putting the others to flight!

5. Xerxes,[1] with his very great multitude, had twice been so put to shame, on the land, that he wished to try a third time, what he could do in the war with a fleet, and he induced the Ionians, a tribe of the Greeks, to give him their help. They formerly turned to him of their own mind, and promised him that they would first finish the war by themselves. They were afterwards unfaithful to him, when they were fighting on the sea.

6. The leader of the Athenians was called Themistocles. They were to have come to help Leonidas at the former battle, but they could not reach him. Themistocles reminded the Ionians of the old hatred, that Xerxes had shewn towards them: how he had brought them under his power by pillage and by the slaughter of their kinsmen. He begged them also to remember the old faith, and the very great friendship, which, in olden times, they had both with the Athenians, and the Lacedæmonians; and besought them, that, by some stratagem, they would, ere long, turn from Xerxes, the king; that they and the Lacedæmonians might make an end of the war with the Persians. They granted his prayer.

7. When the Persians saw, that those were leaving them, on whom they most trusted to gain the victory, they themselves fled;

1 Oros. l. II: c. 10, Haver. p. 112—114.

and there, many of them were slain, and drowned, and taken. The general of Xerxes was called Mardonius, who earnestly advised, that he should rather go homewards, than abide there longer, lest any strife should arise in his own kingdom. He said, it was better that the further carrying on of the war, with the forces that were still left there, should be intrusted to him, and that the king would have less blame, if the people still went on badly without him, as they did formerly. Xerxes, the king, in great faith, listened to his general, and went thence with some part of his forces. On his way home, he came to the river, over which, when going to the west, he ordered a very large bridge to be built with stone, in token of his victory which he thought to gain in that warfare. The river was then so much flooded that he could not come to the bridge. The king was greatly troubled in his mind, that he was not with his army, and that he could not go over the river. Besides, he was very much afraid, that his enemies were following him. Then a fisherman came to him, and with much trouble brought him over alone. God so humbled the greatest pride, and the greatest undertaking in so worthless a trust in self, that he, who formerly thought that no sea could keep him from covering it with his ships and with his army, afterwards begged for a poor man's little boat that he might save his life.

8. Mardonius,[2] general of Xerxes, left the ships, in which he sailed, and marched to a city in Boeotia a country of the Greeks, and stormed it. After that, they were speedily repaid, when they were put to flight, and to very great slaughter. This victory, and the plunder of the Persian wealth became the great ruin of the Athenians; for, when they were more wealthy, they also became more luxurious. Afterwards Xerxes was thought unworthy of trust by his own people, and his chief officer Artabanus plotted against him, and slew him.—"Oh!" said Orosius, "what joyous times there were, in those days! as they say, who are wranglers against Christianity, that we should now long after such times, as those were, when so many people, in so short a time, were slain in three pitched battles;—that is nineteen hundred thousand from the kingdom of the Persians alone, besides their enemies, whether Scythians or Grecians. Leonidas shewed, in the last battle between him and the Persians, what

2 Oros. l. II: c. 11, Haver. p. 115—118.

slaughter there was in the country of the Greeks, with manifold deaths, when, at his dinner, he thus spoke to his comrades, before he went to the fight.—"Let us now enjoy this dinner, as those ought, who must take their supper in another world."[3] Though he said so then, he afterwards used another saying:—"Though I said before, that we must [go] to another world, yet I trust to God, that he may keep us to better times, than those in which we now are." Leonidas said, that the times were then evil, and he wished that they might afterwards be better. Yet some men say, that they were better then, than they are now. Hence they thus disagree, when both the former were good, as some men now say, and also the latter, as they formerly said, who were not of that mind. If they then spoke not true, then they were not good,—neither then nor now.

9 "Now,[4]" said Orosius, "we must again turn nearer Rome, where we formerly left off; for, at last, I cannot take notice of all the manifold evils, as I know not the greater part of the world, but what happened in two empires,—in the first, and in the last: these are, the Assyrian and the Roman.

3 Oros. has:—Prandete, tamquam apud inferos coenaturi, Haver. p. 188, 4. Inferi often denotes the dead, as distinguished from those living upon the earth; apud inferos must therefore imply, in the lower world, in Hades or the place of departed spirits. Hades denotes the state of the dead, the place of departed souls whether good or bad. It was the general term of Greek writers by which they expressed that state; and this Hades was Tartarus to the wicked, and Elysium to the good. Ἅδης Hades, is from ἀ not, and ἰδεῖν to see,—the invisible receptacle or mansion of the dead, the state of separate souls or the unseen world of spirits, answering to the Hebrew שאול, which Gesenius says "Pro certo habeo, esse pro שעול cavitas, locus cavus et subterraneus, plane ut Germ. Hölle ejusdem originis est atque Höhle, et Lat. coelum est a Gr. κοῖλος hohl, cavus."

Alfred has translated the apud inferos of Orosius, by the Anglo-Saxon on helle, that is, in a concealed place. The A. S. on helle seems to have an analogy with the Hebrew לשאול, and the Greek εἰς ᾅδου, as given in Psalm XVI, 10, לא תעזב נפשי לשאול, which is translated into Greek, οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς ᾅδου, Acts II, 27, and also with the expression in the creeds, descendit ad inferos, descended into hell, and the A. S. he nyðer astah to helle. In the Anglo-Saxon paraphrase of the Psalms, published by Mr Thorpe, Oxon. 1835, the Latin, Non derelinques animam meam in inferno, is thus enlarged in A. S. Þu ne forlætst mine sawle, ne min mod to helle, Psalm XV, 10, page 30. Our present English word Hell, in the Anglo-Saxon, denoted a concealed place, from the verb helan or helian to cover, conceal, hele, hill. Even to this very day, they say in Derbyshire, hill or hell it up, for cover it up; and in Cornwall the covering or tiling of a house is called the helling. At the present time, the word Hell, is used only for "the place of the devil and wicked spirits," that word could not, therefore, be employed in the translation, as it would not give the meaning of the A. S. text.

4 Oros. l. II: c. 12, Haver. p. 118.

Book II: Chapter VI.[1]

1. Two hundred and eighty years after the building of Rome [Alfred B. C. 473? Orosius 463? Clinton 477]—the same year, in which the Sabines led the Romans into a snare,[2] when three hundred and six men from each side went to fight alone, a great wonder was seen in the heavens, as if all heaven were burning. That token was made very clear among the Romans by the great raging[3] of the plague, which soon after came upon them, so that half of them died, and their two consuls, who were then over them. Yea, at last, those, that were left, were so wearied, that they could not put the dead into the earth.

2. Soon afterwards, all their slaves fought against their masters, and took from them their head-place, which they called Capitolium. They had much fighting about it, till they had slain the only consul, whom they had lately chosen. The masters, however, in the end, had a poor victory.—Soon after that, in the following year, the Romans fought with the Æqui Volsci, and there was very great slaughter. The part, that was left, was driven into a fastness, and there they would have died of hunger, if those, who were at home, had not helped them. They, at that time, [B. C. 458] gathered all the men, that were left there, and took a poor man [Cincinnatus] for their consul, when he was in his field and had his plough in his hand. They then marched into the country of the Volsci and let the Romans free.

3. After[4] that, for a full year, the earth was quaking and opening over all the Roman empire. Every day, men came to the Senate times without number, and told them of cities, and of towns, sunk into the earth; and they themselves were, every day, in dread lest they also should sink into the earth. Afterwards there came so great a heat upon the Romans, that all the fruits of

1 Oros. l. II: c. 12, Haver. p. 119, 120.

2 See, Book II: chap. 4, § 4.

3 A. S. Wol-bryne, the pest-fire, the burning or rage of a pest.

4 Abridged from Oros. l. II: c. 13; but Alfred adds to the following statement of Orosius: Per totum fere annum tam crebri tamque etiam graves in Italia terræmotus fuerunt, ut de innumeris quassationibus ac ruinis villarum oppidorumque, assiduis Roma nuntiis fatigaretur. Deinde ita jugis et torrida siccitas fuit, ut præsentis tunc futurique anni spem gignendis terræ fructibus abnegârit. Haver. p. 122, 4—9.

the earth, yea also they themselves nearly died away. Then, there was the greatest famine there.

4. After [5] that, the Romans chose ten consuls where they formerly had two, that they might overlook their laws. One of them was named Claudius, who wished to take to himself the power of the others, though they would not grant it, but strove against him, till some of them turned to him, and others would not. But being divided into two parties, they strove so among themselves, that they forgot the foreign wars, which they had on their hands, till all the other consuls agreed together, and beat the one named Claudius to death with clubs. Afterwards they guarded their own land.

5. "Lightly [6] and shortly," said Orosius, "I have spoken of their wars at home, though to them they were almost the greatest and the most fearful, which also the sulphurous fire of Etna betokened, when it sprang up from the gate of hell in the land of Sicily, and slew many of the Sicilians, with fire and with stench. What hardships were then, to what they are now! But, after it became Christian, the fire of hell was thenceforth so calmed (as all evils were) that it is now without such marks of mischief as it formerly had; though each year it is broader and broader.

Book II: Chapter VII.

1. Three [7] hundred and one years after the building of Rome, [Alfred B. C. 452] the Sicilians quarrelled among themselves. Half of them drew over the Lacedæmonians to help them, and the other half the Athenians a people of Greece, who formerly fought together against the Persians. But, after they had fought

5 Abridged from Oros. l. II; c. 13, Haver. p. 120, 121. Potestas consulum decemviris tradita. Haver. p. 121, 1.—The Decemviri or the Ten men, were appointed about 451 B. C. and existed only for two years, till B. C. 449. They drew up a body of Laws divided into ten tables: the Decemviri of the following year added two new tables. These were engraved on tables of metal and they constituted the Twelve Tables, the foundation of the Roman laws. This was the first Roman code, which was not superseded for more than a thousand years, till the completion of the Emperor Justinian's Corpus Juris Civilis, in A. D. 564.

6 Much abridged from Oros. l. II: c. 14, Haver. 123—127; though Alfred has given the impression of his age, respecting volcanos, for Orosius only speaks thus of Etna.—"Aetna ipsa, quæ tunc cum excidio urbium atque agrorum crebris eruptionibus æstuabat, nunc tantum innoxia specie ad præteritorum fidem fumat. Haver. 124, 2—4.

7 Oros. l. II: c. 15, Haver. p. 128, 129.—Chapters XVI and XVII of Oros. are omitted by Alfred.

against the Sicilians, they then also fought among themselves, until Darius, king of the Persians, because of the wars of his forefathers, came to the help of the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians. Was it a great wonder, that all the power of the Persians, and of the Lacedæmonians could more easily lay waste the city of Athens, than make that people yield to their wills?

2. Soon [8] after that, in the same year, Darius, king of the Persians died; and his two sons Artaxerxes and Cyrus fought about the kingdom, till one of them drew most of the people against the other, and they carried on the quarrel with battles, until Cyrus, the younger of them, was slain.—In those days,[9] there was a city in Africa, which was near the sea, until a sea-flood came and laid it waste, and drowned the people.

Book II: Chapter VIII.

1. Three [1] hundred and fifty-five years after the building of Rome, [B. C. 398] the Romans beset the city Veii, ten years. The siege did more harm to them, than to those who were within both in hunger and in cold; moreover, they themselves were often pillaged, as well as their land at home. They would then have soon perished before their enemies, if they had not broken into the city by a device, which was most shameful, though it was afterwards thought most worthy of them; that was to dig under the earth, from their camp until they came up within the city, and stole upon them by night, in the first sleep, and altogether laid the city waste. This useful device, though it was not honourable, was found out by their Dictator, Camillus.

2. Soon afterwards there was the war of the Romans, and of the Gauls, [2] who were from the city Sena, which at first arose, because the Gauls had besieged the city, Tuscia. The Romans then sent ambassadors to the Gauls, and asked them to make peace with them. After they had thus spoken, on the same day, the Gauls attacked the city. When they saw the Roman ambassadors fighting against them with the town's-people, they were so

8 Abridged from Oros. l. II: c. 18, Haver. p. 138, 139.

9 Oros. is more precise,—Tunc etiam Atalante civitas, Locris adhærens, terræ contigua, repentino maris inpetu abscissa, atque in insulam desolata est. Haver. p. 139, 14.

1 Oros. l. II: c. 19, Haver. p. 143—143.

2 Galli Senones, urbem Clusini, quæ nunc Tuscia dicitur, obsederunt. Oros. l. II: c. 19, Haver. p. 140, 12. 13.

angry at it, that they left the city; and, with all their forces, marched against the Romans. Fabius [3] the consul, came against them in battle, and he was soon after chased into the city of Rome, and the Gauls followed him, till they were all within it. Just as if one were mowing a meadow, they were slaying without any regard, and pillaging the city. The remembrance of the slaying of the consul, Fabius, is still kept up in the name of the river.

3. "I ween," said Orosius, "that not any man can tell the harm, which was done to the Romans, at that time, even if they had not burnt the city, as they then did. The few, that were left there, gave a thousand pounds of gold for their lives; and they did that chiefly, because they thought that they should afterwards be their subjects. Some fled into that fastness, which they called Capitolium. They beset these, till some of them died of hunger, others fell into their hands, and they afterwards sold them to other people for money."

4. "How," said Orosius, "does it now seem to you, who slander the times of Christianity? After the Gauls went out of the city, then what joyful times the Romans had! when the wretches, who were left there, crept out of the holes in which they lurked, and so wailed, as if they had come from the other world, when they looked around upon the burnt and wasted city; so that they then had a peculiar dread, where they formerly had the greatest joy. Besides this evil, they had neither food within, nor friend without."

5. "These were the times, after which the Romans now sigh, and say that the Goths have made worse times, than they had before, although they plundered them only for three days; and the Gauls were formerly plundering within the city, and burning it, for six months; and still, they thought that they had not done them harm enough, unless they also took away their name, that they should be no more a people. Moreover, the Goths, for the honour of Christianity, and through the fear of God, plundered there a less time, and neither burnt the city, nor had the wish to take from them their name, nor would they harm any of those, who had fled to the house of God, though they were heathens;

3 Oros. has Fabius, but Haver. says, "Nullus Fabius hoc tempore consul fuit"; sed eo anno, quo Roma capta est, tres Fabii Tribuni militum consulari potestate fuerunt. Haver. p. 141, note 9.

but had much rather that they would settle among them in peace. In former times, scarcely any could flee away, or hide themselves from the Gauls. When the Goths plundered them, for a little while, one could only hear of few being slain. There was seen God's anger, when their brazen beams and their statues could not be destroyed by the fire of the Gauls; but, at the same time, fire from heaven consumed them."

6. "Now," said Orosius, "as I have a long story to tell, I think I cannot end it in this book, I shall therefore begin another."

Book III: Chapter I.[4]

1. Three hundred and fifty-seven years after the building of Rome [Orosius, B. C. 389: Alfred, B. C. 396], in the days, in which the Gauls had laid Rome waste, the chief and most shameful peace was made between the Persians and the Lacedæmonians, in the country of Greece. After the Lacedæmonians had often overcome the Persians, then the Persians proposed, that they should have peace with them, for three years, and with all who wished, and whoever would not, that they would wage war against them. The Lacedæmonians gladly agreed to that peace, for they had little fear from such an agreement. Hence it may be clearly understood, how great a wish they had for the war, as their bards sang in their lays, and in their false stories. "Does not such a war seem pleasant to thee," said Orosius, "and the times more so, that one's enemy may so easily be restrained by words?" After the Lacedæmonians had overcome the city of the Athenians —their own people,—they raised themselves up, and began to wage war on every side, both against their own countrymen and against the Persians, and against Asia the Less, and against the city of Athens, which they had formerly laid waste: for, the few that had fled out of it, had entered into the city again, and had drawn over the Thebans, a people of Greece, to help them. The Lacedæmonians were so lifted up, that they themselves, and all the neighbouring nations thought, that they could have power over them all. But the Athenians, with the help of the Thebans, withstood them, and beat them in battle.

2. After that, the Lacedæmonians chose, for their leader, Der-

4 Alfred omits the preface of Orosius to this third book. Chapter I, paragraphs 1—4, are abridged from Oros. l. III: c. 1, Haver. p. 146—152.

cyllidas, [B. C. 397] and sent him into Persia with forces to fight against them. The Persians then came against him with their two officers: one was called Pharnabazus, the other Tissaphernes. As soon as the leader of the Lacedæmonians knew, that he must fight against two armies, it seemed to him more reasonable to make peace with one, that he might, the more easily, overcome the other. He did so, and sent his messenger to the one, and told him to say, that he wished more earnestly for peace, than for war. The officer then, in good faith, received the messenger with peace; and the Lacedæmonians, the while, routed the other officer.

3. Afterwards the king of the Persians took his power from the officer, who had before made peace with the Lacedæmonians, and gave it to a man, banished from Athens, a city of Greece, who was named Conon, and sent him with a fleet from the Persians against the Lacedæmonians. The Lacedæmonians sent to the Egyptians, and asked help from them; and they gave them one hundred large boats with three rows of oars. The Lacedæmonians had, for their leader, a wise, though a lame man, who was called Agesilaus; and they had a by-word "that they would rather have a lame king, than a lame kingdom." They afterwards engaged on the sea, and there fought so very fiercely, that they were nearly all killed, and neither could gain the victory. There the power and the glory of the Lacedæmonians were laid low. "I ween," said Orosius, "that not any two leaders fought more equally."

4. After that, Conon again led an army upon the Lacedæmonians; and in all things he utterly laid waste the land outside the city; so that they, who formerly yearned for power over other nations abroad, then thought it well if they could keep themselves from slavery at home. One of the Lacedæmonian leaders was called Lysander: he attacked Conon with ships, when he went from the Lacedæmonians, and there was much slaughter of the people on both sides. So many of the Lacedæmonians were slain there, that, afterwards, they neither kept their name, nor their power. But their fall was the rise of the Athenians, so that they were able to revenge the old wrongs which, in former days, they often bore. They and the Thebans gathered themselves together, and attacked the Lacedæmonians in battle, and routed them, and drove them into their city, and afterwards besieged them. Then the citizens sent to Agesilaus, who was with their army in Asia, and begged that

he would quickly come home and help them. He did so, and came suddenly upon the Athenians and routed them. The Athenians were then in great dread, lest the Lacedæmonians, because of the little advantage which they had gained, should reign over them, as they did formerly. They, therefore, sent into Persia after Conon and prayed that he would help them. He granted their prayer, and came to them with a great fleet and destroyed almost all the Lacedæmonians, and made them feel that they were both poor and weak. After that, Conon came to Athens, his old birth-place; and he was welcomed there with great joy by the citizens. He there caused a lasting remembrance of himself, by forcing both the Persians and the Lacedæmonians to repair the city, which they had formerly sacked,—and also by bringing the Lacedæmonians, who before had long been their enemies, to be thenceforth under the city of Athens. It was after these wars, that the Persians offered peace to all the people of Greece. It was not because they wished to do them any good; but because, being at war with the Egyptians, they thought to bring that war the more easily to an end.

5. But[5] the Lacedæmonians, in the mean time, had a greater wish for war, than the power, and rather made war on the Thebans, than sought their help; and stole up on them with small bands, until they overcame the city of the Arcadians. After that, the Thebans marched against them with an army, and the Lacedæmonians brought another against them. When they had fought for a long time, then the general[6] of the Lacedæmonians called to the Arcadians, and besought them to stop the fight, that they might bury the dead, which were slain. It is a custom with the Greeks, that by this saying it is shewn which side has the victory.

6. Thus I wished to tell, said Orosius, how the war of the Greeks was first raised from the city of the Lacedæmonians,—and, in the language of history, to describe it,—first against the city of the Athenians, and then against the Thebans,—the Boeotians,—and the Macedonians: these were all people of Greece: then against

5 Abridged from Oros. l. III: c. 3, Haver. p. 152—155.

6 Orosius is more explicit:—In eo prælio Archidamus, dux Lacedæmoniorum, vulneratus, quum jam cædi suos ut victos videret, occisorum corpora per præconem ad sepulturam poscit: quod signum victoriæ traditæ inter Græcos haberi solet. Thebani autem ha confessione contenti, dato parcendi signo finem dedere certamini. Haver. p. 153, 3—8.

Asia the Less, and against the greater; and then against the Persians, and the Egyptians. I shall also hereafter tell the history of the Romans, which I had begun.

Book III: Chapter II.[7]

1. Three hundred and seventy-six years after the building of Rome [B. C. 377.], there was an earth-quake in Achaia; and two cities, Bura and Helice, sank into the earth. I may also speak of a like beginning, in our own times, though it had not the same end,—that Constantinople, a city of the Greeks, had the same quaking, and it was foretold by soothsayers that it should sink into the earth; but it was shielded by the Christian emperor Arcadius, and by the Christian people, who were in the city. This shewed Christ to be the help of the lowly, and the fall of the high-minded. I remember more of this, than I have spoken, even altogether: if any one wish to know more of it, he must seek it for himself.

2. It was in those days, that the Volsci and Falisci, who formerly fought seventy years against the Romans, then overcame them and pillaged their land. Soon after that, the Sutrini waged war on the Romans, even to the gates of the city. The Romans afterwards quickly repaid them with war and with pillage, and put them to flight.

Book III: Chapter III.[8]

1. Three hundred and eighty-three years after the building of Rome, [Orosius, B. C. 369: Alfred, B. C. 370] when Lucius, whose other name was Genucius, and Quintus, whose other name was Servilius, were consuls in Rome, the great pestilence was in the land,—not as it is wont from unseasonable weather, that is from wet summers, and from dry winters, and from parching spring-heats, and very heavy harvest-rains, and after-heats; but a wind came off the wold of Calabria, and the plague with the wind. This pestilence was upon the Romans full two years, over all men alike: though some died, others, grievously afflicted, got over it. Then their priests said, that their gods ordered them to build an amphitheatre, that they might then have heathen games therein, and their devil worship, which were plainly all uncleanness.

7 Oros. l. III: c. 3, Haver. p 155, 156.
8 Oros. l. III: c. IV, V, Haver. p. 157—159.

2. Here,[9] said Orosius, may those, who withstand Christianity, now answer me, how, by their sacrificing and by their devil-worship, their gods gave help in the pestilence; but they did not understand by what magic and by what craft the devils did it, (it was not the true God,)—that they troubled the men with that evil, to the end that they might trust to their offerings, and their idolatries, and that they might thence come to their souls, and harass them with the greatest blasphemy. But their amphitheatres were then without number, and [too] manifold for me now to speak of; for, "Thou, father Augustine, hast plainly told them, in thy books[1]; and I will teach every one to look there, who wishes to know more of it."

3. Afterwards,[2] in the same year, the earth opened within the city of Rome. Then their priests said again, that their gods told them to give a living man, as it seemed to them, that they had too few of their dead. The earth so kept yawning till Marcus, whose other name was Curtius, with horse and with weapons, leaped into it: and the earth then closed together.

Book III: Chapter IV.[3]

1. Three hundred and eighty-eight years after the building of Rome, [B. C. 365.] the Gauls ravaged the Roman lands to within three miles of the city, and might easily have taken it, if they had not stopped there: for, the Romans were so frightened, and so out of heart, that they thought they could not guard the city. But, in the morning, Titus, their leader, whose other name was Quinctius, attacked them with an army. There Manlius, whose other name was Torquatus, fought a single combat with a man of Gaul, and slew him; and Titus Quinctius partly routed and partly slew the others. By this we may understand how many must have been slain there, when so many thousands of them were taken.

Book III: Chapter V.

1. Four[4] hundred and two years, after the building of Rome, [B. C. 351] the ambassadors of Carthage came to Rome, and pro-

9 This paragraph is amplified by Alfred.

1 Augustine's "City of God," l. III: c. 17. See Introduction to this translation, p. 14, for a short account of this work of S. Augustine.

2 Oros. l. III: c. 5, Haver. p. 158, 159.

3 Oros. l. III: c. 6, Haver. p. 159, 160.

4 Oros. l. III: c. 7, Haver. 161, 162.

posed that there should be peace between them, because they were then making war on a country,—that was on Beneventum. When the ambassadors came to Rome, then came also with them very great misfortune and misery of many nations, which increased for a long time afterwards. So the stars of heaven made it known in those times,[5] for it was night till mid-day; and, in summer time, it hailed stones over all the Romans.

2. In those days,[6] Alexander was born among the Greeks, as if a great storm had come over all the mid-earth; and Ochus, king of the Persians, whom by another name they called Artaxerxes, after he had plundered Egypt, then went into the land of the Jews, and plundered many of them. Afterwards he settled many of them in the land of Hyrcania, near the Caspian sea; and they are settled there even until this day, with extensive nations, in the hope, that God will some time bring them thence to their own land.[7]—Then Artaxerxes sacked Sidon, which, in those days, was the most wealthy city of the Phœnicians.[8]

3. Then[9] the Romans began the Samnite war about the land of the Campanians. They fought about it, long and often with alternate victories. Then the Samnites drew over to their side, Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, the greatest enemy of the Romans.[1] That war, however, was stilled for a while, because the Carthaginians began to wage war against the Romans.

4. "Since that war began, if there be any one," said Orosius, "who can find in historians, that the doors of Janus were shut, (save in one year, and that was because the Romans lay, all that year, under a pestilence,) it was first in the time of Octavianus Cæsar.[2]" The Romans had formed that building with this one design, that, on whatever side they should be at war,—whether south, or north, or east, or west, then they undid the door, which

5 Orosius says:—Tunc etiam nox usque ad plurimam diei partem tendi visa est: et saxea de nubibus grando descendens, veris terram lapidibus verberavit. l. III, c. 7, Haver. p. 161, 11—13.

6 Quibus diebus etiam Alexander Magnus, vere ille gurges miseriarum, atque atrocissimus turbo totius Orientis est natus. Haver. p. 161, 13—15.

7 Quos ibi usque in hodiernum diem amplissimis generis sui incrementis consistere, atque exinde quandoque erupturos, opinio est. Haver. p. 162, 3—5.

8 Sidonem opulentissimam Phœnicisprovinciæ urbem delevit. Haver. p. 162, 6.

9 Oros. l. III: c. 8, Haver. p. 162, 163.

1 Bellum ancipiti statu gestum, Pyrrhus, vel maximus Romani nominis hostis, excepit. Haver.. 162, 28, 29.

2 This account of the temple of Janu is one of the numerous additions made by Alfred.

opened on that side, they thus knew whither they should march. As soon as they saw any of the doors open, then they drew their clothing above the knee, and made themselves ready for war. Thus they knew that they had not peace with some people. When they had peace, then all the doors were shut, and they let their clothing[3] down to their feet. But when Octavianus Cæsar took the empire, then the doors of Janus were shut, and there was peace and quietness over all the mid-earth.

5. Afterwards[4] the Persians made peace with the Romans: then all nations wished to be under the Romans, and to be ruled by their laws. They loved peace so much, that they would rather have Roman kings, than those of their own race. Thus it was plainly shewn, that no earthly man could cause such love and such peace, as there was then over all the world[5]. But it was because, in those days, Christ was born, who is the peace of the dwellers in heaven and earth. This was also plainly shewn by Octavianus, when the Romans wished to offer sacrifice to him, as was their custom, and said that the peace was from his power. But he eschewed both the sacrifice and the saying; and moreover said himself that the peace was not his; —nay also, it could not be any earthly man, that could bring such peace to all the world, as no two nations could formerly have; and, what was less, no two families.

Book III: Chapter VI.

1. Four[6] hundred and eight years after the building of Rome [Orosius B. C. 344, Alfred B. C. 345], it happened that the Romans and the Latins were at war. In the first battle, the consul of the Romans, Manlius, whose other name was Torquatus, was slain; and their other consul, called Decius, and by his other name, Mus, killed his own son, because he broke their fixed order, which was that they should press upon the Latins all together. But one broke out there from the army of the Latins, and challenged to single combat; and the consul's son came against him,

3 They put on the Roman Toga or long robe, instead of the short military dress.

4 Oros. l. III: c. 8, Haver. p. 163, 164.

5 Cognoscere faterique coguntur, pacem istam totius mundi et tranquillissimam serenitatem, non magnitudine Cæsaris, sed potestate filii Dei, qui in diebus Cæsaris adparuit, exstitisse, nec unius Urbis imperatori, sed creatori Orbis universi, Orbem ipsum generali cognitione paruisse. Oros. l. III: c. 8, Haver. p. 164, 6—10.

6 Oros. l. III. c. 9. Haver. p. 164, 165.

and slew him there. For that fault, his father then ordered him to be put to death: because of that death, the Romans would not, as was their custom, offer the triumph to the consul, though he had gained the victory.

2. In the year following, there was a woman, named Minucia, who, in their manner, should have been a nun[7] [vestal virgin]. She had vowed to the goddess Diana, that she would ever live a life of virginity. Then she soon forlay herself. Because of that sin, by which she belied her vow, the Romans buried her alive. And now, in remembrance of the sin, the ground, where she was buried, is yet, to this day, called Sinfield.[8]

3 Soon[9] afterwards, in the time of the two consuls, Claudius, whose other name was Marcellus, and Valerius, whose other name was Flaccus, it then happened,—"though to me, said Orosius, it is scandalous—that some Roman women were under such phantasy,[1] and such mad fervour, that, as far as they could, they wished to kill every person, both female and male, with poison, and to give it them to take in meat or in drink. And they did it for a long time, before the people knew whence the evil came,—but that they said, it came from above out of the air,—till it was laid open by a male-slave.[2] Then all the women were called before the Roman senators, of whom there were three hundred and eighty; and were there forced to take the same, which they had formerly given to others; and they died there forthwith before all the men.

Book III: Chapter VII.

1. Four[3] hundred and twenty two years after the building of Rome, [Orosius and Alfred, B. C. 331] Alexander, king of the

7 Orosius calls her Virgo vestalis, Haver. p. 165, 9; but Alfred styles her, Nunne, a nun. The Vestal virgin made a vow of perpetual chastity. This custom of the Roman priesteses led king Alfred, not unreasonably, to identify the Vestal virgin with a nun.

8 Vivaque obruta in campo, qui nunc Sceleratus vocatur. Haver. p. 165, 10.

9 Oros. l. III: c. 10. Haver. p. 165, 166.

1 Incredibili rabie et amore scelerum Romanæ matronæ exarserunt. Oros. l. III: c. 10, Haver. p. 165, 25. 26.

2 This differs from Oros. who says:—Cum existente quadam ancilla indice et convincente primum multæ matronæ ut biberent, quæ coxerant, venena, compulsæ: deinde simul atque hausêre, consumptæ sunt. Tanta autem multitudo fuit matronarum in his facinoribus consciarum, ut trecentæ septuaginta damnatæ ex illis simul fuisse referantur. Haver. p. 166, 2—6.

3 Oros. l. III: c. 11, Haver. p. 166, 167.

Epirotæ, uncle of the great Alexander, began to wage war against the Romans with all his power, and settled at the boundary of the Samnites and the Romans, and drew over the neighbouring country-people on both sides to help them, until the Samnites fought with them, and slew the king.—"Now being reminded here of this Alexander," said Orosius, "I will also then call to mind the great Alexander, the other's nephew, when, in the course of time, I have told about the wars of the Romans."

2. I must,[4] however, turn back, that I may tell some small part of Alexander's deeds; and how Philip, his father, four hundred years after the building of Rome, [Orosius and Alfred, B. C. 353: Clinton, B. C. 359] took Macedonia in Greece, and held it twenty-five years; and, within these years, he over-ran all the kingdoms that were in Greece. One was the Athenians:—another was the Thebans:—a third was the Thessalians:—a fourth the Lacedæmonians:—a fifth the Phocians:—a sixth the Messenians:—a seventh the Macedonians, which he had first. Philip, when he was a boy, was given by his own brother, Alexander, who then held the kingdom of Macedonia, as a hostage to the Thebans,—to Epaminondas, the brave prince, and the most learned philosopher, and was taught by him, for the three years, when he was there. Then his brother Alexander was slain by his own mother,[5] though she formerly slew her other son also, because of her lewdness. She was Philip's step-mother. Then Philip succeeded to the kingdom of Macedonia, and held it all the while in great danger and in great trouble, because both strangers from other lands fought against him, and also his own people plotted against his life, so that, at last, he would rather fight abroad, than be at home. His first battle was against the Athenians, and he overcame them: after that against the Illyrians, whom we call Bulgarians; and he slew many thousands of them, and took their chief city, Larissa. Afterwards he turned the war upon the Thessalians, chiefly with the wish of drawing them over to help him, because of their skill in war, and because they were known to be the best of all people in horsemanship. They turned to him at first, both for their fear and for his flattery. With their force and with his own, he then

4 Oros. l. III: c. 12. Haver. p. 167.

5 So says Orosius, who follows Justin; but Haver. adds, "Eurydices innocentiam ex testimonio scriptorum, qui eodem tempore vixerunt, demonstravimus. p. 168, note 4.

made up an army both of horse and foot, such as could not be overcome.

3. After[6] Philip had brought the Athenians and Thessalians under his power, he took for his wife the daughter of Aruba, king of the Molossi: she was called Olympias. Aruba thought that he should enlarge his kingdom, when he gave his daughter to Philip; but he deceived him in that hope, and took all that Aruba had, and afterwards banished him till the end of his life. Then Philip fought against the city of Methone, in the kingdom of the Thebans[7]; and there, one of his eyes was shot out with an arrow. He, nevertheless, took the city, and killed every one, that he found therein. By his wiles, he afterwards overcame all the people of Greece, because it was their custom that every city should have its own government, and none would be under another, but they were often at war among themselves. Then they asked Philip first from one city, then from another, to help them against those with whom they were at war. When he had overpowered those, against whom he was then at war, and also the people, who before asked him for help, he then brought both under his sway. Thus he beguiled all the Greeks into his power.[8]

4. When[9] the Greeks understood that, and also being very angry, that one king should so easily, almost without any struggle, bring them under his power, just as if they were enslaved to him; he, indeed, often sold them into slavery to other nations, whom formerly none could take in war,—they then all rose in war against him; and he humbled himself to the people, whom he there most sorely dreaded. These were the Thessalians, whom he prevailed upon to join him in war against the Athenians. When they came to the boundary with their army, they had closed their passes.[1] As Philip could not get within to wreak his

6 Oros. l. III: c. 12, Haver. p. 168—170.

7 Methone, where Philip lost his eye, was in Macedonia, on the Thermaic gulf.

8 Græciam prope totam, consiliis præventam, viribus domuit. Quippe Græciæ civitates dum imperare singulæ cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt: et dum in mutuum exitium sine modo ruunt omnibus perire, quod singulæ amitterent, oppressæ demum servientesque senserunt: quarum dum insanas concertationes Philippus, veluti è specula observat, auxiliumque semper inferioribus suggerendo, contentiones, bellorum fomites, callidus doli artifex fovet, victos sibi pariter victoresque subjecit. Haver. p. 169, 5—10, and p. 170, 1—3.

9 Oros. l. III: c. 12, Haver. p. 170—172.

1 Igitur Philippus ubi exclusum se ab ingressu Græciæ, præstructis Thermopylis videt, paratum in hostes bellum, vertit in socios: nam civitates, quarum paulo ante dux fuerat ad gratulandum ac suscipiendum patentes hostiliter invadit, crudeliter diripit: omnique societatis conscientia penitus abolita, conjuges liberosque omnium sub corona vendidit, templa

vengeance, he then turned upon those, who alone were faithful to him, sacked their city, killed all the people, and overthrew their places of worship, as he did all that he found everywhere, yea also his own; until the priests told him, that all the gods were angry with him, and withstood him. Although they were all angry with him, for the twenty-five years in which he was at war, he was not overcome. Then he marched into the land of Cappadocia, and there by treachery slew all the kings.[2] Afterwards all the Cappadocians gave way to him. He then turned against his three brothers, and one he slew, and two fled into the city of Olynthus, which was the strongest and most wealthy[3] in the kingdom of Macedonia. Philip marched after them, and stormed the city, and slew the brothers and all that were therein. The three were not the brothers of Philip by his mother, but by his father.

5. At that time,[4] in the country of the Thracians, two kings, who were brothers, were quarrelling about the kingdom. They sent to Philip, and asked him to settle the kingdom, and to be witness that it was equally divided. Philip came to their meeting with a great army and slew both the kings, and all the counsellors, and seized both the kingdoms.—Afterwards the Athenians asked Philip to be their leader against the Phocians, though they formerly closed their passes against him; and that he would do one of two things, either make peace for them, or help them to overcome the Phocians. He promised that he would help to overcome them. At the same time also, the Phocians begged his help against the Athenians. He promised them, that he would make peace for them. After he had both the passes in his power, he also brought the kingdoms under his sway; and scattered his army throughout the cities, and told them, that they were to pillage the land, till they had laid it waste, so that the people were sorry, both that they must bear the greatest evil, and that they durst not free themselves from it. But he told them to slay all the most powerful; and the others,—some he sent into banishment,—some he settled in other marches. Thus

quoque universa subvertit spoliavitque, nec tamen unquam per viginti quinque annos quasi iratis diis victus est. Haver. p. 171, 4—10.

2 Per dolum, finitimos reges interfecit. Id. p. 171, 11.

3 Urbem antiquissimam et florentissimam. Id. p. 172, 3.

4 Oros. l. III: c 12, Haver. p. 172—174.

Philip humbled the great kingdoms: though each of them formerly thought that it might have power over many others, they at last found themselves brought to nought.

6. Afterwards [5] it seemed to Philip, that, on land, he had not power to satisfy the people with rewards, who were always fighting together with him; but he gathered ships, and they became pirates, and forthwith took, at one time, a hundred and eighty trading ships. He then chose a city near the sea called Byzantium, because he thought that there they might best have peace within; and also that there they should be most handy for waging war upon every land. But the citizens withstood him. Philip surrounded them with his army, and fought against them. The same Byzantium was first built by Pausanias, a leader of the Lacedæmonians, and afterwards enlarged by the Christian emperor Constantine, and from his name, it was called Constantinople, and is now the highest royal seat, and head of all the eastern empire. After Philip had long surrounded the city, he was grieved that he had not so much money to give his army, as they were accustomed to receive. He then divided his army into two parts: some he set round the city, and with other bands he went and plundered many cities of the Chersonesians, a people of Greece. Afterwards [about 339 B. C.] he marched with his son Alexander into Scythia, where king Atheas [6] had the sovereignty, who was formerly his companion in the war against the Istrians; and he would then march into that country. But the people of the land guarded themselves against him, and marched towards him with an army. When Philip heard of it, he sent to those, who had surrounded the city, for more help, and marched against them with all his force. Though the Scythians had a great many more men, and were themselves more brave, yet Philip entrapped them by his wiles, in as much as he hid the third part of his army, and himself with it, and ordered the two parts, that, as soon as they began to fight, they should flee towards him, that then, he might entrap them with the third part, when they had

5 Oros. l. III: c. 13. Haver. p. 174—176.

6 Ad Scythiam quoque cum Alexandro filio prædandi intentione pertransiit. Scythis tunc Atheas regnabat: qui quum Istrianorum bello premeretur, auxilium a Philippo per Apollonienses petiit: sed continuo Istrianorum rege mortuo, et belli metu, et auxiliorum necessitate liberatus, pactionem fœderis cum Philippo habitam dissolvit. Oros. l. III: c. 13. Haver. p. 175, 6—11. Atheas first asked Philip to assist him against the Istrians, and then laughed at him for sending an army. Hence this expedition. Justin. l. ix: c. 2.

passed by. Twenty thousand Scythians, women and men, were there slain and taken; and twenty thousand horses were taken: however, they met with no store of riches, as they had before when they gained the mastery of the battle-field. The poverty of the Scythians was first found out in that battle. After Philip turned from thence, other Scythians, called Triballi,[7] went after him with a small force. Philip thought their warfare unworthy of him, until a Cwene[8] shot him through the thigh, and killed the horse on which he sat. When his army saw that he fell with his horse, they all fled and left all the booty, that they had formerly taken.[9] It was a great wonder, that, on the fall of the king, so great an army fled, which before would not flee, although many thousands were slain. When Philip was wounded, he craftily gave leave to all the Greeks, that their governments might stand among them, as they formerly did in olden times. But as soon as he was healed, he pillaged Athens.[1] Then they sent to the Lacedæmonians, and prayed that they would be friends, though they had formerly long been foes; and prayed also that they all would so strive together as to be able to drive their common enemy from them. Some of them agreed, and gathered a greater force of men than Philip: others, for fear of him, durst not.[2] Philip then thought that he could no longer withstand them in a pitched battle; but he often harassed them

7 The Triballi were a powerful Scythian race. They were, like all the Scythians, warlike and brave, as is evident by their attack upon Philip and by their victory. Justin, whom Orosius chiefly follows, is in this instance more precise than Orosius, stating why the Triballi opposed Philip:—Revertenti ab Scythia Triballi Philippo occurrunt; negant se transitum daturos, ni portionem accipiant prædæ. Hinc jurgium et mox prœlium; in quo ita in femore vulneratus est Philippus, ut per corpus ejus equus interficeretur. Justin. l. IX: c. 3.—Alfred distinctly states, that these Triballi were Scythians,—offór hine [Philippum] oþere Sciþþie, . . . Tribaballe wæron hatene. Though the Triballi were victorious in the present attack, and took immense spoil from Philip, they were afterwards completely routed by his son, Alexander the Great. B. C. 335.

8 Cwéne, one from Cwén-land [See p. 38, note 36]. It seems that some of the Cwénes migrated with the Triballi and other Scythian tribes from the north to the Danube, for they were now [B. C. 339] amongst the Triballi, as is evident from one of them wounding Philip.

9 Quum omnes occisum putarent, in fugam versi, prædam amiserunt. Haver. p. 175, 19, 20.

1 Aliquantula deinde mora dum convalescit a vulnere, in pace conquievit. Statim vero ut convaluit, Atheniensibus bellum intulit. Haver. p. 175, 20—23.

