

CHAPTER XLIV

THE GERMANIC INVASIONS

376-476 A.D.

I. LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE GERMANS

554. **Country and People.** — In the time of the empire central Europe, east of the Rhine and north of the upper Danube, bristled with forests, interrupted here and there by damp, unwholesome



A GERMAN VILLAGE

marshes.¹ The country was rude in surface and severe in climate — altogether unfavorable to the growth of civilization. The Germans, who inhabited this region, lived in huts, usually grouped in

¹The Roman historian Tacitus, in his *Germania*, composed about 100 A.D. (§ 528), describes the country and its inhabitants as they were at that time, before they had come under the influence of Rome and Christianity.

villages. They fished and hunted, kept flocks of cattle, and cultivated small patches of grain and vegetables. They were a tall, strong, fair race of barbarians, who loved war and despised labor. Though addicted to drunkenness and gambling, they had virtues which were now lacking in the people of the empire: their family life was pure; they were true to their plighted word; and they loved personal freedom. In contrast with the Romans of the time, they reared large families. The population rapidly increased, therefore, in spite of the enormous loss of life from continual war among themselves. Before they learned of Christ they worshipped the powers of nature, and had neither temples nor images.

555. Government; "Companionship." — On beginning a war the members of a tribe came together and elected a leader (Latin *dux*, duke). Some tribes came to live permanently under chiefs, and in that case the office tended to become hereditary. Such rulers may be termed kings. The king was always a noble, and there were in the tribe other nobles — men distinguished for their own prowess or that of their ancestors. The nobles of a tribe met with the king in council to plan for the interests of their people. Minor questions they settled on their own responsibility; but those of greater importance, especially of war, peace, migrations, and the election of magistrates, they brought before the assembly of warriors for decision.

There were private as well as tribal wars. Any strong, brave, enterprising freeman might attract to himself a band of young men who sought adventure or honor. They were called his companions (Latin *comites*, or collectively *comitatus*). Under an oath to be ever faithful they followed him not only in wars waged by his tribe, but also in any private raid which he might plan. Their highest honor was to stand by his side in battle or to sit next to him at meals. Spoils gained in wars or presents from friends were distributed among them according to the worth of each man; so that they usually lived in superior style. It was a training school in war and in obedience and honor. There can be no doubt that the institution had considerable influence on the growth of feudalism.¹

¹ Cf. § 566.

556. Early Relations with the Romans. — The Germans did not all continue in the same stage of civilization. While those far away from the empire remained as barbarous as ever, the tribes or nations along the border rapidly learned to imitate the life of the Romans. They began to cultivate the fields more extensively, to build more comfortable homes, to dress better, and to make more efficient tools and weapons. Christian missionaries carried them the Gospel. The tribe known as the Vis'i-goths (West Goths), north of the Danube, accepted Christianity from Bishop Ul'fi-las, who translated the Bible into their speech. In Christian doctrine Ulfilas was an Arian — a follower of Arius, whose form of belief was explained in the chapter on Christianity.¹ The Goths therefore became Arians, as did all other barbarians who accepted Christianity before invading the empire. This fact was to have an important effect on history.²

As the Romans grew continually weaker, while the Germans and other northern tribes increased in numbers and strength, it was inevitable that the barbarians should become a menace to the empire. The first great horde of invaders came in the time of the republic. They were beaten and destroyed by Marius about 100 B.C.³ Augustus tried in vain to conquer Germany.⁴ Thereafter the northerners continued to grow more dangerous. Marcus Aurelius, 161-180 B.C., spent the best years of his administration in hard struggles for maintaining the frontiers against their assaults.⁵ Their breaking through was only a question of time. As the nations nearest to the frontier were harassed by the more barbarous tribes on their outer border, it was but natural that many of them should want to settle within the empire, especially as vast tracts of land lay idle through lack of cultivators.⁶ Marcus Aurelius began the policy of colonizing the empire with barbarians on a grand scale. The effect was to weaken the enemy and to check depopulation.

