

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE EDITOR

1. AUTHORITIES

LAONICUS CHALCONDYLES¹ belonged to a good Athenian family. He went twice as an ambassador to the Sultan Murad, and was on both occasions imprisoned. His *History* in 10 books covers the period 1298-1463, and thus includes the fall of the Empire of Trebizond. He was a man of great ability, and, though we may wish that he had not set it before himself to imitate Herodotus and Thucydides, we must recognise the talent which he displayed in handling a most intractable period of history. It is very interesting to pass from his predecessors in the series of the Byzantine historians to this writer. We no longer watch events from the single and simple standpoint of Constantinople. The true theme of Chalcondyles is not the decline of the diminished empire, but the growth and development of the Ottoman State.² The centre of events shifts with the movements of the sultan. The weakest point of Chalcondyles is his chronology. (Ed. Baumbach (Geneva), 1615; ed. Bekker (Bonn), 1843.)

DUCAS was a grandson of Michael Ducas (a scion of the imperial family of that name), who is mentioned as having taken part in the struggle between Cantacuzenus and John Palaeologus in the 14th century. He was secretary of the Genoese podestà at Phocæa, before the siege of Constantinople, and afterwards he was employed by the Gattilusi of Lesbos as an ambassador to the sultan. His connexion with the Genoese helped, probably, to determine his ecclesiastical views; he was a hearty supporter of union with the Latin Church, as the great safeguard against the Turks. His *History* covers the period 1341-1462; he is more accurate than Chalcondyles. In language he is not a purist; his work is full of foreign words. (Ed. Bullialdus (Paris), 1649; ed. Bekker (Bonn), 1834, with a 15th cent. Italian translation, which fills up some gaps in the Greek.)

George PHRANTZES (cp. above p. 102 note), born 1401, was secretary of the Emperor Manuel, whose son Constantine he rescued at Pallas in 1429. In 1432 Protovestiarios, he was made Prefect of Sparta in 1448, and then elevated to the post of Great Logothete. See further, above p. 102 and p. 162 *sqq.* Taken prisoner on the capture of Constantinople (cp. above p. 204), he fled to the Peloponnesus, visited Italy, and ended his life as Brother Gregory in a monastery of Corfu, where he composed his *Chronicle*. This work, when Gibbon wrote, was accessible only in the Latin translation of Pontanus (1604). The Greek original was first published by F. K. Alter (Vienna, 1796), from an inferior Ms. An improved text was issued by Bekker in the Bonn series, 1838.³ The history covers a longer period than that of Chalcondyles; beginning A.D. 1258, it comes

¹ Chalcondyles, for Chal<oc>ondyles, is explained by Krumbacher as meaning the man with the bronze handle (Gesch. der byz. Litt., p. 305).

² This has been excellently brought out by Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

³ There is also extant an abbreviated version of the *Chronicle* in colloquial Greek, and it seems to have been prepared by Phrantzes himself. Cp. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 308. It has been edited in Mai's *Class. Auct.* ix. p. 594 *sqq.*, 1837, and reprinted in Migne, P.G., 156.

down to A.D. 1476, the year before the work was completed. Bk. 1 comes down to the death of Manuel; Bk. 2 to the death of John; Bk. 3 treats of the reign of Constantine and the capture of the city; Bk. 4 the events of the following twenty-three years. The high position which he held in the State and his opportunities of knowledge render Bks. 2 and 3 especially valuable. He is naturally a good hater of the Turks, from whom he had suffered so much. His style is not pedantic like that of Chalcondyles. (Biographical Monograph by G. Destunis in the *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodn. prosv.*, vol. 287, p. 427 *sqq.*, 1893.)

CRIBOBULUS of Imbros wrote a history of the deeds of Mohammad II. from A.D. 1451 to 1467. Although he is not out of sympathy with his countrymen, he has thrown in his lot with the conquerors, and he writes from the Turkish point of view. This is the interesting feature of his work, which is thus sharply contrasted with the histories of Chalcondyles and Ducas. He inscribes the book, in a dedicatory epistle, to Mohammad himself, whom he compares to Alexander the Great. Like Ducas and Chalcondyles, he describes the siege of Constantinople at second hand; but like theirs his very full description is a most valuable source for comparison with the accounts of the eye-witnesses. He can indeed be convicted of many small inaccuracies. For example, he states that Justiniani was wounded in the chest, and that Constantine was slain near the Cereoporia; and in other parts of his work his chronology is at fault. He was an imitator of Thucydides, and puts Thucydidean speeches into the mouth of Mohammad. But he does not scruple to use a "modern" foreign word like *τοῦφρακες*, "guns" (from the Turkish; cp. modern Greek *τουφέκι*, a gun). The history of Critobulus is extant in an Ms. at Constantinople, and it was first published by C. Müller, in the 2nd part of vol. v. of *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, p. 40 *sqq.*, 1870, with very useful notes.

The description of Murad's siege of Constantinople by JOHN CANANUS is mentioned above p. 80, note 93; and that of the siege of Thessalonica in 1430, by JOHN ANAGNOSTES, on p. 145, note 14.

The chronicle of the last years of the empire is briefly told in the anonymous *ΕΚΤΗΣΙΣ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΗ*, a work of the 16th century, published by C. Sathas in *Bibl. Græc. Med. Æv.* vii. p. 556 *sqq.* (1894). A new edition of this little work by Prof. Lampros was published in 1902 (London).

It remains to mention the Anonymous Dirge concerning Tamurlane, *Θρήνος περί Ταμουράγγου*, written during the campaign of Timur into Asia Minor. It is published by Papadimitriou in the *Lietopis ist.-phil. obschestva of Odessa* (Vizant. Otdiel.), ii. p. 173 *sqq.* (Older, bad ed., in Wagner's *Medieval Greek Texts*, p. 105 *sqq.*) Timur's name also appears in this poem as *Ταμουράνης* (l. 47) and *Τεμόρης* (l. 41).

RASHĪD AD-DĪN, born 1247 at Hamadān, was originally a physician, but became Vizir of Persia, 1298. He was executed by Abū Said in 1318. In the preface to his *Jāmi at-Tawārikh* he acknowledges his obligations to a minister of Mongol birth and name, who was versed in Turkish and Mongolian history. He refers to the *Altan Depter*, a book of Mongol annals which was in the Khan's treasury, text and Russian translation by J. N. Berezin, 1858 *sqq.*

Alā ad-Dīn Ata-mulk JUVAINĪ composed a work entitled *Jahān Kushāi* (a history of the Conqueror of the World) on the last ten years of Chingiz, and coming down as far as A.D. 1257. Born in Khorāsān in A.D. 1227-8, he visited the court of Mangū Khān c. A.D. 1249. His work (of which there is a Ms. in the British Museum) has never been printed, though he is one of the best authorities on the history of his time. But it has been largely used by D'Ohsson and others. For his biography see *Fundgruben des Orients*, i. 220-34.

Minhāj-i-Sirāj JĪZĀNĪ, son of a cadī of the army of Mohammad Ghōri, lived c. A.D. 1200-70, and wrote his history, the *Tabākāt-i-Nāsiri*, about the middle of the century, at the court of Nāsir ad-Dīn Mahmūd, King of Delhi. Beginning with the Patriarchs, he brought his history down to his own day, and Bk. 23 is occupied with the incursions of the Turks and Mongols,—the Karā-Khitāy Chingiz and his successors, to A.D. 1259. The author writes in a clear straight-

forward style, and supports his narrative by references to sources. The work was translated by Major Baverly in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (1848, etc.), and there are large extracts in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India* as told by its own historians, ii. 266 *sqq.*

The second and third Books of the *Memoirs of Timūr* are the *Institutions and Designs* which were translated by Major Davy (1783) and used by Gibbon. Book iv. coming down to 1375 A.D. has since been translated by Major Charles Stewart, 1830 (the *Mulfuzāt Timūry*, or autobiographical *Memoirs of the Moghul Emperor Timūr*). The original memoirs were written in Turkish (in the "Jagṭay Türky language") and were rendered into Persian by Abū Tālib Husainī. The English translations are made from the Persian version.

Mirza Haidar lived in the 16th century and was a cousin of the famous Bābar. His *Tarikh-i-Rashīdī* (transl. by Elias and Ross, see above p. 5, note 12, with learned apparatus of introduction and notes) is "the history of that branch of the Moghul Khans who separated themselves, about the year 1321, from the main stem of the Chaghatai, which was then the ruling dynasty in Transoxiana; and it is the only history known to exist of this branch of the Moghuls" (Elias, *ib.* p. 7). There are two parts of the work; the second contains memoirs of the author's life, etc., which do not concern any events touched upon by Gibbon. In the first part, written in 1544-6 in Cashmir, the author follows the history of two dynasties: the Khans of Moghulistan, beginning with Tughluk Timūr; and their vassals the Dughlāt amirs of Eastern Turkestan, from one of whom Haidar was descended. This part of the work is based largely on oral traditions, but the author also made use of the work of Sharaf ad-Din. Elias criticizes "the weakness of the chronology and the looseness with which numbers and measurements are made".

Of Chinese authorities for the history of the Mongols, the most important is the annals entitled *YUAN SHI*, of which Bretschneider (*Mediaeval Researches for Eastern Asiatic Sources*, 1888) gives the following account (vol. i. p. 180 *sqq.*). In 1369 "the detailed records of the reigns of the thirteen Yüan emperors were procured, and the emperor (Hungwn) gave orders to compile the history of the Yüan [Mongols], under the direction of *Sung Lien* and *Wang Wei*. The work, which occupied sixteen scholars, was begun in the second month of 1369 and finished in the eighth month of the same year. But as at that time the record of the reign of Shun ti (the last Mongol emperor in China) was not yet received, the scholar *Ou yang Yu* and others were sent to *Pei ping* to obtain the required information. In the sixth month of 1370 the Yüan Shi was complete." There were various subsequent editions. "The Yüan Shi has been compiled from official documents. Perhaps we must except the biographies, for which the information was probably often derived from private sources. It seems that the greater part of the documents on which the Chinese history of the Mongols is based had been drawn up in the Chinese language; but in some cases they appear to have been translated from the Mongol. I conclude this from the fact that in the Yüan Shi places are often mentioned, not, as usually, by their Chinese names, but by their Mongol names represented in Chinese characters" (p. 183). The Yüan Shi (p. 185 *sqq.*) is divided into four sections: (1) consists of the lives of the 13 Mongol Khans in Mongolia and China, and the annals of their reigns from Chingiz to Shun ti (1368); (2) memoirs (geographical, astronomical, politico-economical notices; regulations on dress, rites, public appointments, etc.; military ordinances, etc.); (3) genealogical tables and lists; (4) about a thousand biographies of eminent men of the period [Bretschneider observes that these biographies "bear evidence to the liberal views of the Mongol emperors as to the acknowledgment of merit. They seem never to have been influenced by national considerations"]; and notices of foreign lands and nations south and east of China (*e.g.*, Korea, Japan, Burma, Sumatra).

An abstract of the annals of the Yüan shi is contained in the first ten chapters of the *YUAN SHI LEI PIEN* (an abbreviated History of the Mongols) which were translated by Gaubil in his *Histoire de Gentschiscan* (see above p. 5, note 11). From this abstract, and the Yüan shi and another work entitled the *Shi Wei* (*Woof of History*), R. K. Douglas compiled his *Life of Jinghiz Khān*, 1877.