2 Totius Græciæ civitates legationibus fatigant, ut communem hostem, communibus viribus petant. Itaque aliquantæ urbes Atheniensibus sese conjunxêre, quasdam vero ad Philippum belli metus traxit. Haver. p. 176, 1—4

by foragers, scouting about, till they were separated, and he then suddenly marched with his army upon Athens. At that time the Athenians were so dreadfully slaughtered, and beaten down, that afterwards they had neither any power, nor any freedom.[3]

7. After[4] that, Philip led an army against the Lacedæmonians and against the Thebans, and greatly troubled and disgraced them until they were utterly routed, and kept under. After Philip had brought all the Greeks under his power, he gave his daughter to Alexander, the king, his own kinsman, to whom he had formerly given the kingdom of Epirus. On that day, they tilted[5] on horse-back, both Philip and Alexander, to whom he gave his daughter, and Alexander his own son, and also many others with them, as was their custom at such times. When it happened that Philip rode out from the crowd to the sport, then one of his old foes met him and stabbed him to death.[6]

8. "I wot not,"[7] said Orosius, "why those former wars are so much liked by you Romans, and are so pleasant to hear in songs; and why you praise so highly the times of such sorrows. Now, though only a little of such sorrows comes upon you, yet you bemoan these as the worst times, and can as bitterly weep over them, as you can joyfully laugh over the other. If you be such heroes, as you think you are, then should you as willingly bear your own sorrows, since they are less, than what you hear of theirs. Then would these times seem to you better than those, for your sorrows now are less, than theirs then were. Philip harassed the people of Greece for twenty-five years, both burning their cities and slaying their people, and banishing some into foreign countries,[8]—while the sorrows of you Romans, of which you always speak, were only for three days. The mischief of Philip

3 Pugnam longe omnibus anterioribus bellis atrociorem fuisse, ipse rerum exitus docuit. Nam hic dies apud universam Græciam adquisitæ dominationis gloriam, et vetustissimæ libertatis statum finivit. Haver. p. 176, 6—9.

4 Oros. l. III: c. 14, Haver. p. 176—177, 17.

5 In A. S. Plegedon hy of horsum, they played on horse-back.

6 Die nuptiarum, quum ad ludos magnifice adparatos inter duos Alexandros, filium generumque, contenderet, a Pausania, nobili Macedonum adolescente, in angustiis sine custodibus, circumventus, occisus est. Haver. p. 177, 14—17.

7 Much enlarged by Alfred, from Oros. l. III: c. 14, Haver. p. 177, 17—22, and p. 178, 1—3.

8 Per viginti quinque annos incendia civitatum, excidia bellorum, subjectiones provinciarum, cædes hominum, opum rapinas, prædas pecorum, mortuorum venditiones captivitatesque vivorum unius regis fraus, ferocia, et dominatus agitavit. Haver. p. 178, 2—5.

might, however, still seem in some measure within bounds, before the devourer, Alexander, his son, took to the kingdom.—However, I shall now, for awhile, be silent about his deeds, until I tell those of the Romans, which were done in those times.

Book III: Chapter VIII.

1. Four[9] hundred and twenty-six years after the building of Rome [Blair B. C. 321: Alfred B. C. 327]: the place Furculæ Caudinæ[1] became well known for the disgrace of the Romans, and is so to this day. It came to pass after the battle, which the Romans and the Samnites had, when, as we said before, twenty thousand Samnites were slain, under Fabius the consul. But the Samnites, in another battle, came to meet the Romans with a greater force, and with greater wariness than formerly, at the place called Furculæ Caudinæ. There the Romans were ensnared, chiefly because the land was less known to them than it was to the Samnites; and they marched unwittingly into a narrow pass, till the Samnites surrounded them on the outside; and then they must do one of two things,—either lose their lives for want of food, or fall into the hands of the Samnites. In their power, the Samnites were so bold, that the prince called Pontius, who was their leader, told them to ask the king, his father, who was at home, whether he would rather that he should kill them all, or order them while living to be put to shame. The prince then tortured them with the shame, which was the greatest in those days,—he stripped them of their clothes, and their weapons; and took six hundred hostages into his power, with the view, that afterwards, they should always be his slaves. The prince told some of his people to bring the consuls of the Romans, and their elders into their own country, and drive them before them as slaves, that their shame might be the greater.

2. "We would," said Orosius, "more willingly be silent about the shame of you Romans, than to speak of it, if we could for your own murmuring, which ye have against Christianity. Lo! ye know, that to this day ye would have been slaves to the Samnites, if ye had not belied your pledge and your oaths, that ye

9 Oros. l. III: c. 15. Haver. p. 178—180.

1 Caudine Forks, or narrow passes in the mountains, between Capua and Beneventum, in Samnium, where the Romans submitted to the Samnites, and passed under the yoke B. C. 321. It is at present called the valley of Arpaia.

gave them; and ye now murmur, because many of the people over whom ye had power would not fulfil what they promised. Will ye not think, how hateful it was to yourselves to keep your oaths to those, who had the power over you!"

3. Soon afterwards, in the following year, the Romans broke their oaths, which they had taken to the Samnites; and, with Papirius, their consul, followed them, and gained a deadly victory; because the people on both sides were eager for the fight,—the Samnites for the power which they had on each side, and the Romans for the shame, which they had formerly put upon them. The Romans took the king of the Samnites, and forced their fortress, and made them tributaries. This same Papirius, after the battle, was held in such esteem by the Romans, that they had chosen him to withstand the great Alexander in war; if, as he had said, he should come from the east, out of Asia into Italy.

Book III: Chapter IX.[1]

1. Four hundred and twenty six years after the building of Rome, [Oros. B. C. 327: Clinton, B. C. 336], Alexander took the kingdom of the Macedonians after his father, Philip, and at that time shewed his first generalship,[2] when by his skill he brought all the Greeks under his power,—all those who raised war against him.

2. It now first happened, that the Persians gave Demosthenes, the philosopher, ready money, with which he seduced all the Greeks to strive against Alexander. The Athenians offered battle to Alexander, but he so quickly slew, and routed them, that, ever after, they had very great dread of him. The citadel of the Thebans, which was formerly the chief seat of all the Greeks, he stormed and quite overthrew. Afterwards he sold all the people into banishment for money, and he made all the other nations, which were in Greece, tributaries, save the Macedonians, who first turned to him. He marched thence against the Illyrians and against the Thracians, and brought them all under him. He then gathered an army against the Persians, and while he was gathering it, he slew all his kinsmen, whom he could reach. In his army were thirty-two thousand foot, and four thousand five

1. Oros. I. III: c. 16, Haver. p. 180—184.

2. (Alexander) primam experientiam animi et virtutis suæ, compressis celeriter Græcorum motibus, dedit. Haver. p. 180, 17—18.

hundred [3] horse, and one hundred and eighty ships [4] —"I wot not," said Orosius, "which was the greater wonder,—that with so small a force he could over-run the greatest part of this mid-earth, or that, with so small an army, he durst begin so much."

3. In the first battle, which Alexander fought against Darius in Persia, Darius had six hundred thousand in his army. He was, however, overcome more by Alexander's skill, than by his fighting. There was a very great slaughter made of the Persians; and of Alexander's no more than an hundred and twenty of the cavalry, and nine of the foot.[5] Then Alexander marched thence into Phrygia a country of Asia, and stormed and overthrew their city, called Sardis. It was told him there, that Darius had again gathered an army in Persia. Alexander had a dread of the narrow place in which he was; and because of that fear he quickly went thence over mount Taurus, and marched a surprizingly great way in the day,[6] till he came to the city Tarsus, in the country of the Cilicians.

4. On that day, he found a river called Cydnus, which had intensely cold water. When he began to bathe himself therein, while sweating, then all his veins shrunk because of the cold, that they had no hope of his life.[7]

5. Shortly after Darius came with an army against Alexander: he had three hundred thousand foot, and a hundred thousand horse. Alexander was much afraid because of the great multitude, and because of the few that he himself had; though he with the same, had formerly overcome the greater one of Darius. That battle was fought with great earnestness by both the armies, and there both the kings were wounded. Of the Persians, there

3. In A. S. fifte healf M. when healf is placed after an ordinal it diminishes it by half, as fifte healf four and a half, or fifte healf M. four thousand and a half, i. e. four thousand five hundred. See Bosworth's A. S. Dict. under healf.

4. In exercitu ejus fuêre peditum triginta et duo millia, equitum quatuor mille ducenti, et naves centum et octoginta. Oros. Haver. p. 181, 5—7.—Arrian says, of foot οὐ πολλῷ πλείους τρισμυρίων, of horse ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους.—Diodor. gives of foot XXX. M. of horse IV. M. D. The first Paris and Venice editions give the same numbers as Alfred in his A. S. text, i. e. "Peditum XXXII millia; equitum IV millia D; naves CLXXX. Haver. p. 181, note 8.

5. In exercitu autem Alexandri, centum et viginti equites, et novem tantum pedites defuêre. Oros. Haver. p. 181. 12, 13.

6. Quingentis stadiis sub una die cursu transmissis, Tarsum venit. Haver. c. 182, 4, 5.

7. Ibique quum sudans in Cydnum præfrigidum amnem descendisset, obriguit, contractuque nervorum proximus morti fuit. Oros. Haver. p. 182, 5—7.

were slain ten thousand horse, and eighty thousand foot, and eighty thousand taken prisoners, and very much wealth was found in their camps. The mother of Darius was taken, and his wife, who was his sister, and his two daughters. Then Darius offered Alexander half his kingdom for the women; but Alexander would not give them up.—Darius, yet for the third time, then gathered an army from the Persians, and also the help, that he could draw over from other countries, and marched against Alexander. While Darius gathered an army, Alexander sent Parmenio his admiral, to disperse the fleet of Darius, and he himself marched against the Syrians: they came to meet him, and received him with kindness; nevertheless he ravaged their country; and the people,—some he allowed to abide there,—some he drove away,—others he sold abroad for money.

6. The ancient and the wealthy city of Tyre he beset, sacked, and utterly overthrew, because they would not receive him gladly. Afterwards he marched into Cilicia, and pressed the people under him: then into the island of Rhodes, and pressed the people under him. After that, he went against the Egyptians, and pressed them under him. There he ordered the city to be built, which they afterwards called after him Alexandria. He then went to the temple, which the Egyptians said was that of their god, Ammon, who was the son of Jupiter, their other god, to the end that he might clear his mother from Nectanebus, the wizzard, by whom, they said, she was forlain, and that he was Alexander's father. Then Alexander told the heathen priest to creep into the statue of Ammon, which was within the temple, before he and the people assembled themselves there, and told him how he wished him to answer before the people, what he asked him. Now has Alexander let us know, clearly enough, what it is to worship the heathen gods, that what they say is more from the plots of their priests, and from their own destiny, than from the power of their gods.

7. From[8] that place, Alexander marched a third time against Darius, and they met at the city of Tarsus. In that battle, so many of the Persians were slain, that henceforth they found their great and lasting power as nothing against Alexander. When Darius saw that he must be overcome, he wished himself to be

8 Oros. l. III: c. 17. Haver. p. 184—186, 3.

killed in the battle, but his officers took him away against his will, so that he afterwards fled with the army. Alexander was thirty-three days in the place, ere he could spoil the camps and the slain. He then marched into Persia, and overcame the city Persepolis, their capital, which is yet the wealthiest of all cities. It was told Alexander, that Darius had been bound by his own kinsmen[9] with a golden chain. Then he marched towards him with six thousand men, and found him lying alone by the way, hardly alive, thrust through with spears. Alexander shewed a little kind-heartedness to him alone, when dead, for he ordered him to be buried in the tomb of his elders, which he would, by no means, afterwards grant to his kindred, neither to his wife, nor to his mother, nor to his children, nor, what was least of all, would he take his youngest daughter, but in bondage: she was a little child.

8. They[1] can hardly be believed, who speak of such manifold evils as happened in those three years, in three pitched battles between the two kings: there were fifteen hundred thousand men slain in them; and, as is before said, there were slain of the same people, a little before, nineteen hundred thousand men, besides great pillage, which took place within the three years, in many a nation. All the nation of Assyria was laid waste by Alexander, and many cities in Asia, and the great city Tyre all overthrown, and the country of Cilicia all laid waste, and the country of Cappadocia, and all the Egyptians brought into slavery, and the island of Rhodes entirely laid waste, and many other countries about the mountains of Taurus.

9. There[2] were then, not only the wars of these two, in the east part of this mid-earth; but, at the same time with them, Agis, king of the Spartans, and Antipater, another king of the Greeks, were at war with each other; and Alexander, king of Epirus, the great Alexander's uncle, who wished for the west part, as the other did for the east part, and led an army into Italy, and was there very soon slain. At the same time, Zopyrion, king of Pontus, set out with an army, and he and his people utterly perished there. After the death of Darius, Alexander

9 Darium vero, quum a propinquis suis vinctum compedibus aureis teneri comperisset, persequi statuit. Oros. Haver. p. 185, 10—12.

1 Oros. l. III: c. 17, Haver. p. 186, 3—13.

2 Oros. l. III: c. 18, Haver. 186, 30—187, 14.

overcame all the Mardi, and all the Hyrcanians; and, while he was fighting there, Minothæa,[3] the Scythian queen, with three hundred women, boldly sought him out, that they might have children by Alexander and by his greatest warriors.

10. After[4] that, Alexander fought against the Parthians, and he nearly slew them all, and brought them to nought, ere he could overcome them. Afterwards he overcame the Drangæ,[5] and Evergetæ, and Parapammeni, and Adaspii, and many other nations, which are settled about the mountains of Caucasus, and there ordered a city to be built, which they afterwards called Alexandria.[6]

11. His[7] frenzy and his ravaging were not only upon strangers,[8] but he also killed and harassed those, who were marching and fighting together with him. First he killed Amyntas, his aunt's son, and afterwards his brother, and then Parmenio, his general, and then Philotas, and then Attalus, then Eurylochus, then Pausanias, and many others, who were most powerful in Macedonia; and Clitus, who was both his own general, and also formerly of Philip, his father. At a certain time, when they sat at their feast drunk, they began to debate whether Philip or Alexander had done the greatest deeds. Then Clitus, from old friendship, said that Philip had done more than he. For that saying, Alexander then leaped up, and slew him. Alexander, besides pressing down both his own people, and those of other kings, was always thirsting for man's blood.

12. Soon[9] after this, he marched with an army against the Chorasmi, and against the Dacians, and forced them to pay him tribute. He killed Callisthenes, the philosopher, his fellow scholar (taught together by their master Aristotle), and many men with him, because they would not pray to him as to their god.

3 Thalestris sive Minothæa regina, excitata suscipiendæ ab eo subolis gratia, cum trecentis mulieribus procax Amazon invenit. Haver. p. 187, 12—14.

4 Oros. l. III: c. 18, Haver. p. 187, 14—188, 2.

5 Inde Drangas, Euergetas, Parimas Parapamenos, Adaspios . . . . subegit. Oros. l. III: c. 18. Haver. p. 187, 16—188, 1.—Justin. XII, 5, 9.

6 Populos qui in radice Caucasi morabantur, subegit, urbe ibi Alexandria super amnem Tanaim constituta. Haver. p. 188, 1, 2.

7 Oros. l. III: c. 18, Haver. p. 188, 2—12.

8 Sed nec minor ejus in suos crudelitas, quam in hostem rabies fuit, Haver. p. 188, 2, 3.

9 Oros. l. III: c. 18, Haver. p. 188, 12—189, 3.

13. After[1] that, he marched into India, that he might enlarge his kingdom to the eastern ocean. On the way, he over-ran Nysa, the capital of the Indians, and all the Dædalian mountains, and all the kingdom of queen Cleophis, and forced her to concubinage, for which he gave her the kingdom again. After Alexander had brought all India under his power, save one city, which was very strong with surrounding rocks, he was told, that Hercules, the giant, had come there, in former days, as he thought to storm it; but he did not begin, as there was an earthquake there at that time. Alexander undertook it, chiefly because he wished that his great deeds should be more than those of Hercules; though he took it with great loss of the people.

14. Afterwards[2] Alexander had a battle with Porus, the strongest king of the Indians. In that battle there was very much blood shed on each side: Porus and Alexander fought hand to hand on their horses. Porus killed Alexander's horse, called Bucephalus, and might [have slain] him there, had not his thanes come to help him. He[3] stabbed Porus with many wounds, and also made him yield, after his thanes came to him. [Alexander] let him have his kingdom again for the heroism, with which he so bravely fought against him. Alexander ordered him afterwards to build two cities: one was called Bucephalus, after his horse; the other Nicæa.

15. He[4] afterwards went against the Adrestæ, the Cathæi, the Præsidæ, and the Gangaridæ, and fought with them all, and overcame them. When he went into the eastern boundaries of the Indians, there came against him two hundred thousand cavalry, and Alexander could hardly overcome them, because of the summer heat, and of their frequent battles. He would afterwards have larger camps than he had formerly; because, after that battle, he thenceforth encamped more than he did before.

16. He[5] then went out on the ocean, from the firth of which the river is called Acesines, to an island peopled by the Sibi and the Gessonæ, whom Hercules formerly brought and settled there;

1 Oros. l. III: c. 19, Haver. p. 189, 5—13.

2 Oros. l. III: c. 19, Haver. p. 189, 14—190, 6.

3 Alexander cum ipso Poro singulariter congressus, occisoque dejectus equo, concursu satellitum præsentiam mortis evasit. Porus multis vulneribus confossus, et captus est; quo ob testimonium virtutis in regnum restituto. Oros. l. III: c. XIX, Haver. p. 190, 1—4.

4 Oros. l. III: c. 19, Haver. p. 190, 6—11.

5 Oros. l. III: c. 19, Haver. p. 190, 11—191, 4.

and he made them subject to him. Afterwards he went to the island, the people of which are called Malli, and Oxydracæ, and they brought against him eight hundred thousand foot, and sixty thousand cavalry. They were long engaged before either could overcome the other, till at last Alexander gained an unworthy victory.

17. He [6] then marched to a fastness: when he came to it, he could see no man in the fastness, from without. Alexander wondered why it was so without men; and he himself at once climbed over the wall, and he was there drawn in by the towns-people. They then pursued him so closely, both with arrows, and with the throwing of stones, and with all their weapons of war, that it is hardly to be believed when it is said,—all the towns-people could not force him alone to give himself up into their hands. But when the people pressed most upon him; he stepped to a corner of a wall and there defended himself. All the people were so taken up with him alone, that they gave no heed to the wall, till Alexander's thanes broke through it and came in, over against him. There Alexander was shot through with an arrow, underneath one breast.—Now we do not know, which is more to be wondered at, how he alone defended himself against all the towns-people,—or again, when help came to him, how he so pressed through the people, that he killed the same man, who before shot him through; or again, the undertaking of the thanes, when they undoubtedly thought that their lord was in the power of their enemies either alive or dead, that they, nevertheless, did not refrain from breaking the wall, that they might revenge their lord, whom they found weary, and resting on his knees.

18. He [7] then brought the city under his power, and marched to another city, in which Ambira the king dwelt. Many of Alexander's army died there from poisoned arrows. But, in the same night an herb was shewn to Alexander in a dream: he took it in the morning, and gave it to the wounded to drink, and they were healed by it: they then overcame the city.

19. He [8] afterwards turned homeward to Babylon. Ambassadors were waiting there from all the world; that was from Spain, and from Africa, and from France, and from all Italy. Alexander was

6 Oros. l. III: c. 19, Haver. p. 191, 4—192, 1.
7 Oros. l. III: c. 19, Haver. p. 192, 2, 6
8 Oros. l. III: 20, Haver. p. 192, 19—194, 12.

so dreaded, when he was in India in the east of this mid-earth, that they who were on the west, were afraid of him. Moreover, ambassadors came to him, even from many nations, to whom, none of Alexander's company thought that his name was known, and wished for peace with him. Even yet, when Alexander came home to Babylon, there was still in him the greatest thirst for man's blood. When his servants understood that he would not leave off war, but said he would march into Africa, then his cup-bearers planned among themselves how they might take away his life, and gave him poison to drink: then he died.

20. Orosius said [9]—"Oh! how great is the folly of men, in these Christian days! Though they have but little uneasiness, how woefully they bemoan it! It is one of these two,—either they do not know, or they will not know, in what wretchedness they were, who lived before them. Now let them think, how it was with them, who were in Alexander's power, when they, who were in the west of this mid-earth, so much dreaded him, that they, for the sake of peace, sought him out in the east, at great risk and in great uncertainty, both in dread of the sea, and of wild beasts in deserts, and of many kinds of serpents, and in the languages of nations. But we very well know, that now, for very cowardice, they neither dare seek peace from far, nor even defend themselves at home in their own houses, when they are attacked there: yet they can slander these times."

Book III: Chapter X.

1. Four [1] hundred and fifty years after the building of Rome, [Alfred 303: Clinton B. C. 295]—under two consuls,—one Fabius, called also Maximus; the other Quintus, called also Decius,—in their fourth consulship, four of the strongest nations in Italy, which were the Umbrians, Etruscans, Samnites and Gauls, agreed among themselves to go to war with the Romans. They very much feared that they could not withstand them all at the same time, and anxiously devised means to separate them, and sent a regular army against the Etruscans, and against the Umbrians to pillage and to destroy the people. When they heard of it, they turned homeward, that they might defend their own

9 Oros. l. III: c. 20, Haver. p. 194, 12—195, 11.

1 Oros. l. III: c. 21, Haver. p. 196—197, 4.

lands. At the same time the Romans marched against the Samnites, and against the Gauls, with their greater army, that they had at home. Quintus the consul was slain in the battle; and, after his fall, Fabius, the other consul, gained the victory. Forty thousand Samnites and Gauls were slain, and seven thousand Romans, in the division in which Decius was killed. Livy said that one hundred and fifty thousand foot and seven thousand cavalry of the Samnites and Gauls were slain.

2. Orosius[2] said, "I have, moreover, of a truth heard say, that the Romans, in those days, had war not only with other nations, but among themselves, with manifold plagues and pestilence: so it then was."

3. When[3] Fabius, the consul, came homeward from the battle, they went before him in triumph, which was their custom when they gained a victory. But the joy was very soon turned to grief in their hearts, when they saw the dead, who were before at home, so thickly borne to the earth; for, at that time, the great pestilence was there.

4. About[4] a year afterwards, the Samnites fought with the Romans, and routed them, and drove them into the city of Rome. Soon after,[5] the Samnites changed their clothing to another fashion, and covered all their weapons over with silver, in token that they would do one or the other,—either conquer or all die.[6] In those days, the Romans chose Papirius for their consul, and soon led an army against the Samnites, though their priests said that their gods were against their going to battle. But Papirius upbraided the priests very much for that saying, and nevertheless he went to the warfare; and he gained as honourable a victory, as if he had not before dishonoured the priests of their gods. Twelve thousand Samnites were slain there, and four thousand taken. Soon after that glorious victory, they were again afflicted with pestilence, which was so raging and lasting, that they willingly tried, at last, whether they could

2 Oros. l. III: c. 21, Haver. p. 197, 4—8

3 Oros. p. 197, 8—11.

4 Oros. l. III: c. 22, Haver. p. 197, 31—199, 2.

5 Postea vero Samnites novum habitum animumque sumentes, hoc est, deargentatis armis ac vestibus, paratoque animo, ni vincant, mori, bello se obferunt. Oros. l. III: c. 22, Haver. p. 197, 32—198, 2.

6 A. S. oððe ealle libban, oððe ealle licgean, either all live, or all die. Oros. has—ni vincant, mori. v. note 5.

stop it by enchantments, and fetched Æsculapius the magician with the immense snake, which was called Epidaurus[7]; and acted just as if such an evil had never come upon them before, nor would ever come again.

5. In[8] the following year, Fabius, their consul, whose other name was Curius, fought with the Samnites, and basely fled homeward. The senate wished to degrade him, because he had led the people to flight; but his father, who was also called Fabius, begged that the senate would forgive this fault, and that they would grant, that he might go with his son, the next time, against the Samnites with all their forces; and they granted it. The father then told the consul to march forward with his army, and he stopped behind with some of the forces. When he saw that Pontius, king of the Samnites, had ensnared the consul, his son, and surrounded him with his people, he then came to his help, and greatly raised his spirits; and they took Pontius, king of the Samnites. There were twenty thousand Samnites slain, and four thousand taken with the king. There the war of the Romans and Samnites, which they formerly carried on for fifty nine years, was ended, because they had taken their king.

6. In[9] the next year after this, Curius the consul with the Romans fought against the Sabines, and gained the victory, making an immense slaughter of them, which might be known by this, as he and the consuls could not count the slain.

Book III: Chapter XI.

1. Four[1] hundred and sixty-three years after the building of Rome, [Alfred B. C. 290: Clinton B. C. 283] when Dolabella and Domitius were consuls in Rome, then the Lucani, Bruttii, Samnites, and the Senonian Gauls began to war against the Romans. Then the Romans sent ambassadors to the Gauls about peace: they killed the ambassadors. They next sent Cæcilius their

7 Ut libros Sibyllinos consulendos putârint, horrendumque illum Epidaurium colubrum cum ipso Æsculapii lapide advexerint: quasi vero pestilentia aut ante sedata non sit, aut post orta non fuerit. Oros. l. III: c. 22, Haver. p. 198, 10—199, 2.

8 Oros. l. III: c. 22, Haver. p. 199, 2—15.

9 Anno subsequente cum Sabinis Curio consule bellum gestum est, ubi quot millia hominum interfecta, quot capta sint, ipse consul ostendit: qui quum in senatu magnitudinem adquisiti agri Sabini, et multitudinem capti populi referre vellet, numerum explicare non potuit. Oros. l. III: c. 22, Haver. p. 199, 15—19.

1 Oros. l. III: c. 22, Haver. p. 199, 19—200, 9.

Prætor with an army, where the Gauls and Bruttii were together, and he was slain there, and the people with him, namely eighteen thousand. As often as the Gauls fought against the Romans, the Romans were overcome. "Therefore, ye Romans," said Orosius, "while you always murmur about the only battle that the Goths had with you, why will you not think of the many former, which the Gauls often waged insultingly against you!"

2. I will[2] also bring to mind, in part, what those, that came after Alexander, did, in the times, when this happened in Rome: how they killed one another in many battles.—"It is," said he [Orosius,] "when I think of it, just as if I sat on a high hill, and saw, on a smooth field, many fires burning; so over all the kingdom of the Macedonians, that is over all the greater Asia, and over the greatest part of Europe, and all Libya, there was nothing but hatred and wars. Those, who were the first under Alexander, laid waste by war the very places, where they ruled after him, and where they did not, they brought the greatest gloom, as the bitterest smoke rises up, and then widely spreads."

3. Alexander,[3] for twelve years, filled with fear and crushed under him this mid-earth; and his followers, for fourteen years after, pulled and tore it asunder, just as when the lioness brings to hungry whelps something to eat: they then shew in the food, which of them can embowel the most.

4. Thus[4] then did Ptolemy, one of Alexander's generals, when he swept together all Egypt and Arabia; and Laomedon, his other general, who seized upon all Assyria,—and Philotas Cilicia,—and Philo Illyricum,—and Atropates the greater Media,—and Stromen? Media the less,—and Perdiccas Asia the less.—The people of Susiana [came to Coenus],—the greater Phrygia [to] Antigonus,—Lycia and Pamphilia [to] Nearchus.—[Cassander took] Caria,—and

2 Oros. l. III: c. 23. Haver. p. 200—201, 8.

3 Oros. l. III: c. 23, Haver. p. 201, 8—12.

4 Oros. l. III: c: 23, Haver. p. 201, 12—203, 3.

4 The Anglo-Saxon of Alfred, both in the Lauderdale and the Cotton MSS, has so many mistakes in the names, that it is necessary to refer to the Latin of Orosius, who follows Justin almost verbatim [See l. XIII: c. 4, p. 302—306, and the notes, in the accurate edition of Grævius, 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1683].—Orosius says—Prima Ptolemæo Ægyptus et Africæ Arabiæque pars sorte provenit. Confinem huic provinciæ Syriam Laomedon Mitylinæus, Ciliciam Philotas, Philo Illyrios accipiunt. Mediæ majori Atropatus, minori socer Perdiccæ præponitur. Susiana gens Scyno, Phrygia major Antigono Philippi filio adsignatur. Lyciam et Pamphyliam Nearchus, Cariam Cassander, Lydiam Menander sortiuntur, Leonnatus minorem Phrygiam accipit. Thracia et regiones Pontici maris Lysimacho.

Leonnatus Phrygia the less,—and Lysimachus Thrace,—and Eumenes Cappadocia and Paphlagonia.—Seleucus had all the most eminent men of Alexander's army; and with them, he at length gained all the country of the east. Cassander had the warriors with the Chaldeans. In Bactria and in India were the Prefects, whom Alexander appointed; and Taxiles had the land between the two rivers, the Indus and Hydaspes. Pithon had the people, the colonies[5] in India. Oxyartes had the Paropamisii [in Afghanistan and the Punjab west of the Indus], at the end of the Caucasian mountains. Sibyrtius had the Arachosii [part of Afghanistan and Beloochistan]. Stasanor had the nations of Drangiana [part of Iran], and Ariana. Amyntas had the [Bactrians]. Scythæus had the people of Sogdiana [part of Turkestan and Bokhara]. Nicanor had the Parthians, and Philip the Hyrcani. Phrataphernes had the Armenians. Tlepolemus had the Medes. Peucestas had the Babylonians. Peleusus had the Archi, and Archelaus Mesopotamia.

5. All[6] their wars first arose from Alexander's letter, because he therein ordered that all the exiles, who were in the countries which he himself had formerly over-run, should be allowed to go home. Then the Greeks would not listen to the order, because they dreaded that, when they gathered themselves together, they would avenge the wrongs, which they had formally borne from them. Moreover they denied that they would any longer serve with the Lacedæmonians, amongst whom was their chief city. Soon after that, the Athenians led thirty thousand people, and two hundred ships against Antigonus, the king, who was to have all the realm of the Greeks, because he was the bearer of the message from Alexander. They fixed upon Demosthenes, the philosopher, as their leader; and drew over the towns people of

Cappadocia cum Paphlagonia Eumeni data: summa castrorum Seleuco Antiochi filio cessit; stipatoribus regis satellitibusque Cassander filius Antipatri præficitur. In Bactriana ulteriore et Indiæ regionibus præfecti priores, qui sub Alexandro esse coeperant, permanserunt. Seras, inter duos amnes Hydaspem et Indum constitutos, Taxiles habuit. In colonias in Indis conditas Pithon Agenoris filius mittitur. Parapamenos fines Caucasi montis Oxyartes accepit. Arachosii Gedrosiique Sibyrtio decernuntur. Drangas et Areos Stasanor, Bactrianos Amyntas sortitur, Sogdianos Scythæus, Nicanor Parthos, Philippus Hyrcanios, Phrataphernes Armenios, Tlepolemus Persas, Peucestes Babylonios, Archon Pelasgos, Archelaus Mesopotamiam adepti sunt. Haver. 201, 12—203, 3.

5 The A. S. is Ithona hæfde calonie þa þeode on Indeum, Ithona had the people Coloni in India. The A. S. translator has mistaken colonias colonies of Oros. for the name of a people. See note 4.

6 Oros. l. III: c. 23, Haver. p. 203, 3—16.

Corinth, and of Sicyon and of Argos to help them; and besieged king Antipater in a fastness, because he gave help to Antigonus. There Leosthenes, one of their leaders, was shot dead with an arrow. When they were returning homeward from the city, they met Leonatus, who should have come to help Antipater, and he was there slain. Afterwards Perdiccas, who had Asia the less, began to wage war against Ariarathes, king of the Cappadocians, and drove him into a fastness. The towns-people themselves set fire to it, on four sides; and there every thing perished, that was within.

6. After[7] that, Antigonus and Perdiccas vowed to fight with each other; and they were long contriving where they should meet. They laid waste many islands in the strife which of them could gain the most help. With that hope, Perdiccas marched with an army into Egypt, where Ptolemy was the king, because it was told him that he would assist Antigonus. Then Ptolemy gathered a great army against him. While they strove to come together, two kings Neoptolemus and Eumenes fought: Eumenes routed Neoptolemus, who came to king Antigonus, and persuaded him to march with an army suddenly upon Eumenes. Then Antigonus sent [Neoptolemus] himself, and one of his generals Polyperchon with a great force, that they might defeat him. When Eumenes was told of it, he waylaid them, where they had thought of waylaying him, and slew them both, and put the others to flight. Afterwards Perdiccas and Ptolemy fought, and there Perdiccas was slain. It then became known to the Macedonians, that Eumenes and Pithon and Illyrius, and Alcetas brother of Perdiccas, would wage war against them, and contrived that Antigonus should come against them with an army. In the battle, Antigonus routed Eumenes, and drove him into a fastness and besieged him while there. Eumenes then sent to king Antipater, and begged for his help. When Antigonus understood that, he left the siege: but Eumenes thought there was great treachery in Antigonus thus going home, and drew over to his side those, who were formerly Alexander's warriors, who were called Argyraspides, because all their weapons were silvered over. When in doubt whether they would so rashly fulfil his wish, Antigonus came upon them with an army, and took from

7 Oros. l. III: c. 23, Haver. p. 203, 16—205, 10.

them their wives, and their children, and their land and all their hoarded riches, that they had gained under Alexander; and they themselves with difficulty fled to Eumenes. They then sent to Antigonus in their greatest disgrace, and begged that he would give up what he had before taken from them. He told them he would do that if they brought to him their lord, king Eumenes, bound; and they did so. But he treated them again with reproach, and set them in the most disgraceful land, which was at the utmost end of his people; and, moreover, he would not give them any thing, for which they had asked.

7. Then[8] Eurydice, queen of Arrhidæus, king of the Macedonians, did much evil to the people, through Cassander, her lord's general, with whom she had secret adultery; and therefore she taught the king to raise him up so high, that he was above all who were in the realm next to the king. She so acted by her intrigues as to raise up all the Macedonians against the king, till they determined to send for Olympias, Alexander's mother, that she might assist them to bring both the king and the queen into their power. Olympias then came to them with the force of Epirus, her own kingdom, and asked Æacides, king of the Molossi, to help her. They slew both the king and the queen, and Cassander fled away. Olympias took the sovereignty, and did much evil to the people, while she had the government. When Cassander heard that she was loathsome to the people, he gathered an army. As she heard that so many of the people had turned to him, she did not believe that the other part would be faithful to her; but she took her daughter-in-law, Roxana, Alexander's widow, and Alexander's son, Hercules, and fled to the fastness, which was called Pydna. Cassander marched after her, and stormed the fastness, and slew Olympias. The townspeople, when they understood that the fastness was to be stormed, carried off the daughter-in-law with her son, and sent them into another and stronger fastness. Cassander gave orders to besiege them there; and he ruled in full power over the kingdom of Macedonia.

8. It[9] was then thought, that the war among Alexander's followers was ended, when they were fallen, who fought the most:—they were Perdiccas, and Eumenes, and Alcetas, and Polyperchon,

8 Oros. l. III: c. 23, Haver. p. 205, 10—206, 2.
9 Oros. l. III: c. 23. Haver. p. 206, 2—208, 8.

and Olympias, and Antipater, and many others. But Antigonus, who had unbounded yearning for power over others, marched to the fastness, where Alexander's widow and his son were, and took them; because he thought that the people would more easily bow to him, who had their old lord's son in his power. After Cassander heard of it, he agreed with Ptolemy, and with Lysimachus, and with Seleucus, the eastern king, and they all waged war against Antigonus, and against Demetrius his son,—some on land, others on water. In that war, though some were with Antigonus, and others with Cassander, the greatest part of the Macedonian nobility fell on both sides. There Antigonus and his son were routed. Afterwards Demetrius, son of Antigonus, fought with ships against Ptolemy, and drove him into his own land. Antigonus then ordered, that they should call both him and his son, king; though the followers of Alexander were before only called generals. In the midst of these quarrels, Antigonus feared that the people would choose Hercules, Alexander's son, for their lord, because he was of the true, kingly race. Then he ordered both him and his mother to be slain. When the other three heard that he had the thought of over-reaching them all, they gathered themselves together again, and waged war against him. Cassander durst not go himself in the expedition, because he was closely surrounded with enemies, but he sent help to Lysimachus, his ally, and had entrusted his affairs chiefly to Seleucus; because he had overcome in battles many powers in the east:—First, Babylon and Bactriana. Afterwards, he marched into India where no man before or since durst go with an army, save Alexander. Seleucus brought under his power all the generals; and they all went to Antigonus and his son Demetrius with an army. In that war Antigonus was slain, and his son was driven from the kingdom.—"I ween not," said Orosius, "that there is any man, who can tell, how many fell in that battle."

9. At [1] that time [B. C. 297] Cassander died, and his son Philip succeeded to the kingdom. Then it was thought again the second time, that the wars of Alexander's followers were ended. But

1 Cassandro defuncto, filius Philippus succedit. Sic quasi ex integro nova Macedoniæ bella nascuntur, Antipater Thessalonicen matrem suam, Cassandri uxorem, quamvis miserabiliter pro vita precantem, manu sua transverberavit. Alexander frater ejus, dum bellum adversus fratrem ob ultionem matris instruit, a Demetrio, cujus auxilium petierat, circumventus occiditur. Oros. l. III: c. 23, Haver. p. 208, 8—13.

they soon after had war among them. Seleucus, and Demetrius son of Antigonus, joined together, and waged war against the three,—Philip, son of Cassander, and against Ptolemy, and Lysimachus. They began the war just as if they had never begun it before. In the strife Antipater killed his mother, widow of Cassander, though she pitifully prayed to him for her life. Then her son Alexander begged Demetrius to assist him, that he might revenge his mother's death on his brother; and they soon after slew him.

10. After[2] this Demetrius and Lysimachus went to war; but Lysimachus could not withstand Demetrius, because Dromichætes king of the Thracians fought against him. In the meanwhile, Demetrius was very much encouraged, and led an army against Ptolemy. When he heard of it, he gained over Seleucus and Pyrrhus king of Epirus to help him. Pyrrhus assisted him chiefly because he wished to get the government of Macedonia for himself. They drove Demetrius from it, and Pyrrhus succeeded. Afterwards Lysimachus slew his own son Agathocles, and his son-in-law Antipater. In those days, the city Lysimachia[3] sank into the earth with the people altogether. After Lysimachus had done so to his son, and to his son-in-law, his own people hated him, and many turned from him, and drew over Seleucus, that he might overcome Lysimachus. Moreover, the strife between the two could not be appeased, though they were the only two of Alexander's followers then alive. But old as they then were, they fought. Seleucus had lived seventy-seven winters; and Lysimachus seventy-three winters. There Lysimachus was slain; and, about three nights afterwards, Ptolemy, whose sister Lysimachus married, came and, as he was going homeward, stealthily followed after Seleucus, till his army was dispersed, and there slew him.

11. The peace[4] and kindheartedness, which they had learned from Alexander, were then brought to an end. These two, who lived the longest, had slain thirty kings,—their own old comrades,—and afterwards they took to themselves the whole of the governments, which they all formerly held. Amid the struggles,

2 Oros. l. III: c. 23. Haver. p. 208, 13—209, 15.

3 Lysimachia civitas formidolosissimo terræmotu eversa, oppressoque populo suo, crudele sepulchrum fuit. Oros. I. III: c. 23. Haver. p. 209, 8, 9.

4 Oros. l. III: c. 23, Haver. p. 209, 15—210, 7.

Lysimachus lost his fifteen sons: some he himself slew, others were slain in battle before himself.

12. "Such [5] brotherhood!" said Orosius, "they had among them, who were fed and educated in one family! It is very disgraceful to us, that we speak about what we now call war, when strangers and foreigners come upon us, and rob us of a little, and soon leave us again; and we will not think what it was, when no man could redeem his life from another; nor would even those be friends, who were brothers by father and by mother!"—And here the third book ends, and the fourth begins.

Book IV: Chapter I.

1. Four [1] hundred and sixty four years after the building of Rome [Clinton B. C. 280: Alfred B. C. 289], the Tarentines were playing in their theatre, which was built within their city Tarentum, when they saw Roman ships sail on the sea. Then the Tarentines hastily went to their own ships, and followed after the others, and took them all but five. Those, who were taken, they treated with the greatest cruelty; some they slew, some they scourged to death, others they sold into bondage. When the Romans heard of it, they sent ambassadors to them, and demanded that they should atone for the wrong, which they had done them. Again, they treated the ambassadors with the greatest disgrace, as they before did the others, and then let them go home.

2. Then the Romans marched against the Tarentines; and so fully did they levy their forces, that even the proletarii [2] were not allowed to stay at home. Those were they, whom they left that their wives might have children, when they went to war. They said, it seemed to them wiser, that they should not lose those who could go out, whoever might have children. The Romans then went against the Tarentines, and laid all waste where they came, and stormed many towns.

3. Then the Tarentines sent everywhere for help, where they could hope for any. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, came to them with

5 Oros. l. III: c. 23. Haver. p. 210, 7—20.

1 Oros. l. IV: c. 1, Haver. p. 214—218. Alfred omits the preface of Orosius, Haver. p. 211—214.

2 Proletarii, persons of little or no property. Being of the lowest rank, they were not called to serve in war, and deemed of little use but to increase (prolem) the population.

the greatest force, as well in infantry, and in cavalry, as with a fleet. In those days, he was famous above all other kings, as well for his great forces, and for his forethought, as for his knowledge of war. Pyrrhus assisted the Tarentines, because the city Tarentum was built by the Lacedæmonians, who then belonged to his kingdom. He had the Thessalians and Macedonians to help him, and in that battle, he had with him twenty elephants,—[animals] which the Romans never saw before. He was the man, that first brought them into Italy. He was also, in those days, most skilful in warfare and in contest; but in this only, his gods and his idolatry, which he followed, deceived him. When he inquired of his gods, which should have victory over the other,—he over the Romans, or the Romans over him, they answered him ambiguously and said;—"Thou shalt have [it], or shalt not."[3]—The first battle, that he had with the Romans, was in [Lucania], near the river which is called [Siris]. After there had been great slaughter on both sides, Pyrrhus ordered the elephants to be brought into the battle. When the Romans saw that such a stratagem was employed against them, as they had never before seen, nor heard speak of, they all fled but one man, called Minutius: he went boldly under an elephant, that he might stab it in the navel. After it was wounded and angry, it killed many of the people: not only did they perish who were upon it, but it so gored and enraged the other elephants, that they also, who were upon them, almost all perished. Though the Romans were routed, still they were encouraged, because they knew what they could do to the elephants. In that battle[4] fourteen thousand of the Roman infantry were slain, and eight hundred and eighty taken; and one thousand three hundred of their cavalry were slain; and there were seven hundred banners taken. It was not said how many of the army of Pyrrhus fell, because it was not the custom, in those times, that they should tell any of the slaughter on that side, which was the more powerful, save where very few were slain, as it was with Alexander, in the first battle

3 Neither the Anglo-Saxon nor the English admits of the ambiguity, so evident in the sentence recorded by Ennius—"Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse." An allusion is evidently made to this answer of the oracle, though Orosius does not quote the sentence.