The YÜAN CH'AO PI SHI, Secret History of the Mongol dynasty, is a Chinese translation of a Mongol work, which was completed before 1240. It contains the early history of the Mongols, the reign of Chingiz, and part of the reign of Ogotai; and it was translated into Chinese in the early period of the Ming dynasty. An abridgment of this work was translated into Russian by Palladius, and published in 1866 in the Records of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission at Peking, vol. 4. It was only six years later that Palladius found that the work was extant in a fuller form. Bretschneider says: This document "corroborates generally Rashid-eddin's records, and occasionally we find passages in it which sound like a literal translation of the statements of the Persian historiographer. This proves that Rashid had made use of the same source of information as the unknown author of the Yüan ch'ao pi shi. As to the dates in the latter work, they are generally in accordance with the dates given by the Mohammadan authors: but in a few cases the Yüan ch'ao pi shi commits great chronological blunders and misplacements of events, as, for instance, with respect to the war in the west."

In his work cited above Bretschneider has rendered accessible other Chinese documents bearing on Mongol history, especially some relations of Chinese travellers and envoys; for example, an extract (i. p. 9 *sqq.*) from the Si Yu Lu (Description of Journey to the West) of Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai, a minister of Chingiz who attended him to Persia, 1219-24. (There is a biography of this Ye-lü in the Yüan Shi.) Bretschneider makes valuable contributions to the difficult subject of geographical identifications, and discusses among other documents the account of the Armenian prince Haithon's visit to Mongolia, written by Guiragos Gandsaketsi. This Haithon I. must not be confounded with Haithon, the monk of Prémontré, mentioned by Gibbon (above, p. 6, note 13). The account of Guiragos was translated into French by Klapproth (Nouv. Journ. Asiat., p. 273 *sqq.*, 1833) from a Russian version by Argutinski; but the history of Guiragos has since been translated by Brosset.

See also above, p. 5, n. 11.

SSANANG SSETSÉN, a prince of the tribe of Ordus and a descendant of Chingiz, born A. D. 1604, wrote in Turkish a history of the eastern Mongols which he finished in 1662. It was thus written after the Manchus had conquered China and overthrown the Mongols. The earlier part of the book is practically a history of Tibet. The account of the origin of the Mongols is translated from Chinese sources. The author is a zealous Buddhist and dwells at great length on all that concerned the interests of his religion; other matters are often dismissed far too briefly. The relation of the career of Chingiz is marked by many anachronisms and inaccuracies. The work was made accessible by the German translation of I. J. Schmidt, under the title, *Geschichte der Ostmongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*, 1829.

MODERN WORKS. Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vol. i., 1834. J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vol. i., 1840. E. Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks*, 1903. N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vols. i. and ii., 1908-9. Sir H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols* (see above, p. 5, note 12). Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* (see above, p. 219, note 2).

For sketches of the history of the Ottoman Turks: S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey (Story of the Nations)*, 1888; La Jonquière, *Histoire de l'empire Ottoman*, 1897.

For the laws, constitution, etc., of the Ottoman empire, the chief work is Mouradja d'Othson's *Tableau général de l'empire Ottoman*, 7 vols., 1788-1824.

For Mongols, see above, p. 5, note 12. For Serbia: C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, I. (bis 1371), 1911. For the schism of the Greek and Latin Churches, see above, p. 87, note 1. For the capture of Constantinople, see below, Appendix 3.

2. THE MONGOL INVASION OF EUROPE, A. D. 1241—(P. 15-17)

It is only recently that European history has begun to understand that the successes of the Mongol army which overran Poland and occupied Hungary in the spring of A. D. 1241 were won by consummate strategy and were not due to a mere

overwhelming superiority of numbers. But this fact has not yet become a matter of common knowledge; the vulgar opinion which represents the Tartars as a wild horde carrying all before them solely by their multitude, and galloping through Eastern Europe without a strategic plan, rushing at all obstacles and overcoming them by mere weight, still prevails. It will therefore not be amiss to explain very briefly the plan and execution of the Mongol campaign. The nominal commander-in-chief was Batu, but there is no doubt that the management of the expedition was in the hands of Subutai.

The objective of Subutai was Hungary,—the occupation of Hungary and the capture of Gran (Strigonium), which was then not only the ecclesiastical capital but the most important town in the country. In advancing on Hungary, his right flank was exposed to an attack from the princes of Poland, behind whom were the forces of Bohemia and North Germany. To meet this danger, Subutai divided his host into two parts, which we may call the northern and the southern army. The duty of the northern army was to sweep over Poland, advance to Bohemia, and effectually prevent the princes of the north from interfering with the operations of the southern army in Hungary. Thus strategically the invasion of Poland was subsidiary to the invasion of Hungary, and the northern army, when its work was done, was to meet the southern or main army on the Danube.

The northern army advanced in three divisions. The main force under Baidar marched through the dominions of Boleslaw the Chaste, and took Cracow; then bearing north-westward it reached Oppeln on the Oder, where it defeated prince Mieczyzlaw; and descended the Oder to Breslau. At the same time Kaidu advanced by a more northerly route through the land of Conrad, prince of Mosovia and Cujavia; while on the extreme right a force under Ordu terrified the Lithuanians and Prussians and crossed the Lower Vistula. The three divisions reunited punctually at Breslau, the capital of Henry II. of Lower Silesia; and all took part in the battle of Liegnitz (April 9), for which King Wenzel of Bohemia arrived too late. Just one day too late: the Mongol generals had skilfully managed to force Prince Henry to fight before his arrival. Wenzel discreetly withdrew beyond the mountains into Bohemia; all he could hope to do was to defend his own kingdom. Saxony now lived in dread that its turn had come. But it was no part of the plan of Subutai to launch his troops into Northern Germany. They had annihilated the forces of Poland; it was now time for them to approach the main army in Hungary. The Mongols therefore turned their back upon the north, and marched through Upper Silesia and Moravia, capturing town after town as they went. Upon Wenzel who watched them with a large army, expecting them to invade Bohemia, they played a trick. He was posted near the defile of Glatz and the Mongols were at Ottmachau. They were too wary to attack him in such a position; it was necessary to remove him. Accordingly they marched back as if they purposed to invade Bohemia by the pass of the Königstein in the north. Wenzel marched to the threatened point; and when the Mongols saw him safely there, they rapidly retraced their steps and reached Moravia (end of April, beginning of May).

Meanwhile the main army advanced into Hungary in three columns converging on the Upper Theiss. The right wing was led by Shaiban, a younger brother of Batu, and seems to have advanced on the Porta Hungaricæ—the north-western entrance to Hungary, in the Little Carpathians. The central column under Subutai himself, with Batu, marched on the Porta Rusciæ, the defile which leads from Galicia into the valley of the Theiss. The left column, under Kadan and Buri, moved through Transylvania towards the Körös.

The Porta Rusciæ was carried, its defenders annihilated, on March 15; and a flying column of Tartars shot across Hungary, in advance of the main army. On March 15 they were half a day's journey from Pest, having ridden about 180 miles in less than three days. On the 17th they fought and defeated an Hungarian force, and on the same day Shaiban's right column captured Waitzen, a fort near the angle where the Danube bends southward. The object of Subutai in sending the advance squadron Pestward was doubtless to multiply difficulties for the Hungarians in organizing their preparations. These preparations were

already hampered by the conflicts and jealousies between the king and his nobles; and then towards the end of March befell the murder of Kutan, the chief of the Cumans, and the consequent revolt of the Cumans,—mentioned by Gibbon,—which demolished the defence of Eastern Hungary. Meanwhile Kadan's left column had advanced through Transylvania and passed the Körös and Theiss; in the first days of April it advanced to the Danube, in the neighbourhood of Pest. Subutai had in the meantime arrived himself with the main central column, and the three columns of the central army were now together in position on the left bank of the Danube from Waitzen to Pest. But the Hungarian army with its German allies and Slavonic contingents had united at Pest, about 100,000 strong; and it was impossible for the Mongols to cross in the face of such a host. Accordingly Subutai began a retreat, drawing the enemy after him. He retired behind the Sajó, not far from the confluence of that river with the Theiss,—a central position on the route from Pest to Galicia, where he was in touch with his own base of operations near Ungvár and the Porta Rusciae. The Hungarians took up their position on the opposite bank in the plain of Mohi. By skilful tactics the Mongols surrounded their camp and cut them to pieces on April 11, two days after the northern army had gained the battle of Liegnitz.

It was wonderful how punctually and effectually the arrangements of the commander were carried out in operations extending from the Lower Vistula to Transylvania. Such a campaign was quite beyond the power of any European army of the time; and it was beyond the vision of any European commander. There was no general in Europe, from Frederick II. downward, who was not a tiro in strategy compared to Subutai. It should also be noticed that the Mongols embarked upon the enterprise, with full knowledge of the political situation of Hungary and the condition of Poland; they had taken care to inform themselves by a well-organized system of spies: on the other hand, the Hungarians and Christian powers, like childish barbarians, knew hardly anything about their enemies.

The foregoing summary is founded on the excellent study of G. Strakosch-Grassmann, *Der Einfall der Mongolen, in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242, 1893*, and the vivid account of L. Cahun, in his *Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie*, p. 352 *sqq.* The chief defect in Strakosch-Grassmann's book is that he does not give to Subutai his proper place. The important Chinese biography of Subutai is translated in the first vol. of Bretschneider's *Mediæval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, 1888. All the western authorities have been carefully studied and analysed by Strakosch-Grassmann. (The account of the Mongol campaigns in Köhler's *Die Entwicklung des Kriegswesens und der Kriegführung in der Ritterzeit*, vol. 3, pt. 3, 1889, may also be compared.) For a short and good sketch of the Mongol invasions, see F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, 1899.

3. SOURCES FOR THE SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 1453— (CHAP. LXVIII.)

For the siege of Constantinople, Gibbon had only three accounts by eye-witnesses, that of Phrantzes, that of Leonardus of Chios, and that of Cardinal Isidore (see above p. 170, note 12). The most important new source is the history of Critobulus (see above p. 340), though he was not an eye-witness. Several other relations by persons who were in the city during the siege have been published during the present century.

Chief among these is the *Journal of a Venetian, Nicolò Barbaro: Giornale dell'assedio di Constantinopoli 1453*, edited by E. Cornet, 1856.¹ It is invaluable for determining the diary of the siege; but it is marked by hostility and spite towards the Genoese, especially Giustiniani, and by contempt for the Greeks.

An "Informacion" sent by Francesco de Traveses to the Cardinal d'Avignon, and also by Jehan Blanchin and Jacques Tedardi (or Tedaldi) of Florence, on the

¹ There is a good analysis of the contents in Ellissen's *Analekten*, vol. iii., Appendix, p. 84 *sqq.*

capture of Constantinople. Edited in Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus*, i. p. 1819 *sqq.* (1717), and in Chartier's *Chroniques de Charles VII.*, iii. p. 20 *sqq.*, 1858. Tedardi was an eye-witness. He escaped by throwing himself into the water, and was rescued by a Venetian boat.

Ubertino Pusculo of Brescia, who was also fortunate enough to escape, has left an account of the last episode of the history of the Empire in four Books of Latin hexameters. It contributes little enough to our knowledge of facts. The description of the siege does not begin till the middle of the Third book. In the First book there is an account of the battle of Varna, and much about the ecclesiastical antagonism of the Greeks and Latins. The Second begins with the death of John Palæologus and the accession of Constantine, and contains a virulent description of the moral degeneration of the people of Constantinople (v. 117 *sqq.*):—

obsœna sanctæ pietatis in urbe
nec species nec forma fuit, nec gratia recti,
nec virtutis amor (v. 141).

The work is published in Ellissen's *Analekten*, vol. iii., as an Appendix, 1857.