4 Orosius gives the following account,—Victos fuisse Romanos turpis fuga prodidit, quorum tunc cecidisse referuntur peditum quatuordecim millia octingenti et octingenta: capti mille trecenti et decem: equites autem cæsi ducenti quadraginta duo, capti octingenti et duo, signa amissa viginti duo. Haver. p. 216, 9—13.

that he fought with Darius, where no more than nine of his people were slain.[5] But Pyrrhus afterwards shewed, what he thought of the victory that he had over the Romans, when he said, at the door of his god, and so wrote upon it:—"Accept thou [my] thanks, O Jupiter, that I have been able to overcome those, who before were never overcome; and I am also overcome by them."[6] Then his generals asked him, why he spoke such lowering words of himself—"that he was overcome." He answered them and said,—"If I gain such a victory again from the Romans, then I must afterwards go back to the land of the Greeks without any soldier."[7] Before the battle, it was shewn to the Romans as a bad token, that, in this warfare, the people would meet with great destruction; when thunder killed twenty-four of their foragers, and the others came away afflicted.[8]

4. Afterwards Pyrrhus and the Romans fought in the country of Apulia. There Pyrrhus was wounded in one arm, and the Romans gained the victory, and had learned more contrivances for overcoming the elephants, inasmuch as they took stakes, and struck many sharp iron nails into one end, and wound them round with flax, and set it on fire, and then thrust them into the elephants behind, that they became raging both from the burning of the flax and the goading of the nails: thus, those, who were upon them, were first destroyed by each, then many of the other people, who should have been shielded, were killed. In that battle, eight thousand of the Romans were slain and eleven banners taken. Twenty thousand were slain of the army of Pyrrhus, and his standard taken.—It was then made known to Pyrrhus, that Agathocles king of the Syracusans was dead in the country of Sicily. Then he went thither, and forced that kingdom to submit to him.

5. As soon[9] as the war with the Romans was ended, there was the most manifold calamity by pestilence,—yea, no bearing

5 See Book III: ch. 9, § 3.

6 Sed Pyrrhus atrocitatem cladis, quam hoc bello exceperat, diis suis hominibusque. testatus est, adfigens titulum in templo Tarentini Jovis, in quo hæc scripsit:—

Qui ante hac invicti fuvêre viri, pater optime Olympi,
Hos ego in pugna vici, victusque sum ab iisdem.

These verses are from Ennius. Oros. l. IV: c. 1. Haver. p. 217, 3—7, note 22.

7 Ne ego, si iterum eodem modo vicero, sine ullo milite Epirum revertar. Haver. p. 217, 9, 10.

8 Semineces relicti. Haver. p. 217, 15.

9 Oros. l. IV: c. 2. Haver. p. 218, 219.

creature, neither women nor cattle, could bring forth any thing alive,—that, at last, they doubted whether any human being would ever be added to them.[1] Then Pyrrhus returned again from Sicily against the Romans, and Curius the consul came against him. Their third battle was in Lucania on the plain of Arusium.[2] Though the Romans had, at one time, thought more of flight than of battle, ere they saw that the elephants were brought into the fight; but, after they had seen them, they so irritated them, that they killed many, whom they should have protected: the army of Pyrrhus, was, for that reason, mostly put to flight. In that battle Pyrrhus had eighty thousand foot, and five thousand horse; and there thirty-six thousand were slain, and four hundred taken. Then Pyrrhus went out of Italy, about five years after he first came into it. Soon after he came home, he wished to storm the city Argos; and he was there struck dead with a stone.

6. When[3] the Tarentines heard that Pyrrhus was dead, they sent into Africa to the Carthaginians for help, and went again to war with the Romans: soon after they came together, the Romans had a victory. There the Carthaginians found that they could be overpowered, though no people before could overcome them in battle.—While Pyrrhus was at war with the Romans, they had eight legions. They had then appointed the eighth to help the Rhegians. When the eighth part of the legions believed, that the Romans could not withstand Pyrrhus, they began to pillage and oppress those, whom they ought to have protected. When the Romans heard of it, they sent thither Genucius, their consul, with an army, to punish them, because they had slain and oppressed those, whom all the Romans wished to protect; and he did so. Some he put to death, others he bound and sent home; and there they were afterwards scourged, and then their heads cut off with broad axes.

1 The A. S. is so brief and indefinite, that the more full and clear account of Orosius is cited:—Pestilentia gravis urbem ac fines ejus invasit, quæ quum omnes, tum præcipue mulieres pecudesque corripiens, necatis in utero foetibus, futura prole vacuabat, et inmaturis partubus cum periculo matrum extorti abortus projiciebantur: adeo ut defectura successio, et defuturum animantium genus, adempto vitalis partus legitimo ordine crederetur. Haver. p. 218, 22—219, 1.

2 Tertium bellum, . . . apud Lucaniam in Arusinis campis, gestum est. Haver. p. 219, 2, 3.

3 Oros. l. IV: c. 3, Haver. p. 220, 221, 5.

Book IV: Chapter II.

1. Four[4] hundred and seventy-seven years after the building of Rome [Clinton B. C. 269: Alfred B. C. 276], there were these evil wonders in Rome. The first was that thunder shattered the house of their highest god, Jupiter, and also threw down to the earth much of the city wall:—And that also three wolves, in one night, brought the body of a dead man into the city, and afterwards tore it there piece-meal, till the men awoke and ran out: then they fled away. In those days it happened, that, in a plain near Rome, the earth opened and burning fire came up from the earth;—that, on every side of the fire, the earth for five acres broad was burnt to ashes.

2. Soon after, in the following year, Sempronius the consul marched with an army against the Picentes, a people of Italy. When they had set themselves in array and wished to engage, there was an earthquake, and each of the armies thought assuredly, that they should sink into the earth. They were thus kept in dread, till the cause of fear passed away; and afterwards they fought most fiercely. There was the greatest blood-shed in the armies on both sides: though the Romans had the victory, there were few left alive. It was there seen that the earthquake betokened the great drenching of blood, which they shed upon the earth, at that time.

Book IV: Chapter III.

1. Four[5] hundred and eighty years after the building of Rome [Orosius, and Alfred B. C. 272], among the many other wonders, which happened in those days,—blood was seen to spring out of the earth, and milk to rain from heaven. In those days the Carthaginians sent help to the Tarentines, that they might more easily withstand the Romans. When the Romans sent ambassadors to them, and asked why they did that; then they swore to the ambassadors with the most disgraceful oaths, that they never gave them help; although the oaths were more wicked than true.

2. In those days, the Volscians and the Etruscans nearly all perished through their own folly; because they freed some of

4 Oros. l. IV · c. 4. Haver. p. 221, 222, 9.

5 Oros. l. IV · c. 5. Haver. p. 222—223, 13.

their slaves, and were also too mild and too forgiving to all of them. Those who were partly free [6] took it amiss, that they freed the slaves and would not free them. They then rose up against their masters, and the slaves with them, and thus had power over them. They afterwards drove them entirely from the country; and took their masters' wives for their own. Afterwards the masters applied to the Romans, and they enabled them to regain their own.

Book IV: Chapter IV.

1. Four [7] hundred and eighty one years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred B. C. 272], so great a pestilence came upon the Romans, that, at last, they did not ask, how many were dead, but how many were then left alive. And the devils which they always worshipped, in addition to the other manifold abominations which they taught, so bewildered them, that they could not understand that it arose from the wrath of God; but directed their priests to tell the people that their gods were angry with them, in order that they should still make more offerings, and sacrifices, than they had done before.

2. In those same times, there was a priestess (nun) [8] of their gods named Capparonia. It then happened that she forlay herself. For that offence the Romans hanged her, and him also who was guilty with her, together with all those who knew of her guilt, and concealed it.—How can we now think, that the Romans themselves composed and wrote such things for their own glory and praise; and yet, amidst the praise, spoke of such reproaches among themselves? Can we think how many greater reproaches they concealed, as well for the love of themselves, as of their country, and also for the fear of their senate.

6 Orosius, [Haver. p. 223, 3.] calls them Libertini, which Alfred properly translates by Ceorlas, who were freemen of the lowest rank. These Ceorlas were subject to many restrictions, one of which was that they were compelled to have a person of superior rank to be responsible for them.—Among the Romans, the manumitted slave was called Libertus, because he was liberatus or freed from slavery. The Libertus, being freed from legal servitude, belonged to the class Libertinus; but the Libertini, like the Greek ἀπελεύθεροι, had not all the liberties and privileges of citizens, any more than the Ceorlas among the Anglo-Saxons.

7 Oros. l. IV: c. 5. Haver. p. 223, 13—224, 14.

8 Eodem tempore Capparonia, virgo Vestalis incesti rea, suspendio periit: corruptor ejus consciique servi, supplicio adfecti sunt. Haver. p. 224, 2—4. The Nunne, or Nun of Alfred, and virgo Vestalis of Oros. denote a Priestess. See Minucia, III, 6, § 2, n. 7.

Of the war of the Carthaginians.

3. "Now,"[9] said Orosius, "we shall take up the war of the Carthaginians, that is of the people of Carthage, which city was built by the woman Elissa [Dido] seventy two years before Rome. Likewise the evil of their citizens, and a little of their disgrace, have been spoken and written of, as recorded, by Trogus [Pompeius] and Justin, their historians: for their affairs on no occasion went on well either at home or abroad. Besides these evils, they ordained, when a great pestilence came upon them, that they should sacrifice men to their gods. The devils also, in which they trusted, taught them to offer the healthy, for those who were unhealthy. The men were so foolish, that they thought they might thus check the evil; but the devils were so deceitful, that they thereby increased it; for, as they were so very foolish, the wrath of God came upon them in wars besides other evils, which mostly happened in the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, in which they were most frequently at war. When they so often suffered, they began to blame their generals and soldiers for their troubles, and sent them into banishment and into foreign lands. They soon afterwards prayed, that they might return to their own country, and try whether they could overcome their misfortunes. This being refused, they marched against them with an army. In the warfare, the chief general, Mazeus, met his own son, clothed in purple as a priest. He was angry with him, on account of his dress, and ordered him to be seized and crucified,[a] as he thought that he wore such a robe out of contempt for him, because it was not a custom with them, that any should wear purple, but kings. They soon afterwards took Carthage, and slew all the best men that were in it, and forced the others under them. At last, he was himself overcome and slain. This happened in the days of Cyrus king of the Persians.

Book IV: Chapter V.

1. After that,[1] Himilco, king of the Carthaginians, went with an army into Sicily, and there so sudden a plague[2] came upon them, that the men were dead as soon as it seized them, so that

9 Oros. l. IV: c. 6. Haver. p. 224—226, 10.

[a] In crucem . . suspendit. Id. p. 226, 6.

1 Oros. l. IV: c. 6. Haver. p. 226, 10—232, 5.

2 The A. S. is færlic yfel, a sudden evil or calamity. Oros. has—repente horribili peste exercitum amisit. Haver. p. 226, 11.

at last, they could not bury them; and, for fear, he turned from thence against his will, and went home with those who were left. As soon as the first ship came to land and told the fearful tidings, all the citizens of Carthage were moved with violent groaning and weeping,—every one asking and inquiring after his friends; and they surely thought there was no hope for them, but that they must have altogether perished. While the citizens were thus sorrowful, the king himself came with his ship to land, clad in miserable apparel[3]; and both he himself went homeward weeping, and the people that came to meet him, all followed him weeping. The king stretched his hands up towards heaven, and with excess of feeling bewailed both his own misfortunes, and those of all the people. He then did to himself what was worst of all: when he came to his house, he shut the people out, and locking himself alone within, he slew himself.

2. There was afterwards a wealthy man in Carthage, called Hanno, who had an immoderate longing for the kingdom; but it appeared to him, that he could not come to it by the will of the senators, and he fixed upon the plan of asking them all to a feast at his house, that he might then kill them by poison. But it was made known by those, that, he thought, would assist him in the plot. When he knew that it was found out, he gathered together all the slaves and bad men, that he could, thinking to come upon the citizens unawares; but it was known to them beforehand. When he was unsuccessful in that city, he went to another with twenty four thousand men, and thought that he could take it. As the citizens had the Mauretani to help them, they came out of the fortress against them, and took Hanno, and put the others to flight. He was afterwards tortured there. First, he was scourged, then his eyes were plucked out; and afterwards his hands were cut off, then his head. All his kindred were slain lest his death should be avenged in after times, or any other should dare to begin the same again. This happened in the time of king Philip.

3. Then, the Carthaginians heard that the great Alexander had stormed the city Tyre, which, in former days, was the birth-place of their elders; and they feared that he would also come to them. They, therefore, sent thither Hamilcar, their most pru-

3 Sordida servilique tunica discinctus. Oros. Haver. p. 227, 5.

dent man, to watch Alexander's conduct; so he forwarded to them at home an account of it, written upon a board; and, after it was written, he covered it over with wax. After Alexander was dead, and Hamilcar came home, the elders of the city accused him of treacherously plotting with Alexander against them; and, on that charge, put him to death.

4. The Carthaginians afterwards made war upon Sicily, where they seldom had success, and beset their chief city Syracuse. It did not then seem possible to Agathocles their king, that he could fight against them out of the fortress, nor that they could all abide within it, for want of food; they, therefore, left such a part of their forces within the fortress, as could keep it; and, at the same time, have food enough. With the other part, the king went to Carthage in ships; and, as soon as he came to land, he ordered the ships to be burned, because he was unwilling that his enemies should afterwards get possession of them. There he soon built a fortress, and from it slew and harassed the people, till Hanno, their other king, attacked him in the fortress with twenty thousand men. But Agathocles routed him, and slew two thousand of his people, and followed him till he was within five miles [4] of Carthage, and there he built another fortress. He harassed and burnt all around, so that the Carthaginians, when on a march from the city, could see the fire and the havoc.

5. It was about this time, that the brother of Agathocles, named Antander, who was left behind at home in the city, came unawares by night upon the forces which were besieging them, and nearly slew them all; and the others fled to their ships. As soon as they came home, and the tidings became known to the Carthaginians, they were so much disheartened, that not only many cities became tributary to Agathocles, but they themselves in crowds, also yielded to him; so likewise king Ophellas, with his people the Cyrenians, sought to him. But Agathocles dealt so unfaithfully with him, that he took him unawares, and put him to death: so also, it afterwards befel himself. If it had not been for that one act of treachery, he from that day might, without trouble, have gained the sovereignty of all the Carthaginians.

4 Castra deinde ad quintum lapidem a Carthagine statuit, ut damna rerum opulentissimarum vastationemque agrorum et incendia villarum de muris ipsius urbis specularentur Haver. p. 229, 11—13.

At the time that he acted so deceitfully, Hamilcar,[5] king of the Carthaginians was coming in peace towards him with all his people. But a disagreement arose between Agathocles and his people, and he himself was slain. After his death the Carthaginians went again with ships to Sicily. When they heard of it, they sent to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and for a while, he assisted them.

Book IV: Chapter VI.

1. Four[6] hundred and eighty-three years after the building of Rome, [Orosius and Alfred B. C. 270: Clinton 264], the Mamertini,[7] a people of Sicily, sent to the Romans for help, that they might withstand the army of the Carthaginians. The Romans then sent to them Appius Claudius their consul with an army. Then, after they had marched together with their people, the Carthaginians fled; and they wondered, as they themselves afterwards said, that they fled before they came near together. Because of this flight, Hanno, king of the Carthaginians, with all his people, became tributaries to the Romans, and every year paid them two hundred talents of silver: each talent weighed eighty pounds.

2. Then the Romans besieged the elder Hannibal, king of the Carthaginians, in Agrigentum, a city of Sicily, till he almost died with hunger. Then the other king of the Carthaginians, named Hanno, came to his assistance with a fleet, and was there routed. The Romans afterwards stormed the fortress, and Hannibal the king fled out by night with a few men, and gathered eighty ships, and pillaged the coasts of the Romans. In revenge the Romans first determined to build ships, which Duilius, their consul, so speedily carried out, that in sixty days, after the timber was cut, a hundred and thirty were ready, both with mast and sail. The other consul, called Cornelius Asina, went with sixteen ships to the island Lipara to a private conference with Hannibal, when he slew him. When Duilius, the other consul, heard of it, he went to the island with thirty ships and slew three

5 Oros. has—Bomilcar, dux Poenorum. Haver. p. 230, 8.

6 Oros. l. IV: c. 7. Haver. p. 232—234.

7 The Mamertini were an Oscan people from Campania, who migrated to Messana or Messena, on the N. E. coast of Sicily, under the protection of the god Mamers, or Mars, about B. C. 312. They were conquered by the Carthaginians; and to procure their freedom they applied to the Romans for help. Thus, the Mamertini of Sicily were the cause of the first Punic war, B. C. 264—242.

hundred of Hannibal's people, and took thirty of his ships, and sank thirteen in the sea, and put [Hannibal] himself to flight.

3. Afterwards the Poeni, who are the Carthaginians, set Hanno over their ships, as Hannibal had been before, that he might guard the islands of Sardinia and Corsica against the Romans. He soon after fought against them with a fleet and was slain.

4. In the year[8] after this, Calatinus the consul went with an army to Camarina a city of Sicily; but the Carthaginians had blockaded the way, where he should pass over the mountain. Then Calatinus took three hundred men with him and went over the mountain at a secret place, and the men feared that they were all fighting against him, and left the way without defence, so that the army afterwards went through there. All the three hundred men were slain there, save the consul alone: he came away wounded.

5. After that, the Carthaginians again agreed that the old Hannibal should wage war on the Romans with ships; but again, when he would pillage there, he was soon put to flight, and in his flight his own companions stoned him to death.

6. Then the consul Atilius laid waste Lipara and Malta, islands of Sicily. Afterwards, the Romans went to Africa with three hundred[9] and thirty ships. Then they sent their two kings Hanno and Hamilcar against them with ships, and there they were both routed, and the Romans took from them eighty-four ships. Afterwards they stormed their city Clupea, and pillaged even to their chief city Carthage.

7. Then the consul Regulus undertook the Carthaginian war. When he first marched thither with an army, he encamped near a river, which was called Bagrada. Then, there came out of the river a serpent which was immensely large, and killed all the men who came near the water.

Of the Serpent. Then Regulus gathered all the bowmen that were in the company, that they might overcome it with arrows; but, when they struck or shot it, the arrows glided on its scales,

8 Oros. l. IV: c. 8. Haver. p. 235—237.

9 Oros. says, Cum trecentis triginta navibus, Haver. p. 236, 2.—Both the Cotton and the Lauderdale MSS. in the table of contents give þrim, three: here, by some mistake, the A. S. is feower, four.

as if they were smooth iron. He then ordered the balistas, with which they broke walls when they fought against a fortress,—that with these, they should throw at it cross-ways. Then, at the first throw, one of its ribs was broken, so that afterwards it had not power to defend itself, but was soon after killed; because it is the nature of serpents, that their power and their motion are in their ribs, as that of other[1] reptiles is in their feet. After it was killed, he told them to flay it, and to take the hide to Rome, and there to stretch it out as a wonder, because it was a hundred and twenty feet long.

8. Afterwards [B. C. 255], Regulus fought against three Carthaginian kings in one battle,—against the two Hasdrubals, and the third, called Hamilcar, who was in Sicily, [and] fetched to help them. In that battle seventeen thousand Carthaginians were slain, and five thousand[2] made prisoners, and eleven elephants taken, and eighty two towns yielded to him.

9. When[3] the Carthaginians had been put to flight, they wished for peace from Regulus; but, after they understood that he would have unreasonable tribute for the peace, they said that they would rather, that death should take them away in this kind of strife, than that they should have peace on such hard terms. They, therefore, sent for help both to Gaul and Spain, and also to Lacedæmon, to Xantippus the king. When they were all gathered together, they put all their military forces under Xantippus; and he then led the troops, whither they had before agreed, and placed two troops secretly, one on each side of him, and the third behind him, and told the two troops, when he himself with the first part should flee towards the hindermost, that they on each side, should then come across upon the army of Regulus. There thirty thousand of the Romans were slain, and Regulus was taken with five hundred men. This victory of the Carthaginians happened in the tenth year of their war with the Romans. Soon afterwards, Xantippus went back to his own kingdom, and the Romans were afraid, because by his skill they had been overreached in their engagement.

10. Then, Æmilius Paulus the consul went into Africa with

1 A. S. oðera creopendra wyrma, other creeping worms.

2 Oros. has—Capta autem quinque millia. The Lauderdale MS. has VX, that is V from X.

3 Oros. l. IV: c. 9. Haver. p. 238—241.

three hundred ships to the island of Clupea, and there the Carthaginians came against him with as many ships, and were there routed, and five thousand of their people slain, and thirty of their ships taken, and a hundred and four sunk. Of the Romans one thousand one hundred were slain, and nine of their ships sunk. They built a fortress on the island; and there the Carthaginians sought them again, with their two kings, who were both named Hanno. There, nine thousand of them were slain, and the others put to flight. The Romans, when they were going home, so overloaded their ships with the booty, that two hundred and thirty of them sank, and seventy were left, and with difficulty saved by casting out almost all that was in them.

11. Afterwards, Hamilcar, king of the Carthaginians, went into Numidia and Mauritania, and pillaged them, and made them tributaries, because they formerly yielded to Regulus. About three years [4] after this [B. C. 253], Servilius Cæpio and Sempronius Blæsus, the consuls, went with three hundred and sixty ships into Africa and stormed many towns of the Carthaginians, and afterwards went homewards with great booty, and so overloaded their ships again, that one hundred and fifty of them sank.

12. Then Cotta the consul went into Sicily and pillaged it all. There was so great a slaughter on both sides, that, at last, they could not bury them.

13. In the days of the consul Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, and of Caius Furius Pacilus [B. C. 251], Hasdrubal, the new king of the Carthaginians, came to the island Lilybæum with thirty thousand horse, and one hundred and thirty elephants, and soon after fought with Metellus the consul. But, after Metellus had overcome the elephants, he then also easily put the other forces to flight. After the flight Hasdrubal was slain by his own troops.

14 The [5] Carthaginians were then so overcome, and so troubled among themselves, that they found they had no power; but they agreed that they would seek peace from the Romans. Then they sent Regulus, the consul, whom they had with them in bondage for five years, and he swore to them, in the name of his gods, that he would both deliver the message they had given him, and also again tell them the answer. He did so, and announced

4 Tertio anno. Oros. IV, 6 § 12, Haver. p. 240, l.

5 Oros. l. IV: c. 10. Haver. p. 241,—243.

that each nation should give up to the other, all the men whom they had taken in war, and afterwards keep peace between them. After he had announced it, he besought them, not to agree to aught of the message, and said that it would be a great disgrace to them to exchange on such even terms; and also that it was not becoming, that they should think of themselves so meanly, as if they were like them. Then, after these words, they prayed that he would stay at home with them, and take the government. Then he answered them, and said that it must not be that he should be a ruler of nations, who had before been a slave to a people. When he came back to the Carthaginians, his companions said how he had delivered their message, then they cut the two nerves on the two sides of his eyes, so that afterwards he could not sleep, till pining away he lost his life.

15. Afterwards [B. C. 250], Atilius Regulus and Manlius Vulso, the consuls, went against the Carthaginians to the island Lilybæum with two hundred ships, and there besieged a fortress. Then the young king, Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, came upon them unawares, as they were set round the fortress; and there, all were slain save a few. Then the consul Claudius went against the Carthaginians again, and Hannibal came out against them on the sea, and slew all but those on board thirty ships, which fled to the island Lilybæum: there were slain nine thousand, and twenty thousand taken.

16. Afterwards, the consul Caius Junius set out for Africa, and perished at sea with his whole fleet. In the following year, Hannibal sent a fleet against Rome, and there they ravaged to excess.

17. Then the consul Lutatius, went against Africa with three hundred ships to Sicily, where the Carthaginians fought against him. Lutatius was there wounded through one knee. On the morrow, Hanno came with Hannibal's army, and there Lutatius, although he was wounded, fought against him, and put Hanno to flight, and followed after him, till he came to the city Erycina. Soon afterwards the Carthaginians came to him again with an army, and were put to flight, and two thousand slain.

18. Then,[6] the Carthaginians a second time sued for peace to the Romans; and they gave it to them on the ground that they

6 Oros. l. IV: c. 11. Haver. p. 243,—244, 8.

should not hold Sicily or Sardinia; and should, moreover, pay them three thousand talents each year.

Book IV: Chapter VII.

1. Five[7] hundred and seven years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred B. C. 246], there happened an immense fire among the Romans, and no man knew whence it came. When the fire left them, the river Tiber was so flooded as it never was before, nor [has been] since; so that it swept away all the people's food, that was in the city, yea, even in their houses. At the time, when Titus Sempronius and Caius Gracchus were consuls in Rome, they fought against the people Falisci, and slew twelve thousand of them.

2. In[8] that year, the Gauls,[9] who are now called Longobards, were at enmity with the Romans; and, soon afterwards, led their armies together. Three thousand of the Romans were slain, in their first battle; and, in the following year, four thousand of the Gauls were slain, and two thousand taken. When the Romans went homewards, they would not have a triumph before their consuls, as was their custom, when they gained a victory; because they fled at the former battle; and they afterwards for many years did that in various victories.

3. When Titus Manlius Torquatus, and Caius Atilius Bulbus were consuls in Rome [B. C. 235], the Sardinians, as the Carthaginians advised them, began to make war on the Romans, and were soon overpowered. Afterwards the Romans waged war on the Carthaginians, because they had broken the peace. They then sent their ambassadors twice to Rome for peace; and could not obtain it. Then, for the third time, they sent ten of their oldest senators, and they could not obtain it. For the fourth time, they sent Hanno their most unworthy officer and he obtained it.

4. "Truly," said Orosius, "now we are come to the good times with which the Romans taunt us; and to the plenty of which they are always boasting before us, that ours are not like those. But then, let any one ask them, after how many years the peace was made, from the time they first had war with many nations?

7 Oros. l. IV: c. 11. Haver. p. 244, 8—245, 5.
8 Oros. l. IV: c. 12, Haver. p. 245—247.
9 Oros. has Galli Cisalpini. Haver. p. 245, 19.

It is after four hundred and fifty years. Let him then ask again, how long the peace lasted? It was one year.

5. Soon after, in the following year, the Gauls waged war on the Romans; and, on the other side, the Carthaginians. "What think you now, Romans, how the peace was made sure, whether it be very like one taking a drop of oil, and dropping it on a large fire, and thinking to quench it, when it is much more likely, that, when he thinks he quenches it, he nourishes it still more. It was so then with the Romans, when they had peace for one year, that, under that peace, they came to the greatest strife."

6. In their first war[1] Hamilcar, king of the Carthaginians, when he wished to march against the Romans with an army, was then surrounded by the Spaniards and slain. In that year, the Illyrians slew the ambassadors of the Romans. Then Fulvius Postumius, the consul, on that account, led an army against them, and though he had the victory, many were slain on both sides.

7. Soon afterwards, in the following year, the Roman priests taught such new opinions, as they had very often done before, when people were warring against them on three sides,—not only the Gauls on the south of the mountains, but the Gauls on the north of the mountains, and also the Carthaginians,—that they should sacrifice human beings to their gods, and that should be a Gaulish man and a Gaulish woman. Then the Romans, by the direction of their priests, buried them alive. But God wreaked vengeance on them, as he always did before, when they sacrificed men: they paid with their living for the murder of the guiltless. That was first seen, in the battle which they had with the Gauls,—though there were eight hundred thousand of their own force, besides other nations which they had drawn over to them,—when they soon fled, because their consul was slain, and three thousand of their own people. That seemed to them as the greatest slaughter, which they often before held as nothing. At their second battle, nine thousand of the Gauls were slain.

8. In the third year after this, Manlius Torquatus and Fulvius Flaccus were consuls in Rome. They fought against the Gauls and slew three thousand of them,[2] and took six thousand.

1 Oros. l. IV: c. 13. Haver. p. 248—251.

2 Oros. Viginti tria millia. Haver. p. 250, 10.

9. In the following year, many wonders were seen. One was, that in the wood, Picenum, a spring welled with blood; and in the country of Thrace, they saw, as if the heaven were burning; and in the city, Ariminum, it was night till mid-day; and there was so great an earth-quake that, in the islands of Caria and Rhodes, there were great ruins, and the Colossus fell down.

10. This year, the consul Flaminius disregarded the saying, which the soothsayers had falsely told him, that he ought not to go to war with the Gauls; but he carried it through, and ended it with honour. There seven thousand of the Gauls were slain, and seventeen thousand taken. Afterwards, Claudius the consul fought against the Gauls, and slew thirty thousand of them; and he himself fought with the king single-handed, and slew him, and took the city, Milan. After that, the Istrians waged war on the Romans; then they sent their consuls, Cornelius and Minucius, against them. There a great slaughter was made on both sides, though the Istrians were brought under the Romans.

Book IV: Chapter VIII.

1. Five[3] hundred and thirty-three years after the building of Rome [Alfred B. C. 220: Orosius and Clinton 219], Hannibal, king of the Carthaginians, beset Saguntum, a city of Spain, because they had always kept at peace with the Romans; and settled there for eight months, till he had killed them all by hunger and overthrown the city, though the Romans sent their ambassadors to him, and begged that he would leave off the siege; but he so contemptuously slighted them, that he would not bear the sight of them in that war, and also in many others. After that, Hannibal shewed the malice and the hatred, that he swore before his father, when he was a boy of nine years old, that he would never become a friend of the Romans.

2. When Publius Cornelius Scipio, and Titus Sempronius Longus were consuls [B. C. 218], Hannibal rushed in war over the mountains called the Pyrenees, which are between France and Spain. Afterwards he went over many nations, till he came to the mountains [named] the Alps, and there also rushed over, though he was often withstood in battles, and made the way over mount Jove. So, when he came to the separate rock, he ordered

3 Oros. l. IV. c. 14. Haver. p. 252—253.

it to be heated with fire, and then to be hewed with mattocks; and with the utmost toil went over the mountains. Of his army there were one [hundred][4] thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse.

3. When he had marched on the level ground till he came to the river Ticinus, then Scipio, the consul, came against him there, and was dangerously wounded, and would also have been slain, if his son had not saved him, by standing before him till he took to flight. There a great slaughter of the Romans was made. Their next battle was at the river Trebia; and again the Romans were beaten and routed. When Sempronius, their other consul who was gone into Sicily with an army, heard of it, he went thence, and both the consuls came with an army against Hannibal; and their meeting was again at the river Trebia, and the Romans were also put to flight, and very much slaughtered, and Hannibal wounded. Afterwards Hannibal went over the mountain Barda [one of the Apennines[5]], although there was about that time, so great a snow storm, that many of the horses perished, and all the elephants but one; and the men themselves could hardly bear the cold. But he went boldly over the mountain, chiefly because he knew, that Flaminius, the consul, thought that he might without fear abide in the winter-quarters in which he was then, with the army that he had gathered, and undoubtedly thought that there was no one, who durst or could begin the journey about that time for the unwonted cold. As soon as Hannibal came to that land, he halted in a secret place, near the other army, and sent some of his army throughout the land to burn and to pillage; so that the consul thought that all the troops were spread throughout the land, and were marching thitherward, and thought that he should surprise them in the plundering; and led the army without order, as he knew the other was, till Hannibal came upon him crossways with the force that he had together, and slew the consul and twenty-five thousand of the other people, and took six thousand; and two thousand of Hannibal's people were slain. Then, the consul Scipio, brother of the other Scipio, was fighting many battles in Spain and took Mago, a general of the Carthaginians.

4 Centum millium peditum. Haver. p. 252, 17.

5 In summo Apennino. Haver. p. 253, 10.

4. Many [6] wonders happened at this time. The first was, that the sun was as if it were all lessened. The second was, that they saw, as if the sun and the moon were fighting. These wonders happened in the land of Arpi. In Sardinia they saw two shields sweat blood. The people of the Falisci saw the heaven, as if it were opened. And to the people of Antium it seemed, when they had reaped their corn, and filled their baskets, that all the ears were bloody.

Book IV: Chapter IX.

1. Five [7] hundred and forty years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred B. C. 213: Clinton B. C. 216], when Lucius Æmilius Paullus and Caius Terentius Varro were consuls, they marched with an army against Hannibal; but he misled them by the same stratagem, as he did at their former meeting, and also by the new one that they knew not before, which was, that he left some of his people in a strong place, and with some he went against the consuls; and, as soon as they came together, he fled towards those who were behind, and the consuls followed after him, and slew his people, and thought that, on that day, they should have the greatest victory. But, as soon as Hannibal came to his forces, he routed all the consuls, and made so great a slaughter of the Romans as never had been made, in one battle, neither before nor since,—that was forty-four thousand, and slew two of their consuls, and took the third; and, on that day, he might have come to power over all the Romans, if he had gone forward to the city. Afterwards, Hannibal sent three measures of golden rings [8] home to Carthage, in token of his victory. By the rings, they might know, what Roman nobility had fallen; because it was a custom with them, in those days, that no one might wear a golden ring, unless he was of noble race.

2. After that battle, the Romans were so much cast down, that Cæcilius Metellus, who was then their consul, also all their senate, had thought that they should leave Rome, yea, even all Italy. And they would have done so, if Scipio, who was the eldest of the warriors, had not withheld them, for he drew his

6 Oros. l. IV: c. 15. Haver. p. 254, 255.

7 Oros. l. IV: c. 16. Haver. p. 256—259.

8 Tres modios annulorum aureorum misit. Haver. p. 256, 18. A modius contained 1 gallon, 7.8576 pints: the three modii would, therefore, be a little less than 3 English pecks.

sword, and swore that he would rather kill himself than leave his father-land; and said also, that he would follow after every one of them as his enemy, who would speak a word, that he thought of leaving Rome. With that, he forced them all to take oaths, that they would altogether either fall in their own land, or live in it. They then chose a Dictator, who was called Decimus Junius, that he should be ruler over the consuls. He [raised recruits from those who were] but seventeen years old.[9] They chose Scipio as consul, and they freed all the men, that they had in bondage, on condition, that they took oaths, that they would serve them in the wars. Some of them who would not free theirs,—or who did not think it fit, that they should,—the consuls paid for with their public money, and then set them free; and all those, who before were condemned, or had forfeited their freedom, they forgave it all, on condition that they should give their full service in the wars. There were six thousand of these men, when they were gathered together. All Italy forsook the Romans, and turned to Hannibal, because they had no hope that the Romans would ever regain their power. Then Hannibal went to Beneventum, and they came to meet him, and turned to him.

3. Afterwards, the Romans collected four legions of their people, and sent Lucius Posthumius, their consul, against the Gauls, whom they now call Longobards, and he was there slain and many of the people with him. Then the Romans chose Claudius Marcellus as consul, who was before the colleague of Scipio. He went secretly with a powerful force, on that end of Hannibal's army, in which he himself was, and slew many of his people, and put Hannibal himself to flight. Then had Marcellus made it known to the Romans, that they could put Hannibal to flight, though they before questioned, whether they could rout him by any human force.

4. During these wars, the two Scipios, who were then consuls, and also brothers, were in Spain with an army, and fought against Hasdrubal, uncle of Hannibal, and slew him; and of his army they partly slew and partly took thirty thousand. He was also another king of the Carthaginians.

5. Afterwards Centenius Penula, the consul, begged that the

9 Qui, delectu habito ab annis decem et septem. Haver. p. 257, 5, 6.

senate would give him troops, that he might attack Hannibal in battle; and he was there slain and eight thousand of his people. Then Sempronius Gracchus, the consul, went again with an army against Hannibal, and was put to flight; and a great slaughter was made of his army.

6. "How can the Romans now," said Orosius, "in truth say, that they had then better times, than they have now, when they had undertaken, at the same time, so many wars?—One was in Spain; another in Macedonia; a third in Cappadocia; a fourth at home against Hannibal; and they were also very often put to flight and disgraced. But it was very evident, that they were then better warriors, than they are now; that they, however, would never shrink from the war, though they often stood on a small and hopeless foundation, so that, at last, they had the mastery over all those, who, before, nearly had it over them.

Book IV: Chapter X.

1. It was[1] five hundred and forty-three years after the building of Rome [Orosius, Alfred, Clinton B. C. 210], that Claudius Marcellus, the consul, went with a fleet to Sicily, and took Syracuse, their wealthiest city, though he could not take it in the former expedition, when he besieged it, because of the skill of Archimedes, an officer of the Sicilians.

2. In the tenth year, after Hannibal waged war in Italy, he went from the country of Campania till within three miles of Rome, and encamped by the river, called Anio, to the greatest fear of all the Romans, as from the behaviour of the men, it might be understood, how frightened and astonished they were, when the women ran with stones towards the walls, and said that they would defend the city, if the men durst not. On the next morning, Hannibal marched to the city, and drew up his army before the gate, called Collina. But the consuls did not think themselves so cowardly, as the women had before spoken of them, that they durst not defend themselves within the city; but they set themselves in array against Hannibal without the gate. But when they wished to engage, then there came such overwhelming rain that not one of them could wield any weapon; and, therefore, they separated. When the rain ceased, they went together again, and

1 Oros. l. IV: c. 17. Haver. p. 259—262.

again there was another such rain, and they again separated. Then Hannibal understood, and said within himself, though he was wishing and hoping for power over the Romans, that God did not grant it.

3. "Tell me now, O Romans!" said Orosius, "when or where it came to pass that, before Christianity, either you or others could have rain by praying to any gods, as they could afterwards, since Christianity came, and may now have much good from our Saviour, Christ, when they have need. It was however very evident that the same Christ, who afterwards turned them to Christianity, sent them that rain as a guard, though they were not worthy of it, to the end that they themselves, and many others through them, might come to Christianity and to the true belief."

4. In the days when this happened, two consuls were slain in Spain: they were brothers, and were both named Scipio. They were deceived by Hasdrubal, king of the Carthaginians.—At that time Quintus Fulvius, the consul, so frightened all the leading men, that were in Campania, that they killed themselves with poison. He slew all the leading men that were in Capua because he thought they would be a help to Hannibal, though the senate had strictly forbidden that deed.

5. When the Romans were told, that the consuls were slain in Spain, the senate could not find a consul among them, who durst march into Spain with an army, but the son of one of the consuls, named Scipio, who was a youth. He earnestly begged that they would give him troops, that he might lead an army into Spain; and he chiefly undertook that expedition, because he thought that he could revenge his father and his uncle, though he strictly hid it from the senate. But the Romans were so earnest for the expedition, although they were much straitened in their treasure which they had for public use, because of the wars which they had on four sides, that they gave him all that they had in aid of the expedition, but that each woman kept one ounce of gold, and one pound of silver, and each man one ring and one collar.[2]

6. When[3] Scipio had marched to the new city, Carthage, which they now call Cordova, he besieged Hannibal's brother;

2 Bullasque sibi ac filiis, Oros. Haver p. 262, 10. The bulla was an ornament worn round the neck, chiefly by children and young men.

3 Oros. l. IV: c. 18. Haver. p. 263—267.

and because he came upon the townspeople unawares, he, in a little time, brought them under his power by hunger, so that the king himself fell into his hands, and of all the others, some he slew,—some he bound, and sent the king bound to Rome, and many of the chief senators with him. Within the city much treasure was found: some of it Scipio sent to Rome,—some he ordered to be dealt out to the army.

7. At that time, Lævinus, the consul, went from Macedonia to Sicily with a fleet; and there overcame the city, Agrigentum, and took Hanno, their leader. Afterwards forty towns fell into his hands; and twenty-six he overcame by fighting. At that time, Hannibal slew Cneius Fulvius the consul in Italy, and eight thousand with him. Afterwards, Hannibal fought with the consul Marcellus, for three days: on the first day the people fell on both sides alike; the next day, Hannibal had the victory; the third day, the consul had [it]. Then Fabius Maximus, the consul, went with a fleet to the city, Tarentum, unknown to Hannibal, and stormed the city by night, so that they, who were therein, knew it not; and slew Hannibal's general, Carthalo, and thirty thousand with him.

8. In the year afterwards, Hannibal stole on Claudius Marcellus, the consul, where he was placed with the army, and slew him and his people with him. In those days Scipio routed Hasdrubal, Hannibal's other brother, in Spain; and eighty towns of this people fell into his hands. So hateful were the Carthaginian people to Scipio, that when he had routed them, though he sold some of them for money, he would not keep the money, which was given for them, but gave it to other people. In the same year Hannibal again over-reached two consuls, Marcellus and Crispinus, and slew them.

9. When Claudius Nero, and Marcus Livius Salinator were consuls, Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, went with an army from Spain into Italy to help Hannibal. Then the consuls heard of that before Hannibal, and came against him, when he had passed over the mountains, and there they had a long fight ere either of the armies fled. That Hasdrubal was so long in fleeing, was rather owing to this reason, because he had elephants with him; and the Romans had the victory. Hasdrubal was slain there, and fifty three thousand of his army, and five thousand taken.

Then the consuls gave orders to cut off the head of Hasdrubal, and to throw it before Hannibal's camp. When it was known to Hannibal, that his brother was slain, and so many of the people with him, then he first had a fear of the Romans, and he went into the land of the Brutii. Then Hannibal and the Romans had one year of stillness between them, because very many of both the armies died of fever. In that stillness, Scipio over-ran all Spain, and afterwards came to Rome, and gave advice to the Romans, that they should go in ships into the country of Hannibal,. Then the Romans sent him to be the leader of the expedition; and, as soon as he came upon Carthage, Hanno, the king, came against him unwarily, and was slain there. At that time, Hannibal fought with Sempronius, the consul, in Italy, and drove him into Rome.