An anonymous Greek poem, in political verses, under the title of Capture of Constantinople (*Ἰαλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*) is misnamed, for it touches only incidentally on the facts of the siege and is in this respect of little historical importance. It is really an appeal to the powers of the West—

αὐθένταις εὐγενέστατοι, τῆς Δύσης μεγιστᾶνες—

French and English, Spanish and Germans

Φραζζέζους καὶ Ἀγκέζιδες, Σπανιόλους, Ἀλαμάνους—

to combine and recover Constantinople from the unbelievers. The Venetians are especially encouraged and urged to set the example—

Ἦ Βενετζιάνοι φρόνιμοι, πρακταῖοι κ' ἐπιδέξιοι.

The Hungarians, Servians, and Walachians are incited to avenge the defeat of Varna:—

Ἦ Βλαχία πολύθλιβη, Σερβία πονεμένη,
θυμείσθε ταῖς αἰχμαλωσιαῖς, Οὐγκρία λυπημένη.

The author, though orthodox, was not extreme in his ecclesiastical views. He probably lived within reach of Mohammad's arm, for he will not disclose his name:—

Τώρα σκεπάζω τὸνομα καὶ κρύβω τὸνομά μου,
γὰ μὴ τὸ ἔξερουν οἱ πολλοὶ τίς ὁ τοιαῦτα γράψας,

but gives his friends the means of knowing his identity by mentioning two bodily marks—a black mole on the little finger of his right hand, and another of the same size on his left hand (vv. 10, 20 *sqq.*). The work was first edited by Ellissen in vol. iii. of his *Analekten* (1857), with introduction, translation, and analysis, under the title *Dirge of Constantinople* (*Θρήνος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*)—a misnomer, for it is not a dirge but a tearful appeal. Legrand published an improved text in 1880 in vol. i. of his *Bibl. grecque vulgaire*, p. 169 *sqq.*

There are five other laments (*θρήνοι*) known. See Papadopoulos-Kerameus, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xii. 267 *sqq.* (1) ἀνακάλυμμα τῆς Κπόλεως, Legrand, *Collection de monuments pour servir à l'étude de la langue néo-hellénique*, N.S., No. 5, 1875. (2) A dialogue between the four Eastern Patriarchs, published by Krumbacher, *Ein dialogischer Threnos auf den Fall von Konstantinopel*, 1901. (3) *Θρήνος*, published by S. Lampros in *Ἐστία*, 1886, 821 *sqq.* from a Ms. of Mt. Athos. (4) *Μοιρολόγιον θλιβερόν*, not printed, found by Papadopoulos-K. in a Ms. of the Patriarchal Library at Cairo. (5) *Θρήνος*, in a Ms. of the Patriarchal Library at Jerusalem, published by Papadopoulos-K., *loc. cit.*

A Slavonic account, written probably by a Slav of some of the Balkan countries, is also preserved, and has been published by Sreznevski under the title, *Skazaniia o vziatii Tsargrada bezbozhnym turetskym sultanom*, in the *Zapiski* of the 2nd Division of the St. Petersburg Academy of Science, vol. i. p. 99 *sqq.*, 1854.

We have another Slavonic account, written in a mixture of Polish and Servian, by a Janissary of Mohammad, named Michael, who took part in the siege. He was a Servian of Ostrovica, and in his later years he went to Poland and wrote his *Memoirs*, which were edited, as "*Pamietniki Janiczara*," by Galezowsky in 1828, in vol. v. of his collection of Polish writers (*Zbior Pisarzy Polskich*). This relation is especially valuable as written from outside, by one who knew what was going on in the camp of the besiegers. It has been utilised by Mijatovich in his account of the siege (see below).

A report by the Father Superior of the Franciscans who was at Galata during the siege was printed by Muratori in vol. 18 (p. 701) of the *Scr. Rer. It. : Rapporto del Superiore dei Franciscani presente all' assedio et alla presa di Constantinopoli*. It seems to have escaped the notice of Gibbon.

An account by Christoforo Riccherio (*La presa di Constantinopoli*) is inserted in Sansovino's *Dell' Historia Universale dell' origine et imperio de Turchi* (1664), p. 343 *sqq.*

Abraham, an Armenian monk, who was present at the siege, wrote a "*Mélorie élégiaque*," which was translated into French by Brosset and printed in St. Martin's ed. of *Lebeau's Histoire du Bas-Empire* (xxi. p. 307 *sqq.*) which Brosset completed.

Adam de Montaldo, of Genoa: *De Constantinopolitano exicidio ad nobilissimum juvenem Melleducam Cicalam, amicum optimum*; edited by C. Desimoni, in the *Atti della Società Ligure di storia patria*, x. p. 325 *sqq.*, 1874.

Besides these relations of eye-witnesses we have some additional contemporary accounts which were not accessible to Gibbon. The most important of these sources, Critobulus, has been spoken of in Appendix I.

Zorzi Dolphin wrote an account of the "siege and capture of Constantinople in 1453," which was published by G. M. Thomas in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, 1868. His sources were the reports of Leonardo of Chios, Philip da Rimano, and anonymous eye-witnesses. He adds little to the story.

A letter of the Genoese "Podestà of Pera," written on June 23, 1853, giving a brief account of the capture, was published by Sylvestre de Sacy in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Roi*, xi. 1, p. 74, 1827.

Documents throwing light on the policy of the Genoese in the fatal year will be found in Vigna's *Codice diplomatico delle Colonie Tauro-Liguri, durante la Signoria dell' ufficio de S. Giorgio* (1453-1475), 1868.

Of little importance for the siege is the *Amyris* of Filelfo—on the life and deeds of Mohammad in 4 Books—published in Hopf's *Chroniques gréco-romanes*.

A *Monody* of Andronicus Callistus, in Migne's *Patr. Gr.*, 161, p. 1124, teaches us, as Paspates has pointed out, that there was water in the ditch outside the western wall.

The final scene of the siege is briefly described in Spandugino Cantacusino's *Della origine de principi Turchi* (which is included in Bk ii. of Sansovino's *Dell' Historia Universale*, p. 187 *sqq.*), p. 195-6.

There are a number of other documents extant which have not yet been printed. C. Hopf and A. Dethier had designed and prepared the publication of these in the *Monumenta Hungar. Hist.*, along with many sources which had been already published. Two volumes lie in Ms.: two have been printed, but were never in the market, and are almost impossible to procure. A description of their contents is given by Krumbacher in his *Gesch. der byzantinischen Litteratur*, p. 311-12. Cp. Pears, *Destruction of the Greek Empire*, xiii. *sq.*

Brosset gathered some material from Armenian and Georgian sources; see the last vol. of St. Martin's ed. of *Lebeau's Histoire du Bas-Empire*.

The Turkish authorities are of very little value for the siege; they were utilised by Hammer. The earliest Ottoman historians belong to the end of the 15th century, *viz.*, the *History* of the great-grandson of Ashik-Pasha (who lived under Murad I.); the anonymous chronicle, *Tarikhi Ali Osmân*; the *World-view*

of Neshri. See Hammer's Introduction to his History. These earlier works were used by the most famous of Ottoman historians, Sad ad-Din, in his Crown of Histories (written under Murad III., end of 16th cent.). His account of the siege has been translated by E. J. W. Gibb, 1879. For Ahmad Muktar Pasha's work see Pears, *op. cit.* xiv.

The following is a list of the chief modern accounts of the siege that have appeared since Gibbon wrote:—

Hammer, Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches, i. p. 398 *sqq.*, 1834.

Zinkeisen, Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches, i. p. 811 *sqq.*, 1840.

Stassulevich (J.), Osada i Vziatie Vizantii Turkami, 1854.

Sreznevski, Poviest o Tsargradie, 1855.

Mordtmann (A. D.), Belagerung und Eroberung Constantinopels durch die Türken im Jahre 1453; 1858. (This had two advantages over previous accounts. Mordtmann knew the ground; and he made use of the diary of Barbaro.)

Finlay, History of Greece, vol. iii. p. 503 *sqq.*

Krause (J. H.), Die Eroberungen von Constantinopel im dreizehnten und fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, 1870.

Broadribb and Besant, Constantinople, a sketch of its history from its foundation to its conquest by the Turks, 1879.

Vlasto (E. H.), Les derniers jours de Constantinople, 1883.

Paspatis (A. G.) Πολιορκία καὶ ἄλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν ἐν ἔτει, 1453; 1890.

Mijatovich (Ch.) Constantine, Last Emperor of the Greeks, 1892.

Pears (E.), The Destruction of the great Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks, 1903.

The sources have been dealt with in an article by P. Pogodin in the Zhurnal min. narod. prosv., vol. 283, August, 1889.

A. van Millingen's Byzantine Constantinople (1899) contains much material for the study of the siege, and many difficulties in the episode are discussed. Pears (*op. cit.* vi.) refers to "two valuable papers" entitled Die letzten Tage von Byzanz, by A. Mordtmann, in the Mitteilungen des deutschen Exkursions-Klubs in Konstantinopel, 1895.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(By H. M. BEATTY, M.A., LL.D., F.R.Hist.S.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GIBBON'S HISTORY, MINOR AND MISCELLANEOUS WORKS, AND LETTERS; AND OF THE CONTROVERSIAL REPLIES TO HISTORY

ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

Bury = the present edition.

Misc. Works = the 1814 edition (unless otherwise stated) of Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works.

Murray = The Autobiographies of E. G., edited by John Murray (1896).

Prothero = Private Letters of E. G., edited by R. E. Prothero (1896).

Read = Historic Studies in Vaud . . . by General Meredith Read (1897).

Sévery = La Vie de Société dans le Pays de Vaud (1911-12).

Hill = The Memoirs of E. G., edited by G. B. Hill (1900).

Graesse = Trésor de livres rares (1859-69).

Oettinger = Historisches Archiv (1841).

Quérad = (unless otherwise stated) La France littéraire (1827-64).

Brunet = Manuel du Libraire (1860-65).

Lowndes and Allibone = the well-known bibliographies.

B.M. = British Museum.

D.N.B. = Dict. Natl. Biography.

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The place of publication is London, when not otherwise stated.

THE DECLINE AND FALL: EDITIONS IN ENGLISH

“The moment of conception; the fifteenth of October, 1764” (Murray, p. 270).

“As early as 1771 . . . a rough draught” (Bury, iii. p. 283).

VOLUME THE FIRST (CHAPTERS 1-16):

1776, February 16th, The | History | Of The | Decline And Fall | Of The | Roman Empire. | By Edward Gibbon Esq.; | Volume The First. |

Jam provideo animo . . . videbatur [Livy, xxxi.-l., motto omitted in later editions].

London: | Printed For W. Strahan; And T. Cadell, In The Strand. |
MDCCLXXVI. |

Preface (pp. v-viii), "Bentinck St., Feb. 1, 1776"; Contents (3 pp.); History (pp. 1-586); "Advertisement" (to Notes, one page); Notes (pp. i-lxxxviii); Errata (one page). 1000 copies. "The volume (a handsome quarto) costs one guinea unbound" (Read, ii. p. 387). "On February 16, I gave myself to the universe" (Read, *ibid.*). In Murray, p. 311, Gibbon says "February 17," and this was the date appointed (Prothero, i. p. 279); but the 17th was a Saturday, and perhaps therefore abandoned. The dates in the Memoirs are often contradictory. "It sold like a threepenny pamphlet"; "in a fortnight not a single copy remained" (Read, *ibid.*).

✓ 1776, June 3rd, Second Edition, 1500 copies, 4to (Strahan & Cadell). The notes are still at the end of the book. "My new birth happened last Monday, 700 of the 1500 were gone yesterday" ("June the 6th, 1776, from Almack's, where I was chose last week," Prothero, i. p. 284).

✓ Dublin, 1776, two volumes, 8vo (printed for Wm. Hallhead, 63 Dame St.). "The bookseller's property was twice invaded by the pyrates of Dublin" (Murray, p. 311). "The natives have printed it very well, and the notes at the bottom take up much less space than I could have imagined" (Prothero, i. p. 288).

✓ 1777, April (Strahan & Cadell). "We are now printing a third edition in quarto of 1000 copies (in all 3500) with the notes at the bottom" (March 29, 1777; Prothero, i. p. 304). Evidently revised:—"I shall usually refer to the third edition, unless there are any various readings" (*Vindication*, 1779, in Misc. Works, iv. p. 526). Gibbon's two-thirds profits on this edition were £326 13s. 4d. (Misc. Works, ii. p. 167; where the price given, 16s., was no doubt for the trade; the sale price, as shown by an advertisement at the end of *A Vindication*, was £1 1s. in boards).

✓ 1781 (Strahan & Cadell). The Fourth Edition, with engraving ("Publish'd as the Act directs Febr. 1st 1780") by Jno. Hall of portrait [1779] by Reynolds of "Edward Gibbon Esqr. born the 8th May 1737". Preface and P.S. ("Bentinck-Street, March 1, 1781"), "Advertisement," detailed Table of Contents (12 pp.), History, pp. 1 to 704. Notes at the bottom of page.

This edition and the Dublin of 1776 are recorded in G.'s own catalogue of his library (on the backs of playing cards) in the B.M.; which, in spite of his personal preference, records no edition with the notes at the end.

SECOND AND THIRD VOLUMES (CHAPS. 17-26 AND 27-38) :

"The commencement of my Second Volume, 1777, December" (Murray, p. 315).

✓ 1781, March 1st, vols. ii. and iii., 4to (printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell, in the Strand, £2 2s.).

Second Volume: portrait by Reynolds and map of the Eastern part of the Roman Empire; pp. 1-640, with notes at the bottom of the pages; Errata.

Third Volume: map of the Western part of the Roman Empire; pp. 1-640; Table of Contents of vols. i., ii., iii.; Errata.

✓ 1781, vols. ii. and iii., 4to, Second Edition (Strahan & Cadell), no portrait, maps as before, but Table of Contents and Errata at the *beginning* of each vol.

✓ Dublin, 1781, chaps. 17-38, in four volumes, 8vo (printed for Wm. Hallhead).

FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD VOLUMES (CHAPS. 1-38) :

✓ 1782 (Preface dated March 1), Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4to (Strahan & Cadell). For the variants introduced by Gibbon into the text, see vol. i., pp. 506-9 of the present edition.

✓ 1783, six volumes, first octavo edition of chaps. 1-38, portrait and map; not further revised, see "Advertisement," dated Bentinck St., April 20, 1783 (Strahan & Cadell).

✓ 1788, six volumes, 8vo (Strahan & Cadell).

✓ 1789, three volumes, 4to. "New edition" (Strahan & Cadell).

FOURTH, FIFTH, AND SIXTH VOLUMES (CHAPS. 39-47; 48-57; 58-71):

Vol. iv. "begun March 1, 1782—ended June, 1784".

Vol. v. "begun July, 1784—ended May 1, 1786".

Vol. vi. "begun May 18, 1786—ended June 27, 1787".

"These three volumes were sent to press August 15, 1787, and the whole impression was concluded April following."

"The day of publication was delayed that it might coincide with the fifty-first anniversary of my own birthday" (Misc. Works, i. pp. 256 and 260).
1788, May 8th, vols. iv., v., vi., 4to; printed for A. Strahan and T. Cadell, in the Strand; 3000 copies; £3 3s. in boards.

Fourth Volume: Preface, pp. i-vi; P.S., pp. vii-viii; Table of Contents; pp. 1-620.

Fifth Volume: Table of Contents; pp. 1-684.

Sixth Volume: Table of Contents; pp. 1-646; General Index to the entire work. Errata to vols. 4, 5, 6.

1790, 6 vols., 8vo (Strahan & Cadell, £1 10s.).

"I do not propose making any improvements or corrections in the octavo edition which you meditate" (Letter of 11th February, 1789, to Cadell, Misc. Works, edn. 1796, i. p. 684).

EDITIONS OF THE COMPLETE WORK IN ENGLISH

1787-9, 13 vols., 8vo (J. J. Tourneisen). The notes of vols. i.-vi. are at the end of each vol.; those of vols. vii.-xiii. form the contents of vol. xiii. No map or portrait.

Querard places this edition as: "Basil (Strasbourg);".

1789, 14 vols., 8vo (J. J. Tourneisen).

"The type is neat, the paper tolerable, and the text *wonderfully*, correct" (Letter 11th February, 1789, *ut supra*).

"I cannot be displeased with the two numerous and correct impressions of the English original, which have been published for the use of the Continent at Basil in Switzerland. Of their fourteen octavo Volumes, the two last include the whole body of the notes. The public impertunity had forced me to remove them from the end of the Volume to the bottom of the page, but I have often repented of my complacency" (Murray, p. 339).

Dublin, 1788-9, 6 vols., 8vo, portrait and two maps (printed for Luke White, No. 86, Dame Street). Vol. v. is dated 1788. This has apparently misled Lowndes and Graesse.

1791, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait and maps (Strahan & Cadell, £3 12s.).

1796, 6 vols., 4to, adorned with the Head of the Author and Maps adapted to the Work (printed for T. Cadell, Jun., and W. Davies, successors to Mr. Cadell, £7 10s.).

1797, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait and maps (printed for A. Strahan; and T. Cadell, Jun., and W. Davies in the Strand).

1802, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait and folding maps, £3 12s.; large paper in royal 8vo, £6 6s. (printed by A. Strahan, Printers St., for T. Cadell, Jun., and W. Davies).

1806, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait and maps (Vernor, Hood & Sharpe in the Poultry and others).

1807, 12 vols., royal 18mo, with some account of the life of the author, portrait and maps (printed for Cadell & Davies and others).

1809, 9 vols., 8vo, new edition with numerous embellishments, portrait, and map (with a second title engraved, bearing date 1808; Oddy & Co. and Maxwell).

Edinburgh, 1811, 12 vols., 8vo, with a life of the author, portrait, and maps (printed for Bell & Bradfute, Peter Hill, Silvester Doig and A. Stirling and John Ogle).

1813, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait after Reynolds and maps (T. Cadell and W. Davies and others).

1815, 12 vols., 8vo, with portrait, memoir, and maps (printed for Lackington, Allen & Co., W. Otridge, R. Scholey, and G. Cowie & Co., London; and for P. Hill, Doig & Stirling, and Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh).

- 1816, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait and map (W. Allason and others).
 1818, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait and maps (W. Allason and others).
 1819, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait (W. Allason and others).
 1820, 12 vols., 8vo, maps of Eastern and Western parts of Empire (W. Allason and others).
 1820, 12 vols., 8vo, with Life, portrait, and map (printed at Edinburgh for Lackington, Harding, etc.).
 1820, 12 vols., 8vo, portrait and maps (Cadell & Davies and others).
 1821, 8 vols., 8vo, with maps and portrait (printed for R. Priestley and others by J. F. Dove, St. John's Square).
 Leipzig, 1821-22, 12 vols., 8vo (E. Fleischer).
 1822, 8 vols., 8vo, portrait and maps (Priestley & Weale and others).
 1823, 8 vols., 8vo, portrait and maps, with "Advertisement" by J. Sleath, D.D. (St. Paul's School), stating that "great care has been taken with the present complete edition" and that "the Greek and Latin quotations have been attentively examined" (printed by J. F. Dove, St. John's Square, for W. Baynes & Son and others).
 1825, 8 vols., 8vo, portrait, memoir, and maps (G. Cowie & Co. and others, Poultry; printed by J. F. Dove, St. John's Square).
 1825, 12 vols., 12mo.
 1827, 12 vols., 8vo, Life, portrait, and maps (Thomas McLean and others).
 1827, 11 vols., 12mo; the title page of each volume is engraved and contains a vignette (printed by Thomas Davison for Thomas Tegg, No. 73, Cheapside).
 Oxford, 1827, 8 vols., 8vo, with steel portrait, £3 3s.; 50 copies in large paper, royal 8vo, £8 8s. ("Oxford Classics Edition," Pickering, printed by Talboys & Wheeler). An issue of 1828 is frequently recorded in bibliographies,—questionable. "Professes to have been carefully revised" (Lowndes). No maps.
 Edinburgh, 1828 *et seq.*, 12 vols., 8vo, illustrated with maps designed for the work (printed by Ballantyne & Co. for John Thomson, etc.).
 1828, 4 vols., 8vo, engraved frontispiece dated 1825 (Jones & Co.).
 1828, 8 vols., 8vo, with Life, portrait, and maps (Cadell and others).
 Leipzig, 1828-9, 12 vols., 8vo.
 1830, 8vo, printed from the edition in twelve volumes, with an introductory memoir of the author by William Youngman (Joseph Ogle Robinson, 42 Poultry; Liverpool, A. C. Baynes, Waterloo Place. Stereotyped and printed by J. R. & C. Childs). Portrait.
 Edinburgh, 1831, 12 vols., 8vo, with portrait by Lizars and maps.
 Edinburgh, 1832, 12 vols., royal 8vo, illustrated with three large maps designed for the work (Crusades, Provinces from Adriatic to Propontis, Empire of Charlemagne), and with memoir (Thomas Nelson and Peter Brown).
 1837, 8vo, with memoir by Chalmers and portrait.
 1838, 8 vols., 8vo, with Life, portrait, and maps (Cadell and others).
 1838-9, 12 vols., 8vo, with notes by Guizot, edited by Milman, and original historical maps (John Murray, 9s. each).
 Paris, 1840, 8 vols., 8vo, with portrait and three maps and notes by Guizot and Milman (Baudry's European Library, 3 Quai Malaquais, near the Pont des Arts).
 1840, thick royal 8vo, with portrait after Reynolds, engraved by W. C. Edwards, and introductory memoir by William Youngman (Ball, Arnold & Co., 34 Paternoster Row. Bungay: printed by John Childs & Son).
 Derby, 1842, 4 vols., 8vo, with Life, portrait and maps (printed for Thomas Richardson).
 1844, royal 8vo, with memoir by W. Youngman, stereotyped in one vol. (Bohn).
 Halifax, 1844-5, 4 vols., 8vo, Life, portrait and four maps (printed and published by William Milner, Cheapside).
 Subsequent issues in 1847 and 1848.
 1846, 6 vols., 8vo, with notes by Guizot, edited by Milman, Second edition (John Murray, £3 3s.).
 1847, 8vo, with memoir by W. Youngman, new edition (Bohn, 18s.); also in 1865 and 1866.