10. After that, the Carthaginians marched against Scipio with all their force, and encamped in two places near the city, which is called Utica: in one were the Carthaginians,—in the other the Numidians, who were to help them, and had thought, that they should there have winter-quarters. But when Scipio learned that the forewarders were set far from the fastness, and also that no others were nearer, he secretly led his army between the warders, and sent a few men to one of their fastnesses, with the view of setting fire to one end of it, that then almost all, who were within it, might run towards the fire with the thought of quenching it. Then Scipio, in the mean time, almost slew them all. When the others, who were in the other fastness, found that out, they ran thitherward in crowds to help the others; and Scipio was, all that night, until day, slaying them as they came; and afterwards, throughout all the day, he slew them fleeing. Their two kings Hasdrubal and Syphax fled to the city Carthage, and gathered the troops, which they had there, and came against Scipio, and were again chased into Carthage. Some fled to the island, Cirta; and Scipio sent a fleet after them, so that some they slew,—some they took. Syphax, their other king, was taken, and was afterwards sent to Rome in chains.

11. In[4] these battles, the Carthaginians were so cast down, that afterwards they reckoned themselves as nothing against the Romans; and sent into Italy for Hannibal, and prayed that he

4 Oros. l. IV: c. 19. Haver. p. 267—269.

would come and help them. He granted that prayer weeping, because he must leave Italy, in the thirteenth year after he first came into it; and he slew all his men, who were of those countries, and would not [go] over the sea with him.

12. When he sailed homeward, he told a man to climb up the mast, and to look whether he knew the land, towards which they were [sailing]. Then he said, that he saw a broken tomb such as it was their custom to build of stones above ground for rich men. Then, after their heathenish custom, that answer was very unpleasant to Hannibal; and he told him his dislike to the answer, and ordered all the army with their ships to turn from the place, which he had before thought of, and came to the town, Leptis, and quickly went to Carthage, and begged that he might speak with Scipio, and wished that he might be able to make peace between the nations. But their private conference, which they held together between the armies, brought on a quarrel, and they prepared for battle. Soon after they came together, Hannibal's army was put to flight, and twenty thousand slain, and five hundred and eighty elephants, and Hannibal fled with three others to the fortress, Adrumetum. The citizens then sent to Hannibal from Carthage, and said that it would be best for them to seek for peace from the Romans. When Cneius Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Ælius Pætus were consuls, [B. C. 201], peace was granted to the Carthaginians by Scipio with the Senate's consent, on the ground that the islands of Sicily and Sardinia should belong to the Romans, and that every year they should pay them as many talents of silver as they then gave them; and Scipio ordered five hundred of their ships to be drawn up and burnt, and afterwards went homeward to Rome.—When they brought the triumph towards him, there came with it Terentius, the great Carthaginian poet, who bore a hat on his head, because the Romans had lately enacted, that, when they had overcome any people, those who might wear a hat, might then have both life and freedom.

Book IV: Chapter XI.

1. Five[5] hundred and fifty years after the building of Rome [Orosius B. C. 207: Alfred 203: Clinton 201], the second war of the Carthaginians and the Romans was ended, which they

5 Oros. l. IV: c. 20, Haver. p. 269—276.

were carrying on for fourteen years. But the Romans soon after began another against the Macedonians. The consuls then cast lots, which of them should first undertake that war. It was then allotted to Quintius Flamininus, and he in that war fought many battles, and very often had the victory, until Philip, their king, asked for peace, and the Romans granted it; and he then went to the Lacedæmonians, and Quintius Flamininus forced both the kings to give their sons for hostages. Philip, king of the Macedonians, gave his son Demetrius, and Nabis, king of the Lacedæmonians, gave his son Armenes. The consul gave orders to all the Roman men, whom Hannibal had sold into Greece, that they should all shave their heads, as a token that he loosed them from slavery.

2. At that time, the people of the Isubres, the Boii, and the Cænomani gathered themselves together by the advice of Hamilcar, brother of Hannibal, whom he had formerly left behind him in Italy; and they afterwards marched into the lands of Placentia, and Cremona, and laid them altogether waste. Then the Romans sent thither Claudius Fulvius, the consul, and he with difficulty overcame them. Afterwards Flamininus, the consul, fought against Philip, king of the Macedonians, and against the Thracians, and against the Illyrians, and against many other nations, in one battle, and put them all to flight. There eight thousand of the Macedonians were slain, and six thousand taken. After that, Sempronius, the consul, was slain in Spain with all his army. At that time Marcellus, the consul was put to flight in the land of Etruria, when Furius, the other consul, came to help him, and gained the victory; and they afterwards laid waste all that land.

3. When Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and Marcus Porcius Cato were consuls [B. C. 195], Antiochus, king of the Syrians, began to wage war against the Romans, and went with an army out of Asia into Europe. At that time, the Romans ordered, that they should take Hannibal, king of the Carthaginians, and afterwards bring him to Rome. When he heard of it, he fled to Antiochus, king of the Syrians, whilst he was abiding in doubt, whether he should dare to wage war against the Romans, as he had begun. But Hannibal led him to carry on the war longer. The Romans then sent Scipio Africanus their ambassader to Antiochus, when he told Hannibal to speak with the ambassadors, and answer them. When they did not agree to any peace, afterwards Scipio,

the consul came with Glabrio, the other consul, and slew forty thousand of the army of Antiochus. In the year following this, Scipio fought against Hannibal out at sea, and had the victory. When Antiochus heard of it, he asked Scipio for peace and sent home to him his son, who was in his power, though he knew not how he came to him, unless, as some men said, he had been taken in pillaging or on guard.

4. In the farther Spain, Æmilius, the consul, was cut off with all his army by the Lusitanian nation. In those days, Lucius Bæbius, the consul, was cut off with all his army, by the Etruscan people; so that there was no one left to tell it at Rome.

5. Afterwards Fulvius, the consul, went with an army into Greece, to the mountains which they call Olympus, where many of the people had fled to a fastness. Then, in the battle, in which they wished to break into the fastness, many of the Romans were shot dead with arrows, and struck off with stones. When the consul understood, that they could not break into the fastness, he then gave orders to some of the soldiers, that they should go away from the fastness, and the rest he told that they should flee towards the others, when the battle was hottest, that they might thus entice those out, who were within it. In the flight, which the townspeople afterwards made towards the fastness, forty thousand of them were slain, and those that were left there, came into his hands. In those days, Marcius, the consul, marched with an army into the land of Liguria, and was put to flight, and four thousand of his army slain.

6. When Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Quintus Fabius Labeo were consuls [B. C. 183], Philip, king of Macedon, killed the Roman ambassadors, and sent Demetrius, his son, to the senate, that he might appease their anger; and, though he did so, when he came home, Philip ordered his other son to kill him with poison, because he accused him of speaking of him unbecomingly to the senate. At the same time, Hannibal by his own will killed himself with poison. At that time appeared the island Volcano, near Sicily, which was not seen before then. At that time [B. C. 179] Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the consul, fought against the farther Spaniards, and had a victory.

7. When Lepidus and Mucius were consul, the most powerful nation, which was then called Basternæ and is now called

Hungarian, would wage war on the Romans: they wished to come to the help of Perseus, king of the Macedonians. The river Danube was then so much frozen over, that they believed they might march over the ice; but there they almost all perished.

8. When Publius Licinius Crassus, and Caius Cassius Longinus were consuls [B. C. 171], the Macedonian war arose, which may well be reckoned among the greatest wars; because, in those days, all the Italians were helping the Romans, and also Ptolemy, king of Egypt,—and Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia,—and Eumenes, king of Asia,—and Masinissa, king of Numidia. And Perseus, king of Macedonia, had all the Thracians, and Illyrians to help him. Soon after they came together, the Romans were put to flight; and soon after that, in a second battle, they were also put to flight. After these battles Perseus, all that year, sorely harassed the Romans, and afterwards he marched upon the Illyrians, and stormed their city Sulcanum, which belonged to the Romans; and many of the people,—some he killed,—some he led into Macedonia. Afterwards, Lucius Æmilius, the consul, fought with Perseus and overcame him, and slew twenty thousand of his people; and he himself fled at that time, and was soon afterwards taken, and brought to Rome, and there slain. There were many battles in those days in many lands, of all which it is now too tiresome to speak.

Book IV: Chapter XII.

1. Six[6] hundred years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred B. C. 153: Clinton 151], when Licinius Lucullus, and Aulus Posthumius Albinus were consuls, the Romans had the greatest fear of the Celtiberians, a people of Spain: and they had not any man that durst go thither with an army, but Scipio the consul, who was called Africanus after that expedition, because he then went a second time thither, when no other durst; although the Romans had agreed, a little before, that he should go into Asia; but he had many battles in Spain with various victories. In those days, Servius Galba, a colleague of Scipio, fought against the Lusitanians, a people of Spain, and was routed.

2. In those days, the gods of the Romans gave orders to the

6 Oros. l. IV: c. 21. Haver. p. 276—278.

senate to build them a theatre for plays; but Scipio often sent orders home that they should not begin it; and also, when he came home from Spain, he himself said, that it would be the greatest folly, and the greatest mistake. Then the Romans, by his chiding and by his teaching, would not listen to the gods; and all the money, that they had there gathered together, which they would have given for the pillars and for the work, they gave for other things.—Now may those Christians be ashamed, who love and follow such idolatry, when he so much scorned it, who was not a Christian, and should have furthered it, according to their own custom.

3. Afterwards, Servius Galba marched again upon the Lusitanians, and made peace with them, and under that peace deceived them. That deed did wellnigh the greatest harm to the Romans, so that no people, that were under them, could trust to them.

Book IV: Chapter XIII.

1. Six[7] hundred and two years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred B. C. 151: Clinton 149], when Lucius Marcius Censorinus, and Marcus Manilius were consuls, then happened the third war of the Romans and Carthaginians; and the senate agreed among themselves, that, if they overcame them a third time, they would overthrow all Carthage. Again they sent Scipio thither, and he routed them in their first battle, and drove them into Carthage. They then begged for peace from the Romans, but Scipio would not grant it to them on any other ground, than that they all gave up their weapons to him, and left the city, and that no one should settle within ten miles of it. After that was done, they said they would rather perish together with the city, than that it should be overthrown without them. Those who had iron, again made themselves weapons; and those who had not, made them,—some of silver,—some of wood, and set the two Hasdrubals over them, as their kings.

2. "Now," said Orosius, "I will tell, what sort [of a city] it was:—Its circumference was thirty miles; and it was all surrounded by sea, but three miles. The wall was twenty feet thick and forty ells high; and there was within another less fastness, on a cliff of the sea,[8] which was two miles [in extent].[9] The

7 Oros. l. IV: c. 22. Haver. p. 279, 280. 8 Imminens mari. Haver. p. 280, 5. 9 The

Carthaginians at that time guarded the city, although Scipio had before broken down much of the wall, and afterwards he went homeward.

3. When Cneus Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Mummius were consuls [B. C. 146], Scipio went a third time into Africa, because he wished to overthrow Carthage. When he came thither, he was fighting against the city for six days, till the citizens begged that they might be their servants, since they could not defend themselves. Then Scipio ordered all the women first to go out, of whom there were twenty-six thousand; and then the men, of whom there were thirty thousand. Hasdrubal, the king, killed himself, and his wife with her two sons burnt themselves because of the king's death. Scipio ordered all the city to be overthrown, and every hewn stone to be broken to pieces, that they might not afterwards [be used] for any wall. The city was burning within for sixteen days, about seven hundred years after it was first built.

4. Then the third war of the Carthaginians and the Romans was ended, in the fourth year after it was first begun; although the Romans had before a long consultation about it, whether it was more reasonable for them utterly to destroy the city, that they ever after might have peace on that side, or they should let it stand, to the end that war might again arise from thence, because they dreaded, if they did not sometimes wage war, that they would too soon become drowsy and slothful.

5. "So that, to you, Romans, it is now again made known, since Christianity came," said Orosius, "that ye have lost the whetstone of your elders, of your wars, and of your bravery; for ye are now fat without and lean within; but your elders were lean without and fat within, of a strong and firm mind. I also know not," said he, "how useful I may be at the time that I speak these words, but that I may lose my pains. It is also desirable that a man briskly rub the softest malmstone,† if he think of making it

A. S. has—twegra mila heah, two miles high! But Orosius only speaks of its superficial extent. "Arx . . . paulo amplius quam duo millia passuum tenebat. Haver. p. 280, 3.

* Oros. l. IV: c. 23. Haver. p. 281—283.

† The late Dr Ingram, President of Trinity College Oxford, in his notes, written in his copy of Orosius, and left with his other books, to his College, states—"There is a kind of stone, which is still called in Wiltshire, *Malmstone*, of which there is great abundance in that county,—a county well known to king Alfred,—the theatre of his most glorious battles, etc." The Wiltshire and Oxfordshire *Malm-stone* is chalk and other friable stone [*Plot.* Nat. Hist.

the best whetstone. So then, it is now very difficult for me to whet their mind, since it will be neither sharp nor hard.

Book V:[1] Chapter I.[2]

1. "I know," said Orosius, "what the boast of the Romans chiefly is,—because they have overcome many nations, and have often driven many kings before their triumphs. Those are the good times of which they always boast; just as if they now said, that those times were given to them only, and not to all people; but, if they could rightly understand it, then they might know, that they were common to all nations. If they say that those times were good, because they made that one city wealthy, then may they more truly say that they were the most unhappy, because, through the riches of that one city, all the others were made poor.

2. If they do not believe this, let them then ask the Italians, their own countrymen, how they liked those times, when they were slain, and kept down, and sold into other lands for one hundred and twenty years.

3. If they do not believe them, then let them ask the Spaniards, who were bearing the same for two hundred years, and many other nations; and also many kings, how they liked it, when they drove them in yokes, and in chains before their triumphs towards Rome for their own glory; and afterwards they lay in prison until they died. And they harassed many kings, to the end that they should give all that they then had

Oxon. p. 69]. In A. S. mealm signifies, sand or grit. So, in cognate languages, we find the same word. The Goth. malma *sand.* Old Ger. "malm *arena*; malmen, *in pulverem redigere.*" Wachteri Glos. Dutch "Molm *carics, et pulvis ligni cariosi.* Kilian." The modern Ger. has zermalmen, *to crush to pieces.* Mr Thomson observes: "In the north of England maum, and in Scotland maumie, signify *mellow or soft*; but the old Ger, malu, I grind, may shew the reason of the name,—a stone that may be ground down, or pulverized." Wacher says malm *pulvis.* Old Ger. malen *molere.* My friend would have the latter clause rendered thus: "After which, that he think to obtain the best whetstone."—"It is desirable that after he has rubbed off the rust with the malmstone—whatever that was—he should look out for a good whetstone to finish with. The mind of the Romans is figured by a rusty blade—the rebukes of Orosius, like the hard or brisk rubbing, are not enough to give it an edge; he must think of something more effacious as a whetstone, or else his labour will be lost." Such is Mr. T's view,—mine is given above.

1 This Vth book of Alfred contains the Vth and VIth of the original Latin of Orosius. Alfred entirely omits the last four chapters of book V, namely;—21, 22, 23 and 24, For the omissions in Book VI, see book V chapter 11 § 3, 4; note 2, 3.

2 Oros. l. V: c. 1. Haver. p. 284—287. This is the first introductory chapter of Orosius, that Alfred has translated; but he has greatly abridged it.

for their wretched life. But it is, therefore, unknown to us and not to be believed, because we are born in that peace, which they could hardly buy with their life. It was after Christ was born, that we were loosed from all slavery, and from all fear, if we will fully follow him.

Book V: Chapter II.

1. Six[3] hundred and six years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred B. C. 147: Clinton 146],—that was in the same year, in which Carthage was overthrown—after its fall—Cneus Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Mummius overthrew Corinth, the chief city of all the Greeks. In its burning, all the statues, which were in it, of gold, and of silver, and of brass, and of copper, were melted together, and sunk into pits. Even to this day, they call all the vessels Corinthian, that were made of it, because they are handsomer and dearer than any other.

2. Of the shepherd Viriathus.[4] In those days, there was a shepherd in Spain, who was called Viriathus, and was a great thief; and in the stealing he became a robber; and, in the robbing, he drew to himself a great force of men, and pillaged many villages. Afterwards his band waxed so strong, that he ravaged many lands, and the Romans had a great dread of him, and sent Vetilius, the consul, against him with an army, and he was routed there, and the greatest part of his people slain. At another time, Caius Plautius, the consul, went thither, and was also routed. A third time, Claudius, the consul, went thither, and thought that he should take away the shame of the Romans, but he rather added to it in that expedition, and he hardly escaped.

3. Afterwards, Viriathus, with three hundred men, met one thousand Romans in a wood, where seventy of the people of Viriathus were slain, and three hundred of the Romans, and the others were put to flight. In the flight, a soldier of Viriathus was following the others too long, till they shot his horse under him. When all the others would slay or bind him by himself, he then so struck a man's horse with his sword, that its head flew off. Afterwards, all the others had so much fear of him, that they durst no longer go against him.

4 Afterwards Appius Claudius, the consul, fought against the

3 Oros. l. V: c. 3. Haver. p. 289—291. Chapter 2 is omitted by Alfred.
4 Oros. l. V: c. 4. Haver. p. 291—296.

Gauls, and was put to flight; and soon after, again led an army against them and had a victory, and slew six thousand of them. When he was [coming] homeward, he begged that they would meet him with a triumph; but the Romans unfaithfully denied it, and excused it, on the ground, that he formerly, on another occasion, had not the victory.

5. Of the Pestilence. There was afterwards so great a pestilence in Rome, that no stranger durst come thither, and many lands within the city were without any heir. They, however, knew that that evil went over without sacrifice, as many did before, which they thought that they had checked by their idolatries. Doubtless, if they could have then sacrificed, they would have said that their gods helped them. But it was by the grace of God, that all those, who would have done it, lay [sick], till it went over of itself.

6. Then Fabius, the consul, went with an army against Viriathus, and was put to flight. The consul did what was most disgraceful to all the Romans, when he enticed to him from Scythia six hundred men of his comrades; and, when they came to him, he ordered all their hands to be cut off. Afterwards Pompeius, the consul marched upon the Numantines, a people of Spain, and was put to flight. About fourteen years after Viriathus began to war against the Romans, he was slain by his own men; and as often as the Romans attacked him in battle, he always put them to flight. There, however, the Romans did themselves a little honour, that those, who had betrayed their lord, although at the time they hoped for rewards, were hated and despised by them.

7. I must needs be silent also about the many wars, which happened in the east lands: I shall be tired of the wars of the Romans. At that time, Mithridates, king of Pontus, overcame Babylonia, and all the lands, that were between the two rivers, the Indus and Hydaspes, which had before been in the power of the Romans. He afterwards enlarged his kingdom eastward to the boundaries of India; and Demetrius, king of Asia, attacked him twice with an army. At the first time, he was put to flight; at the second, taken. He was under the power of the Romans, because they had placed him there.

8. Then Mancinus, the consul, marched upon the Numantines, a people of Spain, and was fighting there, till he made peace with

that people; and afterwards he stole away. When he came home, the Romans gave orders to bind and bring him before the gate of the fortress of Numantia. Then, neither those, who led him thither, durst lead him back home, nor would they receive him to whom he was brought; but he was very cruelly left so bound in one place, before the gate, until he yielded up his life.

9. In [5] those days, Brutus, the consul, slew sixty thousand of the people of Spain, who had been helping the Lusitanians; and soon afterwards he marched again upon the Lusitanians, and slew fifty thousand of them, and took six thousand. In those days, Lepidus, the consul, went into the nearer Spain, and was put to flight, and six thousand of his people were slain; and those that came away, fled with the greatest shame. But, can the Romans now blame any man for saying how many of their people perished in Spain, in a few years, when they boast of happy times, while they were the most unhappy to themselves?

10. When [6] Servius Fulvius Flaccus, and Quintus Calpurnius Piso were consuls [B. C. 135], a child was born in Rome, that had four feet, and four hands, and four eyes, and four ears.—In that year, the fire of Etna sprang up, in Sicily, and burnt up more of that land, than it ever did before.

Book V: Chapter III.

1. Six [7] hundred and twenty years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred B. C. 133: Clinton 137], when Mancinus made the bad peace with the Numantines, as the Romans themselves said, that a deed more shameful had not been done, under their rule, save at the battle of Caudinæ Furculæ, then the Romans sent Scipio to the Numantines with an army. They are in the north-west of Spain, and they had before defended themselves, for fourteen years, with four thousand, against forty thousand of the Romans, and mostly had victory.

2. Then Scipio besieged them for half a year in their fastness, and distressed them so much, that they would rather hazard themselves, than bear those miseries any longer. When Scipio understood that they were in such a mood, he ordered some of his people to make an assault on the fastness, that they might thereby

5 Oros. l. V: c. 5. Haver. p. 298, 299.
6 Oros. l. V: c. 6. Haver. p. 299, 300.
7 Oros. l. V: c. 7. Haver. p. 300—303.

entice the people out. The citizens were then so glad, and so joyful, that they must fight, that, in the midst of their joy, they drank too much ale, and ran out at two gates. In that city ale-brewing [8] first began, because they had not wine. By that stratagem, the chief of the Numantians fell, and the part that was left there burnt the whole city, because they would not give up their old treasures to their enemies, and they then destroyed themselves in the fire.

3. When [9] Scipio turned homeward from that country, there came to him an old man, who was a Numantian. Then Scipio asked him to what it was owing, that the Numantines so soon became weak, so brave as they long had been. He then told him, that they were brave while they had agreement and simplicity among themselves, and as soon as they had disagreement they all perished. That answer was then very fearful to Scipio and to all the Roman senators: when he came home, they were put into great fear by that answer and by those words, because they then had disagreement among themselves.

4. At that time,[1] one of their consuls was called Gracchus, and he began to wage war against all the others, till they killed him.

5. And also at that time, the slaves fought against their masters, and were not easily overcome, and seven thousand were slain ere they could be brought under. Only in one city, Minturnæ, four hundred and fifty were hanged.

Book V: Chapter IV.

1. Six [2] hundred and twenty one years after the building of Rome [Alfred B. C. 132: Orosius and Clinton 131] Publius Licinius Crassus Mucianus, the consul, who was also the chief priest of the Romans, went with an army against Aristonicus, the king who wished to take to himself Asia the Less, though Attalus, his own brother, had before given it by will [3] to the Romans. Many kings from many lands came to help Crassus; —one [4] was from Nicomedia?—a second from Bithynia,—a third

8 A. S. ealo-geweorc *ale-work.*

9 Oros. l. V: c. 8. Haver. p. 304, 305.

1 Oros. l. V: c. 9. Haver. p. 306, 307.

2 Oros. l. V: c. 10. Haver. p. 308—311.

3 Per testamentum. Haver. p. 308, 6.

4 The A. S. text of the Lauderdale and Cotton MSS. are both so incorrect, the translator having taken the names of kings for the names of countries, that it is necessary to cite the

from Pontus,—a fourth from Armenia,—a fifth from Argeata?—a sixth from Cappadocia,—a seventh from Pylemene?—an eighth from Paphlagonia. Nevertheless, soon after they came together, the consul, though he had a great army, was put to flight. When Perperna, the other consul, heard of it, he speedily gathered an army, and came suddenly upon the king, when his army was all abroad, and drove him into a fortress; and besieged him till the townspeople gave him up to the consul, and he afterwards ordered him to be brought to Rome, and thrust into prison, and he lay there till he yielded up his life.

2. At that time, Antiochus, king of Assyria, thought that he had not power enough; and, wishing to gain Parthia, he marched thither with many thousands. There the Parthians easily overcame him, and slew the king, and took the kingdom to themselves; because Antiochus cared not what number of men he had, and took no heed of what sort they were; therefore, more of them were bad than good.

3. At that time Scipio, the best and most successful of the Roman senators and warriors, complained of his hardships to the Roman senators, when they were at their meeting, and asked them why they treated him so unworthily in his old age,—why they would not remember all the pains and toils he had borne for their sake and from necessity, at countless times, for many years;—and how he had kept them from the slavery of Hannibal and of many other people;—and how he had brought all Spain and all Africa under their power. In the night of the same day, on which he spoke these words, the Romans thanked him for all his labour, with a worse reward than he had deserved from them, when they smothered and stifled him in his bed, so that he lost his life.—O Romans! who can now trust you, when you gave such a reward to your most faithful senator!

4. When M. Æmilius Lepidus and L. Aurelius Orestes were consuls [B. C. 126], the fire of Etna flew up so broad and so great, that few of the men, who were in the island Lipari, which was next to it, could abide in their dwellings, for the heat and for the stench. Also, all the cliffs, that were near the sea, were burnt to ashes, and all the ships, that were sailing near that sea,

original Latin of Orosius. Hoc est—Nicomede Bithyniæ, Mithridate Ponti et Armeniæ, Ariarathe Cappadociæ, Pylemene Paphlagoniæ, eorumque maximis copiis adjutus,—conserto tamen bello. victus est. Haver. p. 308, 7—10 v. also Eutropius l. IV: c. 20.

were consumed. Also, all the fishes, that were in the sea, died from the heat.

5. When[5] Marcus Fulvius Flaccus was consul [B. C. 125], locusts came into Africa, and ate off every thing, that was waxing and growing in the land. There then came a wind, and blew them out into the sea. When they were drowned, the sea cast them up; and afterwards almost every thing perished that was in the land, both men, and cattle, and wild beasts, because of the stench.

Book V: Chapter V.

1. Six[6] hundred and twenty-seven years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred B. C. 126: Clinton 123], when Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, and Titus Quinctius Flamininus were consuls, the senate agreed that Carthage should be rebuilt. But in the night of the same day, in which they had marked out the city with stakes, as they wished to build it, wolves pulled up the stakes, and the men therefore left the work and had a long meeting about it, whether it betokened peace or war; they, however, rebuilt it.

2. At that time, Metellus[7] the consul went to the Balearic islands; and, though many of the islanders also perished, he overcame the pirates, that ravaged these islands.

Book V: Chapter VI.

1. Six[8] hundred and twenty-eight years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred B. C. 125: Clinton 121], Fabius the consul met Bituitus, king of the Gauls, and overcame him with a small force.

Book V: Chapter VII.

1. Six[9] hundred and thirty-five years after the building of Rome [Orosius B. C. 114: Alfred 118: Clinton 111], when Scipio Nasica and Lucius Calpurnius Bestia were consuls, the Romans waged war against Jugurtha, king of the Numidians. The same Jugurtha was a kinsman of Micipsa, king of the

5 Oros. l. V: c. 11. Haver. p. 311, 312.

6 Oros. l. V: c. 12. Haver. p. 315—318.

7 Oros. l. V: c. 13. Haver. p. 318.

8 Much abridged, from Oros. l. V. c. 14. Haver. p. 319, 320, as all these chapters are. This will be evident by observing the quantity of Latin text referred to in the preceding and following notes.

9 Oros. l. V: c. 15. Haver. p. 321—326.

Numidians, and he took him, in his youth, and ordered him to be fed and taught with his two sons. When the king died, he commanded his two sons to give a third part of the kingdom to Jugurtha. But, when the third part was in his power, he beguiled both the sons: one he slew, the other he drove away, who afterwards went to the Romans for shelter, and they sent with him Calpurnius, the consul, with an army. But Jugurtha bribed the consul with his money, so that he did little in the warfare. Afterwards Jugurtha came to Rome, and covertly bribed the senators, one by one, so that they all were wavering about him. When he returned homeward from the city, he blamed the Romans, and greatly reviled them with his words, and said, that no city could be more easily bought with money, if any one would buy it.

2. In the year afterwards, the Romans sent Aulus Posthumius the consul with sixty thousand [men] against Jugurtha. Their meeting was at the city Calama, and there the Romans were overcome; and, after a little while, they made peace between them, and then almost all Africa turned to Jugurtha. Afterwards the Romans sent Metellus again with an army against Jugurtha; and he twice gained a victory. At the third time, he drove Jugurtha into Numidia, his own country, and forced him to give three hundred hostages to the Romans; and nevertheless, he afterwards plundered the Romans. Then, after that, they sent Marius the consul, against Jugurtha, as he was always so cunning, and so crafty; and he went to a city, just as if he thought of storming it. But as soon as Jugurtha had led his forces to the city against Marius, then Marius left the fortress, and marched to another, where he heard, that Jugurtha's treasure was, and forced the citizens to come into his hands, and they gave up to him all the treasure that was in it. Then Jugurtha, after that, did not trust his own people, but joined himself to Bocchus, king of the Mauritanians, and he came to him with a great body of men, and they often stole upon the Romans, till they determined upon a general battle between them. For that battle, Bocchus had brought sixty thousand horse, besides foot, to help Jugurtha. Neither before nor since, had the Romans ever so hard a fight, as they had there, because they were surrounded on every side; and also most of them perished, because their meeting was on a sandy down, so that they could not see for dust, how they should

defend themselves. In addition to which, they were weakened both by thirst and heat, and all that day, they bore it, until night. Then, on the morrow, they did the same, and were again surrounded on every side, as they were before. When they had much fear, whether they could escape, they settled, that some should guard them behind, and some, if they could, should fight [their way] out, through all the troops. When they had done so, there came so heavy a rain, that the Mauritanians were wearied by it, because their shields were covered with the hides of elephants, so that few of them could lift them for the wet: because an elephant's hide will drink wet like a sponge; and, therefore, they were put to flight. There were slain of the Mauritanians, sixty thousand and one hundred men. Then Bocchus made peace with the Romans, and gave up Jugurtha to them, bound; and he was afterwards put into prison, and his two sons, until they all died there.

Book V: Chapter VIII.

1. Six[1] hundred and forty-two years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred B. C. 111: Clinton 105], when Caius Manlius was consul, and Quintus Cæpio proconsul, the Romans fought with the Cimbri, and with the Tutones, and with the Ambrones—these nations were among the Gauls—and all but ten men, were slain there, that was forty thousand. Of the Romans, there were slain eighty thousand, and their consul and his two sons. Afterwards, the same nations besieged Marius the consul in a fortress, and it was a long time before he could march out to battle, till it was told him, that they would go into Italy, the country of the Romans. But afterwards, he marched out of the fortress to them. When they met them on a down, the army of the consul complained to him of the thirst, which was pressing upon them. He then answered them and said,—"We can easily see, on the other side of our enemies, where the water is lying, which is nearest to us; but, because they are nearer to us, we cannot come to it without a battle." There the Romans had victory; and two hundred thousand of the Gauls, and their leader, were slain, and eighty thousand taken

Book V: Chapter IX.

1. Six[2] hundred and forty-five years after the building of Rome

1 Oros. l. V: c. 16. Haver. p. 327—331. 2 Oros. l. V: c. 17. Haver. p. 332—334.

[Orosius and Alfred B. C. 107: Clinton 101], in the fifth year that Marius was consul, and also when the Romans had peace from all other nations, the Romans then began to stir up the greatest strife among themselves. I shall, however, said Orosius, now shortly say, who were the beginners of it.

2. First, it was Marius, the consul, and Lucius Appuleius Saturninus, because they drove into banishment the consul Metellus, who was consul before Marius. It was then very displeasing to the other consuls, Pompey and Cato, although by the resentment they could be of no use to the banished; they however contrived to kill Lucius Saturninus, and then prayed that Metellus might [return] to Rome; but Marius and Furius still withstood them. Afterwards the enmity between them increased, though they durst not shew it openly, for fear of the senate.

Book V: Chapter X.

1. Six[3] hundred and sixty-one years after the building of Rome [Orosius B. C. 94: Alfred 92: Clinton 91],—in the sixth year that Julius Cæsar was consul, and Lucius Marcius,—there was, over all Italy, deliberate and well-known hostility between Julius and Pompey; although they had formerly quite hidden it with themselves. Also, in that year, there happened many wonders in many lands.—One was, that they saw as if a fiery ring came from the north with a great noise.—Another was at a feast in the city Tarentum,[4] when they cut the loaves for eating, then blood ran out.—The third was, that it hailed for a week, day and night, over all the Romans:—and, in the country of the Samnites, the earth burst asunder, and fire flamed up thence towards the heavens, and people saw, as it were, a golden ring in the heavens, broader than the sun, and reaching from the heavens down to the earth, and again going towards the heavens.

2. At that time, these nations,—the Picentes, and Vestini, and Marsi, and Peligni, and Marrucini, and Samnites, and the Lucanians, all agreed among themselves, that they would turn from the Romans, and killed Caius Servilius, a Roman nobleman, who was sent to them with messages. In those days, the cattle and the dogs, which were among the Samnites, went mad.

3 Oros. l. V: c. 18. Haver p. 335—340.

4 Apud Arretinos quum panes per convivia frangerentur, cruor e mediis panibus, quasi e vulneribus corporum, fluxit. Oros. l. V: c. 18. Haver. p. 335, 10—13.—Oros. refers to Arretium in Etruria; but Alfred to Tarentum on the west coast of Calabria.

3. Afterwards, Pompey, the consul, fought against all these nations, and was routed. Julius Cæsar fought against the Marsi, and was routed. Soon afterwards Julius fought against the Samnites and against the Lucanians, and routed them. After that, he was called Cæsar. He then asked, that they should bring the triumph to meet him, when they sent a black cloak[5] to meet him, in mockery, instead of a triumph. Afterwards they sent to meet him a garment, which they then called a toga,[6] that he might not come to Rome altogether without honour.

4. Afterwards [B. C. 88], Sulla, the consul, colleague of Pompey, fought against the people of Æsernia, and routed them. After that, Pompey fought against the nation of the Picentes, and routed them. Then the Romans brought the triumph to meet Pompey with great honour, for the little victory which he then had, and would not give any honour to Julius, but a toga,[7] though he had done a greater deed; and thus their quarrel was much strengthened. Afterwards, Julius and Pompey stormed Asculum a town of the Marsi, and there slew eighteen thousand. Then Sulla, the consul, fought against the Samnites, and slew eighteen thousand of them.

Book V: Chapter XI.

1. Six[8] hundred and sixty-two years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred B. C. 91: Clinton 88], the Romans sent Sulla, the consul, against Mithridates, king of [Pontus]. Then the consul Marius, uncle of Julius, was displeased that they would not intrust that war to him, and asked that the seventh consulship and also that war, should be given to him; because it was a custom with them, that, after a twelvemonth, they made every consul's seat one cushion higher, than it was before. When Sulla was told, on what ground Marius came to Rome, he speedily marched towards Rome with all his force, and drove Marius into Rome with all his army; and the citizens afterwards seized and bound him, and then thought of giving him up to Sulla. But he escaped the same night from the bonds, with which they had

5 Sagum, hoc est, vestem moeroris. Oros. Haver. p. 337, 8.

6 Antiquum togæ decorem recuperavit. Oros. Haver. p. 337, 9, 10. v. note 7.

7 Oros. Haver. p. 337, 16: but Alfred uses 'tunice' *a tunic*, or common garment of the Romans.

8 Oros. l. V: c. 19. Haver. p. 341—346.

bound him in the day; and afterwards fled south, over the sea into Africa, where most of his force was; and soon turned again towards Rome. He was assisted by two consuls, Cinna and Sertorius, who were always the beginners of every evil.

2. As[9] soon as the senate heard that Marius was coming near Rome, they all fled into the country of Greece to Sulla and Pompey, whither they were gone with an army. Sulla then marched with great earnestness from Greece towards Rome, and bravely fought a battle with Marius, and routed him, and slew all within the city, Rome, who had helped Marius. All the consuls but two, died soon after. Marius and Sulla died a natural death; and Cinna was slain in Smyrna, a city of Asia; and Sertorius was slain in Spain.

3. Then[2] Pompey undertook the Parthian war, because Mithridates, their king, seized for himself Asia the Less, and all the country of the Greeks; but Pompey chased him out of all that country, and drove him into Armenia, and followed after him till other men slew him, and forced the general Archelaus, to be his servant.—"It is now not to be believed," said Orosius, "to tell what perished in that war, which, ere it could be ended, they carried on forty years, both in pillaging nations, and in murders of kings, and in hunger."

4. When[3] Pompey was [returning] homeward, the people of the land would not give up the fortress at Jerusalem. They had the help of twenty-two kings. Then Pompey ordered that the fortress should be stormed, and even attacked it day and night, one party after another unweariedly, and thus so tired the people, that they came into his hands about three months after they had first begun. There thirteen thousand of the Jews were slain, and the wall was thrown down to the ground; and Aristobulus was led to Rome bound: he was both their king and their priest.

Book V: Chapter XII.

1. Six[4] hundred and sixty-seven years after the building of

9 Oros. l. V: c. 20. Haver. p. 346—349.

1 A. S. him sylf *by themselves.*

2 Oros. l. VI: c. 4. Haver. p. 377—380.—The Chapters 21, 22, 23, and 24 of book V, and the Chapters 1, 2 and 3 of book VI, Haver. p. 349—377, Alfred has omitted.

3 Oros. l. VI: c. 6. Haver. p. 383—385. Chap. 5 is omitted by Alfred.

4 Much abridged from Oros. l. VI: c. 7. Haver. p. 385—391. Alfred omits Chapter 8.

Rome [Orosius B. C. 60: Alfred 86: Clinton 55], the Romans gave Caius Julius [Cæsar] seven legions, to the end that he might wage war five years on the Gauls.

2. When[5] he had overcome them, he went into the island Britain, and fought against the Britons, and was routed in the land, which is called Kentland. Soon afterwards he fought again with the Britons in Kentland, and they were routed. Their third battle was near the river, which is called Thames, near the ford called Wallingford. After that battle, the king came into his hands, and the townspeople that were in Cirencester, and afterwards all that were in the island.

3. Then[6] Julius [Cæsar] went to Rome, and asked that the triumph should be brought to meet him. They then ordered that he should come to Rome with few men, and should leave all his forces behind him. But when he went homeward, the three senators, who were his supporters, came to meet him, and told him that for his sake they were driven away; and also, that all the legions, that were in the power of the Romans, were given to help Pompey that he might have the safer contest with him. Julius then returned to his own army; and, weeping, bemoaned the dishonour that they had so unworthily done him, and chiefly for those men who were ruined for his sake. He afterwards drew over to him the seven legions that were in the land of Sulmo.

4. When Pompey and Cato, and all the senate heard of it, they went among the Greeks, and gathered a great army on the down of Thrace. Julius then marched to Rome and broke open their treasure-house, and divided all that was in it. Orosius said—"It is hardly to be believed in saying, what there was of it all." He then went to the land of Marseilles, and left there three legions behind him, to the end that they might force the people under him; and he himself, with the other part, went into Spain, where the legions of Pompey were, with his three generals; and he forced them all under him. He afterwards went into the country of the Greeks, where, on a down, Pompey waited for

5 Oros. l. VI: c. 9. Haver. p. 395, 396.—Bede has taken the substance of this chapter of the original Latin of Orosius, for l. I: c. 2 of his Eccl. Hist. Smith says in his note to this c. 2 of Bede, p. 42, Totum hoc caput ex Orosio, l. VI: c. 9—Alfred omits chapters 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14.

6 Oros. l. VI: c. 15. Haver. p. 415—422.

him with thirty kings, besides his own force. Pompey then went where Marcellus, the general of Julius, was, and slew him with all his army. Afterwards Julius besieged Torquatus, the general of Pompey, in a fortress, and Pompey marched after him. Julius was there put to flight, and many of his army slain, because they fought against him on both sides: on one side Pompey,—on the other the general. Afterwards Julius marched into Thessaly, and there gathered again his army.

5. When Pompey heard of it, he marched after him with an immense army. He had eighty-eight cohorts, which we now call truman, each of which was, in those days, one thousand five hundred men. All these he had, besides his own army, and besides that of Cato, his colleague, and that of the senate. And Julius had eighty cohorts. Each of them had his army in three parts, and they themselves were in the middle, and the others on each side of them. When Julius had routed one of the parts, Pompey called to him about the old Roman agreement, though he himself did not think of keeping it,—"Comrade, comrade, mind that thou do not too long break our agreement and fellowship." He then answered him and said: "At one time, thou wast my comrade; and, because thou art not now, all is most loved by me, that is most loathsome to thee." The agreement, which the Romans had made, was this, that none of them should strike another in the face, wherever they met each other in battle.

6. After these words Pompey was routed with all his army; and he himself afterwards fled into Asia, with his wife and with his children; and he then went into Egypt, and asked help from Ptolemy the king. Soon after he came to him, he commanded his head to be cut off, and afterwards ordered it to be sent to Julius, and his ring with it. But, when they brought it to him, he bemoaned the deed with much weeping, for he was, of all men in those days, the most kindhearted. Afterwards, Ptolemy led an army against Julius, and all his army were put to flight, and he himself taken; and Julius ordered all the men to be put to death, who gave advice for putting Pompey to death; and, nevertheless, he let Ptolemy go back to his kingdom. Afterwards, Julius fought against Ptolemy thrice, and each time had victory.

7. After[7] that warfare, all the Egyptians became subjects of

7 Oros. l. VI: c. 16. Haver. p. 423—425.

Julius, and he then returned to Rome, and replaced the senate; and they set him higher than consul, what they called a Dictator. He afterwards went into Africa after Cato, the consul. When Cato heard of it, he instructed his son that he should go to meet him, and seek peace of him; "Because," said he, "I know that in this life, no man so good as he is, lives, though he is the most loathsome to me; and, therefore, I cannot myself decide, that I should ever see him." After these words, he went to the walls of the city, and threw himself over, so that he burst all asunder. But, when Julius came into the city, he greatly bewailed that he came not to him alive, and that he died such a death.

8. Julius afterwards fought against the nephew of Pompey, and against many of his kinsmen, and he slew them all, and then went to Rome; and he was so venerated there, that, when he came home, they granted him a triumph four times. He then marched into Spain, and fought against the two sons of Pompey, and his army was so much slaughtered there, that, for a while, he thought that he should be taken; and for fear of that, he rushed the more into the army, because he would rather that they should slay him, than bind him.

9. He[8] afterwards came to Rome, and all the laws which were too harsh and too hard, he made lighter and milder. Then the consuls, and all the senate, taking it amiss that he would change their old laws, all jumped up, and stabbed him with their daggers in their senate house. There were twenty-three wounds.