- 1847, 8vo, with Life by A. Chalmers (Longman) ; also in 1862.
- 1848, 8 vols., 8vo, Life, portrait, and maps (Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans and others, £3).
- London and New York, 1850, 2 vols., imp. 8vo, with 57 engravings and maps ; notes and memoir by F. A. Guizot (Virtue, £1 16s.).
Reissued 1863 ; 4th issue in 1870.
- 1853-5, 7 vols., cr. 8vo, with copious index, two maps, portrait of Gibbon, and variorum notes : including those of Guizot, Wenck, Schreiter, and Hugo, edited with further illustrations from the most recent sources by an English Churchman [i.e. H. G. Bohn], (Bohn, £1 4s. 6d.).
[The first volume having been criticised for careless printing, a corrected impression was issued in 1854. The book passed to Messrs. Bell & Sons in 1864, and has since that date been reprinted about thirteen times ; in later issues the words "an English Churchman" have been omitted. Reissued also in New York, Boston, Philadelphia.]
- 1854 (vols. 1-5), 1855 (vols. 6-8), 8 vols., 8vo, with portrait by E. Scriven after Reynolds and fourteen maps, notes by Milman and Guizot, edited with additional notes by William Smith, LL.D. (John Murray, 7s. 6d. each vol.).
[This, the third of the Milman editions, includes also the Autobiography, and has been repeatedly reprinted since. The Milman editions have been also reprinted about a dozen times in New York, Boston or Philadelphia.]
- 1860, imp. 8vo (Tegg).
- 1869, 3 vols., cr. 8vo (Alexander Murray).
- London and New York, 1873, 4 vols., cr. 8vo (Chandos Classics, Frederick Warne & Co.).
Reissued 1887.
- 1875, thick royal 8vo, with portrait.
- New York, 1880, 5 vols., 16mo (American Book Exchange).
- 1890, 4 vols., large 8vo.
- 1892, 2 vols., 8vo (Lubbock's Hundred Books).
- 1895, 4 vols., 8vo (Gibbings, Standard British Classics).
- 1896-1900, 7 vols., cr. 8vo, with maps, edited with introduction, notes, appendices, and index by J. B. Bury ; also 7 vols., demy 8vo (Methuen & Co.) ; also New York (Macmillan Co.).
- 1903-6, 7 vols., 6 ins. by 4 (The World's Classics).
- 1905-6, 7 vols., cr. 8vo, edited by J. B. Bury (Methuen's Standard Library).
- 1910, 6 vols., cr. 8vo, edited by Oliphant Smeaton (Everyman's Library) ; also New York (Dutton).
- 1909 *et seq.*, 7 vols., demy 8vo, edited with introduction, notes, and appendices by J. B. Bury, with maps ; and with illustrations selected by O. M. Dalton (Methuen & Co.). The present edition.

UNDATED EDITIONS

- 3 vols., large cr. 8vo (Warne & Co.).
- 2 vols., large 8vo, with Milman's notes and full-page illustrations (Ward, Lock & Co.).
- New York, 5 vols., cr. 8vo, with notes by Milman and index (International Book Company, 310-318 Sixth Avenue).
- New York, Pittsburg, and Cincinnati, 6 vols. in twelve, 8vo, Milman's and Smith's notes, illustrated "Edition de luxe" (Euclid Press).
"The conquests of our language and literature (*sic*) are not confined to Europe alone ; and the writer who succeeds in London is speedily read on the banks of the Delaware and Ganges" (Murray, p. 339).

MUTILATIONS, ABRIDGMENTS, AND SELECTIONS OF THE HISTORY

- 1826, 5 vols., 8vo, reprinted for the use of families and young persons, with the careful omission of all passages of an irreligious or immoral tendency, by Thomas Bowdler, F.R.S.S.A. (Longman, £1 11s. 6d.), with motto :—

O Hamlet, thou has cleft my heart in twain.
O throw away the worser part of it
And live the purer with the other half.

- 1789, 2 vols., 8vo, Gibbon's History. . . . Abridged (printed for G. Kearsley, Johnson's Head, Fleet St.); by J. Adams (B.M. Catalogue), or Rev. Charles Hereford (Lowndes, D.N.B., Allibone and Graesse). Possibly, "J. Adams" was the *nom de guerre* by which the anonymous and Reverend abridger was known to his publisher in his unorthodox undertaking, or, to use his own words, "the delicacy of his situation". "Much religious disquisition has been carefully rejected."
- Dublin, 1790, 2 vols., 8vo (printed, vol. i., by William Porter; vol. ii., by Robert Rhames; for H. Chamberlaine, P. Wogan and seven others). Matter apparently as in English abridgment.
- 1807, 2 vols., 8vo, Second edition (of London Abridgment).
- 1856, 8vo, abridged by William Smith, LL.D. (The Student's Gibbon), illustrated by one hundred engravings on wood (John Murray); and subsequent impressions.
- 1899-1901, 2 vols., 8vo, abridged by Sir W. Smith, revised edition by A. H. J. Greenidge and J. G. C. Anderson (John Murray).
- 1840, 12mo, The Beauties of Gibbon, selected from his works by A. Howard, portrait.
- 1869, post 8vo, History of the Crusades (chaps. 58-61 of the History), (Alexander Murray).
- 1869, post 8vo, Rise and Fall of the Saracen Empire (chaps. 50, 51, 52), (Alexander Murray).
- 1870, post 8vo, The Saracen Empire (chaps. 50, 51, 52), with Ockley's History (Alexander Murray).
- 1870, post 8vo, The Crusades (chaps. 58-61), with Siege of Rhodes and Scott's Essay on Chivalry (Alexander Murray).
- 1880, cr. 8vo, History of the Crusades (1095-1261), with Gibbon's Life and Letters (Chandos Library, Warne).
- Münster, 1881-2, 16mo, History of the first and fourth Crusades;
History of the heroes of Old Germany, Alaric, Odoacer, Theodoric the Great, Clovis and Alboin (Werke der Englischen Literatur. Ausgewählt und ausgestattet von Ant. Goebel).
- New York, 1883, 12mo, History of Christianity: all that relates to the progress of the Christian religion in the History . . .; with Life, preface and notes, illustrated (Peter Eckler).
- New York, 1896, Birth, character and doctrine of Mahomet (Peter Eckler).
- 1899, 8vo, History of the Crusades, with Life and Letters, verbatim reprint, with copious index by W. J. Day (C. Arthur Pearson).
- 1905, 8vo, Selections from Gibbon (The Arnold Prose Books).
- 1906, 8vo, The Age of the Antonines (chaps. i., ii., iii. of the History), edited by W. H. D. Rouse (Blackie's English Texts).
- 1907, 8vo, The Age of the Antonines, edited by J. H. Fowler (English Literature for Secondary Schools, Macmillan & Co.).
- 1910, Narratives from the History of the Decline and . . ., selected and edited by J. H. Fowler (English Literature for Secondary Schools, Macmillan & Co.).

TRANSLATIONS OF THE HISTORY

FRENCH

Paris, 1777-95, 18 vols., 8vo, Histoire de la décadence et de la chute de l'Empire Romain, traduite de l'Anglois (sic) par M. Le Clerc de Sept-Chênes; continuée par MM. Dêmeunier et Boulard, finie par MM. Cantwel et Marinié, et revue quant aux derniers volumes par M. Boulard (Moutard et Maradan).

"The first volume had been feebly though faithfully translated by M.

- Le Clero de Septchènes" (Murray, p. 339 note); or, according to Brunet, Quérard (*Les Supercheries Littéraires*), and Sainte-Beuve (*Causeries*, viii. p. 454), by Louis XVI., at least in part. But see the letters to and from Septchènes (Prothero, i. p. 296, and Misc. Works, ii. p. 190).
- Paris, 1790-2, 12 vols., 12mo, Histoire . . . par M. de Sept-Chènes, nouvelle édition.
- Graesse says that "la première version p. Mokarky" (*sic*), i.e. the two editions just mentioned, "est moins complète" than the Guizot edn. of 1812.
- Paris, 1812, 13 vols., 8vo, Histoire . . . trad. par Le Clerc de Sept-Chènes, nouvelle édition, revue et corrigée [par Mme Guizot], précédée d'une lettre sur la vie et le caractère de Gibbon par Suard, et accompagnée de notes par M. Guizot (Maradan).
- Paris, 1819, 13 vols., 8vo (Lefèvre).
- Paris, 1828-9, 13 vols., 8vo, accompagnée de notes par F. Guizot, relatives pour la plupart à l'histoire de la propagation du Christianisme (Ledentu).
- Paris, 1835-6, 2 vols., royal 8vo, avec une notice par J. A. C. Buchon (A. Desrez, rue Saint-Georges).
- Paris, 1843, 2 vols., 8vo, avec une introduction par J. A. C. Buchon (Société du Panthéon Littéraire, Hennuyer et Turpin, 20 fr.).

Abridgments and Extracts in French

- Paris, 1804, 3 vols., 8vo, Histoire de la décadence . . . abrégée et réduite à ce qu'elle contient d'essentiel et d'utile par Adam[s], et traduite de l'Anglais par P. C. Briand.
- Paris, 1810, 10 vols., 18mo. Histoire de l'empire Romain jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs, précédée d'une Introduction par Meiners; trad. de l'angl. par J. B. J. Breton (Bibliothèque historique, à l'usage des jeunes gens, 12 fr.).
- Paris, 1821, 8vo, Aperçus historiques sur le droit romain par Gibbon, avec les Aperçus sur l'origine du droit français par Fleury; recueil à l'usage des élèves du cours de l'histoire du droit romain et du droit français (Gillet et Mlle. Leloir, 4 fr.).
- Liège, 1821, 8vo, Précis de l'histoire du droit romain, traduction adoptée par M. Guizot, rev. et rectifiée par Warkonning [*sic* Quérard; Warnkoenig?] (P. J. Collardin, 3 fr.).

GERMAN

- Leipzig, 1779 *et seq.*, 19 parts, 8vo, Geschichte des Verfalls und Untergangs des Römischen Reichs, aus d. Engl. übersetzt mit Anmerkungen von Fr. Aug. W. Wenck [first vol. only], Schreiter, Beck, und Müller.
- "I wish it were in my power to read the German, which is praised by the best Judges" (Murray, p. 339).
- Magdeburg and Vienna, 1788-92, 16 vols., large 8vo, Geschichte der Abnahme und des Falls des Römischen Reichs aus d. Engl. übersetzt (von Chr. Wlh. v. Riemberg), sammt d. einleit. u. Register. Mit 3 Karten.
- Frankfort and Leipzig, 1800-3, 13 vols., large 8vo, Geschichte des Verfalls . . . von Fr. A. Wenck.
- Frankfort, 1800, 12 vols., small 8vo, Geschichte des Verfalls . . . , aus d. Engl., mit Anmerkungen und Abhandlungen von Fr. A. Wenck.
- Leipzig, 1805-7, 19 vols., 8vo, Geschichte des Verfalls (Wenck, etc.), new issue of 1779 edition (Hinrichs).
- Leipzig, 1835-7, 1 vol. (12 parts), 4to, with portrait, Geschichte des ehemaligen Sinkens und endlichen Untergangs des römischen Weltreichs, nebst biograph. Skizze über den Verfasser von Joh. Sporschil.
- Leipzig, 1837-41, 12 vols., 16mo, the same, neue Taschenausgabe.
- Leipzig, 1842-4, 12 vols., 8vo, the same, second octavo edition. With portrait.
- Leipzig, 1854, 12 vols., same, third edition.
- Leipzig, 1861-3, 12 vols., same, fourth edition.

Abridgments and Selections in German

- Lüneburg, 1787, 8vo, *Leben Attilas, Königs der Hunnen*, aus dem Englischen übersetzt.
- Hamburg, 1788, 8vo, *Ausbreitung d. Christenthums aus natürl. Ursachen*, aus d. Engl. (Matthiessen).
- Göttingen, 1790, 8vo, *Histor. Uebersicht d. Röm. Rechts*, aus d. Engl. mit Anmerkungen von G. Hugo.
Reissued 1839.
- Berlin, 1790, 3 vols., 8vo, *Geschichte d. Verfalls u. Unterg. d. Röm. Reichs*, im Auszüge, von G. K. F. Seidel (Voss).
- Dessau, 1797, 8vo, *Bekehrung d. Kaiser Constantin d. Grossen*, aus d. Engl.

ITALIAN

Lausanne [= Florence?], 1779, 3 vols., 8vo, *Istoria . . . tradotta dal Francese del Signore Le Clerc de Sept-chênes*.

Apparently discontinued after the sixteenth chapter; Oettinger says "15 Bände," but Graesse says "non terminée". Spedalieri (Confutazione, 1798) mentions two Italian translations, but does not say if complete.

Pisa, 1779-86, vols. 1-9, 8vo, *Istoria della decadenza e rovina dell' Impero Romano tradotta dall' Inglese di Edoardo Gibbon*. (Vols. 1-3, Per Carlo Ginesi, Con Licenza de' Superiori; Vols. 4-8, Presso Jacopo Grazioli, Con Licenza de' Superiori; vol. 9, Presso Luigi Raffaelli, Con Approvazione.)

This translation was planned by Monsignor Angelo Fabroni, at his own expense; ten vols. (chaps. 1-43) were translated, the first by Gonnella, the others by Professor Foggi. Fabroni's co-operation was disapproved at Rome; the tenth volume (chaps. 39-43), though printed, was not published and was afterwards destroyed; and after Fabroni's death the other nine were, except 200 copies, sold for waste paper. See Bertocci, *Repertorio Bibliografico* (1880) and the preface to Bertolotti's translation, *infra*; also the leaflet inserted in the British Museum copy. "The superior merit of the Interpreter, or his language, inclines me to prefer the Italian version" (Murray, p. 339). "The critical Essay at the end of the third Volume was furnished by the Abbate Nicola Spedalieri. The sixth and seventh Volumes are armed with five letters from an anonymous Divine" (*ibid.* p. 322). Gibbon's own copy is in the British Museum, with his book-plate in the first volume. This translation appears, as professed, to be made from the English original (first edition, except in one sentence at beginning of chap. i.).

Milan, 1820-4, 13 vols., 8vo, with copious index, brief Life of Gibbon, and a compendium of Spedalieri's confutation, *Storia della decadenza e rovina dell' Impero Romano di Edoardo Gibbon*. Traduzione dall' Inglese [by Davide Bertolotti].

It is translated from the 8vo London edition of 1791, and dedicated by the publisher, Nicolò Bettoni, to Lady Fanny Harvey. The first half is founded on the Pisa translation, which is severely criticised, revised "parola per parola" (Biblioteca Storica di tutte le nazioni, 20 lire).

Lugano, 1841, 3 vols., 4to, *Storia della decadenza*. . . .

Abridgments in Italian

- Bastia, 1835, with map, *Storia . . . compendiata da Fran. Inghirami*.
- Florence, 1875, 16mo, with map, *Storia . . . [to the middle of the Twelfth Century] compendiata ad uso delle scuole da Gugl. Smith (Barbèra, 4 lire)*. Fifth edition in 1884.

SPANISH

- Barcelona, 1847-8, 8 vols., 8vo, *Histria [sic, Graesse] de la decadencia del Imperio Rom. trad. del ingles con notas p. J. Mor. de Fuentes* (130 rs. de la cortina).

RUSSIAN

Moscow, 1883-6, *Исторія упадка и разрушенія Римской Имперіи* . . . Перевелъ . . . В. Н. Невѣдомскій, 7 parts, 8vo.

HUNGARIAN (chapters 1-38)

Pest, 1868-9, *A Római Birodalom hanyatlásának és bukásának története* . . . Az angol eredetiből átdolgozta Hegyessy K., 2 vols., 8vo.

POLISH (chapter 44)

Cracow, 1830, *E. Gibbona rys historyczny Prawa Rzymkiego. Przetozyl z Angielskiego i uwagami G. Hugona powiększyl J. H. S. Rzesiński*. 8vo. Reissued 1844.

GREEK (chapter 44)

Athens, 1840, 'Ε. Γιββωνος 'Ιστορίας της Παρακμης και πτωσεως του βωμαικου κρατου κεφαλαιον μδ., περιεχον την ιστοριαν του βωμαικου δικαιου. 'Ωι προσετεθησαν ας σημειωσεις του Ουγγωνος, Βαρκοικινγιου και τινες των μεταφραστων 'Α. 'Ερτσου και Π. Παππαρηγοπουλου, 8vo.

CZECH (chapter 44)

Prague, 1880, *E. Gibbon: o Právu Římském. Z anglického jazyka přeložil J. Vaňa*, 8vo (Anglo-Slavonic Library, Part 3: Anglicko-slovanská Knihovna zábavy i poučení).

GIBBON'S MINOR WORKS

ESSAI SUR L'ÉTUDE DE LA LITTÉRATURE

London, 1761, ["I received the first copy (June the 23rd) at Alresford" (Murray, p. 170)], *Essai | sur | l'Étude | de la | Littérature |*, chez T. Becket et P. A. de Hondt, "in a small Volume in duodecimo," "the primitive value of half a crown".

Errata, p. ii; "To Edward Gibbon, Esq.," by "E. Gibbon, Junior" (in English, dated May 28th, 1761), pp. iii-vii; "Avis au Lecteur, Le 26 Avril [16 Avril in Misc. Works], 1761," pp. ix-xiii; "A. L'Auteur" signed "M. Maty," xv-xxii; *Essai*, pp. 1-159.

Begun, March 8, 1758; resumed July 11; continued February 11, 1759; revised April 23, 1761. [A copy with inscription: "To Mrs. Jolliffe from the Author," was sold in March, 1912, for £3 12s. 6d.] The *Essai* is reprinted in *Misc. Works*, iv. pp. 1-93, "with corrections and additions from an interleaved copy" (*Misc. Works*, i. p. xix)—apparently all in the notes: e.g. pp. 30, 34, 54.

London and Paris, 1762, *Essai* . . . 12mo (Duchesne). [Recorded by Quérard, *La France Littéraire*.]

[Genève?] 1762, small 8vo, paper cover, *Essai* . . . suivant la Copie, à Londres: chez T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt, s.l. [Priced in a recent catalogue at £5 5s., May, 1911.] Errata corrected and two indexes added.

"The next year (1762) a new Edition (I believe at Geneva) extended the fame, or at least the circulation, of the work" (Murray, p. 171).

It is possible that these two 1762 editions are the same, and that Gibbon was mistaken.

London, 1764, 8vo, *An essay on the study of literature*, written originally in French . . . now first translated into English (T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt, 2s.); also a large paper edition, 4s.

"The author might have wept over the blunders and the baldness of the English translation" (Murray, p. 171).

[Apparently translated by Becket: "his translation," Misc. Works, i. p. 157 note; Murray, p. 256.]

There is another translation, "an entirely new one," in "The Miscellaneous Works" of 1837.

Dublin, 1777, 12mo, An essay . . . "The publication of my History revived the memory. I refused the permission of reprinting it: the public curiosity was imperfectly satisfied by a pyrated copy of the booksellers of Dublin" (Murray, p. 171).

Translations (German) of the Essai

Hamburg, 1792, 8vo, Versuch über d. Studium d. Literatur; aus d. Französ. von Eschenburg.

Leipzig, 1794, mit neuem Titel.

MÉMOIRES LITTÉRAIRES

London, 1768, 12mo, Mémoires Littéraires de la Grande Bretagne pour l'an 1767 (Londres: Chez T. Becket et P. A. de Hondt, dans le Strand).

Deyverdun was apparently the responsible editor (Read, ii. pp. 380-3). For plan and contents, see Misc. Works, ii. pp. 68-71.

London, 1769, 12mo, Mémoires Littéraires pour l'an 1768 (Chez C. Heydinger dans Grafton St., Soho; Et se vend chez P. Elmsley, vis-à-vis Southampton Street dans le Strand).

[Both of these are now in the British Museum. The two vols., in one, have been recently catalogued at nine guineas and again at twelve.]

One article, "Doutes Historiques par M. Horace Walpole," by Gibbon, with supplementary "réflexions" by Hume, is reprinted in Misc. Works, iii. pp. 331-49.

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS

1770, 8vo, Critical Observations on the Sixth Book of the Aeneid: "were sent, without my name, to the press"; "my first English publication" (Murray, p. 282).

1794, 8vo, Critical Observations. . . .

Reprinted in Misc. Works, iv. pp. 467-514.

A VINDICATION, ETC.

1779, January 14th [Walpole's Letters, edn. Toynbee, x. p. 363]. A | Vindication | Of | Some Passages | In The | Fifteenth And Sixteenth Chapters | Of The | History of the Decline and Fall of | the Roman Empire. | By the Author. "in octavo—for I would not print it in quarto, lest it should be bound and preserved with the History itself" (Murray, p. 316).

Pp. 1-158; Errata (Printed for W. Strahan; and T. Cadell In The Strand).

1779 ("we have a second edition in the press," February 6th, Prothero, i. p. 357), 8vo. A Vindication . . . "Bentinck St., February 3, 1779".

The same number of pages as first edition, but on larger and better paper; fully revised: some passages (e.g. at the end about *A Gentleman*) which formed a "Postscript" in 1st edn., are now incorporated and a few passages added. In Misc. Works, iv. pp. 515-648, Sheffield follows 2nd edn. as a rule, but reinserts a compliment to Bishop Lowth, omitted in 2nd edn. of Vindication.

Dublin, 1779, 8vo. A Vindication. . . .

MÉMOIRE JUSTIFICATIF

1779, May, small 4to of 32 pages [without name of author or place], | Mémoire Justificatif | pour servir de | Réponse | à | L'Exposé &c. | de la | Cour de France | MDCCLXXIX.

The "Exposé" referred to was a pamphlet entitled: "Exposé des motifs de la conduite du Roi de France relativement à l'Angleterre". G.'s Mémoire

was "delivered as a state paper to the Courts of Europe" (Murray, 320), and was "translated even into the Turkish language" (Misc. Works, i. p. xx). Reprinted in Misc. Works (1796), ii. pp. 531-550, and in Misc. Works (1814), v. pp. 1-34; with, however, initial title in both editions thus: *Mémoire Justificatif pour servir de Réponse à l'Exposé des Motifs de la Conduite du Roi de France relativement à l'Angleterre*. A copy of the original is in the B.M.

- 1779, *The Annual Register*, pp. 397-412, English translation of the *Mémoire*. (Preceded by translations of the Spanish and French manifestoes.)

AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF CHRISTIANITY

- 1806, 4to, *An Historical View of Christianity*, containing select passages from Scripture, with a commentary by the late Edward Gibbon, Esq., and notes by the late Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, Monsieur de Voltaire, and others (Cadell & Davies).

Not included in Misc. Works.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

- 1796, 2 vols., 4to, *Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esquire*. With *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, composed by Himself: illustrated from his letters, with occasional notes and narrative, by John Lord Sheffield [printed for A. Strahan, and T. Cadell, Jun., and W. Davies (successors to Mr. Cadell) in the Strand. £2 10s.].

Vol. i., p. 17, has the silhouette of Gibbon "cut with scissors (*sic*) by Mrs. Brown" (i. p. 435).

"The most important part consists of *Memoirs* . . . of which he left Six different sketches. From all these the following *Memoirs* have been carefully selected and put together," vol. i. p. iv.

- Dublin, 1796, 3 vols., 8vo, *Miscellaneous Works* . . . (printed for P. Wogan and twelve others). Silhouette of G. Errata of London edition corrected.

Contains (vol. i., pp. 277-8) matter not found in any other edition, although an English translation appears in the 1837 edition. Sévery (vol. ii., pp. 322-3) says: "Lord Sheffield faisait paraître à Dublin l'édition dite irlandaise des *Miscellanées* de Gibbon, et il pria M. le ministre Levade de lui remettre une notice sur Mme de Sévery [died Jan. 17, 1796] qu'il désirait placer après la lettre [Misc. Works, i., pp. 392-7] dans laquelle Gibbon raconte à son ami Sheffield la mort de M. de Sévery". "Faisait paraître" can hardly be fact; even thus to countenance a cheap rival reprint is strange. Presumably the copyright was still in Sheffield's hands, for which in 1812 John Murray paid him, as executor, £1000 (Hill, p. 315 and also p. 195).