Book V: Chapter XIII.

1. Seven[9] hundred and ten years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred B. C. 43: Clinton 44], Octavianus, after the murder of Julius his kinsmen, seized upon the empire of the Romans, against their wish, because Julius had before made it fast to him, by writings, that after him he should take to all his riches; because, being a kinsman, he had taught him and brought him up. He afterwards full royally fought and gained four battles, as Julius, his kinsman, had done before:—one against Pompey,—another against Anthony the consul,—a third against Cassius and Brutus,—a fourth against Lepidus, though he soon after became his friend; and he also made Anthony his friend,

8 Much abridged from Oros. l. VI: c. 17. Haver. p. 425—428.

9 Much abridged from Oros. l. VI: c. 18. Haver. p. 428—435.

so that he gave his daughter to be the wife of Octavianus, and Octavianus also gave his sister to Anthony.

2. Afterwards[1] Anthony brought all Asia under his power. He then forsook the sister of Octavianus, and declared war and open hostility against [Octavianus] himself. He ordered Cleopatra, the queen, to be brought to him for a wife, whom Julius had before, and therefore he had given her all Egypt. Soon afterwards Octavianus led an army against Anthony; and when they came together quickly routed him. About three days after, they fought out at sea. Octavianus had two hundred and thirty large ships with three ranks of rowers, in which sailed eight legions. Anthony had eighty ships, in which sailed ten legions; but just as many as he had less, by so much they were better and larger; for they were so built, that they could not be overladen with men, though they were not ten feet high above the water. That battle was very famous; however, Octavianus had the victory. There were slain twelve thousand of [Anthony's] people, and Cleopatra, his queen, was put to flight, when they came to her army. Then Octavianus fought against Anthony, and against Cleopatra, and put them to flight. That was at the time of the first of August, and on the day which we call Lammas. Octavianus was afterwards called Augustus, because at that time he gained the victory.

3. Afterwards Anthony and Cleopatra gathered a fleet on the Red Sea; but, when it was told them that Octavianus was coming thither, all the people turned to Octavianus, and they themselves fled to a town, with a small army. Cleopatra then ordered her burying place to be dug, and went into it. When she had lain down there, she ordered the serpent Ipnalis * to be taken and put to her arm, that it might bite her, because she thought that it would be least painful on that limb, for it is the nature of that serpent, that every creature, that it bites, must end its life in sleep. She did that, because she was unwilling to be driven before the triumph towards Rome. When Anthony saw that she prepared herself for death, he stabbed himself, and ordered that they should lay him, thus half dead, in the same burying place with her. When Octavianus came thither, he ordered another kind of serpent[2] to be taken, called Psyllus, which can

1 Oros. l. VI: c. 19. Haver. p. 436—440. * For hypnalis, from ὕπνος *sleep*.

2 The translator has misunderstood Orosius, who says:—Frustra Cæsare etiam Psyllos

draw poison of every sort out of man, if it be brought in time; but she was dead before he came thither. Afterwards Octavianus took Alexandria the chief city of Egypt, and with its wealth greatly enriched Rome, so that every thing on sale could be bought two-fold cheaper, than it could before.

Book V: Chapter XIV.

1. Seven[3] hundred and thirty-five years after the building of Rome [Orosius B. C. 28: Alfred 18: Clinton 29], it came to pass that Octavianus Cæsar, in his fifth consulship, shut the doors of Janus; and it came to pass that he had the rule of all the world, as was plainly foreshown, when he was a youth, and they took him towards Rome after the murder of Julius. On the same day, in which he was made consul, it came to pass, that they saw, as it were, a golden ring around the sun; and, within the city Rome, a spring welled up oil for a whole day. By the ring it was betokened, that, in his days, he should be born, who is more bright and shining than the sun; and the oil betokened mercy to all mankind. So also Octavianus himself gave many tokens, which afterwards came to pass, though he did them unwittingly by God's working.

2. First,—one was, that he gave orders over all the world, for every tribe to come together in the course of a year, that every man might more easily know where he belonged.[4] That betokened,—that, in his days, he should be born, who has bidden us all to one meeting of kindred, which shall be in the life to come.

3. Another was,—he gave orders, that all mankind should have one kindred, and pay one tax. That betokened,—that we all should have one faith, and one mind for good works.

4. A third was,—he gave orders, that every one of those who were abroad, both bond and free, should come to his own land, and to his father's home; and whosoever would not, he

admovente, qui venena serpentum e vulneribus hominum haustu revocare atque exsugere solent. Haver. p. 439, 21—23.—The Psylli were the poison-suckers of the Lybian desert. A Psyllus was, therefore, not a serpent but one of the Psylli, in Greek Ψύλλοι. Martinius says,—"A Ψύλλος pulex.—Cæterum hoc nomen Psylli Africanum esse puto. Possit referri ad Arab. פשׁר separare, distinguere; quod proprietate quadam adversus serpentes ab aliis distinguerentur.

3 Oros. l. VI: c. 20. Haver. p. 440—443.

4 A. S. Hwær he gesibbe hæfde *where he had kindred.*

gave orders that they should all be slain. There were six thousand of these, when they were gathered. That betokened,—that we are all commanded to come out of this world to our father's home, that is, to the kingdom of heaven; and whosoever will not, he shall be cast out, and slain.

Book V: Chapter XV.

1. Seven[5] hundred and thirty-six years after the building of Rome [Orosius B. C. 28: Alfred 17: Clinton 27], some of the people of Spain became hostile to Augustus. Then he undid again the doors of Janus, and led an army against them, and put them to flight, and afterwards besieged them in a fortress, so that then some killed themselves,—some died by poison—some by hunger.

2. Afterwards many nations waged war against Augustus,—both Illyrians, and Pannonians, and Sarmatians, and many other nations. The generals of Augustus had many great battles against them, without Augustus himself, ere they could overcome them.

3. Augustus then sent Quintilius [Varus] the consul into Germany with three legions; but every one of them was slain, save the consul alone. At that loss, Augustus was so grieved that he oft unwittingly struck his head against the wall, when he sat on his seat; and he ordered the consul to be put to death. The Germans afterwards, of their own mind, sought to Augustus for peace; and he forgave them the hatred, which he knew [they had] to him.

4. Then[6] all this world wished for peace and friendship with Augustus; and nothing seemed so good to all men, as to gain his good will, and to become his subjects. Therefore, no nation wished to keep its own law, but in such wise as Augustus ordered it. Then the doors of Janus were again shut, and his locks rusty, as they never were before. In the same year that all this came to pass, which was in the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus, he was born, who brought peace to all the world; that is, our Lord Jesus Christ.

5. "Now," said Orosius, "I have told how, from the beginning of this world, all mankind paid for the first man's sins with great

5 Oros. l. VI: c. 21. Haver. p. 444—447.

6 Oros. l. VI: c. 22. Haver p. 448,—449.

pains and torments. I will also now further tell what mercy and gentleness there has been since Christianity came,—just as if the hearts of men were changed, because the former things had been atoned for.—Here the fifth book ends and the sixth begins.

Book VI[1]: Chapter I.[2]

1. "I[3] will now," said Orosius, "in an introduction to this sixth book, shew—how equally the four powers of the four chief empires of this world stood,—that, although it was stern, it still was the command of God."

2. The first was in Assyria, in the most easterly empire, in the city Babylon; which stood twice seven hundred years in its power, ere it fell,—from Ninus, their first king, to Sardanapalus, their last,—that is one thousand four hundred years.

3. When Cyrus took away the Babylonian power, then the Roman first began to grow.—Also, in those days, the most northerly was enlarging in Macedonia, which stood a little longer than seven hundred years,—from Caranus, their first king, to Perseus, their last.

4. So also in Africa, the most southerly city, Carthage, also fell after seven hundred years and a little time after the woman Dido first built it, till Scipio the consul afterwards overthrew it.

5. So also that of the Romans, which is the greatest and most westerly,—about seven hundred years and a little more, there came a kind of great fire, and a great burning in Rome, which burnt fifteen wards; yet no one knew whence the fire came, and there almost all that was in it perished, so that hardly any atom of foundation was left. It was so much wasted by that burning, that it never afterwards was such [as it had been], till Augustus, in the year when Christ was born, rebuilt it so much better, than it ever was before, that some men said, it was adorned with precious stones. That help and that work Augustus paid for with many thousand talents.

6. It was also clearly seen, that it was God's providence, ruling the powers of those kingdoms, when the coming of Christ was promised to Abraham, in the forty-second year after Ninus

1 This is the VIIth book of the original Latin of Orosius: the Vth and VIth of the Latin being included in the Vth book of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version.

2 Alfred has greatly abridged most of the chapters of this book; and he has entirely omitted the following chapters, namely, 1, 26, 27, 41, 42 and 43.

3 Oros. l. VII: c. 2. Haver. p. 453—456.

began to reign in Babylon. So also,[4] in the last and most westerly empire, that is of Rome, the same was born who was formerly promised to Abraham, in the forty-second year after Augustus began to reign; that was seven hundred and fifty-two[5] years after the building of Rome.

7. Afterwards Rome stood twelve years, in great wealth, while Augustus kept that lowliness towards God, with which he had begun: that was, that he shunned and forbade, that he should be called a god, as no king would, that was before him, but wished that people should worship them, and make offerings to them. But, in the twelfth year afterwards, Caius, his nephew, went from Egypt into Syria,—Augustus had given it to him to govern—then he would not worship the Almighty God, when he came to Jerusalem. When Augustus was told of it, he praised that pride and blamed it not a whit. Soon afterwards, the Romans paid for this word with so great a famine, that Augustus drove from Rome half that were within it. Then the door of Janus was opened again, because the leaders in many countries disagreed with Augustus, although no battle took place.

Book VI: Chapter II.

1. Seven[6] hundred and sixty-seven years after the building of Rome [Orosius, Alfred and Clinton A. D. 14], Tiberius, the emperor, succeeded to the government after Augustus. He was so forgiving and so mild to the Romans, as no ruler had ever been to them before, until Pilate sent him word from Jerusalem about the miracles of Christ, and about his martyrdom, and also that many took him for a god. But when he told it to the senate, they all very much withstood him, because they had not been told of it sooner, as it was a custom with them, that they might afterwards make it known to all the Romans; and said, that they would not have him for a god. Then Tiberius was as wroth and as hard with the Romans, as he before had been mild and easy to them, so that he hardly left alive one of the senators, nor of the twenty-two

4 Oros. l. VII: c. 3. Haver. p. 457—459.

5 The Fasti Consulares and Cato, followed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Solinus and Eusebius, fix the era of the foundation of Rome to B. C. 752. Terentius Varro, however, more correctly refers it to B. C. 753, which date was adopted by the Roman Emperors, and by Plutarch, Tacitus, Dion, Aulus Gellius, Censorinus, Onuphrius, Baronius, bishop Beveridge, Strauchius, Dr Playfair, Dr Hales, Mr Clinton and by most modern chronologists: It is followed in this work.

6 Oros. l. VI: c. 4. Haver. p. 459—463.

men, whom he had chosen to help him, that they should be his advisers, whom they called patricians. All these, but two, he ordered to be put to death; yea, his own two sons. How God then avenged that very great pride upon the people, and how dearly they bought it from their own emperor! although it was not so greatly avenged upon all the people in other countries, as it often had been before.

2. In the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius, God's wrath was again upon the Romans, while they were in their theatre at their plays, when it all fell down, and killed twenty thousand of them. "They then perished by a deserved wrath," said Orosius, "when they should have rued their sins, and amended their deeds, rather than go to their plays, as their custom was before Christianity."

3. In the eighteenth year of his reign, when Christ was crucified, there was great darkness over all the world, and so great an earthquake, that massy stones fell from mountains; and what was the greatest wonder, when the moon was full, and farthest from the sun, that it was then eclipsed. The Romans afterwards killed Tiberius with poison. He held the empire twenty-three years.

Book VI: Chapter III.

1. Seven [7] hundred and ninety years after the building of Rome [Orosius, Alfred and Clinton A. D. 37], Caius Caligula was emperor for four years. He was very full of vices, and of sinful lusts, and he was altogether such as the Romans then deserved, because they scoffed at the commandment of Christ, and passed over it. But he was so very wroth with them, and they were so hateful to him, that he often wished that all the Romans had one neck, that he might most readily cut it off; and very much lamented, that there was not then such strife, as there often was before; and he himself often went into other countries, and wished to find war; but he could only find peace.

2. "The times," said Orosius, "were unlike, after Christ was born, when men could not find war; and, before that, they could by no means keep from it."

3. In those days, the wrath of God came also upon the Jews,

7 Oros. l. VII: c. 5. Haver. p. 463—466.

so that they had disagreement both among themselves, and with all nations; although it was chiefly in the city of Alexandria, and Caius ordered them to be driven out. They then sent Philo, their most learned man, to the end that he might ask the mercy of Caius for them. But he sadly ill treated them for that wish, and commanded that they should be oppressed on every side where they could, and ordered that they should fill the temple at Jerusalem with idols,—that they should set his own idol there in the midst, which was his own image. He held Pilate in threatening, till he stabbed himself.—He had doomed our Lord to death.

4. Soon afterwards the Romans put Caius to death while sleeping. Then were found in his treasury two chests, which were full of poison; and in one was a letter, in which were written, lest he should forget, the names of all the richest men, whom he thought of killing. Then they poured the poison out into the sea, and soon after there came up a woeful quantity of dead fishes. God's wrath was clearly seen, that he let the people be tried, and also his mercy, when he would not let them perish as Caius had intended.

Book VI: Chapter IV.

1. Seven[8] hundred and ninety-five years after the building of Rome [Orosius, Alfred and Clinton A. D. 42], Tiberius Claudius succeeded to the government of the Romans. In the first year of his reign, Peter, the Apostle, came to Rome, and men first became Christians there through his teaching. The Romans then wished to put Claudius to death, for the deeds of his kinsman, Caius, the former emperor, and all that were of that family. But when they embraced Christianity, they were so mild and so peaceable, that they all forgave the emperor the mischief that he had formerly done them; and he forgave all of them the wrong and injury, that they thought of doing to him.

2. At that time, when Christianity had come to them, there was also, in the government of the Romans, another token, which was, that the Dalmatians wished to give their kingdom to Scribonianus their general, and then to wage war against the Romans. But, when they were gathered together, and wished to make him king, they could not raise the standard, as was their custom, when

8 Oros. l. VII: c. 6, Haver. p. 465—470. This chapter is adopted by Bede; l. I: c. 3. In a note to Bede, Smith says; Hoc etiam caput Orosio debetur. p. 43.

they settled governments; but were angry with themselves that they had ever begun it, and put Scribonianus to death.—"Now," said Orosius, "let him deny who will or who dares, that that undertaking was not stopped for the good of Christianity; and say where, before Christianity, any war, if it were begun, took such a turn."

3. Another wonder happened also in the fourth year of the government of Claudius, that he himself searched for war, and could find none.—In that year there was a great famine in Syria and in Palestine, but that Helena, queen of the Adiabeni, gave corn enough to the monks, who were in Jerusalem, because she had lately become a Christian.

4. In the fifth year of the government of Claudius, an island appeared between Thera and Therasia, five miles broad and five miles long.—In the seventh year of his government, there was so great a disagreement in Jerusalem, between those who were not Christians, that thirty thousand were there slain, and trodden to death at the gate; yet no man knew whence the strife came.—In the ninth year of his government, there was a great famine in Rome, and Claudius ordered all the Jews, that were within, to be driven out. Then the Romans blamed Claudius for the famine, which was afflicting them, and he became so angry with them, that he ordered thirty-five of the senators to be put to death, and three hundred of the others, who were the highest among them. The Romans afterwards killed him with poison.

Book VI: Chapter V.

1. Eight[9] hundred and nine years after the building of Rome [Orosius A. D. 55: Alfred 56: Clinton 54], Nero succeeded to the government of the Romans, and held it fourteen years. He had still more vices than his uncle Caius had before. Besides the manifold evils that he did, he ordered, on one occasion, the city Rome to be burnt, and commanded his own men, always to seize as much as they could of the treasure, and to bring it to him, when it was snatched out [of the fire]. He himself stood on the highest tower, that was within it, and began to make a song about the fire, which was burning six days and seven nights. But he unwittingly wreaked his vengeance, first on the city for their misdeeds, because they martyred Peter and Paul; and then upon himself,

9 Oros. l. VII: c. 7. Haver. p. 470—473.

when he stabbed himself. He was the first man that persecuted Christians. After his death the family of the Cæsars fell away.

Book VI: Chapter VI.

1. Eight[1] hundred and twenty-four years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 71: Clinton 68], Galba succeeded to the government of the Romans. In the seventh month after, a man [called] Otho, slew him and seized the government.

2. When the Romans first persecuted Christians, as Nero began it, all the nations, that were on the east of Syria became their adversaries; yea, they themselves had also disagreement among them. Vitellius, king of the Germans, fought thrice against Otho, and slew him in the third month after they began to wage war.

Book VI: Chapter VII.

1 Eight[2] hundred and twenty-five years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 72: Clinton 69], Vespasian succeeded to the government of the Romans. Then, there was again peace over all the Roman Empire. He gave orders to his son Titus, that he should overthrow the temple in Jerusalem, and all the city, and forbade that either should be rebuilt; because God would not that they should any longer be a hindrance to Christianity. He destroyed eleven hundred thousand Jews,—some he slew,—some he sold into other countries,—some he killed by hunger. Afterwards they made a triumph for them both, Vespasian and Titus. The sight was a great wonder to the Romans, because they had never before seen two men sitting together in a triumph. They shut the doors of Janus. Afterwards, Vespasian, in the ninth year of his reign, died of dysentery, in a dwelling on the outside of Rome.

Book VI: Chapter VIII.

1. Eight[3] hundred and twenty-nine years after the building of Rome [Orosius A. D. 75: Alfred 76: Clinton 79], Titus succeeded to the government of the Romans, and held it two years. He was of so good a disposition, that he said, he lost the day, on

1 Abridged from Oros. l. VII: c. 8. Haver. p. 474—478.
2 Very much abridged from Oros. l. VII: c. 9. Haver. p. 478—482, 9.
3 Oros. l. VII: c. 9. Haver. p. 482, 10—19.

which he did not do any good. He died also in the same dwelling as his father did, and of the same disease.

Book VI: Chapter IX.

1. Eight[4] hundred and thirty years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 87: Clinton 81], Domitian, brother of Titus, succeeded to the government of the Romans, and held it fifteen years. He again was a persecutor of Christians; and was lifted up with such great pride, that he commanded the people to bow down to him, as to a god. He gave orders that the Apostle John, should be taken from other Christian men into banishment to the island Patmos. And he also ordered that all of David's race should be put to death, to the end that, if Christ were not then born, he might not afterwards be born; because soothsayers said, that he should come of that race. After that order he was himself disgracefully put to death.

Book VI: Chapter X.

1. Eight[5] hundred and forty-six years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 93: Clinton 96,] Nerva succeeded to the government of the Romans; and, because he was old, he chose the man, [called] Trajan, to help him. They then agreed between themselves, that they would change all the laws and all the orders, which Domitian had before settled, because he was formerly hateful to them both; and they ordered John to be brought back to his minster in Ephesus, from the worldly sorrows which he for awhile had borne.

2. Then Nerva died; and Trajan[6] held the government nineteen years after him. He brought back to the Romans all the nations which had lately gone from them; and he gave orders, that all his prefects should persecute Christians. Then one of them, named Pliny, told him, that he ordered what was wrong, and sinned much in it. He then readily forbade it.

3. At that time, the Jews were in great strife and in great hostility against the people of the land, where they then were, till many thousands of them perished on both sides. At that time, Trajan died of a dysentery in the city Seleucia.

4 Oros. l. VII: c. 10. Haver. p. 483, 484.
5 Oros. l. VII: c. 11. Haver. p. 484, 485.
6 Oros. l. VII: c. 12. Haver. p. 486—488.

Book VI: Chapter XI.

1. Eight[7] hundred and sixty-seven years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 114: Clinton 117], Hadrian, Trajan's nephew, succeeded to the government of the Romans, and held it twenty-one years. Soon afterwards Christian books were known to him, through one of the followers of the apostles, named Quadratus; he [then] forbade, over all his empire, that they should annoy any Christian man. If any Christian were guilty, he was then to be taken before him, and he himself would at once judge him as he thought right.

2. He then became so dear to the Romans, and so honoured, that they never called him any thing but father; and, in honour of him, they called his wife, Empress. He ordered all the Jews to be put to death, because they tortured the Christians, that were in Palestine, which is called the land of Judea. He commanded that they should build on the place of the city Jerusalem, and that they should afterwards call it by the name of Ælia.

Book VI: Chapter XII.

1. Eight[8] hundred and eighty eight years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 135: Clinton 133], Antoninus, whose other name was Pius, succeeded to the government of the Romans. Justin, the philosopher, out of friendship, gave him a Christian book. When he had read it, he became dear and very friendly to Christians, to the end of his life.

Book VI: Chapter XIII.

1. Nine[9] hundred and three years after the building of Rome [Orosius A. D. 158: Alfred 150: Clinton 161], Marcus Antoninus * succeeded to the government of the Romans, with his brother Aurelius. They were the first that divided the Roman empire into two parts; and they held it fourteen years [M. Antoni-

7 Oros. l. VII: c. 13. Haver. p. 488—490.

8 Oros. l. VII; c. 14. Haver p 490, 491.

9 Oros. l. VII: c. 15. Haver. p. 492—495.

* Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who reigned 19 years, from A. D. 161 to 180, was adopted by Antoninus Pius, at the same time with Lucius Aurelius Verus, who reigned conjointly with Aurelius for 8 years, from A. D. 161 to 169. M. Aurelius was commonly called the philosopher. We still possess his noble view of philosophical heathenism in his work entitled Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν or *Meditations*, which give his thoughts and feelings on moral and religious subjects. It has been translated into English. Though devoted to philosophy and literature, he shewed his bigotry by the martyrdom of two eminent fathers of the Christian church.—Polycarp in A. D. 166, and Irenæus in 177.

nus 19 years, and Aurelius only 8.] They gave orders that every Christian should be put to death. They had afterwards a great war with the Parthians, because they had laid waste all Cappadocia and Armenia, and all Syria. They then made peace with the Parthians, and afterwards there came upon them so great a famine, and so great a plestilence, that few of them were left.

2. There then came upon them the Danish war, with all the Germans. On the very day, on which they would fight, there came so great a heat and so great a thirst upon them, that they had no hope of their lives. They then understood that it was from God's wrath, and asked the Christians, that they would in some way help them. Then they prayed to Almighty God, and it rained so much, that they had water enough upon the plain; and there came such heavy thunder, that it killed many thousand men in the midst of the battle.

3. Afterwards all the Romans became so kind to Christians, that they wrote in many temples, that every Christian should have freedom and peace; and also, that every one of them, who wished, might embrace Christianity. Antoninus forgave all the tribute, that they should have paid to Rome, and ordered the deed to be burned, in which it was written, what they should pay in a year; and he died in the year following.

Book VI : Chapter XIV.

1. Nine[1] hundred and thirty years after the building of Rome [Orosius, Alfred and Clinton A. D. 177], Lucius Antoninus succeeded to the empire, and held it thirteen[1] years. He was a very bad man as to all morals, but he was brave, and often fought single combats. Many of the senators, who were the best there, he ordered to be put to death. Afterwards a thunderbolt shattered their Capitol, the house, in which their gods and their idols were; and their library was set on fire by the lightning, and all their old books in it were burnt. There was even as great a loss by the fire, as was in the city Alexandria, where, in their library, four hundred thousand books were burnt.

1 Oros. l. VII: c. 16. Haver. p. 495—498. Lu. Antoninus Commodus reigned only 12 years and nearly 10 months; then Pertinax and Julianus each reigned about two months, making altogether, from the death of Commodus to the accession of Severus, a little more than 13 years. *Fasti Romani, p.* 267.

Book VI: Chapter XV.

1. Nine[2] hundred and forty-three years after the building of Rome [Orosius A. D. 191: Alfred 190: Clinton 194], Severus succeeded to the government of the Romans, and held it seventeen years. He besieged Pescennius in a fastness, till he fell into his hands; and he afterwards ordered him to be put to death, because he would reign in Syria and in Egypt. He then put Albinus to death in Gaul, because he also would wage war against him.

2. He afterwards went into Britain, and often fought there against the Picts and Scots, before he could defend the Britons against them; and ordered a wall to be built quite across all that country from sea to sea. Soon afterwards, he died in the city of York.

Book VI: Chapter XVI.

1. Nine[3] hundred and sixty-two years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 209: Clinton 211], his son, Antoninus, succeeded to the empire, and held it [not full] seven years. He had two sisters for his wives. He had gathered an army, and wished to fight against the Parthians; but, in the march, he was put to death by his own men.

Book VI: Chapter XVII.

1. Nine[4] hundred and seventy years after the building of Rome [Orosius, Alfred and Clinton A. D. 217], Marcus Aurelius succeeded to the goverment of the Romans, and held it four years. His own men slew him, and also his mother.

Book VI: Chapter XVIII.

1. Nine[5] hundred and seventy four years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 221: Clinton 222], Aurelius Alexander succeeded to the government of the Romans, and held it [thirteen][6] years. Mammæa, his good mother, sent for Origen, the most learned mass-priest, and afterwards she became a well-

2 Oros. l. VII: c. 17. Haver. p. 498— 503.
3 Oros. l. VII: c. 18. Haver. p. 504—506, 3.
4 Oros. l. VII: c. 18. Haver. p. 506, 3—507, 1.
5 Oros. l. VII: c. 18. Haver. p. 507 1—508, 5.
6 Both the Anglo-Saxon MSS. have XVI, but Oros. has—tredecim annis, Haver. p. 507, 4; and Clinton gives 13 years. *Fasti Romani*, p. 267.

taught Christian through him ; and she made her son very friendly to Christians. He marched with an army into Persia, and slew Xerxes, their king. He afterwards lost his life in the city, Mayence.

Book VI : Chapter XIX.

1. Nine[7] hundred and eighty-seven years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 235 : Clinton 236], Maximinus succeeded to the government of the Romans. He gave orders that Christians should be again persecuted, and that the good Mammæa should be martyred, and all the priests who followed her, save Origen : he fled into Egypt. Maximinus, in the third year of his reign, was put to death by his own prefect in the city Aquileia.

Book VI : Chapter XX.

1. Nine[8] hundred and ninety years after the building of Rome [Alfred A. D. 237 : Orosius and Clinton 238], Gordianus succeeded to the empire, and he held it six years. He put to death the two brothers, who had formerly put Maximinus to death ; and he himself died soon after.

Book VI : Chapter XXI.

1. Nine[9] hundred and ninety-seven years after the building of Rome [Orosius, Alfred and Clinton A. D. 244], Philip succeeded to the government of the Romans, and held it seven years. He was secretly a Christian because he durst not [be so] openly. In the third year of his reign, which was about one thousand years after the building of Rome, it came to pass, as God had ordained it, that not only was the emperor a Christian, but that, at the emperor's palace, they also, in thankfulness to Christ, partook of the great feast, which, every year before, they kept to their idols. It was in honour of devils, that all the Romans would, after a twelve-month, bring together the best part of their goods, gathered for their sacrifice, and afterwards enjoy them together for many weeks.—Then Decius, a rich man, ensnared the emperor, and afterwards seized the government.

7 Oros. l. VII : c. 19. p. 509,9.
8 Oros. l. VII : c. 19. Haver. p. 509, 10—511.
9 Oros. l. VII : c. 20. Haver. p. 512—515.

Book VI: Chapter XXII.

1. One[1] thousand and four years after the building of Rome [Orosius, Alfred, and Clinton A. D. 249], Decius succeeded to the government of the Romans, and held it three[2] years; and soon gave a plain token, that he had before plotted against Philip, as he ordered Christians to be persecuted, and many were thus made holy martyrs. He settled his son in the government with him, and soon afterwards, they were both slain together.

Book VI: Chapter XXIII.

1. One[3] thousand and eight years after the building of Rome [Orosius A. D. 254: Alfred 255: Clinton 251], Gallus Hostilianus succeeded to the empire, and held it two years. Then God's wrath was again upon Rome: as long as there was the persecution of Christians, so long was there a very great plague pressing upon them, so that there was not a house in the city, which had not suffered by the wrath. Then Æmilianus put Gallus to death, and had the government to himself. In the third month afterwards, he also was put to death.

Book VI: Chapter XXIV.

1. One[4] thousand and ten years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 257: Clinton 254], the Romans appointed two emperors: one was within the city Rome, and was called Gallienus; the other was with the people of Æmilianus,[5] and was called Valerian. These were ever to be waging war, where it was needful. Then they both commanded Christians to be persecuted, but the wrath of God quickly came upon them both. Valerian marched with an army, against Sapor, king of the Persians, and was there taken; and afterwards, to the end of his life, he was appointed to stoop, when Sapor, the king, would mount his horse, that the king might have his back as a stirrup.

1 Oros. l. VII: c. 21. Haver. p. 515—516, 11.

2 Orosius and Alfred say 3 years, but Clinton, 2 years and two months.

3 Oros. l. VII: c. 21. Haver. p. 516, 1—11.

4 Very much abridged from Oros. l. VII: c. 22. Haver. p. 516—519.

5 Oros. says—Valerianus in Rhetia ab exercitu Augustus est adpellatus. Haver. p. 516, 22, 23. Æmilianus, after being in power 3 months, was slain by his soldiers in A. D. 254, and Valerian and Gallienus were chosen emperors.

2. Many nations waged war upon the other [emperor], Gallienus, so that he held his power with great disgrace, and great difficulty. First the Germans, who were on the Danube, overran Italy, to the city Ravenna; and the Suevi overran all Gaul, and the Goths all the country of Greece, and Asia the Less; and the Sarmatians forced all Dacia from the government of the Romans; and the Huns overran Pannonia; and the Parthians overran Mesopotamia, and all Syria. Besides which, the Romans had war among themselves. Gallienus was afterwards put to death by his own men, in the city Milan.

Book VI: Chapter XXV.

1. One[6] thousand and twenty-five years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 272: Clinton 268], Claudius succeeded to the government of the Romans. In the same year, he overcame the Goths and drove them out of Greece. The Romans made him a golden shield, as a worthy tribute for that deed, and a golden likeness, and hung them up in their Capitol. In the following year he died, and his brother Quintillus succeeded to the government; and, on the seventeenth day after, he was put to death.

Book VI: Chapter XXVI.

1. One[7] thousand and twenty-seven years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 274: Clinton 270], Aurelian succeeded to the government of the Romans, and held it five years and six months. He drove the Goths to the north of the Danube, and marched thence upon the Syrians, and forced them again under the government of the Romans. He then marched upon the Gauls, and slew Tetricus, because he had drawn them under his government. He then gave orders for a persecution of Christians, and was slain shortly afterwards.

Book VI: Chapter XXVII.

1. One[8] thousand and thirty-two years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 279: Clinton 275], Tacitus succeeded to the government of the Romans; and, in the sixth

6 Oros. l. VII: c. 23. Haver. p. 520, 521, 7.
7 Oros. l. VII: c. 23. Haver. p. 521, 8—522.
8 Oros. l. VII: c. 24. Haver. p. 523, 1—3.

month after, he was slain in the country of Pontus.—Then Florianus succeeded to the government, and was slain in the third month after, in the country of Tarsus.

Book VI: Chapter XXVIII.

1. One[9] thousand and thirty-three years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 280: Clinton 276], Probus succeeded to the government of the Romans, and kept it six years, and four months. He drove the Huns out of Gaul, and slew Saturninus, who was striving for the government. He afterwards slew Proculus and Bonosus, who yearned for the government. Then he himself was slain on the down of Sirmium.

Book VI: Chapter XXIX.

1. One[1] thousand and thirty nine years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 286: Clinton 282], Carus succeeded to the government of the Romans, and held it two years. He fought twice against the Parthians, and took two of their cities, which were on the bank of the river Tigris. He was killed soon afterwards by a thunder bolt, and his son Numerianus succeeded to the government, and shortly after he was put to death by his own father-in-law.

Book VI: Chapter XXX.

1. One[2] thousand and forty-one years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 288: Clinton 284], Diocletian succeeded to the government of the Romans, and held it twenty years. He placed a younger emperor under him, called Maximian, and sent him into Gaul, because they had lately stirred up a war, but he easily overcame them. At that time, three kings were waging war upon Diocletian:—Carausius in Britain,—Achilleus in Egypt,—and Narses from Persia. He then placed three Cæsars under him:—One was Maximian,—the second Constantius,—the third Galerius. He sent Maximian into Africa, who overcame their opponents. He sent Constantius into Gaul, who overcame the Alamannic nation, and he then overran the island Britain.—And Diocletian himself went into

9 Id. Haver. p. 523, 4—11.

1 Oros. l. VII: c. 24. Haver. p. 523, 12—524.

2 Oros. l. VII: c. 25. Haver. p. 525—529. Alfred omits Chaps 26 and 27.

Egypt, and besieged Achilleus, the king, eight months, in the city Alexandria, till the citizens gave him up to Diocletian, who afterwards overran all Egypt.—He sent Galerius into Persia, who fought twice against Narses, the king, but neither of them had the victory. In their third battle, Galerius was routed, and came to Diocletian in great fear; but he received him with great dishonour, and ordered him to run, in his own purple robe, many miles before his chariot. After his courage had been whetted by that disgrace, he marched again upon the Persians, and routed them, and took Narses, and his wife and his children. Diocletian then received Galerius honourably.

2. Diocletian and Maximian ordered Christians to be persecuted,—Diocletian in the east, and Maximian in the west; and, because of this order, there were many martyrs in the space of ten years.

3. They then agreed between themselves, that they would give up their governments, and lay aside the purple robes, which they wore, and would end their days in peace; and they did so. Diocletian settled in the city Nicomedia, and Maximian settled in the city Milan. They left their governments to Galerius and to Constantius, and they divided it afterwards into two.—Galerius took Illyricum, and beyond that, the east, and the chief part of this world.—Constantius took all Italy, and Africa, and Spain, and Gaul, and Britain; but he had little wish for these worldly things and for great power; and, therefore, of his own will, he gave up Italy and Africa to Galerius. Then Galerius placed two kings under him:—One was named Severus, to whom he gave Italy and Africa; and he placed Maximinus in the eastern countries.

4. In those days, Constantius, the most merciful man, went into Britain, and died there; and gave the empire to Constantine, his son, whom he had by Helena his concubine.

5. Then[3] Maxentius, son of Maximian, wished to have the government of Italy. Galerius, therefore, sent against him Severus with an army, to whom the government had before been given, and he was betrayed there by his own men, and slain near the city Ravenna. When Maximian heard that his son had seized the government, he quickly left the city, in which he was settled, and thought to overcome his son, and afterwards to take

3 Oros. l. VII: c. 28. Haver. p. 537, 17—541.

the government; but, when the son found it out, he drove away the father, who fled into Gaul and wished to overcome Constantine, his son-in-law, and to have the government to himself; but his daughter found it out, and told it to Constantine, and he then banished him to Marseilles, and he was there slain.

6. Galerius then gave Italy and Africa to Licinius, and he ordered all the best Christians, that were there, to be banished. Galerius was then brought into great weakness, and ordered many physicians, and none of them could do him any good, but one of them told him, that it was from the wrath of God. He, therefore, gave orders that the Christians should be brought into their own country again, each where he was before; yet he died of that sickness, and Licinius succeeded to the government.

7. There was afterwards war between Constantine and Maxentius; and soon after [A. D. 312] Constantine slew Maxentius at the Mulvian bridge in Rome.—In those days Maximinus ordered Christians to be persecuted, and soon afterwards died in the city Tarsus.—At that time, Licinius gave orders that no Christian should come into his household nor into his train; and soon afterwards there was war between him and Constantine, and frequent battles, until Constantine took Licinius, and ordered him to be beheaded, and then succeeded to all the government of the Romans.

8. In those days [A. D. 318—325], Arius, the mass-priest, fell into a mistake about the right belief. About this time [A. D. 325], three hundred and eighteen bishops were gathered together to refute and to excommunicate him.

9. In those days, Constantine put to death Crispus his son, and Licinius his sister's son; and no one knew what their guilt was, but him alone. He then brought under him many nations, which before were not under the Romans; and ordered a city to be built in Greece, and to be called after him Constantinople [A. D. 330]. He was the first man, that ordered churches to be built, and every idol-temple to be closed. He died about thirty-one years after he gained the empire, in a dwelling near the city Nicomedia.

Book VI: Chapter XXXI.

1. One [4] thousand and ninety-one years after the building of

4 Oros. l. VII: c. 29, Haver. p. 541—544. A tabular arrangement of the emperors, mentioned in this chapter, will make it more clear.

Rome [Orosius A. D. 339: Alfred 338: Clinton 337], Constantius, with his two brothers, Constantine and Constans, succeeded to the empire; and Constantius held it twenty-four years. All the brothers were in the Arian heresy. Constantine and Constans waged war upon each other, till Constantine was slain. Then Magnentius slew Constans, and seized upon the government, that is of Gaul and Italy. In those days, the Illyrians appointed Vetranio to their government, that they might then wage war against Magnentius; and they forced him to learning, though he was aged; but Constantius took from him both the government and the purple that he wore, and also the school in which he learned. He then fought against Magnentius and routed him, and drove him into the city Lyons, and he afterwards stabbed himself. Then Constantius appointed Julian to be Cæsar under him, who had before been ordained a deacon, and sent him into Gaul with an army; and he quickly overcame all those, who were waging war in Gaul; and, after that deed, he was so lifted up, that he wished to take to himself all the government of the Romans, and marched with an army, [to the place] where Constantius was with another army against the Parthians. When Constantius heard of it, and was going against him, he died on the march.

2 Julian[5] succeeded to the government [A. D. 361], and held it one year and eight months. He soon wished secretly to overturn Christianity, and openly forbade that a man should learn any fast-book, and also said, that a Christian should not hold any of his offices, and thought thus to entrap them. "But they were all of that mind, as we have often heard it reported," said Orosius, "that they would rather follow Christianity, than hold his offices."

3 Then he gathered an army, and would go into Persia, and ordered, that, when he should come homeward again from the east, they should have an amphitheatre built at Jerusalem into which he might put God's servants, that wild beasts might there tear them to pieces. But, in that undertaking, God very justly

	Years	From A. D.
Constantine II reigned	3	337 to 340
Constantius II	24	337—361
Constans I	13	337—350
Julian	2	361—363

5 Oros. l. VII: c. 30. Haver. p. 545, 546.

avenged the wicked thought of this wicked man, when a man met him, as he came from the city Ctesiphon, just as if he were a deserter, and told him he could lead him through the desert, that he might come upon the Persians unawares. But, when he had led him into the midst of the desert, he beguiled him, so that no man of the expedition knew where he was; but they went wandering about the desert, and knew not where he could get out, until many of the people perished both from thirst and from heat. Then an unknown man came towards them and stabbed Julian.

Book VI: Chapter XXXII.

1. One[6] thousand one hundred and seventeen years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 364: Clinton 363], Jovian succeeded to the government of the Romans. He was chosen in the desert, on the same day that Julian was stabbed. He gave the Persians the city, Nisibis, and half the country of Mesopotamia, with the view that they might go out of the country without harm.

2. In the eighth month after he succeeded to the government, he would go into Illyricum. One night, when he was in a newly-plastered house, he ordered a large fire to be made in it, because it was cold weather. The plaster then began to fume excessively, and Jovian was smothered by the vapour.

Book VI: Chapter XXXIII.

1. One[7] thousand one hundred and eighteen years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 365: Clinton 364], Valentinian succeeded to the government of the Romans, and he held it eleven years. He was before a chief officer of Julian's soldiers. Julian ordered him either to leave Christianity or his office, when he chose rather to leave his office, than Christianity. But God afterwards brought him to greater honour, since he had forsaken the less for the love of him, so that he had the government of the very empire, that his adversary before held.

2. Soon afterwards he gave half his empire[8] to his brother Valens; and he ordered Procopius, who then wished to reign, to

6 Oros. l. VII: c. 31. Haver. p. 547.

7 Oros. l. VII: c. 32. Haver. p. 548—550.

8 The army unanimously elected Valentinian emperor Feb. 26th 364, and he declared

be put to death, and many others with him. Valens had been taught by an Arian bishop, named Eudoxius; but he hid it very closely from his brother, because he knew that he would avenge it, if he found out that he was in one belief, and himself in another; for he knew how steadfast he was before in his belief, when he had less power.

3. In the same year [A. D. 364], Athanaric, king of the Goths, made many martyrs of the Christians among his people. In those days Valentinian forced the Saxons back to their own country, when they would wage war against the Romans: they were settled near the ocean. He also with-held the Burgundians from waging war upon the Gauls. What mostly with-held them was, that baptism was promised them. In the eleventh year of his reign, the Sarmatians pillaged Pannonia: when he was going thither with an army, he died of a rushing of blood [apoplexy].

Book VI: Chapter XXXIV.

1. One[9] thousand one hundred and twenty-nine years after the building of Rome [Orosius A. D. 375. Alfred 376: Clinton 364], Valens, brother of Valentinian, succeeded to the government of the Romans; and Gratian, son of Valentinian, succeeded to the government of Italy, and of Gaul and of Spain, under Valens. What he had before closely hidden, he shewed openly when he ordered that monks—who ought to forsake worldly things, and weapons of war—should take arms and fight with them, and do evil with other men. He sent into Egypt, and ordered to put down all the monkish customs, which his brother had before settled; and some of the monks he ordered to be put to death,—some driven into banishment.

2. In those days there was in Africa, a man, called Firmus, who wished for the government. Then Valens sent thither his officer,

his brother Valens Augustus, and gave him half the empire on the 28th of March following. *Clinton, p.* 127. The empire was thus divided into the

Western empire,	years reigned	From A. D.	and the Eastern empire.	years reigned	From A. D.
Valentinian I	11	364 to 375.	Valens	14.	364 to 378
Gratian	16	367 — 383.			
	6	378 — 384.	Theodosius I.	16.	379 — 395
Valentinian II.	17	375 — 392.	Arcadius	13.	395 — 408
Theodosius I.	3	392 — 395.			
		[Emperor of the West as well as the East]			
Honorius	28	395 — 423.			