- Basil, 1796 (1-4), 1797 (5-7), 7 vols., 8vo, *Miscellaneous Works* . . . (J. J. Tourneisen, 28 fr.).

A curiously arranged book. Vols. i. and ii. contain the text of vol. i., 4to; vols. iii.-v. of vol. ii., 4to; vols. vi. and vii. contain translations into English of the *Essai* and other pieces in French, but not of the *Mémoire Justificatif*; while all the notes, even the most minute, are massed at the end of vol. vii. The Errata of the 4to edn. are corrected. Quérard places this edition as "Basil (Strasbourg)".

- 1814, 8vo, "A new edition with considerable additions in Five Volumes," *The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esq.* With *Memoirs of . . .* by the Right Honourable John, Lord Sheffield (printed for John Murray, 50 Albemarle Street, By C. Roworth, Bell-yard, Temple-Bar, £3 5s.; also in royal 8vo, £4 10s.).

I., *Memoirs and Letters*; II., *Letters*; III., *Historical and Critical*; IV., *Classical and Critical*; V., *Miscellaneous*.

Contains plates of Gibbon (Warton, 1774, "by far the best likeness," p. xi), *The Pavilion and Terrace at Lausanne*, *Sheffield Place*, *Fletching Church*, *The Mausoleum*.

- The additional matter in this edition is detailed in Sheffield's "Advertisement," pp. iv. *seq.* There are various minor alterations in the Memoirs, especially in the first few pages; e.g. the compliment to "Our immortal Fielding" now first appears. Many additional letters; though omits an important letter of Feb. 11, 1789, to Cadell, probably withheld from rival publisher.
- 1814, 4to, Antiquities of the House of Brunswick [extracted and printed privately for presents].
(Mr. Toovey, of Piccadilly, catalogued a copy in morocco at £1 16s.)
- 1815, 4to, Miscellaneous Works . . . vol. iii. [uniform with vols. i. and ii. of 1796, to complete the set] with portrait by Warton (John Murray, £2 8s.).
- 1837, 8vo, Silhouette, The Miscellaneous Works. . . . "Complete in one volume" (B. Blake, 13 Bell Yard, Temple Bar, 10s. 6d.). Also New York, same year.
- This is really only the two first volumes of the 1796 edition; and all in English, including "Essai," "Mémoire Justificatif" and the Sévery notice, *ut supra*.

TRANSLATIONS OF MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

French

- Paris, 1797, 2 vols., 8vo, Mémoires de Gibbon, suivis de quelques ouvrages posthumes et de quelques lettres du même auteur, recueillis et publiés par Lord Sheffield; trad. de l'angl. (par J. E. F. Marignié), Paris, An V., 10 fr.
Apparently reissued in An VI. (1798), see Quérad.

German

- Leipzig, 1801-2, 2 vols., 8vo, Vermischte Werke, mit Anmerkungen, herausgegeben von J. Lord Sheffield; aus d. Engl. mit Zusätzen.
Graesse says: "n'est pas complète"; "on y ajoute; J. Wilkes, *Supplement to Misc. Works of Gibbon*"; which, according to Brunet, was an anonymous, privately printed piece, which had already appeared in the Observer in 1780. This piece is not in B.M. Library under Wilkes.

THE MEMOIRS SEPARATELY

- 1827, 2 vols., small 8vo, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Edward Gibbon, composed by himself and illustrated. . . .
("A collection of the most instructive and amusing lives.")
- 1831, 8vo, Autobiography and correspondence (Ward & Locke).
Reissued in 1869.
- 1839, 8vo, The Life of Edward Gibbon, with selections from his correspondence and illustrations by H. H. Milman (John Murray, 9s.).
Uniform with the first issue of Milman's *Decline and Fall*.
- Paris, 1840, 8vo, with Essay on the Study of Literature. Portrait.
- 1854, Memoirs of my Life and Writings (prefixed to Smith's edition of *Decline and Fall*, 8vo).
- 1869, post 8vo, The Autobiography and Correspondence, reprint of the original 4to edition, cr. 8vo (Alexander Murray, 3s. 6d.).
- Boston, 1877-8, 12mo, with a critical and biographical essay by W. D. Howells ("Famous Autobiographies"). Reissued 1905 by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- 1880, cr. 8vo, The Life and Letters, with index, by W. J. Day (with History of the Crusades, Chandos Classics).
- 1891, 8vo, Memoirs and a selection from his letters, edited by Henry Morley, with introduction. Printed from the 1796 edn. (Routledge, Carisbrooke Library).
- 1896, 8vo, with portrait from an enamel by H. Bone, R.A., after Reynolds. The Autobiographies of Edward Gibbon, printed verbatim from hitherto unpublished MSS., with an introduction by the Earl of Sheffield, edited by John Murray (John Murray); also New York, 1897 (Scribner).

Memoirs F (and Appendix), B, C, E, A, D ; Memoranda and Fragments ; Will of 1788 (not of 1791) ; Index.

Passages hitherto unpublished are so marked, not always correctly, *e.g.* on p. 417, the passage "We seem—society" appeared in the second edition, and the first clause in both editions.

1897, The same, Second edition.

Boston, 1893, 12mo, Memoirs, with introduction and notes by Oliver Farrar Emerson (Athenæum Press Series, Ginn).

1899, 8vo, Life and Letters (with History of the Crusades), verbatim reprint, with copious index by W. J. Day (C. Arthur Pearson).

1900, cr. and demy 8vo, The Memoirs of The Life of Edward Gibbon, with various observations and excursions by Himself, edited by George Birkbeck Hill (Methuen & Co.). Preface ; elaborate notes and 68 Appendixes.

"My text, with the exception of a few words, is Lord Sheffield's. It does not, however, exactly correspond with either his first or his second edition" (p. xvii). An indispensable edition. Also New York (Putnam).

1907, post 8vo, Autobiography of Edward Gibbon, as originally edited by Lord Sheffield, with an introduction by J. B. Bury (The World's Classics, Henry Frowde). Follows the readings of the 1814 edition.

1911, foolscap 8vo, The Autobiography of Edward Gibbon, edited by Oliphant Smeaton (Everyman's Library, Dent) ; also New York (Dutton).

TRANSLATIONS OF THE MEMOIRS

German

Brunswick, 1796-7, 2 parts, 8vo, Leben, von ihm selbst beschrieben ; übersetzt von Ziegenbein.

Leipzig, 1797, 8vo, Leben . . . mit Anmerkungen herausgegeben von J. Lord Sheffield, aus dem Englischen übersetzt und mit erläuternden Anmerkungen begleitet [by F. G. S.]. Portrait.

Leipzig, 1801, 8vo, portrait.

Italian

Milan, 1825, 8vo, Memorie scritte da lui medesimo.

GIBBON'S LETTERS, ETC.

1896, 2 vols., 8vo, Private Letters of Edward Gibbon (1753-1794), edited by Rowland E. Prothero (John Murray).

The frontispieces are the Silhouette of Gibbon and The Pavilion and Terrace, Lausanne.

Letters garbled or truncated in Misc. Works are here printed entire. This, however, is not a complete collection of Gibbon's Letters, and must be supplemented by the other works below and also by the Misc. Works, both editions.

1897, Same, Second edition.

1896, 8vo, The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd. Recorded in letters . . . edited by J. H. Adeane (Longmans, Green & Co.).

Contains two letters, one portion hitherto unpublished (p. 201).

1897, 2 vols., 8vo, Historic Studies in Vaud, Berne, and Savoy, by General Meredith Read (Chatto & Windus). Thirty-one illustrations, including portraits of Gibbon and Deyverdun from the originals at La Grotte.

Contains unpublished letters, etc., of Gibbon, but (except one letter) translated into English.

Paris, 1882, 2 vols., small 8vo, Le Salon de Madame Necker d'après des documents tirés des archives de Coppet par Le Comte D'Haussenville (Calmann Lévy).

Contains unpublished letters and verse from Gibbon to Suzanne Curchod.

1882, 2 vols., small 8vo, The Salon of Madame Necker, translated by H. M. Trollope.

Lausanne and Paris, 1911-12, 2 vols., 8vo, *La Vie de Société dans le Pays de Vaud à la fin du dix-huitième siècle*. Par M. et Mme. William de Sévery (Lausanne, Georges Bridel & Cie; Paris, Librairie Fischbacher).

Many illustrations, connected with Gibbon.

In vol. ii. are two chapters (i. and ii.) devoted to Gibbon, containing letters, etc., in the French original, many of which Meredith Read had translated in his book.

Not in the B.M. I have not seen vol. i., which is out of print.

1895, cr. 4to, Proceedings of the Gibbon Commemoration (1794-1894), by R. H. T. Ball (Longmans, Green & Co.).

Contains catalogue of the Gibbon exhibition, with quotations, etc.

There appears to be no complete uniform edition of Gibbon's Works. The "Edition Lausanne" (Fred. de Fau & Co., New York, 1907) includes History, 7 vols., 12mo, Autobiographies and Private Letters.

CONTROVERSIAL REPLIES TO THE HISTORY

1776, October (Misc. Works, iv. p. 602), Anonymous [James Chelsum, D.D.]. Remarks on the two last chapters of Mr. Gibbon's History of . . . In a Letter to a Friend, 8vo.

Second edition, enlarged, with additional remarks by Dr. Randolph, Lady Margaret Professor, was published under Chelsum's name in 1778, Oxford, 12mo. Translated into Italian, though probably unpublished (Spedalieri, *Confutazione*, 1827, Preface, p. 10).

Cambridge, 1776, Richard Watson, D.D., F.R.S., and Regius Professor of Divinity. An Apology for Christianity in a series of letters to Edward Gibbon, Esq., 12mo. Six Letters, with an "Appendix" by R. Wynne, Rector of St. Alphage, London.

Also Cambridge, 1777, 12mo; Dublin, 1777, 8vo; 1791, 12mo; 1797, 12mo. Also included in "Two Apologies," 1806, 8vo; 1816, 8vo; 1820, 8vo; Edinburgh, 1821, 12mo; 1839, Bohn. Translated into Italian, though probably unpublished (Spedalieri, *ut supra*).

1776, William Salisbury, B.D. Strictures on Mr. Gibbon's Account of Christianity and its First Teachers.

Inserted in his translation of J. B. Bullet's *Histoire de l'établissement du Christianisme*, 8vo.

York, 1778, William Burgh, LL.D. An inquiry into the belief of the Christians of the first three centuries respecting the one Godhead of the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost, 8vo.

Dublin, 1778, Smyth Loftus, M.A., Vicar of Coolock. A Reply to the Reasonings of Mr. Gibbon in History of . . . ; which seem to affect the Truth of Christianity; but have not been noticed in the Answer which Dr. Watson hath given to that Book, 8vo.

1778, East Apthorp, M.A., Vicar of Croydon. Letters on the Prevalence of Christianity before its Civil Establishment. With Observations on a late History of . . . , 8vo.

1778, Henry Edwards Davis, B.A., of Balliol College, Oxford. An Examination of the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of Mr. Gibbon's History of the . . . In which his view of the Progress of the Christian Religion is shewn to be founded on the Misrepresentation of the Authors he cites: and Numerous Instances of his Inaccuracy and Plagiarism are produced, 8vo (J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall). In my copy, which bears the book-plate of I. Baker Holroyd, there is on title page, in old writing resembling Sheffield's: "supposed by some to be written by Douglas Bishop of Salisbury". He was at this time only Canon of Windsor (D.N.B.).

1778, A Gentleman [Francis Eyre]. A few remarks on the History of . . . , relative chiefly to the two last chapters, 8vo.