9 Oros. l. VII: c. 33. Havcr. p. 550—554.

Theodosius, with an army,—father of the good Theodosius, who was afterwards emperor. Firmus was taken in that expedition, and led forth to be put to death; then he himself begged that he might first be baptized. When he was baptized, he had, by the teaching of the mass-priest, who baptized him, such full belief of the kingdom of heaven, that he said to the people—"Do now as you will"; and leaned forward to them, that they might cut off his head; and he became a martyr of Christ.

3. In those days, Gratian fought in Gaul against the Alamanni, and slew many thousands of them. In the third year of his reign, when he did the greatest wrong to the servants of God, the Goths drove him out of their country; and they afterwards went over the river Danube into the dominion of Valens, and asked that they might settle peaceably in his dominion. Then he scorned either to forbid or grant it; but let them settle where they would. But his procurators and officers pressed them for tribute, and they had great strife about it, until the Goths routed them in battle.

4. When Valens heard of it, in the city Antioch, he was very sorry and thought of his misdeeds, how they had prayed for a right belief and font of baptism; and, for teachers, he sent to them Arian bishops, and heretics, as he himself was; and what he had often done to the injury of God's servants. However, where he knew any one to be living, he gave orders to send for him, and then, though it was late, he commanded him to be honoured.—In the fourth year of his reign he fought against the Goths, and was routed and driven into a village, and was burnt to death in a house. Thus it was ended by a very just judgment, when they burnt him in this world, who thought to burn them for everlasting.

Book VI: Chapter XXXV.

1. One[1] thousand one hundred and thirty-three years after the building of Rome [Orosius A. D. 379: Alfred 380: Clinton 378], Gratian[2] succeeded to the government of the Romans, and held it six years. He chose Theodosius to help him, because he thought that the nations, that were their enemies, were become

1 Oros. l. VII: c. 34. Haver. p. 554—556.

2 Gratian was raised to the rank of Augustus by his father Valentinian in A. D. 367 at the age of eight years. He succeeded to the Eastern Empire in 378 on the death of his uncle Valens; but, as the Goths were troublesome, he appointed Theodosius to be the Emperor of the east in 379. See chap. 33, § 2, note 8.

too strong to be any longer overcome by war. Theodosius, therefore, made peace with them; and, in that peace, he took with him to Constantinople Athanaric, their king, who, shortly afterwards, died there. As soon as the Goths heard how good Theodosius was, both they, and all the people that were in Scythia, wished for peace with him.

2. In those days, the Britons chose Maximus for their emperor, against his will, who was worthy of the government of all the Romans, for his manifold virtues, save that he then fought against his lord by the advice of other men. Soon afterwards, he went into Gaul, and slew Gratian, and drove Valentinian, his brother, out of Italy, and he fled to Theodosius.

Book VI: Chapter XXXVI.

1. One [3] thousand one hundred and thirty-eight years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 385: Clinton 378], Theodosius succeeded to the government of the Romans, and held it eleven years. Six years before, he had the government of the eastern parts. Theodosius then thought how he could avenge Gratian his lord, and also bring his brother to the government, and led an army into Italy, where Maximus was encamped with a force at the city Aquileia, and had ordered his general Andragathius to keep the pass; but the general intrusted the keeping of it to sluggish men, and thought of going round by the east in ships, and then stealing upon Theodosius behind. But as soon as he was gone from the pass towards the ships, Theodosius came to it and found few men there, who were bad and sluggish; and he soon drove them away, and broke through the pass, and then went over the mountains till he came to Aquileia, and slew Maximus. When the general heard that, he drowned himself. By the fall of these two, how easily God ended the great war, which Maximus and his general had stirred up with many nations!

2. After that, Valentinian again succeeded to the empire. About two years afterwards, when he came into Gaul, Arbogastes his general smothered him, and then hung him up with ropes by the neck, just as if he had put himself to death, without knowing what he was doing. He placed Eugenius as emperor, with the name of the sovereignty and took to himself the power; for he

3 Oros. l. VII: c. 35. Haver. p. 557—562.

could not have the name of emperor, because he was not a Roman; but he taught the other to enter fully into idolatry. Then Theodosius again led an army against them both, to the same pass, which he formerly took from Maximus. Theodosius then sent before him an army of the Goths to break through the pass; but they were surrounded from the mountains, and all slain: they were ten thousand. Theodosius, therefore, marched thitherward, and knew that they would surround him by the same stratagem. When they were before each other, Eugenius and Arbogastes thought that they could first drive them from the mountains by the shots of their arrows; but God sent such a wind against them, that they could not shoot an arrow from them, without every one of them coming either upon themselves or upon the earth. Theodosius had the wind with him, so that his army could fasten almost every one of their arrows in their enemies. Eugenius was slain there, and Arbogastes stabbed himself. Then Theodosius went into Italy; and, when he came to the city Milan, he died, and gave up the government to his two sons.

Book VI: Chapter XXXVII.

1. "One[4] thousand one hundred and forty-nine years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 396: Clinton 395], Arcadius succeeded to the government of the eastern part, and held it twelve years[5]; and Honorius to the western part, and even yet holds it,"[6] said Orosius.

2. And, because they were young,[7] Theodosius placed them under the care of his two generals: Arcadius was placed under Rufinus, and Honorius was placed under Stilico. But they soon afterwards made known what lordly faithfulness they thought of shewing to their old master's children, if they could have done it. Rufinus wished to have the government of the east for himself; and Stilico wished to give this of the west

4 Very much abridged from Oros. l. VII: c. 36. Haver. p. 563—566.

5 Clinton says 13 years, from A. D. 395 to 408. See l. VI: c. 33 § 2 note 8.

6 This chapter must, therefore, have been written after A. D. 408, in which year Arcadius died. Augustine, writing to Jerome in A. D. 415, calls Orosius a young man. See p. 11. Orosius, therefore, wrote this history early in life, probably between A. D. 410 and 416. See l. II: c. 1 § 2 note 2, p. 78; and Introduction p. 14 and 15 note 24.

7 Oros. l. VII: c. 37 and 38 Haver. p. 567—572.

to his son. And because of this fiendish feeling, he left the Goths in Italy, with their two kings, Alaric and Rhadagaisus, and thought, when the people were overcome, that they would afterwards do all that he wished; and hoped also that he could soon keep back the Goths from the war, because he was born in their land. Shortly afterwards, Alaric became a Christian, and Rhadagaisus remained a heathen, and daily sacrificed to idols by slaying men, and he was always most pleased, if they were Romans.

3. "Even now, it may shame you Romans," said Orosius, "that ye should have had so mean a thought, for fear of one man, and for one man's sacrificing, as when ye said, that the heathen times were better than the Christian, and also, that it were better for yourselves to forsake Christianity,and take to the heathen customs, which your elders formerly followed. Ye may also think how worthless he afterwards was, in his sacrifices, and his idolatry, in which he lived, when ye had him bound and then treated him as ye would, and all his army, which, as ye yourselves said, was two hundred thousand, yet not one of you was wounded."

Book VI: Chapter XXXVIII.

1. One[8] thousand one hundred and sixty-four years after the building of Rome [Orosius and Alfred A. D. 411: Clinton 410], God shewed his mercy to the Romans, when he allowed their misdeeds to be avenged, and yet it was done by Alaric, the most Christian and the mildest of kings. He sacked Rome with so little violence, that he ordered no one should be slain,—and that nothing should be taken away, or injured, that was in the churches. Soon after that, on the third day, they went out of the city of their own accord; so there was not a single house burnt by their order.

2. There[9] Ataulf, Alaric's kinsman, took the sister of Honorius,

8 Oros. l. VII: c. 39. Haver. p. 573—575.

9 Oros. l. VII: c. 40. Haver. p. 576—578. Alfred has omitted chap. 41, 42 and 43 of the original Latin of Orosius. In this 43rd chapter, which Alfred has omitted, Orosius, addressing his aged friend, Augustine, thus speaks of the space of time embraced by his history. Explicui, adjuvante Christo, secundum tuum præceptum, beatissime pater Augustine, ab initio mundi usque in præsentem diem, hoc est, *per annos quinquies mille sexcentos et septemdecim*, cupiditates et punitiones hominum peccatorum, conflictationes seculi, et judicia Dei. Haver. p. 587, 8. Mr Clinton, in writing to me on the subject, says, "That the numbers 5617, quoted by you from Oros. I. VII: c. 43, are the genuine numbers of Oros. appears from l. I: c. 1. Haver. p. 7, 1," where he says—Sunt ab Adam,

the king, and afterwards agreed with him, and took her for his wife [A. D. 414]. Then the Goths settled there in the country,—some by the wish of the emperor,—some against his wish: some of them went into Spain, and there settled,—some into Africa.

primo homine, usque ad Ninum, quando natus est Abraam, *anni ter mille centum octoginta et quatuor.* 3184

A Nino autem vel Abraam, usque ad nativitatem Christi, colliguntur *anni bis mille quindecim.* 2015

Add the date of the work of Orosius 416

These numbers make together the sum of . . . . . 5615.

Orosius follows Eusebius who gives these numbers,—

From Adam to the Flood 2242

From the Flood to Abraham 942

Making together from Adam to Abraham . . . . . 3184.

From Abraham to Christ 2015

Add the 416 years 416

The sum of these dates from Eusebius is the same as those above from Orosius 5615.

Eusebius obtained these periods by following the longer generations of the LXX. The shorter generations of the Hebrew Bible would be from Adam to Christ 4004, to which add 416 will give 4420 years, over which the history of Orosius extends. See before, p. 77, note 1: and p. 61, note 1.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 17, line	—		Dele note 1.	
21,	22	For	magician	Read idol
22,	2		Caperone	Capparonia
	11		Collatinus	Calatinus
23,	35		Veriatus	Viriathus
27,	28		Jovinianus	Jovian
28,	3		Maximianus	Maximus
37,	5		east	north
47,	30		England	Britain
51,	39		note 76	note 73
56,	27		at	as
	39		p. 73.	p. 73, note 89
	40		DELE note 89	
59, 8,	9		on the west the Troglodytæ. The country.	on the west of the Troglodytæ the country
	16		Byzacium, in which is,	Byzacium contains
	16		Adrumetus.	Hadrumetum
59,	17		Senges	Zeugis
	25		Astria	Astrix
	29	For	Albenas,	Read Abennis
64,	10		חעלב	חעלב
70,	21		Thyestres	Thyestes
75, 11,	34		Harpalus	Harpagus
78,	32		Sect. 23 note	Sect. 2 note 9
84, 4 and pp. 149,151,			Cneius	Cneus
85,	18		tyncenum	barrels
	n. 1		DELE now puncheons.	
94,	4		Was it . . ?	It was . !
111,	24		with which he seduced.	that he might seduce
113,	1		DANUS.	DARIUS.
119,	29		as if he had not	as he had
120,	2		magician	idol
	9		forgive this fault	forgive his son this fault.

(1) As Hadrumetum, so Hadrian, Hasdrubal, and Hannibal, with H initial, usually omitted in A. S.

THE END.

AN ESSAY

ON

The Geography of King Alfred the Great,

Taken from his A. S. Version of Orosius:

CONTAINING

ALFRED'S DESCRIPTION OF EUROPE IN THE 9TH CENTURY,

AND HIS ACCOUNT OF

THE VOYAGES OF OHTHERE AND WULFSTAN INTO THE WHITE AND BALTIC SEAS:

BY

R. T. HAMPSON ESQ.

AUTHOR OF "*Medii Ævi Kalend.*" "*Origines Patriciæ,*" &c.

ESSAY ON

KING ALFRED'S GEOGRAPHY,

AND THE NORTHERN VOYAGE OF

OHTHERE AND WULFSTAN.

1. It is justly remarked by the Rev. Dr Bosworth, among the notes to his translation of the Anglo-Saxon Orosius, that the geographical notices, relating to Europe, in Section X of the version, are invaluable, "as being the only account of the Germanic nations, written by a contemporary, so early as the ninth century." The same opinion has been formed of it by men of erudition on the continent, particularly in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden; and the names of Porthan, Raske, Dahlmann[1] and others, who have translated Alfred's "precious fragment of antiquity,[2]" and investigated the geographical problems which it presents, will ever be associated with that of the truly great monarch of England. I cannot but remember the disappointment, which I experienced, on examining with attention M. D'Anville's learned disquisition on the foundation of the states of Europe as geographically situated before the French revolution at the close of the last century, at finding that this distinguished geographer made no reference to a work, in which Europe in the 9th century, when we first behold the germs of future empires and kingdoms, was already sketched with the vivacity of an actual map.[3] He shews no sign of a knowledge, that there existed such a record of the physical appearance of the continent, and yet, although he might never have seen the Latin translation of the two northern voyages in Alfred's Orosius, in Sir John Spelman's *Vita Ælfredi*, he could scarcely have been ignorant of Hakluyt's Voyages, where

1 Professor Dahlmann, Forschungen auf den Gebiete der Gerschichte, Altona, 12mo, 1822.—Prof. Raske, Afhandlinger, Köbenhavn, 8vo, 1834.

2 Le Comte J. Gräber, La Scandinavie Vengée. p. 36.

3 D'Anville, Etats formés en Europe après la Chûte de l'Empire Romaine en l'Occident, Paris, 4to, 1774.

they are inserted. It is very true, that D'Anville chiefly occupied himself with Germania and Europe South of the Danube, but one of the Voyagers mentions places on the German shores of the Baltic, about which there was a difficulty, well deserving of elucidation, and he describes very curious customs in the present Pomerania of Prussia.

Owing to the neglect of Saxon literature, which seems to have been one consequence of the destruction of the monastic libraries, so pathetically bewailed by John Bale, about the reign of Edward VI, and also to the superior claims of the treasures of Greece and Rome, no attention appears to have been bestowed, for a long time, on the works of the illustrious Alfred, before the insertion in Hakluyt, in the 16th century, of the narrations, personally and colloquially communicated to the king by the voyagers, Ohthere and Wulfstan.[4] The English versions and notes in that collection of voyages are said to have been written by Lambarde, a learned antiquary and a successful cultivator of Anglo-Saxon literature, who is well known as the author of *Eirenarchia.* Nearly a century afterwards, Sir John Spelman obtained a Latin translation of the northern voyages from certain scholars of Oxford, "Oxonienses Alumni," and either he or they endeavoured to pursue the course and ascertain the places named by Ohthere and Wulfstan.[5] Another century elapsed before the value of these relics of antiquity interpolated by Alfred in the Spanish historian began to be appreciated by the learned. The publication of the whole of the Anglo-Saxon version of this work, with an English translation by the Hon. Daines Barrington, in 1773, seems to have conveyed the information to the public, that, besides these precious voyages, there was an original description, at a very interesting epoch, of that vast portion of Europe, which, from remote antiquity, had been comprised under the general name of Germania. Judge Barrington, a man of great erudition, and well versed in old English and Romance, or ancient French, literature, was not, however, perfectly competent to accomplish the task, which he undertook as a labour of love. Besides frequently mistaking the sense of his author, he has injudiciously adapted some conjectural emendations, and given others. That such a process, well execu-

4 Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, Voiages, &c. of the English Nation, Vol. I, p. 4, Ed. 1598, fol.

5 Spelman, Vita Ælfredi Magni, Append. VII. 1678.

ted by means of the two ancient MSS. Lauderdale and Cotton might not be advantageous to students, it would, perhaps, be bold to say, but the person who undertakes the emendations of ancient authors, though profoundly skilled in their languages, encounters the risk of making them say what they never intended. The judge enriched his translation with geographical notes of much research supplied to him by the celebrated Swedish circumnavigator and naturalist J. Reinhold Forster, the associate of Captain James Cook. A map of Europe also prepared by M. Forster accompanied the work. M. Forster's errors are chiefly attributable to the faulty translation by Barrington, but he is surely not to be blamed if his conjectures respecting the sites of places, of which the names had long been forgotten, or had become completely disguised in the vicissitudes of times and nations, are not always happy. Subsequently Forster revised his notes, and corrected the more considerable of his wanderings under the guidance of a flickering light.[6]

After Forster, Langebek, about 1773, inserted the Anglo-Saxon voyages in his collection of Danish historians and others, apparently from Barrington's publication. That he was not an inattentive editor appears from his suggestion, that the name *Cyningesheal* had been corrupted in the Anglo-Saxon MS. into *Sciringesheal,*[7] respecting which Dr Bosworth has removed all uncertainty.

In 1807, Dr Ingram the compiler and translator of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, on assuming the chair of Anglo-Saxon professor in the university of Oxford, published a new translation of Alfred's geography of Europe, with numerous explanatory notes,[8] for the most part valuable as well as curious, but, strange to say, he has preserved Barrington's original mistakes of proper names for ordinary words, when a little research among the Latin writers of this age would have shown him that Alfred's *æfeldan* were not "heath-fields" in Jutland, but the Heveldi, a warlike tribe of Slavons on or near the banks of the Havel; and that *wylte* were not "wilds, wealds, wolds," but the Wilti, Wilzi, Weleti, or Welatabi, appellations which in the Latin Chronicles of the times

6 History of Discoveries and Voyages in the North, Ed. 1786.
7 Langebek, Scriptorum Rerum Danicarum.
8 Inaugural Lecture, p. 72, 4to, 1807.

about the ninth century, denote another fierce and celebrated tribe of Slavons in the vicinity of the former.

On the continent, as before observed, Sprengel, Porthan, Raske, and Dahlmann have closely investigated the tracts of Ohthere, and Wulfstan, and the statements of Alfred. They have cleared away many of the difficulties, which remained, but in several instances, they ventured on the last resource of a faithful illustrator of the literary relics of antiquity. Where their researches have not rendered them successful in establishing the identity of names and places, they have substituted their own conjectures.

II. It will be the object of the present inquiry to endeavour to ascertain the position of the chief places, named in Alfred's geographical delineation, without violence to the text of the Saxon MS. in the Cotton library. That there are serious errors in the Greek and Latin names of places and persons, towards the middle of the codex, is incontestible, and it is equally clear, that they are attributable, not to the royal translator, but to the penman, who wrote the codex after him. Though this is true, it by no means follows, that he should be as faulty in names, with which, we may presume, if he were a Saxon,[9] he was more familiar, than with those which occur in the account of Alexander's Asiatic conquests, and in some other places. Indeed, it seems that great reliance may be placed upon this important portion of the manuscript, except in one solitary instance, where, by a slight slip of the pen, either in ignorance or inattention, an Anglo-Saxon *s* has become an *r*, as plainly appears from the sense of the context.[10]

9 It is by no means certain, that the Saxon remains in England are in the hand writing of Saxons. For the most part, the mechanical execution of the MSS. is very neat, and may be termed beautiful. It was stated some years ago in the *Athenæum*, as a proof of learning at an early period among the Irish, that the Saxon MSS. were the work of Irish monks. The fact, if true, proves nothing more than their skill in that kind of penmanship, which consists in carefully drawing the outlines of letters upon vellum, and then filling them up with ink colours, by the process which boys in writing schools contemptuously call painting letters. One thing is certain, that some of the MSS. have been written or painted by persons, who had no knowledge of the language, or at least, whose acquaintance with it was very imperfect. It is not unusual to find several words run together as if they were a single word, and often a word of significance is enclosed between the end of the preceding and the beginning of the following, as if the strange compound were one word. The same observation applies to the Latin MSS of the Saxons and to the Greek and Latin passages inserted in their vernacular compositions. Examples of this sort of blundering may be seen in the curious Greek Symbolum in Saxon letters, of which Suicer has given a corrected copy in the second volume of his Thesaur. Antiquit. Eccles.

10 Dr Bosworth, Translation, B. I, ch. 1, § 18.

With the intention of adhering to that which is my original, I am precluded from classifying the different peoples of Europe according to their races, Finns with Finns, Slavons with Slavons, and Teutons with Teutons, because that method will demand too many repetitions to follow Alfred in the course taken by himself; for it must be borne in mind, that for the purpose of his description of Europe, he stations himself on a particular spot, whence, as from a centre, he surveys the countries around him and indicates their situation relatively to each other and to his centre. In like manner, we are constrained to place ourselves on the deck with Ohthere or Wulfstan, and to observe the direction of his hand, as he names the places by which the vessel is sailing. Were we to do otherwise, we should soon be obscured in a mist of doubt, and wrecked in a sea of conjecture. By adopting this method we shall find, that Alfred is exact in his cardinal points, and that he does not miss the bearing of his places, as supposed first by Forster, and afterwards by Rask and Dahlman, who have led themselves into error by considering Alfred to have described the situation of all his places from one and the same spot, where he commenced. There are, however, plain indications that, having filled up a circle, he removed to another centre, until he completed his Germania.

III. What is Alfred's Germania? Professor Rask wishes to exclude from it all Scandinavia, or to consider the whole of a vast region as Gothic. We have to attend to Alfred's boundaries,[11] in order to understand what he considered to be Germania. He has supplied the demarcation of Germania on the north, which Strabo, Tacitus, and later of the ancient writers did not clearly define, left but in vague and imaginary traditions respecting the Hyperboreans. He has understood, and is probably right, that the term Germania comprehended all Europe between the Danube and the extreme north or Frozen ocean, and included a vast region of which very little was previously known beyond the Eastern or Baltic Sea. Alfred's description seems too clear to admit dispute. The words material to the question are these:

11 He calls them *land gemære*, which judge Barrington, with a laudable desire to render Saxon in English words of Saxon origin, translates *land marks*; but *mær*, though perhaps not elsewhere preserved in the same sense among the remains of Anglo-Saxon, appears to be allied to the Lithuanian *miera*, a measure, Polish, *miara*, and Latin *meare*, in the primary sense of measuring out a road. All these are related to the Sanskrit root *ma*, to measure.—See Dr Pott's Etymologische Forschungen, 1, 194, 5, Lemgo, 8vo, 1813.

"From the river Tanais westward to the Rhine, which springs from the Alps, and then runs right northwards on the sea's arm which lies around Britain—

— "And again south to the river Danube whose source is near the Rhine, and afterwards runs eastward against Greece, and out into the Wendel, or Vandal Sea,[12]" near the Mediterranean and Adriatic Gulf—

— "And northward to the ocean [13] which is called Cwen Sea, now the White Sea. Within this are many nations and it is all called Germania."

If the Cwen Sea can be identified with the Baltic, M. Rask's hypothesis, that Scandinavia is not comprised in Alfred's Germania, is an established truth; but it will be found from another part, that, in common with the Germans and Northmen, Alfred

12 He invariably names this sea the *Wendel Sea*. Vindelicus Sinus occurs in Orosius for the Adriatic, probably so called from the Illyrian Vindelici. Adam of Bremen speaks of the *Mare Wendile*, meaning the northern *Sinus Venedicus* of the ancients. "Hæc est strata Ottonis Cæsaris usque ad mare novissimum Wendile, quod usque in hodiernum diem ex victoria regis *Ottinsund* appellatur." Page 130.

The Baltic may have been called the Venedic Gulf from the Veneti or Wenden on the German coast; but some of these Slavonians occupied the northern portion of Jutland, and Adam takes their station to be an island, though only a small peninsula, formed between the Lüm Fiord on the south, and Leigestrup on the north. He names this peninsula now called Vendsyssel, and Funen, Wendila: "Finni insula est non modica post eam, quæ Wendila dicitur in ostio Barbari occurrens." p. 132. Before the 5th century, the "Wendla leod," (*Beowulf*, l. 193) or Vandals, had established themselves in Andalusia and Africa. Their seats in the north gave names to the Venedicus Sinus, which Ortelius understands to be that part of the Baltic which is between Prussia, Livonia and Sweden. "Hæc (Gothia) in Venedico sinu ante Chersini ostia jacet, mater Gepidarum, Rugiorum, Vandalorum, Longobardorum, Herulorum, Turcilingorum, Hunnorum, Vinnulorum, Visigothorum, Ostrogothorum, et Gothorum: Infesta et formidata terris nomina." Fortunately we shall have little to do with them. Morisot, Orbis Maritim. l. I, c. 36, p. 258, 9. All over the north, traces of the Vandals are found in the names of cities and districts.

13 The name of ocean in Alfred is *garsecg*, which I always thought to be *gars eeg*, quasi *geardes ecg*, the border or boundary of the land, until I saw in Mr Kemble's note to Beowulf, the derivation *gar secg*, a man armed with a spear, a term referring, he supposes, to some ancient myth. It is certainly possible, that the northmen had a myth similar to that of Neptune with his trident; but it does not seem likely that a poetical or mythological fiction should have furnished the name of the ocean. Undoubtedly our forefathers believed with others still older than themselves, that the earth was a vast plain encompassed by boundless waters: *καὶ τὰς Ἡρακλειους στηλας, ὢν ἐξω περιρρει την γην ὁ ωκεανος.* Aristot. de Mundo, 3. There seems to be little hazard in referring *gar* or *geard*, whence we have *earth*, which is still pronounced *yarth* in Lancashire, to the Gothic *gards*, a house, connected with *gairdan*, to gird, or encircle, in the same language. All these words have the latest signification of inclosure, whether we see them in the form of *gard*, a city, a *yard* or a *garden*, Fr. *jardin*, and I must still believe *garsecg* to be the water boundary of the earth, or, more literally, the edge of the earth defined by the ocean, and so at length, the ocean itself.

gives the name of East Sea to the Baltic in order to distinguish it from the German Ocean, which was the West Sea; and from Ohthere, that he sailed northward from Halogaland in Norway round the North Cape, and along the coast, until he came to a sea running southward into the continent, which he names the Cwen Sea. Consequently, Alfred's Germania extended from the Don on the East, to the German Ocean and the Rhine on the west; and from the Danube, on the south, to the frozen Ocean and the White or Cwen sea, on the north. This definition is so clear, ample, and comprehensive, that we cannot but wonder how so learned a man as Rask, believed that he excluded Scandinavia.

IV. It will now be necessary to place ourselves in each of Alfred's centres of observation, and to accompany him just as he removes himself. His first position is that part of Europe eastward of the Rhine, which in the middle ages was known as Francia Orientalis or eastern Frankland,—the Frankland of the Northmen. At an early period, the term *Franci*, A.-Sax. *Francan*, O. Germ. *Vranken*,[14] denominated a number of tribes, to whom the Romans gave distinct appellations. Schildius quotes an ancient Itinerary Table, containing the following gentile names: —"Chauci, Ampsivarii, Cherusci, Chamavi, qui et Franci"; and lower down he found FRANCIA, which he prints in large characters.[15] It is probable that the tribes thus designated were formed into a league or confederacy similar to that of the Alemanni; but the Franci Orientales, the East Franks of Alfred, comprised also

14 It is the name of the country rather than of the people:

Gab her ihme dngidi	*He gave to him nobles,*
fronisc githigni	*pleasing co-thanes,*
stuel hier in Vranken	*a throne here in Frankland.*

Song on Hludwig's Victory over the Northmen in 882.

Liess der heidena mann	*He allowed the heathen men*
ober sie lidan	*upon them to be led,*
thiot Vrancono	*the people of Franks*
mannon sin diono.	*to serve with his men (soldiers).*

Same, st. 4.

15 Joh. Schild. De Caucis, l. 1, c. 7, p. 48. Lugd. Batav. 1649. It scarcely deserves to be mentioned that there is a short decree of a king of the Franks, in the name of the Franks, commanding the Sicambri to be called Franks for the future. The marginal date, "Anno Mundi 3949," throws a doubt on the authenticity of this instrument, but there is a probability, that some anonymous king of the Franks may have issued such an order after the Christian era. Goldasti Constit. Imperial. t. I, p. i, p. 3.

the Bructeri, Sicambri, Attuarii, and Salii. The first mention of the Franks, according to M. D' Anville, occurs in Vopiscus, where that writer is speaking of their defeat near Maience by Aurelian, in the middle of the third century. In 272, Probus repressed the incursions of the Franks, and is said to have been the first emperor who adopted the surname of Francicus. In the 4th century, the name of Francia was given to the country extending from the Rhine to the Weser, and bounded beyond the latter river by Thuringia. Charlemagne farther enlarged this country, and extended Francia from the Saxe to the Danube, and from the Rhine on the west, to the Sala on the east where it enters Thuringen.[16] The Latin addition of Orientalis is probably a translation of the German, and with it had reference to the Frankish settlements in Gaul. Franconofurt is stated in the Annals of Fulda to be the metropolis of the eastern kingdom, "—principalis sedes orientalis regni." D' Anville judiciously observes, that we are not to be surprised at finding Francia Orientalis employed to denominate all Germany; for princes who have reigned there without descending from Charlemagne, have been styled "Reges Francorum Orientalium"; and that it is only since the 13th century, that the name of Francia, previously used in the title of the ancient Frank monarchy, was insensibly lost to it, and used only for the French kings of what had been Francia Orientalis.[17]

Alfred assigns to the east Franks the same situation as Eginhard the secretary of Charlemagne. On a loose computation, for there can be little expectation of certainty in such matters, they appear at this time to have occupied about three thousand square miles.

The etymology of the word Frank, at one time synonymous with freeman, and among us a title of minor nobility, franklin, and in France denominating a species of fief, has been much disputed. It certainly means free only inasmuch as a Frank was free. The Sanskrit *prangch,* does not distinguish them from the other immigrants from Asia. Eccard believes the name to be formed from Urac, as Warangus from Varegus, and he cites the Anglo-Saxon wræc, "latro, exul, ein avanturier, pyrata," to explain Wargus and Urac.[18] Warangus is very probable when

16 Eginhard, Vita Karoli Magni.
17 D' Anville, Etats formés en Europe, p. 18.
18 Barker's Germany of Tacitus, c. 39, n. 4. p. 75.

taken in the sense of a military freebooter, when piracy and rapine were deemed honourable occupations. He observes that Snorro uses Fracoland.[1] Both Frackland and Frankariki occur in Iceland Sagas[2]; and the anonymous author of a manuscript Icelandic and Latin dictionary in the British Museum, gives "*Frackland,* Franconia; item Gallia, vulgo Franka rike; incolæ hic olim Frackar.[3]

V. Standing on the territory of the East Franks, Alfred places Suabia on their south, across the Danube, and on their South East the Bavarians, to whom he assigns the part which is called Regensburh, still called in modern German, Regensburg, which is situated at the influx of the rivers Danube and Regen, whence the name. In English maps of Germany, it is named Ratisbon, from an older Ratispona, or Radisbona in the Latin Chronicles.

1. The names *Swæfas* in Anglo Saxon, *Schwæbe* in modern German, and *Suevi* in the Roman writers, are too obviously identical to call for remark; but the people so designated, anciently occupied several parts of the continent at the same time.[4] Their appellation was generic, like that of the body of distinct tribes, who composed the Allemannic confederacy, and the name Suevi was frequently interchanged with that of Allemanni.[5] Forster observes that the part of Europe indicated by Alfred, and forming a portion of the modern Schwæbe or Suabia was called Allemannia[6] from the time of Caracalla; but here were also the Catti or Chatti, who, as Tacitus states, composed but one nation or tribe. If we are to dwell on this circumstance, we shall, perhaps, find reason to conclude, either that they were a part of the Suevi, or that they were forced northward, when the Hermanduri took possession of the seats evacuated by the Suevi

1 Catal. Theot. 2 Norna, Gests Saga, capp. 3, 4.

3 Ayscough's Collect. MSS. Cod. 4880.

4 Nunc de Suevis dicendum est, quarum non una, ut Chattorum Tencterorumve, gens: majorem enim Germaniæ partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quanquam in commune *Suevi* vocarentur.—De Mor. Germ. 38. Ed. E H. Barker, 18 5. They were probably the Σκουηοι of Strabo, l. VII. whose territories stretched from the Rhine to the Elbe, and of whom a part lived on the other side of the latter river.

5 Suevia, hoc est, Alemannia—Suevorum, hoc est, Alemannorum.—Paul. Warnefrid. de Gest. Longobard. l. II, c. 15. l. III. c. 18. Lugd. Bat. 12mo 1595. Dio Cassius calls them Αλαμβαννοι which in a name almost universally considered to be Germanic, has a very Keltic sound and appearance; for *bann*, in Armoric, is a province, and *alban*, whence *Albani*, is the upper part, while *all mann* is a foreigner, as in the French law phrase *droit d'aubain*, in which aubain is a stranger, who has not been naturalised in the country, in which he resides.

in the Hercynian Forest. The composition of this great league gives probability to the usual derivation of Allemanni, from *all* and *man* in the Teutonic dialects, and if so, it is but a common word appropriated for a gentile appellation; nevertheless, by an extension of the idea common to all ancient and warlike people, the word *man* denotes a soldier, a hero, while *all* was a strengthening augment, so that Allemanni may equally have been an appellation prompted by military vanity. The name, however, is the direct progenitor of the French name of Allemagne applied to the whole of Germany, while the more ancient term designated what is now only a province. The French suggests another Teutonic derivation perfectly conformable to the usage of rude barbarians, and significant of their own opinion of their strength and prowess. Of this name, however, Dr Bosworth has given an account, which will, no doubt, be deemed satisfactory. At all events, it proves that as early as the 6th century, it was believed to relate to the union of many nations. He cites Agathias a Greek writer of that time, who relying on Asinius Quadratus, an Italian, but a careful historian of Germany, says that the Alamanni, *Αλαμαννοι*, are collected from various nations, and signify that fact in the term by which they denominate themselves.[6] It is more to our purpose to know, that this name is much more ancient, for we are told that a king of the Allemanni in 366 was taken and hanged by the Avari, under Valentinian and Valens.[7]

The Allemannic Confederacy sustained a severe defeat from Hludwig, (Chlodovæus of the Latins, and Clovis of the old French writers; now Louis) and his Franks, at a place called Tolbiac, now Zulpich, near the heights of Cologne, between the Meuse and the Rhine. We may, perhaps, regard this as their principal station. Afterwards they were subjects of Theodoric, king of Austrasia, a name which has direct reference to East Frankland. This monarch was the son of Hludwig. The complete subjugation of the Allemanni was effected by Theodebert, son of Theodoric, and thenceforth Allemannia was a province of the Frankish monarchy, forming a duchy in Suevia, part of Helvetia, and the country of the Grisons.[8]

6 Dr Bosworth, Origin of the German and English Languages, Sect. VIII, p. 120, note.—As usual, Professor Pott of Berlin exhausts this subject. Etymologische Forschungen II. 523,4.

7 Ammian. Marcellin. l. XXVII, c. 3, p. 270.

8 D'Anville, p. 14.

2. Bavaria, on the south east of the east Franks, was considered a part of Slaviana, and by Adam of Bremen is named Beguaria.[9] In much the same manner, Alfred calls the inhabitants Bægðware, and from some form of the word of this kind, we have the modern German Bayern, Bavaria; but the people themselves were a portion of the Boii, distinguished by mediæval writers with the termination *ar—er—wer—vir*, denoting man, an inhabitant, from another division of the Boii called Boiohemi, who occupied what is now Bohemia. The Boii succumbed to the Marcomanni, under their king Marobudus, in the time of Augustus, and thus their country, Boiohemum, was placed under the rule of the conquerors. From the name of these new occupants of the territory, anciently held by the Boii, Mark, or March-men, i. e. men of the marches or borders, it is probable, that the conquerors came from the mountains which form the boundaries of Boiohemum. However this may be, it is very probable, that the Boioarii or Bægðware, were those Boii, who then abandoned their seats. That they did so appears from Tacitus, in whose days the Marcomanni were on this spot.[1]

Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, is supposed to have taken possession of Rhætia, and a part of Boioaria, for after his death in 526, his son Theodoric king of Austrasia, who was living in 534, aggrandised himself in that country, the first of the laws of which is attested and authorised in his name. In 594 or 596 it was in the power of Childebert, king of the Franks, when he appointed Thessilo or Tassilo 1 to be king of the Bajoarii.[2] Charles Martel led an army into the country in 725, and also in 728, according to the testimony of the Annalists, but as its name does not occur in the partition of the provinces of the Franks between Pepin and Charlemagne, the sons of Martel, we cannot affirm, that Bavaria was entirely subjugated. It is styled a duchy of the Franks under Ogdilo, "dux Bajoariorum," in 743, when a papal legate, charged with an interdict of all war against Ogdilo,

9 Longitudo (Slavianæ) autem illa videtur, quæ initium habet ab nostra Hammaburgensi parochia, et porrigitur in orientem, infinitis aucta spaciis, usque in Beguariam, Ungriam, et Græciam.—Ad. Brem. Hist. Eccles. p. 46. Lugd. Batav. 8vo, 1595.

1 Juxta Hermunduros Narisci, ac deinde Marcomanni et Quadi agunt.—Tacit. de M. Germ. 42.

2 His diebus Tassilo, rex Bajoariorum, a Hildeberto constituitur, qui mox, Sclavis superatis, magnam exinde prædam deportavit.—Hermann. Contract. ad ann. 594, 5, Paul. Warnefried gives the date 596.

received for answer, that Bajoaria and her people belonged only to the empire of the Franks.[3] Had a similar spirit of manly independence been manifested by the immediate descendents of these warriors, the arrogance of overweening bishops of Rome would not so often have plunged Europe into war, and prolonged the night of ignorance and barbarism to the 16th century. The conclusion from the answer seems to be that the country was then subdued. Tassilo II, the son of Ogdilo, rendered homage to Pepin in 757, and to Charlemagne in 781. After this he appears to have rebelled against the latter monarch. A long decree of the year 788 issued by Charlemagne and his nobles assembled at Ingelheim is extant among the imperial constitutions, collected by Goldast. The "oratores Boiorum," who were introduced, accused him of inciting the Huns and Avares against Charlemagne, and Tassilo, who is here called Thessalonus, was convicted of high treason according to the Salic Law and adjudged to suffer death, and Boiaria was awarded to the king.[4] Theodo, his son, was made a priest or monk, and Lytopyrga, (a Greek translation of Friburga the wife of Thessalon) was commanded to reside in a convent of nuns; for the above mentioned orators accused her of instigating her husband to his disloyalty. Though some of his party were exiled, he himself seems to have evaded all punishment, for after his duchy had been committed to the administration of counts,[5] he was pardoned by Charlemagne in 794, and retired to a monastery. Ludovic or Hludwig, the stammerer, gave Bavaria as a kingdom to his son of the same name, who, having had Germany on succeeding his father, is surnamed the Germanic. In 920, Bavaria once more became a duchy, apparently in consequence of the rebellion of Arnulf against Henry III in 918, when it was "Boiariæ regnum locupletissimum" in an imperial diploma.[6] Regensburh appears to have been called "Reginum, urbs Bojoiariæ" in the Annales Rerum Francorum. Ratispona is found in Mediæval Chronicles,

3 Bajoariam Bajoariosque ad Francorum imperium pertinere.—Annal. Metens. ad ann. 143. Ogdilo is named again as "Dux Bajoariorum," in 748. Annal. Eiginhardi ad ann. eund.

4 Secundum legem itaque Salicam ex veteri instituto Thessalonus crimine læsæ majestatis reus peractus, capitali supplicio condemnatur, Boiaria Regi adjudicatur.—Goldasti Constitutiones Imperial. t. I, par. i. p. 18. Francofurt. fol. 1713.

5 Neque provincia quam tenebat Tassilo, ulterius duci, sed comitibus, ad regendum data est.—Eginhard.

6 Goldast, ut supra, p. 211.

and Cluver has "Ratisbona, vulgo Regensburg." According to him, this city was the seat of the counts, who governed Bavaria, and Munich was that of its dukes.[7]

The river Leck separated Boioaria from Suevia, and it is still the common boundary of Suabia and Bavaria. On the east, Boiaria was bounded by the Ems: on the north, it extended beyond the Danube, and included the district of Egra, which is united to Bavaria at the present day.

VI. Alfred, still pointing from the seat of the East Franks, places the Bohemians directly to the east of them; on the north east, were the Thuringians; on the north the Old Saxons, and on the north west, the Frieslanders.

1. The Bohemians of old have already been mentioned as the probable relations of the Bavarians, who were displaced by the Marcomanni. Tacitus notices that the name of Boiemi preserves the memory of its ancient occupants.[8] Our Alfred calls the inhabitants Beme, which is not very unlike the German Böhmen. The Marcomanni, who had expelled the Boii, were themselves displaced by the Czechi, a Slavonic tribe from the northern shores of the Black Sea. In the time of Charlemagne, the country was governed by Slavonic dukes, when that monarch, in 805, sent an army under his son Charles, who depopulated the whole territory, and slew Lechi, its sovereign.[9] In 904 we find the emperor Ludwig IV enacting favourable customs in the *Leges Portoriæ* then passed, for the Venedi who came to Boiemia for the purpose of merchandise, and also the Venedi, dwelling in Boiaria.[1] The name of the country, it is scarcely necessary to say, denotes the *home* of the Boii.

In the beginning of the 10th century, territories, which in Alfred's age, were alternately governed by kings, dukes, and counts, appear to have been settled under dukes, for so the rulers are styled in their attestations of the "Statuta et Privilegia Ludorum Equestrium" of the emperor Henry I in 938.

2. The Thuringi, mentioned as the Thyringas by Alfred and

7 Introd. Geogr. l. III, c. II, p. 136.

8 Manet adhuc Boiemi nomen, significatque loci veterem memoriam, quamvis mutatis cultoribus.—De M. G. 28.

9 Eodem anno misit imperator exercitum suum cum filio suo Carolo, in terram Sclavorum, qui omnem eorum terram depopulatus, ducem eorum, nomine Lechonem, occidit.—Annal. Caroli Mag. ad ann. 805.

1 Goldast. Const. Imper. I. i. p. 210, n. 6.

the contemporary author of Widsith's geographical catalogue,[2] are said to have originally been a branch of the Dacian Goths settled on the banks of the Niester. They were conjoined in the 4th century with the Victophali and Thaiphali, nations from Scythia.[3] These people appear to have crossed the Danube, and constituted a single province. Ammianus Marcellinus represents the Gothic Thervingi as governed by Judges.[4] The mention of such names as Ermanrichus and Athanaricus among them is almost conclusive of their Gothic extraction.[5] It is very probable, that as the Latin writers constantly confounded the title, philologically equivalent to their rex—*reg-s*—*rek-s*, in Goth *reiks*, O. Germ. *richi*, A.S. *rice*, O. Norse *rick-r* with the personal name, these judges, who were celebrated for military talent and prowess, were kings and generals, like the kings and dukes under the Frank monarchs.

The presence of the Thervingi in the part of Germany, which Alfred indicates, and which still continues to be Thuringia, or the Thüringische Kreis, must be ascribed to some considerable emigration. Their Dacian neighbours appear to have accompanied them, for we find, nearly adjoining the Thuringians, both Ostphali and Westphali:

> —Westfalos vocitant in parte manentes
> Occidua, quorum non longe terminus amne
> A Rheno distat. — Saxo Poeta, de Vita Kar. Magni, ad an. 772.

The termination of these names, *phal, fal,* has given some trouble to those who have sought for a knowledge of the people designated with them. Forster supposes them to have been Saxons; "When the Franks," he says, "had conquered France, the Saxons took possession of their seats even to the Rhine; and those of them who lived on the west shores of the Weser were called Westphali from the old word *fahlen, wahlen, dwalen,* to dwell, because they really were to the west; those who were to the east of the Weser, bore the name of Ostphali, i. e. the east-

2 Incip. Wid siþ maþelode, &c. Addit. MSS. Brit. Mus. Cod. 9067. fol. 84b—85b.

3 Provincia trans Danubium facta in his agris, quos nunc Thaiphali tenent, et Victiphali, et Theruingi.—Eutropius, l. VII.

4 Athanaricus ea tempestate (A. D. 366) judicem potentissimum—coegit in fugam.—Judicesque etiam nunc eligunt, diuturno bellandi usu spectatos.—Amm. Marcell. l. XXVII, c. 5, p. 377. l. XXXI. c. 2. p. 478.

5 Ermenrichi nobilissimi regis.—Ib. l. XXI. c. 3. Doctus Athanaricus Thervingorum judex.—Ib. l. XXXI. c. 3. p. 479.

dwellers, and part of them extending to the north along the Weser, were the Angrivarii or Angrii." Yet M. Forster has just mentioned the Thaiphali and Victophali, who occur elsewhere in Europe before the Frank conquest of Gaul. Another derivation, from the old Swedish *fala*, a field or plain, is inapplicable to the latter names, which are Scythian. It seems to belong to a root which is common to Teutonic, Slavic, and Keltic, and which, besides giving rise to designations of peoples and countries, as Wales, Welsh, Gallia, Walloon, *Γαλαται*, appears in the low Latin *wallus*, a stranger. What was East Frankland, Francia Orientalis, was known as Valland to the Scandinavians, who also gave the same name to Italy.

Theodoric, king of Austrasia, the son of Ludwig or Chlodovæus, conquered the country of the Thuringians, when the Saxons were rewarded for their assistance on this occasion, with the possession of Nord Duringen, or the portion of Thuringia separated from the rest by the river Unstrut, which enters the Sala on its left. From this territory the Saxons preceeded, who accompanied the Longobards into Italy, when their evacuated seats were filled with the Suevi whom Lothaire and Sigebert expelled; and, according to D'Anville, a canton on the left of the Sala, below the Unstrut, was known in the middle ages as Suavia. In a donation of certain privileges in mines by Charlemagne, "Terræ Saxonum et Thuringorum Dominator," in 746, he confers on his sons, Charles and Ludoic, the hereditary right of seeking and digging for gold, silver, and all other metals in the tract, now called Thuringer Wald, or Thuringian Wood, which is defined to be 20 miles in length and 10 in breadth,[1] or about 66 by 33 English, which gives upwards of 2100 square miles. Charlemagne commemorates his subjugation of the Saxons in 777 in a confirmation of the privileges, apparently claimed on that occasion by his Frank and German nobles.[2] This expression seems to deny the Franks to be Germans. When he and Pepin[3] and others use the

1 Paul, Warnefied, l. l. c. 4.

2 Tractum regionis in *Saltu* nostro *Thuringiaco* ad 20 milliaria in longitudine et 10 in latitudine jure hereditario possidendum et facultatem damus in territorio districti illius dominatione's quærere et fodere aurum argentumque, atque omnia metalla uti debeatis et possitis. — Goldasti Constit. Imperial. I. i. 17. This diploma is better evidence of the antiquity of the name, Der Thuringer Wald, than the existence of gold and silver mines.

3 Goldast: III. i. p. 120.

style, "Rex Francorum et Longobardorum," we understand the reason.

In the tenth century, among the dukes and princes of the empire who attested the Statutes of Henry 1, in 938, are John Palatine of Thuringia, and Reiner, provincial count of this province, which in the 11th century was governed by a count from whom descended Ludwig III, who was created Landgrave of Thuringia, in the 12th, the title applying more particularly to the Southern division.

The Angarii, who have been incidentally mentioned, occupied a canton, which separated the West and East Fali, having the Franks to the South, the ocean towards the north and Thuringia to the east. They are considered by the anonymous Saxon writer of the metrical life of Charlemagne, to have made the third branch of his countrymen. Having named the two Fali, he says:

> Inter prædictos media regione morantur
> Angarii populus Saxonum tertius, horum
> Patria Francorum terris sociatur ab austro,
> Oceanoque eadem conjungitur ex aquilone. Ad ann. 772.

Tacitus says that the Chamavi and Angrivarii, occupied the seats of the Bructeri, near the Tencteri, after they had been nearly extirpated by their neighbours, yet these Angrivarii, in the numerous transitions from place to place, which occurred in those ages, may have removed to this position and have become the Angarii. The celebrated Saxon duke Witekind or Witechind, who long opposed the arms of Charlemagne against the Saxons, governed Angria in 785, according to the inscription on his tomb in Engern, which seems to preserve the ancient name of the people, who probably were eventually absorbed into the tribes whom they separated.

3. The appellation of Old Saxons is obviously employed by Alfred, to distinguish the Germanic Saxons from his own countrymen,[4] and he unquestionably means all the branches of the Saxons occupying the territory between the Eyser and the Weser. Three of these branches have here been separated on account of the ancient conjunction of the two principal with the Thuringii on the banks of the Danube. These people seem to have been the

4 Paul. Warnefried, l. 1. 9. D' Anville is of opinion that it was the Saxons of Thuringia, who followed the Longobards.

van of the great immigration from Asia, which drove the Kelts to the West of Europe. By the addition of *Eald* old, he in all likelihood points more particularly to the Saxons, called Angli, who occupied Anglen to the south east part of the present duchy of Schleswig. It is the maritime part, or Lower Saxony, and includes all the coast from the Eyder to the Rhine, that is, from Schleswig to Holland, this district seems to have been denominated from a word in the language of the natives, allusive to the chief occupation of the people, who lived by fishing in the sea, when they were not engaged in piracy.[6] *Angel* an angle or hook, is an apparatus for fishing. But the Saxons are found on the Elbe in the time of Ptolemy, A. D. 90, and here it is that the country once called Anglen, whose people in conjunction with the Werini or Warini, established the code of laws, which bears the names of each,[7] was more generally understood by the designation Anglia in the Latin writers. As to their partners in legislation, it is probable that their appellation was early absorbed, like that of the Angarii into the denomination of a more considerable people. This early situation on the corner formed by the Elbe with the German Ocean, seems to denote, as just observed, that they formed the foremost of the columns in the Teutonic invasion, and renders probable Colonel Tod's opinion that the Saxons were originally the Asiatic people indifferently named Sakas and Sakasenas,[8] both in Sanskrit denoting powerful.

The Werini or Warini are unquestionably the Varini of Tacitus, who names the "Angli et Varini," after the Aviones and others, all of whom had rivers and forests. The Varini appear to have resided about the river Warna, the months of which give name to Warnemunde in Lower Saxony and Duchy of Mecklenburg, and not improbably Wern in the circle of Westphalia held

6 G. Waller of Gottenburg, Travels through the country of the Anglo-Saxons, during the years 1805-6-7. Dr Aikin's Athenæum. 111. 115. The diploma of Charlemagne for the creation of the bishopric of Bremen in 788, mentions particularly the northern part of Saxony as possessing abundance of fish, "Septentrionalem Saxoniæ partem, quæ est piscium ubertate ditissima, et pecorum alendis habetur aptissima." Schildius, de Caucis, l. 1. c. 4. p. 25.

7 Leges Anglorum et Werinorum, in the large collection of German and Latin Chronicles of Brunswick—Scriptores Rerum Brunsw. 4 tom. fol.

8 Travels in Rajasthan. He does not seem to have been aware that Sakasena is a compound; *sak*, power, and *sena*, an army, in Sanskrit. This derivation seems much more probable than those from *sassen*, to sit or dwell, *saks* and *seax*, a knife, a short sword, &c. The latter belong to Witechind the Annalist.

some of the Varini.[1] Whether Brunswick denote the wic or vyk of the Varini I cannot determine. In 593, Theodoric, king of the Romans, required the assistance of the kings of the Burgundii, Herculi (Heruli), Varini, and Turugi, against his rival the king of the Franks. The missive commences with a sentiment worthy of a good monarch in a more enlightened age,—"Princeps absque justicia nil aliud profecto est, quam gentium latro publicus."[2] A law of Charlemagne concerning travelling merchants, speaks of the parts of Saxony up to Bardenwich, and Laurialum—Werinheri.[3] The Anglo-Saxon author of the Traveller's Song found Billing chief of the Wernas ("Billing Wernum," l. 50) and Eccard, in a note on the Reudigni of Tacitus, speaks of Weigria and the neighbourhood, as a large space towards the Baltic, between the Angles and the Varini.[4] It is nevertheless more than probable from their joint code of laws, that they were intimately connected.

Ptolemy's position of the Saxons is on the right hand of the Elbe at its mouth, and he attributes to them some islands adjoining the continent. From this quarter the hordes of Saxon pirates issued, who infested the shores of Gaul and Britain. To these Saxons Pliny's description of the vessels used by the German sea-robbers relates.[5] They were trunks of single trees excavated, and some were large enough to hold thirty men. Instead of these canoes Apollinaris Sidonius in the 5th century attributes to them coracles or leathern canoes :

> —cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum
> Ludus, et assuto glaucum mare findere limbo."

That they occupied a long line of sea coast in the 4th or 5th century, appears from the *Notitiæ Romanæ*, where the shores of Belgium and Armorica, as also that of Britain, which is opposite Gaul, are designated *Littus Saxonicum*; but when Boniface, bishop of Maience, in the middle of the 8th century, calls Britain

1 See infra and Procopius in the note.

2 Goldast. I. i, 13.

3 Capitul. Caroli M. c. 7.

4 In Barker's Germania of Tacitus, cap. 39, n. 4.

5 Germaniæ prædones singulis singulis arboribus cavatis, quarum quædam et triginta homines ferunt,—Plin. l. xvi. c. 40. In three long ships, says Paul Warnefried, the Saxons invaded England, about the year 430.—De Gestis Longobard. l. xiv., and in two such ships, Ragnar Lo∂brog invaded Northumbria: Enn betra er ad hallda langskipum til hafna enn knorum.—Saga of Ragnar L. c. 14.

Saxoniam Transmarinam, he unquestionably alludes to it as Saxon England.[6]

It is not certain whether the Saxon territory were enclosed within its first limits, when the Britons summoned the Saxons and Angles to defend them against the Picts or Scots, about 428, or whether it had then been extended beyond the Elbe. Adam of Bremen, indeed, speaks of the Saxons as having originally their seat about the Rhine, and being called Angli, of whom a part expelled the Romans from Britain.[7] As he wrote six hundred years after the event, he has, perhaps, mistaken the occupants of that part of Littus Saxonicum for Angli, or the Angli really had become possessed of the country near the Rhine; but the testimony of Ptolemy to their occupancy near the Elbe so early as 90 is sufficient. We have it from a subsequent passage in Adam, and from Witechind, that a part of the Saxons obtained North Thuringia for assisting the king of Austrasia in his conquest of the whole of that country, as before mentioned. In 553, Hlothaire, king of the Franks, subdued the rebellious Saxons with a great slaughter near the Weser;[8] which not improbably prepared the survivers for their great migration, in 560, when twenty thousand of them, with their wives and children, accompanied Alboin, king of the Longobards, in his expedition to Italy.[9] It may be inferred, that they were a populous nation from the anonymous Saxon, who wrote the life of Charlemagne in the reign of Charles the Fat, and who assigns them a territory, at that time extending towards the ocean on the north, to the Rhine on the South, where they were named the Westfali. Their eastern limit, occupied by the Ostfali, otherwise called Osterliudi, reached the confines of the Slavic tribes in the angle of the Weissel or Vistula and the Baltic:

——regionem solis ad ortum
Inhabitant Osterliudi, quos nomine quidam
Ostvalos alio vocitant, confinia quorum
Infestant conjuncta suis gens perfida Sclavi.

POETA SAXO ad ann. 772.

6. Bonifac. ep. Moguntini Epist. ad Zachariam papam.

7 Saxones primo circa Rhenum sedes habebant, et vocati sunt Angli, &c. Altera pars Thuringiam oppugnans tenuit eam regionem.—Hist. Eccles. Bremens. p. 6.

8 Hlotarius Francorum rex Saxones rebellatis juxta Wiseram fluvium magna cæde domuit.—Marcellin. Comes in Chron. a dann. 553.

9 Supra vi. 2.

Frequent hostilities arose between the Saxons and the Franks, but Charlemagne finally subdued the former and blended them with the empire.[1] With this arrangement, however, they were not satisfied, for under the emperor Ludovic, whom the French term Louis le Debonnaire, they obtained permission to return to their former abodes, part of which on the East they found occupied by the North Albingi, whose capital was Hammaburg, now Hamburg, and whom some have considered to be a tribe of Saxons. It was necessary to notice these changes, for Mr Forster states that the position, which Alfred assigns the Old Saxons, is their ancient seat on the East of Elbe; but without confining them to this narrow space, Alfred is perfectly consistent and correct in stating them to be north of the East Franks. He gives no other indication of their geographical position.

4. The Frieslanders are placed by Alfred to the north west of the East Franks, where they had been found by Ptolemy, who states that the Frisii held the parts above the Bructeri, adjacent to the ocean, up to the river Amisia[2] which is now the Eems. Here they are also found in the Annals and Chronicles of the middle ages, and here they continue almost a solitary instance of immobility amidst the numerous and frequent vicissitudes of situation, experienced by the other people of Europe. It is not improbable, that they partook of the noble character, which Tacitus gives to their next neighbours, the Chauci, north of the space now denominated Holland, though a part of the latter, the Chauci Majores, lay between the Elbe and the Weser. Without being powerless, they were contented and peaceable, never provoking wars by rapine.[3] Of such a people we may not expect to find many notices in monkish chronicles. A record, which though unquestionably of high antiquity, is rendered doubtful by its marginal date, "Ann. Christi 11," states that Clogis I king of the Franks, in the 10th year of his reign, created his second son

1 According to the Frank Annals, for 804, all the Saxons, with their wives and children, living across the Elbe and in Wihmuodi, were sent by Charlemagne into Frankland, and their vacated seats given to the Slavic people named Abotriti.—Æstate in Saxonicum ducato exercitu, omnes qui trans Albiam et in Wihmuodi habitabant Saxones cum mulieribus et infantibus transtulit in Franciam, et pagos transalbinos Abotrides dedit,—Annal. Rerum Francorum, ad ann. 804. So also Eiginhard at this year.

2 *Την δε παρωκεανιτην κατεχουσιν ὑπερ μεν τους Βρουκτερους οἱ Φρεισιοι, μεχρι του Αμισιου ποταμου.* Ptol. l. II.

3 De Mor. Germ. 35.

Phrisus duke of Phrisia, to repel the incursions of the Ambrians and Orchadians; and that afterwards he permitted the Phrisians to raise Phrisus to the rank of king, so that all future kings should be subject to the Franks, paying to them an annual tribute of 240 oxen, 20 talents of pure butter, and 3000 royal cheeses.[4] Some such agreement may have been made during the progress of Charlemagne or his sons, but unfortunately Melchio Goldast, who has copied it, scarcely ever indicates his authorities Under Claudius, Drusus the first Roman who reached the northern ocean, having crossed the Rhine, subdued the Frisians, erected immense works, which were still called *Drusinæ* in the second century,[5] and advancing thence across a lake which is not named, but which may have been the mouth of the Weser, against the Chauci (Majores?) he was imperilled by the ebb of the tide which left his ships on dry land.[6]

In 728 Charles Martel subdued the Frisians and reduced their country to a duchy of the Frank monarchy, their leader Ratbod taking refuge among the Danes. Mention is made of the duchy of Frisia in 839 when it extended to the Meuse.[7] The Danes and Normans in the same century were masters of the country, and so continued until the 10th century, when the Frisians expelled them, and Charles the Simple, as prince of Austrasia, in 913, extended the dominion of Diedrick, count of Friesland, beyond the Rhine. In 938 we find on the same diploma, "Arnoldus II comes Flandriæ," "Arnoldus comes Hollandiæ," and "Theodoricus II comes Hollandiæ.[8]" Probably the second Arnold was count, earl, or graaf of Frisia; for a Diederik was the first "Graaf van Holland," and in this century too, which, in 38 years, gives a Diederik II.[9] A canal called Kinnen, which gives name to the district of Kinnenser Land, separated what is properly Holland from West Friesland. The oldest Dutch writers in their own language give the name of Ollant to the former; but Hol-

4 Caseorum Regalium tria millia.—Constit. Imper. I. i. 3.

5 Sueton. Claud. I.

6 *Ες την Χαυκιδα δια της λιμνης εμβαλων, εκινδυνευσε, των πλοιων επι της του ωκεανου παλιρροιας επιξηρου γενομενων.* Dio Cass. l. 54.

7 Ducatus Fresiæ usque ad Mosam. Annal. Sci Bertini ad ann. 839.

8 Goldast. 1. i. 215.

9 Jan Wagenaar, Vaderlandsche Historie de Vereenijde Nederlanden, 11 Afd. s. 51. Amsterdam 8vo. 1792.

land is probably the true denomination, for *hol land* signifies low, or rather hollow, that is, concave land.

VII. After the mention of Friesland, we have from Alfred the following: "From thence north west is the country called Angle and Zealand, and some part of Denmark."

Mr Forster, probably not observing that Alfred refers the position of the Angles to that of the East Franks, thinks that "it is very probable that this point of the compass must be wrong in the original, or that the good king must be mistaken," and he observes that "Angle is to the north East of Old Saxony, together with Sillende or Zealand and part of Denmark." When the Old Saxons occupied both sides of the Elbe, the Angels and Denmark lay directly to the north of them between the degrees of longitude 9 and 10 from Greenwich, and $26\frac{1}{2}$ and $27\frac{1}{2}$ from Ferro, while the East Franks lay from 7 to $11\frac{1}{2}$ or thereabouts; but certainly far enough in this direction to reconcile Alfred's geography with the true position of Angle and Denmark, without having to advert to the occupation of the sea coast by the Angli south of that which is deemed their proper country. If Sillende be Zealand, which appears probable from similarity of sound, the compass is still right as regards the north from the East of the East Franks, and we cannot expect the nicety of the 19th century from an island monarch statesman and warrior of the ninth. The marvel is that he did so much and so well in matters which are not often usual to persons in his station and difficulties.

1. According to Professor Dahlmann, two tribes of Angles are mentioned: the Angles of the old times, who embraced the middle station, and the Angles who before their migration to Britain were seated at Schleswig, in Jutland, Funen and the smaller islands on the left of the great gulf in Cattegat and the East Sea. This is shown at the conclusion of Ohthere's voyage, where the remark, that "The Angles dwelt on the land before they came hither" is evidently inserted by the Anglo-Saxon translator.[1] By this Saxo Grammaticus is justified in placing Dan and Angle at the head of Danish history. Danes and Angles were the old inhabitants of the land now called Denmark. Those in the east as far as Schonen and Halland; these in the

1 There appears to be no just reason to suppose that Ohthere, a man of importance and manifestly a traveller, did not speak Anglo Saxon to "his hlaforde," king Alfred. The difference between old Norrsk and the Saxon is not such as to present any difficulty.

west, the boundaries of the Great Belt. But in Alfred's time, the western lands were no longer named from the Angles; for after the great migration to Britain, the Danes had entered, and were there called south Danes with the common appellation, which they had received from the English. We would rather set the west Danes in opposition to the east Danes, and this opposition certainly appears in the Anglo-Saxon,[2] but at one time, the ancient Danes were confounded with the idea of the powerful people of the Scandinavian continent, which goes far up into the north, of whom Ptolemy knew the Danes, and, therefore, saw in those Danes, who had occupied the seats of the recently emigrated Angles, the offspring of the north, who had become Southlanders. At that time, the situation and name of Angles were limited to a small south Danish country, probably not larger than that which extends from Schlei northwards as far as Flendsburg. It still bears the name. That the land was pre-eminently called Denmark, and formed a kingdom, which lay partly on the Scandinavian continent (Halland and Schonen) and partly on the islands of Zealand, Fiona, Falster, Seland, and Langaland, is granted at the end of the voyage of Ohthere and beginning of that of Wulfstan.[3]

It is a remark of Dr Ingram, that Alfred is the earliest writer who uses the name, Dena-mark, the country of the Danes; but *mark*, as before observed in speaking of the Marcomanni, who took possession of the lands belonging to the Boii, is a boundary, the march of our own language, when we speak of the lords of the Welsh marchers, or lords marchers. In the ancient Sagas, Jutland is Reidgotaland[4] as well as Jötaland, which was sometimes used to designate Finnland.[5] As to the distinction between the east and west Danes in Beowulf, remarked by M. Dahlmann, it does not seem to be of much moment, since we have equally the south and west Danes, besides the Hring and Gar Danes in the same composition.[6] The Geata leod, people of the Geats,

2 See that highly imaginative fiction, called Beowulf, edited by Thorkelin, ll. 31 and 32. Dahlmann.

3 Dahlmann, Forschungen, &c. pp. 431, 432.

4 Hervarar Saga, XI Kap.

5 Jotland, hodie Jylland; interdum Finnland.—Icelandic and Lat. Dict. MS. Ayscough's Collect. Cod. 4880, Brit. Mus. The latter is the Totunheimur of Hervarar Saga,

6 In Mr Kemble's excellent edition of this poem, the several epithets will be found in the lines numbered as follows,

East Dene 779, 1225, 1650.

Jutes, or Goths, also perhaps in the peninsula, may subsequently have given rise to the name of Jutland, Julland and Jytland, as well as to the more ancient appellation of Reid-Gota-Land. With this variety, we may conclude, that the Danes were anciently distinguished by their situation according to the cardinal points of the compass, just as we might distinguish them by merely signifying their situation, and not regarding them as politically separated in that manner, while Ring and Gar Danes may really denote clans. As to the rest, Geat, Got, Jot or Jut, which are found in Pliny's Cod-anus Sinus, they are the Generic denomination of both the Danes and a part of the Swedes of ancient times.

An observation by Prof. Dahlmann respecting the old name of Reidgotaland, deserves notice. He says that Ohthere mentions Jutland, and Sellende, and that, as he was wanting a common name, probably Funen, Fiona, might be included in that of Jutland, and that perhaps hence came the old distinction of the Island of Jutland, and Reit Jutland, i. e. continental Jutland. And perhaps, it may be explained, for the Jutish law of king Waldemar II was valid not only in the whole of Jutland at first, but also in Funen.[7] The Icelandic *reid* denotes riding, and used with the name of a place may be equivalent to our riding of a county, as the ridings of Yorkshire for instance, signifying a division, probably such as might be traversed on horseback in a day. This observation is made, not to controvert Dahlmann, but to endeavour to show that Olaus Verelius had some ground for conjecturing *reid*, in Reidgotaland, was intended to mean *equitatio*.[8]

West	763, 3456.
North	1650.
South	921, 3988, &c.
Hring	232, 2559, 3555.
Gar	1195.

There may be other places which have been overlooked.

7 Dahlmann, Forschung. p. 436.

8 See Dr Bosworth's note 56 sect. 8, p, 15. where we have Hreth Goths—the fierce i. e. warlike Goths.

"Ryding in Yorkshire is a third part of the county, being of vast extent, and called rydings, shires, hundreds, and wapentakes, which were formerly set out *per ambulationem*, as bounding them by processions made on foote. This being of so vast extent, was performed by processions made on horseback, including divers hundreds and shires, and so thereupon take upon them the name of ryding, scil. West Ryding, East Ryding, South Ryding."—Dr Knerden (i. e. Jackson of Cuerden) 4to MS. fol. 358. Chetham Library, Manchester; a MS. of the 17th century, part of an intended History of Lancashire of which one vol. is in the Brit. Museum, and four or five in the Herald's College, all in MS.

2. Hitherto there has been no difficulty in determining the places named in the Anglo-Saxon, but now we have Sillende, which, as Dahlmann observes, we naturally suppose at first to be the island of Zealand. This island, however, lies to the north east of Angle and old Saxony, and to the direct north of the utmost eastern limit attained by the eastern Franks in the 9th century.

Alfred names Sillende thrice; and in this place, according to its connection with Angle and part of Denmark ("sumne dæl Dena"), it seems to be also a part of Jutland; but at the end of Ohthere's voyage, it twice occurs in such a manner, that it can denote only the island of Zealand. We do not find errors in the description of Europe, in regard to countries, about which no doubt can possibly be entertained, and, therefore, we have a probable reason for placing confidence in the royal geographer where we are unable to confirm his statements from ancient writings. It is possible that a portion of Jutland, whose Danish and Jutish inhabitants were variously denominated in one and the same Anglo Saxon work, may have been designated by a name resembling Sillende.

Since Professor Dahlmann has taken pains with this difficulty, it may be well to accept his assistance. The following translated extract is the purport of what he says respecting Sillende, under the title "Sillende—Hetvare."

"What the word Sillende signifies occasions uncommon difficulty. One naturally thinks of the island of Zealand at first, but it is also clear, when it is first named by Alfred, it is not suitable. He gives it as the lands which are on the borders of the Saxons: how could the island called Zeeland, be named with them, when, also, it nowhere lies seaward opposite to the Saxons? and, at all events, how could it be placed towards the north west? Truly, king Alfred deviates somewhat from the true situation of the countries of the world in his account of the nations in the east sea, seeing that he places the north somewhat too far towards the north east (Porthan), by which the Cimbrian peninsula seems to be on the north west of the Saxons, for it lies on the north of the Shem, and the land of the Obotriti in the north; but never can Zeeland appear in a north western direction. Besides, when Ohthere, at the end of his account, mentions Sillende, he by no means names it as an island, and it does not suit

that of Zealand. There is no question that he chose the broad sea course of the great Belt. It was the nearest for his object Hadeby, and hence probably it was the common one to the Norwegians,[9] and only when he took the course could it be said, that in the last two days of his voyage, he had the islands belonging to Denmark on his larboard side. Porthan first clearly acknowledged that Zealand could not be intended, and that Sillende should be in the southern part of the Cimbrian Peninsula; and that the present men of Sleswick should have filled up the middle spaces which the Friesians here, and the Angles there, left vacant. Still, however, a number of the Danes (sum dæl Dena) found a place here, provided that Jutland be not understood in this case. Ptolemy also adduces the Sigulonians among many nations of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, which can be placed here,[1] and a Frankish annalist of the century of Alfred describes the warriors, who, after the passage of the Eider, came into the Danish land, and into a district called Sinlende.[2] Who will say whether this signifies Südland, the first germ of the appellation of South Jutland or Schleiland? If the latter be adopted, then probably the Hetvarians of the Anglo Saxon poem of Beowulf, for the greater part imaginary, can be appealed to and serve as an explanation.[3]

We are not here called upon to discuss the question of the Hetvare. But with respect to the objection, that Ohthere does not mean Zealand by Sillende, it may be answered that if he sailed through the Skiöldungahaff, coasting the southwest of Scandinavia, then Gotland or Jutland, and next Sillende or the island of Zealand, did lie, as he says, on his starboard, or right, before he came to Hæthe. There will thus appear to have been an island and a part of Jutland, to which the same name of Sillende has been negligently applied in the Anglo Saxon."[4]

9 Rask maintains as an undisputed thing, that in the olden time the traffic of the Norwegians was through the Great Belt. I admit that we swerve from the demonstrating passages, and besides I have not been able to find any proof in the History of Commerce by Suhn, G. L. Baslen, and the valuable Dissertations on the Sound Toll. (Dissertations, Vol. 11). *Dahlmann.*

1 Ptolem. Geogr. Ed. 1805. p. 53.

2 Vita Hlud. p. 563.

3 Dahlmann, Forsch. pp 437—439.

4 Its name in the preface of Saxo Grammaticus is Sialandia: in the prose Edda, Sælun *Fab.* 2. As to its signification, there are two old explanations: by some it is called Sæd

This reasoning is very ingenious, but it fails to convince me; and I hold with Forster and Dr Bosworth (p. 3 n. 16, p. 15 n. 56) that Sillende can be only Zeeland; but it is impossible to deny that there is a clerical error in the MS. If we take the eastern limit of Francia Orientalis, Zealand lies directly to the north, and if, which seems to be the meaning, we take Friesland ("From thence, &c." p. 3) it lies to the north east, and it is also north east of the Saxons. So far it is evident we have west for east. But accompanying Ohthere, we shall be satisfied of the identity of Sillende and Zealand. Omitting, at present, what is said of Sciringesheal, where the voyager first mentions Sillende, we find him stating, that two days before he came to Haddeby on the coast of Schleswig, he had Julland, Zealand, and many islands on his right. If, then, he sailed from some part called Sciringesheal, which is supposed to be about the southern extremity, he would necessarily throughout the voyage to Haddeby have Julland and Zealand on his right, for they would lie to his north. All the difficulty, and it is by no means inconsiderable, if reliance be placed upon the Saxon scribe, who has blundered most egregiously in a vast number of places, arises from the substitution of *west* for *east* in the compound with *north*.

VIII. In the Anglo Saxon, it is said after "some part of Denmark," that "to the north are the Afdrede, and north east are the Wylte, who are called Hæfeldan."

1. If Forster, Porthan, and Dahlmann are right in computing Alfred's indications of the geographical site of a country from the place last named, he must be in error with respect to the Afruede, or Apdrede, as he elsewhere calls the same people, who are the Obotriti and Abotritæ of the Latin writers, and whose territory was the northern part of the present duchy of Mecklenburg in the west of Swedish Pomerania, extending from about $11\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$ longitude from Greenwich, being there bounded by the wide mouths of a river on each side.[1] They were, therefore

land, the land of seed; by others, Seeland, from the surrounding sea.—Ælnoth de Vita Cnuti, p. 17.

1 Apud Michlinburg, civitatem Obitritorum —Ad. Brem. p. 110. Helmold also speaks of their "civitas Mikilinburg," and D'Anville and others suppose that the Abotriti had a city so called. But civitas may mean a state, and Michelinburg may have been a large castle which left its name to the duchy. Certainly there is no other trace of a city which was so called in the territory of these people. Besides they were Slavons, while Michilenburg is German, and both Adam and Helmold wrote when the country was possessed by Germans.

on the south east of Angle and some part of Denmark; but at this time, a portion of the Obotriti occupied the seats of the Saxons across the Elbe and in a place named Wihmuodi [2] in the district of Bremen, on the Wirra.[3] This, however, cannot be his meaning, for they would be eastward. The situation given to the Obotriti and Wilti is true only in regard to the East Franks, whose eastern extremity, or what is thought to be probably so, is south of the Obotriti. Very great nicety cannot be expected, when nations were in continual motion, and writers neither were exact, nor, if they wished to be, were possessed of the means. We shall soon find that Alfred abandons this post of observation.

The Abotriti were a Slavic people, who appear to have divided themselves at an unknown period; for besides these on the shores of the Baltic, there was a nation also called both Abotriti and Obotritæ, on the banks of the Danube. The latter, in 824, sent a deputation to the emperor Hludwig, better known as Louis le Debonnaire. According to Eiginhard, who records this mission, they were commonly called Prædecenti, and inhabited Dacia, adjacent to the Danube; and on the confines of the Bulgarians. It would appear from the different situations, some very remote from each other, in which we find people of the same name, the loss of gentile appellations, once familiarly mentioned in ancient compositions, such as the Sagas, Beowulf, the Scop's Tale or Traveller's song, and others, and also in medieval chronicles, that at one time, commencing before the Christian era and not ending exactly with the establishment of the Frank monarchy, the vast plains and forests of Germania were continually traversed by restless hordes of wanderers, some of whom must have separated from the parent stock, and either they or their kindred have been immerged and lost to knowledge in other tribes. The 9th century appears to be that in which the principal or strongest of the nomadic tribes and portions of tribes began to find stations, or attempted to establish themselves in permanent resting places. It is on this account, and the success which attended many of their efforts, that the Geography of our

2 Supra VI, 2, n.2.

3 In a præcept of Charlemagne respecting provincial tributes issued in 788, we have the words—"in Vuigmodia in loco Bremon vocato super fluvium Viraam—" and again "Huic parochiæ decem pagos subjecimus, quos etiam adjectis eorum antiquis vocabulis et divisionibus, in duas redigimus provincias, his nominibus appellantes, Vigmodiam et Lorgoe."—Goldast. Constit. Imperial. t. III. p. iii. p. 137.

great Alfred is particularly valuable to Europeans. Oriental antiquaries might also find it interesting. The descendants of those who were once the Heneti, a people of Paphlagonia, have now their chief seats in Magdeburg and Venice, are found in the neighbourhood of the Bothnic Gulf and north Jutland, in the central parts of Europe, are known to have penetrated into Africa, and have left traces of their presence in Spain.

With respect to the southern branch of the Obotriti, D'Anville observes: "I shall not conjecture that Bodrog, the name of a district in Lower Hungary between the Danube and the Teisse, may have come from these Abotrites; but then, I find the denomination of Præden in that of Pardan, which is preserved in a canton of the Banat of Temeswar." The northern Abotriti, as has been mentioned, surrendered to Charlemagne, and assisted him in his expedition against the Saxons on the north of the Elbe, whose lands were abandoned to them, and who, in the 10th century, obtained permission to return to their ancient abodes, were probably the two races intermingled and the Abotritic name became lost as that of an existing people. According to D'Anville, that name once extended up the Elbe to the south, and to the little river Pene towards the east. As the Peene, which empties itself into the Frische or Stelliner Haff, rises in Mecklinburg, the tract described is of considerable extent.

2. The Wylte, who are called Hæfeldan, were another of the numerous tribes of Slavons, settled in this part of the Baltic coast. Their country in Alfred's time was what now is Swedish Pomerania, on the east of the Abotrites. The anonymous Saxon poet, who wrote towards the end of the 9th century, describes their situation with more particularity than Alfred:

> Gens est Slavorum Wilti cognomine dicta,
> Proxima litoribus quæ possidet arva supremis,
> Jungit ubi oceano proprios Germania fines.

They were a very warlike people, and strenuously opposed the arms of Charlemagne by whom they were finally subjugated in 789. A chronicle of that age states that king Charles marched again through Saxony until he came to the Slavi, who are called Wilti; that kings of that land, with their king Tragwit, came to meet him, and that, having solicited peace, they surrendered all their lands into his power. These kings were probably

chiefs, who had elected one of their number to be a war king like the guð cyningas of the Saxons, and other Teutonic peoples. Tragevit appears to be the Teutonic translation of a Slavic name. At all events, it admits of a natural explanation in the dialects of the former. How long they had occupied the territory, which Charlemagne then annexed to the empire, we do not learn, but there they were found by Ptolemy, who names them *Βελτοι*, and we know from another source, that their name, at an early period, was communicated in regular form to their country, Wilcia,[3] from *wille*, a wolf, the singular of *wilzi*, whence, or from Weleti come the Wilti and Wiltzi.[4] Eiginhard, at the year 822, claims the name Wilsi as German, and says that in their own language they called themselves Welatabi.

A reviewer of Paul Joseph Schafarjk's Slavonian Antiquities has the following remarks on this people and their name :—

"Of all the Polabian Slavonians the Weleti were the most celebrated, both for their numbers and for the persevering courage with which they defended their nationality against the Germans. Their primitive site appears to have been in the vicinity of Wilno, though Ptolemy assigns them a district (Veltæ) in Prussian Pomerania, between the Vistula and the Niemen. They were early conspicuous for their warlike habits, which were such as to draw upon them from the other Slavonians the appellation of Wolves, which gave rise to the fable related by Herodotus, which that historian treats as absurd, as a matter of fact, of a northern tribe annually transformed into these predatory beasts. Similar epithets were frequent among the Slavonians, who even now call the Turks Viper; and the Kerrods, from their predatory habits, still bear that of Wolves. The appellation may have been originally an honourable one, as it must be borne in mind, that in the primitive simple state of society, physical force was considered in the light of a prime virtue. From the Slavonian word for wolf, *wilk*, sing. *Wilzi*, plu., Greek *lykos*, Latin, *lupus*,

1 Saxo Poeta, Vita Karoli Magni, ad ann. 789.

2 Tunc Carlus rex iterum per Saxoniam pervenit usque ad Sclavos, qui dicuntur Wilti, et venerunt reges terræ illius, cum rege eorum Tragivite ei obviam, etc. Annal. Laurisham. ad ann. 789.

3 Eo anno fuit dominus rex Karolus in Winnetes, pervenitque in Wilciam,—Annal. Petav. ad ann. 789.

4 Karolus rex pergit in Sclavos qui dicuntur Wiltezi Annal. Sangall. Breves ad ann. 789. This date is corrected to 792 by some one, who did not agree with the commencement of the Christian era, then universally adopted.

Lithuanian *lut, liat,* ferocious, are derived the words, Wilzi, Wilzen, Lutici, and Weleti, Woloti, Welatabi, &c. from *welot wołot,* signifying a giant; all which are indicative of the reckless courage for which the Weleti were distinguished. When their fame spread over Europe during the middle ages, the Germans and Scandinavians, invented marvellous tales concerning them, and finally declared them to be a nation of sorcerers. A sword that worked wonders was called from their name walsung, welsung, welsi.[1] Their sway extended from the shores of the O'st Sea, which was called after them Wildamor (the sea of the Weleti) and their capital city was the famed Vinetha, in Slavonian Wolin (Julinum ?) situated at the mouth of the Oder. According to Venantius Fortunatus, and to Beda, the Weleti penetrated, between 560 and 600, into Batavia, and settled near the city of Utrecht, which from them was called Wiltaburg, and the surrounding country, Wiltenia. Being separated from the other Slavonians by the German nations, the Weleti were unable long to preserve their independence, and in the course of time, either lost their nationality altogether, or ultimately rejoined their countryman. Unquestionable proofs, however, of their having settled in the Netherlands exist in the names of the cities evidently, as Wiltsween in Holland, Wiltenburgh near Utrecht &c, and in such purely Slavonian names as Kamens Sweta, Widenitz Hudnin, Zevola, Wispe or Wespe, Slota, &c. It is the opinion of German historians and of M. Safarik himself, that a body of Weleti or Wilti settled in our country of Wiltshire, where they arrived after the Anglo-Saxons. And some English authors derive the inhabitants of Wiltshire from a colony of Belgæ, who migrated from Wiltorica." *For. Quar. vol.* 26, *p.* 27.

Some corroboration of the settlement of Wilti in England is obtained from the Anglo Saxon name of the people of Wiltshire. They are invariably called Wilsætan, that is the Wilt-settlers. In all other cases the termination was *ware,* as Cantware, the Kent-men or people.

2. Adam of Brem. (pp. 47. 48) names the Hæfeldan as the Heveldi, among the Slavonic tribes between the Elbe and the Oder,

1 To what the reviewer says it may be added that the *Volsunga Saga,* in which we have the fable of some men who transformed themselves into wolves, derives its title from the same source. The story occupies the 17th chapter headed Sigmundur og Sinfiotle verda ad Ulfum. It deserves no farther notice here.

but he does not seem like Alfred to have been aware that they were a detachment from the Wilti, or rather, were Wilti so named from their seat on the banks of the Havel.

IX. In the next geographical notice, Alfred seems to change his station, and no longer to refer to the East Franks, or he becomes less careful of preserving the relation of countries to the cardinal points of the compass. He directs attention in the first place to what is now called Pomerania, which lies to the north east of the probable limits of Francia Orientalis towards the east. His words are rendered thus:

"To the east of them is the country of the Wends, who are called Sysyle; and extending south east over some part of the Moravians, have, to the west of them, the Thuringians and Bohemians, and some part of the Bavarians."

1. Such are precisely the sites of Thuringia, Bohemia and Moravia in respect to Pomerania, and Silesia, but he seems by the name of Sysyle, the Suisli of the Latin writers, to mean all the Slavonic tribes, who occupied the present Ober and Nieder Lausitz, and part of the Middle Mark. The Slavoni appear to have had two generic appellations, Slavi and Venedi with its numerous variations in orthography, according to the language, in which the latter name occurs. Alfred's words give the impression that he considered all the tribes in this part of the continent to be indifferently named Neuds, and Suisli. The people who were commonly distinguished as Slavi Suisli, were very widely spread. Professor Dahlmann says in a note on the name, "The Sjusli belonged to the Servian Slavi, and were found among the Meissnischians, as well as in other places." We seem to find them in conjunction with the Vends in the peninsular tract on the north of Jutland, between the Shagensian promontory on the north and Lincil gulf on the South. This detachment from the main of Jutland, was called Vendsussel, and in Icelandic, Vendilsyssla. Mr R. Forster has the following remarks. "The name of Sysele or Sysyle is very little known in history, unless the name be preserved in the lately published Obotritic monuments, where on the sacred caduceus, fig. 23 a. the following Runic characters are engraved, namely *Shesil.* The *Annales Fuldenses* mentions, in the year 874, the revolt of the Sorbi and Suisle; perhaps the latter may be our Sysele. In the ode of Harald the Valiant, among the Five pieces of Runic Poetry;

Harald says 'My ships have made the tour of Sicily;' which I suspect to be our Sysele.

The Syslo kynd of an ancient Saga, preserved by Snorre, and relating to Yngvar a questionable king of Sweden as early as 545, are most likely a portion of the Sjusli, who had penetrated into Eistland or Esthonia, the northern part of Liefland or Livonia. Here it is said that Yngvar was slain by the Syslo kind, and buried:

that stoc upp	*It is reported*
at Yngvari	*that the race of the Syslo*
Sysla kynd	*had deprived*
um so at hefthi	*Yngvar of his light.*
oc lios—[5]	[ynglinga saga, c. 16.]