An anonymous Roman Catholic.

- [Gibbon's *Vindication* appeared on January 14th, 1779.]
- 1779, [Francis Eyre]. A short Appeal to the Public. By the Gentleman who is particularly addressed in the Postscript of the *Vindication* . . . , 8vo.
- 1779, Henry Edwards Davis, B.A. A Reply to Mr. Gibbon's *Vindication*, wherein the charges brought against him in the "Examination" are confirmed, and further instances given of his Misrepresentation, Inaccuracy, and Plagiarism, 8vo (J. Dodsley).
- 1780, George Laughton, D.D. The Progress and Establishment of Christianity, in reply to the 15th Chapter of the *Decline* . . . 4to. Also 1786, 4to.
- [1780 ?], not published. Lord Hailes. "That which is placed in the foremost rank, etc," 8vo. (Being observations on the account of the early Christians given by Gibbon.)
- [1780 ?], not published. Lord Hailes. "To the virtues of the Primitive Christians, etc.," 8vo. (Further observations on the same.)
- York, 1781, Joseph Milner, A.M. Gibbon's Account of Christianity considered; together with some strictures on Hume's Dialogues concerning Natural Religion, 8vo.
- 1781, Henry Taylor, Rector of Crawley and Vicar of Portsmouth. Thoughts on the Nature of the Grand Apostacy, with Reflections and Observations on the Fifteenth Chapter of Mr. Gibbon's History, 8vo.
- Birmingham, 1782. Joseph Priestley, LL.D. An History of the Corruptions of Christianity, 2 vols., 8vo.
- Also Birmingham, 1793, 2 vols., 8vo. See also Correspondence between Gibbon and Priestley in Misc. Works, ii. pp. 265-72.
- 1783, J. Ogilvie, D.D. An inquiry into the Causes of the Infidelity . . . of the Times: with observations on the writings of . . . Gibbon, 8vo.
- Norwich, [1784], Thomas Howes. A Discourse on the Abuse of the Talent of Disputation in Religion, particularly as practiced (*sic*) by Dr. Priestly (*sic*), Mr. Gibbon and others of the modern sect of philosophic Christians. Preached at the Cathedral Church, Norwich, June 23, 1784.
- Reprinted in Critical Observations on Books antient and modern [by Thomas Howes], 4 vols., 8vo, London, 1776-1800.
- Chester, 1784, George Travis, A.M. Letters to Edward Gibbon, Esq., in defence of the Authenticity of the 7th Verse of the 5th Chapter of the First Epistle of St. John, 4to.
- Three of these Letters had been published in 1782 in the Gentleman's Magazine. There were enlarged editions of the book in 1785, 8vo, London; and 1794, 8vo, London. See Preface to Porson's *Letters*, p. ix, where the second edition is given as 1786, apparently wrongly.
- Oxford, 1784, Joseph White, D.D. Sermons preached before the University of Oxford in 1784 [Bampton Lectures: A Comparison of Mahometism (*sic*) and Christianity, in their History, their Evidence, and their Effects], 8vo.
- Second edition, London, 8vo, 1785; fourth edition, 1792; new edition, 1811, 8vo (with title: A Comparison . . .). As to the authorship of these lectures, see Hill, p. 320.
- Winchester, 1785, James Chelsum, D.D. A Reply to Mr. Gibbon's *Vindication* of . . . Containing a review of the Errors still retained in these chapters, 8vo.
- Edinburgh, 1786, David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes. An Inquiry into the Secondary Causes which Mr. Gibbon has assigned for the rapid Growth of Christianity, 4to.
- Second edition, Edinburgh, 1808, 12mo.
- Birmingham, 1787, Joseph Priestley, LL.D., F.R.S. Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever, Part ii., containing a State of the Evidence of revealed Religion, with Animadversions on the two last Chapters of the first Volume of *Mr. Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 8vo (printed by Pearson & Rollason for J. Johnson, No. 72 St. Paul's Churchyard, London). Part i., referring to Hume, had been published at Bath in 1780. The second edition of Part i. and the first edition of Part ii. (referring to Gibbon) were both published at Birmingham in 1787.

- 1788, [Anonymous], *Observations on the three last Volumes of the Roman History by Edward Gibbon, Esq.*, 12mo.
- 1790, Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis, in answer to his Defence of the Three Heavenly Witnesses, 1 John v. 7, 8vo (printed for T. & J. Egerton, Whitehall).
Of the xii Letters, five had appeared in seven issues of the Gentleman's Magazine (Oct. and Dec., '88; Feb., April, May, June, Aug., '89). The famous criticism of Gibbon is in Preface, pp. xxvii-xxxii.
- 1790, W. Disney, D.D. Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge, 28th June, 1789; with some strictures on the licentious notions avowed or enumerated in Mr. Gibbon's Roman History, 4to.
- 1791, Simplex. Letters addressed to Scame Jenyns, Esq. . . ., containing Strictures on the writings of Edward Gibbon, Esq., 12mo. Second edition. Date of first edition?
- 1791, Rev. John Whitaker. *Gibbon's History of . . .*, vols. iv., v., and vi., 4to, reviewed, 8vo.
Previously "published in the English Review, Oct., 1788, etc."; "malignant and illiberal"; "he has allotted the first month's review to an attack on the first three volumes, or rather on the first" (Misc. Works, i. p. 243, Sheffield's note). "Whitaker was as dirty a cur as I remember" (Macaulay's Journal, 9th Oct., '50).
- Oxford, 1791, Henry Kett, M.A. Sermons preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1790 [Bampton Lectures]. A representation of the conduct and opinions of Primitive Christians, with remarks on certain assertions of Mr. Gibbon and Dr. Priestley, 8vo.
Second edition, with corrections . . . additions, London, 1792, 8vo.
- 1792, John Milner, D.D., F.S.A., Bishop of Castabala. An historical and critical Inquiry into the Existence and Character of Saint George, Patron of England, of the Order of the Garter, and of the Antiquarian Society; in which the assertions of Edward Gibbon, Esq., *History of Decline and Fall*, cap. 23 . . . are discussed, 8vo.
- Canterbury, [1792], N. Nisbett, M.A. The Scripture Doctrine concerning the Coming of Christ . . . in answer to the objections of Mr. Gibbon, etc., 8vo.
- Shrewsbury, 1796 [Anonymous]. A letter to the Right Honourable John Lord Sheffield on the publication of the Memoirs and Letters of the late Edward Gibbon, Esq., 8vo.
A general attack on "our Heathenish Historian" (p. 40).
- 1797, John Evans, LL.D., of Islington. An attempt to account for the Infidelity of the late Edward Gibbon, Esq., founded on his own Memoirs . . ., 8vo.
- Canterbury, 1800, N. Nisbett. The Coming of the Messiah the true Key to the right understanding of the most difficult passages of the New Testament . . . in answer to . . . objections of the Historian of the Decline . . ., 8vo.
- Deal, 1802, N. Nisbett, M.A. The Triumphs of Christianity over Infidelity displayed; being a full answer to the objections of Mr. Gibbon, that our Lord and his Apostles predicted the near approach of the end of the world in their own time, 8vo.
- Chatham, [1805], N. Nisbett, M.A. A concise and interesting View of the objection of Mr. Gibbon, that our Lord foretold his second coming in the clouds of Heaven, in the generation in which he lived, which the revolution of seventeen centuries has proved not to be agreeable to experience, 8vo.
- 1808, The Author of Christian Knowledge in theological extracts and abridgments. An Antidote to Infidelity insinuated in the Works of E. Gibbon, containing expositions on the prophecies of our Blessed Saviour, in Matthew 24, Mark 13, and Luke 21, with other interesting disquisitions to similar effect, 8vo.
New edition. Date of first edition?
- 1809, Wm. Cockburn, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. The Credibility of the Jewish Exodus defended against some remarks of Edward Gibbon, Esq., and the Edinburgh Reviewers, 8vo (J. Hatchard).
- Faversham, 1812, N. Nisbett, M.A. Letters illustrative of the Gospel History and of the Epistles. . . . In reply to Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Faber and others, 12mo.
- Coventry [printed], 1860, Miss Sara Sophia Hennell. The early Christian antipa-

- tion of an approaching end of the World. . . . Including an . . . examination . . . of the fifteenth chapter of Gibbon (Fifth Baillie Prize Essay), 8vo.
 [New York?, 1868], James Madison MacDonald. Irony in History; or the true position of Gibbon in respect to Christianity . . . (reprinted from *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1868), 8vo.

FRENCH

- Paris, 1842, Marie Nicolas Silvestre Guillon, Bishop of Morocco. *Examen critique des doctrines de Gibbon . . . sur Jésus-Christ . . .* 2 tom., 8vo.

ITALIAN

- Rome, 1779, Abate Nicola Spedalieri. *Confutazione dell' esame del cristianesimo fatto dal sig. Eduardo Gibbon nella sua Storia della . . .* (Salvioni).
 Pisa, 1782, Nicola Spedalieri. *Saggio di Confutazione de' due capi xv. e xvi. di Gibbon spettanti all' esame del Cristianesimo* (inserted in vol. iii., dated 1780, of the Pisa translation of the History; also epitomised in Bertolotti's Milan translation, 1820-4, after chap. 16).
 Pisa, 1783 [Anonymous]. *Riflessioni sopra il tomo v. e vi. della Storia della . . .* divise in III. lettere dirette al Sigg. Foothead e Kirk, Inglesi Cattolici (inserted in vol. v. pp. 363-435 of the Pisa translation).
 Pisa, 1783 [Anonymous]. *Riflessioni sopra il tomo vii. della . . .* divise in II. lettere . . . (inserted in vol. vii. of the Pisa translation).
 "The piety or prudence of my Italian translator has provided an antidote against the poison of his original" (Murray, p. 322). "Risoluti però di non mai presentare agl' incauti il veleno senza l'antidoto" (vol. iii. p. 4). Letters to Foothead and Kirk are also inserted in Bertolotti's Milan translation after chap. 25.
 Rome, 1784, Nicola Spedalieri. *Confutazione dell' esame del Cristianesimo fatto . . .* 2 vols., 4to.

The author trusts that he is "gratifying the faithful in depositing at the foot of the altar the spolia opima of three foes [Watson, Chelsum, and Gibbon], although they had hoped to see him return victorious over one only" (Preface).
 Piacenza, 1798, Nicola Spedalieri. *Confutazione dell' esame . . .*, 2 vols., 4to.
 Rome, 1827, Nicola Spedalieri. *Confutazione dell' esame . . .* 2 vols. (4 parts), 12mo. Stampata a spese della società dell' Amicizia Cattolica. This edition was published to combat the popularity of the "Italian Republics" of Sismondi, into whom the Anti-Catholic spirit of the "Scotch" Gibbon had now entered (Publisher's note).

The history of Spedalieri's book is enigmatical. The 1779 edn., *supra*, is recorded on the specific authority of *Rivista d'Italia*, November, 1903, p. 793, but is inconsistent with statement in *Cimbali, Vita di Spedalieri*, and also in Pisa translation (iii. pp. 4-5 of *Saggio*); where it is explained that Spedalieri had now completed, but not published, his work, of which, however, he allowed an epitome to be inserted in the Pisa translation, "for the errors in which epitome the author was not responsible". On the other hand, in the Pisa translation, ix. p. 400, and in the Preface to the *Confutazione*, the epitome is described as by Spedalieri himself. Probably the *Saggio* was a *ballon d'essai*; and the statement therein "a voluntary error".

"At the distance of twelve years, I calmly affirm my judgement of Davies, Chelsum, etc. A victory over such antagonists was a sufficient humiliation" (Murray, pp. 316-7).