It is surprising that Forster, a Swede and a man of learning, should entertain this strange supposition. The conquest of Sicily by the Northmen is a well known event, and he might have found it in the Norman history by our Salopian countryman, Orderic Vital. Had he consulted the Runic itself, instead of the *Five Pieces* which are English translations apparently of Latin versions that are not always correct, he would have found that Harald wrote Sikeley—Sicilia.[3]

The word *Slowa* or *Slava*, conveying an idea of glory or nobility, gave rise to the generic appellation of the people who were known to the Greeks as the Ενετοι of which the Romans made Venedi, Veneti, and the like. Western writers in the middle ages took the national name, and added a *c* to the *s*, as if they pronounced *Shlavi*, and the Italians actually wrote *Schiavi—Schlavi*. The French wrote *Sclavons*, whence they made *esclave*, the original of our *Slave*, and thus a word chosen from their own language by a brave and gallant people to claim the respect due to them, is now a term of reproach and misfortune.

Among the Greeks, it was believed from ancient tradition that the Ἐνετοι, who probably had the digamma, Ϝενετοι, or aspirated the E. iniital letter, Ἑνετον,—Heneti,—Veneti, came from Paphlagonia into Illyria; whence, after they had spread themselves over Panonia and the coasts of the Adriatic, these were distinguished as Ἰλλυριων Ενετοι, just as we find Slavi Sorabi, Slavi Behemani, according to the country which they occupied. From Illyria a part of them passed on northward, some settling on the route, and others advancing to the Baltic. "What is most ac-

3 See Homer. Il. 2, 551.

knowledged," says Strabo, "is that the Heneti were the most celebrated tribe of the Paphlagonians, of whom was Pylæmenes; and that most of them followed him on warlike expeditions; but on losing their leader at the capture of Troy, passed over into Thrace, and after wandering about, arrived in what is now Henetica," or Venetia. This tradition was known to Quintus Curtius, who observes that some believe the Venetians to have taken their origin from the Paphlagonian Heneti. That they were an Asiatic people,[4] there can be no reasonable doubt. The affinity of the Slavi dialects with the Sanskrit is not less marked than that of the Teutonic, and as to the Greek name of the alleged Paphlaginian tribe, which rambled into Europe, it seems to be nothing more than a very slight variation of the name Hindü.

It is certain that the Salvons arrived in Europe at a very early period, and that they settled at an unknown time in various parts from the South to the Baltic, that part from which the Greeks obtained amber in the days of Herodotus; and it is no improbable presumption that they were Salvons by whom it was furnished to his countrymen.[1] On the Adriatic, they engaged in war with Philip, and afterwards with Alexander the Great, who reduced them; but soon after his death, they recovered their liberty. The Romans next invaded their territory, and called it the province of Illyria comprehending Thrace and Dacia. According to Jornandes the Slavi were called Venedi, and Pliny says that they lived about the banks of the Vistula. Ptolemy places them on the Eastern shore of the Baltic, which he calls the Venedan Gulf, and Procopius says that "formerly the Slavons and Antæ had the same name; both were called Spori because they lived in a scattered manner (σποραδα) in insolated huts, and they occupy for the same reason a large extent of territory.

In this scattered manner the Servians build their villages at the present day. The villages of Servia stretch far up into the gorges of the mountains, into the valleys formed by the rivers and streams or into the depths of the forests. Sometimes, where consisting of forty or fifty houses, they spread over a space as extensive as that occupied by Vienna and its suburbs. The dwellings are isolated at a distance from one another, and each contains within itself a separate community. The real house is a room enclosed by loam

4 Qu. Curt. lib. III.

walls and covered with the dry bark of the lime, having the hearth in the centre.

Jornandes says that Dacia is on the left side of the Alps (Carpathian) in which from the source of the Vistula to the north, through an immense extent of country, exist the nations of the Winidi. Although their names vary in various tribes and places, they call themselves Slavi and Antæ. This Antæ is no doubt intended for *Ενετοι*. He also states that they have the three names Venedi, Antæ, and Slavi.

I have ventured an opinion that *Ενετοι* is slightly varied from Hindû, and certainly there is no improbability in a belief that Hindûs migrated to Paphlagonia. The mythology of the Slavons is that of Hindustan ; Brahma, Vishnu, and Seva are represented by the Slavonian Perun, Volos, and Kolida. They hold the doctrine of the immortality and transmigration of the soul, and a more decided proof of conformity with India exists in the rule which forced the widow on the burning pile with her husband. Perun, the god of thunder, Nolos, god of flocks, Kolida, god of festivals, were worshipped by the eastern Slavonians. And the common people now in many parts of Poland and Russia call Christmas Kolida, as the festival of that god was celebrated on the 24th of December. The Slavonians of the Baltic acknowledged two principles, good and bad ; the former Biel Bog or white god, and the second Cherni Bog, the black god. Other deities were Porenut, who had four faces, and a fifth on his breast, supposed to be the god of the seasons. Poreoit represented with five hands, Rughevi, supposed to be god of war with seven faces, seven swords at his side, and an eighth in his hand. These three gods were in the isle Ryen, the last asylum of Slavonian idolatry. It is worthy of observation that many of them have the figure of a beetle on them, which will appear to denote an Egyptian origin—the Scarabæus.

The god Poreit is strongly suggestive of Prithivi the earth, a form or power of Vishnu ; their goddess of pleasure and love is supposed to be Leljo. The gul, goul, ghoul, of Asia is revived in the Vampyre, which is common in Slavic nations.

2. Alfred's Wineda Land, or country of the Wends, since he says that they are also called Siusli, extended from the Baltic coast constituting the northern boundary of Pomerania which has its other boundaries formed by the Oder and one of its branches, to the Carpathian Mountains, which are the southern limit of Silesia.

It is not improbable that he also included the Lusitzis on the west or the north west of Silesia in the same term. If so, Wineda Land contained the modern Pomerania, Nieder Lausitz, and Silesia.

3. The Slavi Behemani, who appear as the Behemas in the Anglo Saxon, and the Bægðware or Bavarians, are most probably two branches of the ancient Boii, who in the time of Augustus, submitted with their leader Marobudus to the Marcomanni. These Boii are said to have been Gauls, and therefore, Kelts, yet Mr Forster adduces a people whom he calls Slavi Behemani. On this point Adam of Bremen speaks doubtingly. He would consider Slaviana ten times larger than his Saxony, particularly if he may add Bohemia, and the Poles across the Oder, because they differ in neither habit nor language. Subsequently he seems to include the Bohemians among the Slavi, and this may possibly have been the author who has furnished Mr Forster with the term.

The meaning of the Teutonic termination of Bohemia, the house of the Boii, suggests a belief that this country was their chief or first settlement in Germany proper, In like manner Bægð-ware, Ba-varians, of one of which the modern German Bayern is a corruption, that is men of the Boii, wonld appear to point to an emigration from Bohemia to the South. We have no historical proof of such an occurrence, which, however, was usual enough with other nations, and we know that the Boii retreated from the Marcomanni. We shall presently find that D' Anville, who states that the name of Boioaria extended under the Frank empire to the Alps, is confirmed by king Alfred. According to D' Anville the Leck bounded this country on the side of Suevia, as it still separates Bavaria from Suabia. On the other side, what was Boioaria extended to the river Ems, *Anisus*, a little beyond the present limits of Bavaria, encroaching on what was Austria. It was the frontier of the Avares or Abares. That the tract at the north of the Danube between Franconia and Bohemia, still comprised in Bavaria, was part of the ancient Boivaria seems probable. It contained the part in the district of Egra, which is now annexed to Bohemia. This part was denominated "Nortgowe" in the will of Charlemagne, 806. Nord Gau, or the northern Canton, agrees with the situation of this part.

D' Anville has collected some particulars of the mediæval history of Bavaria. There is reason to believe that Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, in Italy, having acquired Rhetia, occupied

a part of Boioaria. It was probably after his death in 526, that Theodoric, king of Austrasia who lived in 534, made acquisitions in the same country, where the first of the laws is authorised in his name. Charles Martel invaded it in 725 and 728. As, however, we do not find Boioaria in the partition of the provinces between Pepin and Carloman, sons of Charles Martel, we cannot infer that this country was entirely subjugated. That was effected by the defect of king Odilon; and we read in the Annals of Metz, at the year 743, that a papal legate, charged with an interdict of all war against Odilon, received for answer that Boioaria and the Boioarians belonged to the emperor of the French (Franks; there were no French until long afterwards). Tassilo, son of Odilo rendered homage to Pepin in 757, and to Charlemagne in 781. Despoiled of his duchy in 788, the government of the country was entrusted to his counts. Louis le Debonnaire gave Boioaria under the title of a kingdom to his son Louis the Germanic. Bavaria subsequently again became a dukedom, and finally, for the second time a kingdom.

The Moravians, whom Alfred designates Maroaro, occur in the next division of the present arbitrary sections of his geography:

"To the south of them, on the other side of the river Danube is the country Carinthia, (lying) south to the mountains called the Alps. To the same mountains extend the boundaries of the Bavarians, and of the Suabians; and then to the East of the country, Carenthia, beyond to the desert, is the country of the Bulgarians; and East to them the land of the Greeks; and on the East of Maroaro, is Wisle land; and to the east of them are the Dacians."[1]

1. The situation of Carinthia is still south of the Alps. Mr Forster's note on the Anglo Saxon name, Carendre, deserves transcription: "Carendre is the name, by which king Alfred probably calls the Sclavi Carenthani or Carentani; at present their country is the duchy of Carinthia, or Cærenthen. Formerly, in Strabo's time, the Carni lived there, *l.* VIII. Whether they were of Teutonic offspring, or one of those Gallic tribes, who settled here with the Scordisi and Boii, cannot be easily ascertained. From the neighbourhood of the Sarmatæ in Pannonia, and from the affinity of the name of Carni with Crain, which in the Sclavonic language signifies a limit, I suspect the Carni were Sarmatians, and continued to live in these parts, till by length of

time they were called Carni and Carinthi, and at last their name was changed into Carentani. This opinion may be further proved from the name of the duchy of Crain, which lies next to Carinthia, and which preserves the Sclavonic name of Crain, though it is called by the Latin writers Carniola (Paul Warnefrid, *Hist. Longob. l.* VI. *c.* 12.) This country was always considered as the boundary of Pannonia, Germany and Italy. Even in the later ages, there was established a marquisate of the Winedi, or, as it is commonly called, the Windische Marck, *i. e.* Limes Venedicus, or March Sclavonic. The Sclavonic nations frequently employed the word *crain* for a limit. Thus the Ukraine in Russia served as a barrier against the Tartars. In Great Poland is a tract situated along the New Marck of Brandenburg and Lilesia, called Krania, because it marks the limits of the above countries. It is, therefore, highly probable, that the Carendre or Sclavi Carentani, are derived from the ancient Carni, and had formerly the name of Crain, an account of their limitary situation. The Alps were no doubt the strongest barriers for all nations; these begin in this part called Crain, and were called by Strabo and other writers Alpes Carnicæ."

Carinthia, Carniola, and Stiria had been detached from the marquisate of Fricili in Italy by Louis le Debonnaire, in order to comprise it to his kingdom of Germany. Arnulf, natural son of Carloman, the eldest son of Louis the Germanic, was created duke of Carinthia as having commanded those provinces before he succeeded the emperor Charles the Fat in Germany. Otho the Great, in 951, invested his brother Henry, duke of Bavaria, with Carenthia united to the marquisate of Verenavin Lombardy. On the erection of Austria into a duchy, that of Carinthia was detached from Bavaria, and by default of dukes on this part, Carenthia and Upper Carniola were united to Austria, when the emperor Rodolf of Hapsburg with the consent of the imperial states conferred it on his son Albert.

Professor Dahlmann seems to have mistaken Alfred's westen, wastes or deserts, to the East of Corinthia, for the name of a people, since he observes that they have nothing to do with the Wustians, descendants from the Avarian kings, annihilated by Charlemagne. Alfred, however means the desolate tract, on the north of the Drave, and eastward of Clagenfurt, the capitol of Carinthia.

2. Since Alfred places Bulgaria to the east of the wastes above mentioned, it is probable, that anciently there were two divisions of the people, one of which was seated on the Danube next to Dacia, which is the present Moldavia; the other appears to have been these who are sometimes called Belo-Chroati. We certainly find Bulgarians named as conterminous with the inhabitants of Dacia. They are believed to have taken the name from their original seats on the Volga. Sixty miles south west of the Russian city of Kazan, between the rivers Volga, Kazna, and Saniara, occurs Bulgursk, where, says Mr Forster, Peter the Great, when in 1722, as he was going on his Persian expedition, found a great many old buildings and sepulchral monuments in ruins with ancient inscriptions in various characters and languages, chiefly Pannonian. Abulfedah, who died in 1345, mentions in his great geographical work, the town of Bolar or Bolgar as not far from the Atol or Etol i. e. the Volga. The Persian geographer, Nasir Eltusi, who wrote between 1258 and 1266, and Ulughrbegh, the grandson of Tinerling, who wrote in 1437, both mention Bolgar. The name of the nation is certainly derived from Volga, beyond which the Bolgari or Wolgari lived; for so it ought to be spelled because the later Greek pronounced the *B* like a *W*. The Herns, who became powerful towards the end of the 4th century, expelled them from their seats in Bulgaria beyond the Volga. One body of them settled between the Cuphis or Cuban, the Tanais, and the Atal or Volga, and another on the Weissel or Vistula, near the Congobardi, who were then in the neighbourhood of Dacia.

There is nothing to be added to Mr Forster's account of the Sarmatic Bulgari. After their expulsion, their country was occupied by the Hunnic tribes, who obtained the name of Bulgari, though they were of a different race; the Onoguri and Cuturguri were chiefly those tribes who were called Bulgari, because they had taken possession of ancient Bulgaria. One of their chiefs Culratus is mentioned by Theophanes; he came into Bulgaria or Masia on the Dane, and shook off the yoke of the Avari. Two of his sons returned to Bulgaria in 637. Probably in the 9th century the Bulgari occupied many of the seats of the Avari; for Charlemagne had so much weakened them that their country was then considered a waste, till in the year the Madgiari, or present Hungarians, united with the remains of the Avari, and erected a

new kingdom. This, at the same time, is a proof of the date, when Alfred wrote his geographical accounts as he mentions the desert between Carenthia and Bulgaria, which must have been before 899 when the Hungarians made the first invasion of Bulgaria and Pannoriea. About fifty years after this, the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote his book De Administratione Emperii, which was in 939.

3. Moldavia appears to have retained the ancient name of Dacia in Alfred's time. He does not seem to have been aware, that a portion of his Afdrede or Obotrites near the Elbe, occupied seats in Dacia adjacent to the Danube, and near the Bulgarians.

Dacia, east of Wisleland, appears to denote Moldavia and New Servia, for on the shore of the Lake Meotis, now the sea of Azof, the Getæ were seated, and Alfred tells us that the Dacians were formerly Goths. The error, if it be one, which confounds the Getæ of Dacia with the Goths is more ancient than Alfred, and was embraced by his own Orosius. We find on their side Jornandes, Procopius, Jerome, Spartian, Claudian, John the Goth (Joannes Gothus), and Jos. Scaliger, who are in opposition to Herodotus, Strabo, and Stephanus. The latter demonstrate, that the Getæ were Thracians, and, therefore, a different people from either the Germans or Kelts.

4. By Wisleland, Alfred beyond all doubt means Weissel or Vistula land, but there he places it to the east of Moravia, which he has already occupied with Bohemia. The river itself takes its rise in Silesia and no part of it is found on the east of Moravia. Had he described Vistula to be to the north east of Moravia, we should have understood, with Mr Forster, that the country intended was Poland, of which Silesia formed a part in early ages. It is very embarrassing, but professor Dahlmann affords us no assistance. If at this time, the South Eastern boundary of Silesia were formed by the small branch of the Oder which flows from the mountains on the confines of Silesia and Moravia, then a portion of the south of Poland with a part of the Carpathian mountains which are a source of streams tributary to the Vistula, may be admitted, though really north east, to be east of Moravia in an ancient and rude state of geographical knowledge. We cannot expect minute accuracy respecting countries, which were comparatively unknown in the extreme west.

5 It may be remarked that Alfred in relating from Orosius

that Philip on his return from his conquest in Scythia, was wounded in an engagement with the Triballi, says that a Cwene shot him through the thigh. Cwenas of the geography occupied a country not far from the frozen Ocean, and cannot be supposed to have descended to the confines of Scythia and Mysia; but on the hypothesis that Mægdha Land was the Land of Maids or Women, and almost a synonyme with the Northern Cwena Land, or country of women, there is no difficulty in believing that the Mazovians joined the Triballi as allies against Philip, and that Alfred called one of them a Cwene in consequence of the name of his country. It is to be observed also, that he has just before spoken of the Triballi as "other Scythians" On the whole, the opinion, that Mægdha Land Mazovia are the same tract of country seems to be confirmed by these incidents, which are unconnected with the geographical account.

That the Greeks made any mistakes about the Amazons may be doubted, for having derived the foreign name from their own language, they invented a fable in support of their theory. A true mistake, however, appears respecting another northern people, who inhabited Kuennaland, the present Cajania, between the Gulf of Bothnia and the White Sea. By an equivoque common to the Norrsk and Anglo-Saxon, Kuena cwena, probably Chuna or Hun, in the first instances signifies a woman, and this equivoque occasions the informants of Adam of Bremen to tell him of a nation of Amazons on the Baltic, whose country was called the land of women, and who conceived by tasting water.

5. The Srupe or Servians have already been mentioned in noticing another branch of Slavons, whose appellation seems to have had as much claim to designate the whole race as Slavi, Slavons, and Slavonians. This branch of a widely extended and even scattered people, was known in the middle ages as the Sorbi and Scravi, and as the Scravi and Soravi. They occupied Lusatias, or Lausitz Misnia, part of Brandenburg and Silesia below Glogau; their capital was Soraw, and it still exists in the circle of Upper Saxony and in Lusatia, near the river Bober, about 30 miles to the north east of Gorlitz. In 640, the Servians, having obtained license from the emperor Heraclius, built the city of Servica on the banks of the Danube. About 806 Charlemagne conquered the Sorabi in the vicinity of the Elbe on the north, where they were separated from Thuringia by the Sala. The

government was given to a count, who ruled in Thuringia, and mention occurs of a Dux Sorabici Limitis in 848 and 872; and when Otho, eldest son of the emperor Henry I. was Duke of Thuringia in 938, one of his nobles was Artuvinus, Dux Surbenus. In the 11th century Vladimir assumed the title of king of Servia. Afterwards, under Tzedomil, the Servians submitted to the authority of Rome, and leagued themselves with its emperors against Comnenus, the Greek emperor, in consequence of which he marched upon Servia in 1151, subdued its inhabitants and led their king Tzedomil into captivity. These were the Danubian Servians. Those of the north retired into Bohemia about the middle of the 12th century, being then assailed by Henry the Lion, duke of Saxe, and Albert the Bear, count of Anania, on whom Conrad 11 conferred the marquisate of Brandenburg.

Dr Bowring has the following interesting remarks on the ancient Servians, and their peculiar name:

"In the middle of the 7th century, a number of Servian tribes stretched themselves along the Sava and the Danube down to the Black Sea, and founded at different times no less than six separate kingdoms,—that of Bulgaria and Croatia, Servia, Srb. Bomia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. Under the name of *Srb*, the four last of these nations must be considered as comprised. Their irregular history it is not easy to trace. Slavonian writers are disposed to represent the Mæstidæ, who made an incursion into Italy during the age of Claudius, A.D. 276, as synomymous with the Sarmatæ; and Kopitar (a high authority) has gathered much evidence to prove that the dialect spoken to the east of Sparta is of Slavonian origin. Leake has remarked that many of the names of places in the Morea are Slavonic—Kastunika, Σηλαβοχωρὶ, and it is notorious that the language of several of the islands of the Grecian Archipelago, Hydra, for example, is Slavonic.—The original meaning of the word *Srb* it is not easy to fix. Some derive it from *srp*, a sicke; others from *sibir, sever*, the north; some from the Latin *servus*, but Dobrowsky says, Significatum radicis *srb*, consultis etiam dialectis omnibus, nondum licuit errare (Instit. Ling. Slav. p. 154)."

From Slavonic of the south-east spring the Russian, Bulgarian, Servian Dalmatian and Windenic forms of language. The Lorabic is found in Lusatia, Posen and Wenden, and in old Slavonic a translation of the Sacred Scriptures was made at an early period.

Sir Isaac Newton attributes it to Cyrillus, who accompanied Methodius among the Slavons in their different settlements in Europe, and converted them to Christianity in Alfred's century, when the germs of the Russian empire first appeared.

XI. On the north east of Moravia we are introduced to the Dalmatians, on whose east are the Horithi; and, says Alfred, "on the north of the Dalmatians are the Servians, and on the west, the Suisli: on the north of the Horiti is Mægdha land, and north of Mægdha land are the Sarmatians."

1. As Dalmatia proper lies far to the south of Moravia, too far, by four or five degrees, to admit the possibility of a mistake, we are to conclude, that a band of the Slavi Dalamense were found in the ninth century in the situation indicated. Mr Forster finds that they formerly inhabited Silesia, from Moravia as far as Glogau, along the river Oder. Professor Dahlmann speaks of them as lying south west of the Sjusli, also among the Meisnisehias and a part of Lausitia.

A mis ive of king Theodoric, king of the Goths, about 497 is extant in Goldast. It directs Simeon V. or one count, perhaps a graff, or fiscal judge, with this name, to make enquiries through the Dalmatic province respecting the *siliquaticum*, which was a species of tribute or duty imposed upon all saleable goods, and also respecting the truth of iron mines in the warren of Dalmatia (in Dalmatiæ cuniculo), where, it is observed, the softness of the earth produces the hardness of the iron, and is heated in the fire that it may be passed into hardness: such appears to be the meaning of his words.

2. The branch of the Dalmatians of the north east of Moravia, had the Horithi on the east, and Mægdhaland was between them and the Sarmatians on the north. The name Horithi or Horiti has been very perplexing to most of the learned who have investigated the geography of Alfred; but the necessity of repeating their ingenious conjectures is happily obviated by Mr S. W. Singer, who adduces a passage, which shows that a branch of the Chroats may very well have been in the part, where Alfred places his Horiti. There is nothing remarkable in either the migration or dispersion of a nation in this century, which witnessed Saxons on the Elbe, and Saxons on the north eastern confines of Moravia; Obotrites on the coast of the Baltic, and Obitrites on the northern banks of the Danube.

3. Mægthaland, or more correctly according to the Anglo Saxon orthography, in which the *d* is an aspirate, Mægdha land, is still more enbarrassing than were the Horiti. The term signifies the country of the Mægdhs; we may, therefore, reject the supposition of the learned Professor Rask, that the word is mægth, a province, tribe, nation, and that it stood for Gardariki, or Russia. But if the question be, what are the Mægdhs, the only answer is that mægdh is a maid, or virgin, and Mægdha Land, the country of maids, or unmarried women, denoting, as professor Dahlmann believes, Amazon's Land. Of this last, this Greek name, the memory seems to have been preserved in that of Mazow, Latinised Mazovia, in Poland, precisely where, with Alfred's words, we should place his Land of Maidens.

It would be an easy, though pedantic task to collect what ancient authors have said of the Amazons, yet so much as may tend to show that among the places assigned for their station, Mazovia is not unlikely to have been one, may be permitted.

According to Herodotus (IV. 110), the Amazons from the river Thermodon, invaded Scythia, where they resided, he says, in his own time. Though Diodorus Siculus (II. 45.) says that they carried their arms beyond the Tanais, and subdued Thrace, and there leaves them, Justin (II. 4.) traces them as Herodotus had done already, into Scythia, Pliny (VI. 7.) and Pomponius Mela (I. 19) are both agreed in placing a Sauromatic nation of Gynæcocratumeni, whose first seats were in the neighbourhood of Lake Meotis, on the banks of the Tanais. The description of them that they were one nation of several peoples, and several names, taken in connection with their residence in these parts, appears to indicate the Slavonic tribes, of whom some ancient term denoting the whole has been tortured by the Greeks after their usual fashion, into Amazons; and having thus formed a new word, they also found its derivation in their own language to denote a people without breast, which would almost naturally suggest the wild fables, which they relate of a nation of female warriors, who lived in celibacy. Bopp produces the Russian word, my' zj, man, the husband, and Dr. Aug. Friedr. Pott, of Berlin thinks *Αμαζονες*, the pretended breastless, is probably formed from the Zend, *a* priv. *masya*=man=husband, and *amasya*, a woman without husband. It may account for the Greek name of the people about whom so many fables are re-

lated, and who occupy parts which were wholly unknown to the ancients, who liberally peopled those in the north with Hippodes, or men with the feet of horses, and others whose ears covered the nakedness of their bodies. The old Sagas stock trackless marshes mountains and forests with giants, dwarfs, elves, trolls and ovættir, a sort of spectres, and the household, or rather tent-hold tales of the Tartars place the very same creations of wild fancy in the boundless steppes which the foot of man has not crossed.

XII. In placing Sarmatia to the north of Mazovia, for no other part answers so well to Alfred's Mægdha Land, he must have considered a portion of the Prussians, or the inhabitants of the present Prussia, to be Sermende or Sarmatians, whom he continues up to the Riphæan mountains.

1. To the East of the East Sea, he places the Osti and Obotrites. By the former, he means those inhabitants of Pomerania, who were known to the Romans as the Æstyi, or Æsti, a name which appears to be philologically the same, and to denote a people to the East. On the north, the Osti or Easterns, have the same arm of the sea, the Winedas and the Burgundians, and on their South the Heveldi.

The Winidas are so called by Jornandes, and the name of Wenden is familiar in Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Lusatia, at the present time.

2. Mr Forster is strongly of opinion, that the Burgundians are the inhabitants of Bornholm, which Wulfstan calls Burgenda Land. He says that they were formerly a nation in the north of Germany, mentioned by Pliny, III. 28. belonging to the Wandali or Vandali.

I find nowhere else these names Borgenda holm and Borgenda Land; but Borgund was the name of a Norwegian island, while the name of Bornholm variously occurs as Boreholm Bureholm, Boringholm, and Borgholm. The reasoning above, however, is satisfactory.

XIII. Ohthere's personal exploration of the north western and northern coasts to see how the land looked (*sceawode*) due north, and whether any man abode to the north of his habitation, is the earliest recorded voyage undertaken in the pure spirit of philosophical inquiry. The object was noble, and the result, considering the paucity of means at his command, is satisfactory. We have, very fairly described, the situation of what is now known as the

North Cape, and the declension of the land towards the south-east as far as the White Sea, apparently until this time unknown to all Europeans but Finnish hunters and fishermen.

A few observations may be conveniently made on the people with whom the two travellers met, without constraining ourselves to accompany them from sea to sea, and port to port.

1. He dwelt northmost of all the Northmen, that is, of all the Norwegians of that time; for he himself finds Finns and others more northward. Halgoland, little known in the south, was one of those places which popular superstition taking "omne ignotum pro magnifico," invested with a sacred character.

2. "For three days."—Distances were computed by time as among southern mariners. Mr Forster endeavours to turn the circumstance to useful account, and if the method could be depended upon, we certainly might employ it in determining the voyage to Sciringsheal, and from that to Haddeby, and perhaps also ascertain the position of Wulfstan's Truso. Forster shows that a day's sail with the ancient Greeks was 10,000 stadia, which, he says, are above 100 Seamiles. But there can be no certainty in this method, and we must depend upon other aids. Ohthere after sailing six days, found himself at a bend of the land directly east. He had manifestly arrived at the termination of the sea-coast, and in fact, become the first discoverer of the North Cape. On a rough calculation, he had sailed 417 statute miles and proceeded at a rate of less than 70 miles a day. A Saga, of which I forget the name, records an expedition to Valland, or Frankland, in order to plunder a tomb. The pirates occupied five days in sailing from the south of Norway to the nearest point, by which they could advance directly to their destination by land. From the Naze to the mouth of the Weser is about 277 miles, so that these people made way about 55 miles a day. Everything is quite clear from his arrival at this bend. He waits for a right north wind, which, though the coast does not bend to the direct south, would serve his purpose, and he states that he does not know whether it were the land or the sea which bent. He was yet a stranger to the place. In five days he comes to a great river, which is clearly the entrance of the White Sea. The distance pretty well agrees with the probable rate of 60 miles a day. But what places it beyond question is, that the land was all inhabited, and the people were Biarmians.

3. Than the Biarmians and their countryBiarmaland no places or people in the north are more frequently mentioned in the Sagas. They had the reputation of possessing much gold; but whether "gull" is to be understood of the metal or wealth in general, is doubtful. At all events, the pirates often found their way to Biarmaland. On this country Dr Bosworth's note (42. p. 9) is abundantly explanatory of its situation. The notice of it in the old MS. Icelandic and Latin Dictionary, so often cited, is to the same effect, but with the additional information that Biarmaland was also called Dvina, from the river of that name.

4. Besides Finns who visited the North Sea for the purposes of hunting and fishing, Ohthere speaks of Terfinns and Scride Finns; and he makes an observation of no little value to those who contend that the Biarmians are also Finns. The country occupied by the several bodies of people, who all take the general name of Finn, with a distinctive addition to each, is stated in round numbers to be more than 100 miles in length and ninety in breadth. These are Swedish miles, and represent a square of 157.114 of our miles. What is more certain is that they occupy Lapmark, as well as Finnmark, and that the Swedes distribute the former into dioceses or governments, which they name Uma Lapmark, Pitha Lapmark, Ula Lapmark, Torne Lapmark, and Kimi Lapmark. There are of the people the Siofinns, or Sea Finns who live solely on fish, and Laplanders, subjects of Russia, from Finnmark and the castle of Wardhuys near North Cape, to the White Sea. Belonging to Sweden is the tract inhabited by Laplanders called Trennes and Pihinieni, called by the Russians Trachana Voloch, or according to Pontanus, Terschana Voloch. In the Trennes we seem to have the Terfinns of Alfred while Pihinieni is probably the vernacular name of the Finn.

The name of the Scride-finns, which presents no difficulty to a modern ear and pen, was very troublesome to writers at one time. Both the meaning and orthography are given in Dr Bosworth's note (37 p. 7) Warnefried believes that they received their name from their manner of leaping with a piece of wood bent like a bow, when they were in pursuit of wild beasts Adam of Bremen says that on the confines of the Swedes or Northmen to the north dwell the Scritefinns who are said to surpass wild beasts in running. Their largest city is Halsingaland, and Halsin-

galand is a region. To make a brief description of Sueonia or Sweden, it has the Goths and their city Scaranen on the west; on the north the Wermilians with the Scritefinns: from the South it has the length of the Baltic sea: there is the great city Sictena; and to the east it touches on the Riphæan mountains, where are Amazons, Cynocephali and Cyclopes.

5. Three kinds of deer are mentioned by Ohthere among his own property, wild, tame, and decoy deer, which were valuable to the Finns for taking the wild deer. These he calls "stæl hranas." The translation, decoy deer, has the advantage of being more intelligible than the mere Saxon word *Stale*, which, however, is not entirely obsolete as a noun, signifying anything offered to allure, and so, a decoy. In this sense it is used by Shakspeare—

"*Katherine.*—I pray you, sir, is it your will
To make a stale of me among these mates?"
Taming of the Shrew I. 1.

At Stæla, in Icelandic, has the meaning to conceal the intention.

6. In the seventh section (p. 13) we have a fuller account of the situation of Cwena Land and its inhabitants; and if again noticed it is chiefly to say that the range given to Cwena Land from Norway to the White sea, including Finnmark on the north, in note 36 p. 6, is certainly correct, and reconciles the apparent differences among old writers of the north, who sometimes, in speaking of Kuenna Land, assigned situations to it according to that part of the extensive region, bearing the name, which they had particularly in view. Malte Brun's story of Adam of Bremen, of whom we know little more than his book, and the Quaines, mentioned to him by a king of Sweden (Dr Bosworth, p 6. n. 36), does not make him so guilty of absurdity as the French geographer imagines. He had the belief of most of the people in the north to keep him in countenance. Quaine is nothing more than a variety *Kuen, cwen*, both of which not only denominate a country, but signify a woman. Adam's Terra Feminarum is a translation of a current name, and when universal credit was given to tales of trolls, ovættir, eotenas,

"And Cannibals that each other eat,
The Anthropaphagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders,"

was more than matched by the Greek belief in Amazons.

Besides this Terra Feminarum, which is seen in a passage just cited, not to be intended for the country of the Amazons, we have the Smameyland, of the old Sagas in reference to a very large tract in the same regions, and often appearing to denote Biarmaland, Cwenaland, and a part of the eastern coast at the entrance of the Cwen or White Sea, if not extending even as far as the Ural mountains in the South East.

Of Smameialand the Icelandic MS. dictionary says, after the name so written, " Smaojeda, ortum versus a Birmia ad Mare Glaciale contra Nova Zembla."

The position assigned to Smameialand nearly corresponds with that of the Samoiedes at the present time on and to the west of the Ural Mountains, and north of the modern government of Perm, which is believed to receive its name from the ancient Biarmia. Ohthere found the Biarmians in close proximity to the Cwen Sae. Samoiedes have been found to the north of Archangel, and in a Saga much more ancient than the dictionary, the nation called the Smameyar are said to inhabit the parts about a promontory which lies out at, and which appears to be the peninsula now called Candenos at the entrance of the White Sea. It does not appear very improbable that Biarmians Lappons, and the northern Finns are all Samoiedes, differently denominated according to localities. Ohthere found a remarkable resemblance between the languages of the Finns and the Biarmians. The Finns, as before said, not Finns but Sooma-laimen, the dwellers on marshes, and the first word of this name is manifestly mistaken and corrupted into the Icelandic Smameiar.

7 Ohthere says, after stating that none abode to his north: "There is a port on the South of the land which is called Sciringsheal that no man could sail in a month, if he anchored at night, and every day had a fair wind. All the while he must sail near the land. On his right is first Iceland, and then the islands which are between Iceland and this land. Then this land continues till it comes to Sciringesheal; and all the way on the left is Norway."

There are few passages of antiquity more embrassing than the present, and no doubt much of the difficulty arises from our own ignorance; but it is possible that mistakes have been made by transcribers. Ohthere leaves Halogaland in Latitude 65, and the first object on his right is Iceland, written Iraland in the MS.

This in fact would be Iceland and no other island nor where he was in the north sea could he well think of Ireland, hidden from him by England, and far to his south west. Then occurs on the right the Islands between Iceland and this land. What land? He manifestly means the Faroe, and Shetland islands and the Orkneys, which are actually between Iceland and Scotland, or Britain but not between Ireland and Norway. Here "this land" is that in which he then was relating his voyage.

From Halogaland to the South of "this land," his own Norway, we may roughly reckon 12 degrees, which at 69.5 miles to the degree will give 834 miles sailed in the days of a month keeping in-shore with a fair wind. Then in 14 days at the probable rate of 60 miles a day, he would arrive at some port west of the Naze. This he calls Sciringesheal, and there was actually a place in Westfold, called Skiringssaal, (*saal=heal*) in the *Ymlinga Saga.* This evidence of identity seems to outweigh Professor Dahlmann's objection, that the latter was not a port. But do we know that our ancient mariners, gliding along coasts, and in a manner making their course parallel with all its indentations, in small vessels, attached the same idea to a port that we do? That, as far as I have been able to discover, was a port, which received them at the end of their voyage, or which sheltered them from tempest, provided it were inhabited. Admitting that Skiringssaal was not exactly on the shore still it would afford the mariner the means of signifying his landing place. But in opposition to conjecture, Ohthere calls his Sciringes heal a port, and for such it must be received.

8. He then proceeds to state that a broad sea, too broad to be seen over, runs up into the land and that Jutland is opposite, and then Zealand.

These indications perfectly agree with a Sciringesheal on the South of Norway-Julland and then Zealand opposite and this Sciringesheal may be the Skiringesheal on the west of the bay of Christiana. It seems unnecessary to quote Professor Dahlmann's objection on this occasion, since the weightiest is, that the place so named was not a port. To the present purpose it is quite sufficient that Ohthere believed it to be a port.

9. In five days he sailed to the port called Haddeby, of which the identity with the Saxon Hæth, or Hæthe is very satisfactorily established by Dr Bosworth (note 57, p 15.) Does he now speak

of five days and nights, or of two or of three day's actual sailing? At 83 miles a day he would attain it in two days and a half, and at 60 in a little more than three days; either allowing him to discontinue sailing as in proceeding from Halogaland.

XIV. Wulfstan's voyage to another quarter necessarily brings us to an acquaintance with other peoples and places, and particularly islands which might not otherwise have entered into Alfred's account of the continent, his principal object. His port of departure was that Hæthe, which puzzled translators and annotators before Dr Bosworth. The Icelanders call Haddeby in Schleswig Heidabær, and Heidabyr, names by which they also designate Schleswig: "hodie Slesvik, villa ad fines Holsatiæ et sinum amnemque Eliam."

Truso, which has been another difficulty, seems more probably to be Drausen than the present Dirchsau, because, according to the only person who names it, Truso stood on the shore of a lake, which we knew to be the Frische Haff, while Dirchsau was out of Wulfstan's course and 30 miles inland. In the seven days' voyage to this place which did not include sailing at night, Wulfstan's rate was nearly 90 miles. Herodotus [l. iv.] quoted by Dr Arbuthnot assigns 700 stadia or 84. 5 English miles for a day's sailing, and for the night 500 stadia, or 70. 5 miles, which, the latter remarks, making in 24 hours, 155 English miles seems too long. In computing the probable rate of Ohthere's voyage at 60 miles a day of 12 hours, though it would hardly be so long, allowance was made for his following the line of a coast totally unknown to him.

The Land of the Burgundians, in this voyage, certainly belonged to those Burgundians of whom a part passed at a very early period to the continent of Germania, and again into Gaul (Supra xii, 2.) Gothland another of Wulfstan's island, has one town, Visby, Wisbuy, in Latin Visburgum, which was anciently celebrated for its power, splendor and magnitude. It was also a famous mart, raising its head above the Pomeranian Wineta and Julinum of which so much is said in the medieval writings of the north. Wisby has the reputation in Sweden of having given the first laws to navigation. Very near this city are numerous rocks carved in Gothic (Runic ?) characters some particulars of the history of Gothland or rather of Wisby, after the beginning of the 13th century, have been collected by zealous antiquaries. The islanders themselves

call the name not Gothland, or Gutland, but Guland, nevertheless these gentlemen, arguing from Gothlandia in the Latin writers, maintain that it was peopled by Goths.

Wulfstan's Estan or Estas, for the declension is not very clear, were in all probability a Vandalic people, and we have already seen that at least a part of the inhabitants were Slavonian Sjusli. Tacitus, who assigns his Æstii the same situation as Wulfstan gives to Eastland, remarks that they have the rites and habits of the Suevi, but that their language is nearer to the British. We may well believe him to have been little versed in Slavonic and Keltic, but he has made a distinction from Teutonic, which no doubt he had observed, and which shows that they were a different people, though without strong affinities to the Kelts. Zeiller, without citing his authority pronounces them to be of uncertain origin, but nevertheless Germans, who having abandoned their ancient seat on the Rhine, long before Cæsar, removed into Sarmatia.

It is remarked by Wulfstan that in Eastland there are many towns and in every town a king. The European title of king was not anciently one denoting great power or magnificence, since it was freely attributed to any chief person,—the head of a village, the holder of a ness or promontory, the captain of a piratical boat, such as that of king Half or Alf with his crew of twelve men. In Curland, another division of Liefland, those of the husbandmen who are rich and freemen, and who have one hundred serfs, are still called kings. Wulfstan's kings may have been the most considerable man in each wick, or boroughas he calls it, and performing functions in the manner of a magistrate.

The Esthorsians did not brew ale, he says, but they had mead enough. Respecting these very ancient names of fermented liquors it may be remarked that ale, which has been ignorantly derived from A. Saxon *ælan* to inflame, is in that language ealoth, where the *ea*=*o* long of the Gothic. With *l* it is found in Ἄλωας an epithet of Ceres, as goddess of αλωαι cornfields, and in ἄλφιτον, barley. It is not improbably related to the Old Norsh *ala*, and the Latin, *al*-ere, to nourish, whence *ali*-ment.

Mead, the wine of honey, is not only a very ancient word, but one widely diffused. *Medo,-u*, etymologically is identical with *mel* honey; O. H. Germ. metu; Lithuanian medus; Lettic, the language probably spoken by the Esthonians meddus; Slavonic

med; all denoting *mel,* honey. In Lassen's glossary to his *Anthologia Sanserita,* the root of the word is stated to have become absolete. Unquestionably the root is still as vigorous as ever; r. 1., *mud* drunken, English *mad,* and Anacreon has a verse in which the word may be translated in either sense without offence to the truth,

μεθυων ὁπως χορευσω·

Drunken (or mad) how I will dance 48, 5.

In Beowulf we find mead to be the drink of kings and heroes. The monarchs' palace is a stately Mead-hall; but in Wulfstans Eastland, mead is the drink of slaves and the poor, while the higher classes drink mare's milk, which was, no doubt, fermented.

With the remainder of the geography I am not much acquainted. The preceding inquiries were undertaken chiefly to clear up, if possible, the obscurity which seemed to cover æt Hæthum, Scirnges heal, Truso, and the seats of several nations, who are named in a manner somewhat different from the Latin and Icelandic. They have produced no conclusions at variance with those which have been drawn with much better effect by Dr Bosworth. The bulk of the materials was collected many years ago, and many have been lost, but all were insufficient to be the basis of a perfect history of the settlement of the numerous tribes, of whom several appear to have occupied different stations at the same time, while others still retained the nomadic habits, which they or their ancestors had brought from Asia.

To the Binder.

There is an error in the paging and signature of this Essay, though the matter is right. The signatures must be stitched 1, 3, 4 &c. and the paging 7, 8, 16, 17 &c.

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