It was necessary for the government to watch carefully over these new settlers. In assigning them to vacant lands it forbade

¹ § 545.

² §§ 569, 579.

³ § 462.

⁴ § 501.

⁵ § 527.

⁶ § 547.

them to leave their holdings. They were required to pay rents and to do military duty when needed. Apart from their bondage to the soil, they were free and on an equality with the Romans. As a rule these colonists remained quietly at home, exerting themselves to throw off all trace of their own nationality and to become Roman in customs and language.

In the third century A.D., as stated above,¹ the Germans made many raids into the empire, and Aurelian had been compelled to yield Dacia to the Visigoths.

II. THE INVASIONS

557. The Invasion of the Visigoths (376 A.D.). — For about a century the Visigoths lived quietly in Dacia as the allies of the Roman people. With the progress of settled life, they became more and more distinct from their less civilized kinsmen, the East Goths — Os'tro-goths — who lived north of the Black Sea, between Dacia and the Don River. Suddenly this peaceful life was disturbed by the appearance of the Huns, a dark, dwarfish race of savages, with little eyes and scarred, beardless faces. On horseback they swept the country like a tempest, plundering and destroying whatever they found, and killing even the women and the children without pity. Those of their enemies whom they chose to spare became their slaves or subjects. They were an Asiatic race. Unlike the Germans, they had no wish to settle in the conquered lands, but were content with roving, and remained savage. They conquered the East Goths, and overthrew the West Gothic king, who lived in Dacia. Thereupon the warriors of the defeated monarch, with their wives and children, about two hundred thousand in all, gathered on the north bank of the Danube, and implored the Romans to let them cross for safety from their frightful pursuers. The weak-minded Valens, of whom we have already heard,² granted their petition on the understanding that they should surrender their arms and give their children as hostages. These were needless conditions; for with their arms they would, in grateful loyalty, have helped him defend the empire.

¹ §§ 534 f.

² § 540.

For many days the Roman ships were conveying the multitude across the river (376 A.D.). But while the officers in charge of this work were intent upon robbing the Goths, the warriors retained their arms, and passed into the empire, burning with rage at the insults and the wrongs they suffered from the government of Constantinople. When famine and further mistreatment goaded them to rebellion, they spread murder and desolation over Thrace and Macedonia. Valens rashly assailed them at A-dri-a-no'ple, and perished with two-thirds of his men (378 A.D.). This was a grave misfortune, for it taught the invading barbarians that they might defeat Romans and slay emperors in open fight. For some time after the battle the Goths roamed about at pleasure, but could not take the fortified cities.

558. The Reign of Theodosius (379-395 A.D.). — From Theodosius, the successor of Valens, the Visigoths received homes in Thrace, while those Ostrogoths who had followed them into the empire were settled in Phrygia. The barbarians became the allies of the Romans, and Theodosius remained their firm friend.

This ruler distinguished himself by making Christianity the sole religion of the state. When he ordered the pagan temples closed, those who carried out his edict destroyed many of the buildings and broke the images. Though the pagans were forbidden to worship their gods, some quietly persisted in their illegal devotions for a long time after his reign. Theodosius was equally zealous for uniformity of Christian faith. By persecuting the Arians and other heretical sects, he hoped to establish the Nicene Creed¹ throughout the East. Under him orthodox Christianity thus became intolerant of all other faiths. It was chiefly this theological zeal which earned for him the title of "the Great." For some time there had been two or more Augusti. When Theodosius came to the throne, he associated his son Ar-ca'di-us as Augustus with himself; and afterward Ho-no'ri-us, another son, was in like manner taken into partnership.

After his death his sons continued to rule the empire. Arcadius governed in the East and Honorius in the West. In all such cases it is to be noticed that the two Augusti were supposed to rule con-

¹ § 545.

jointly over the whole empire, and to make a rough division of it merely for convenience.

559. Alaric and Stilicho (395-408 A.D.). — Soon after the death of Theodosius, the Visigoths, needing more land, hoisted one of the most promising of their young nobles, named Al'a-ric, upon a shield, as was their custom in electing a chieftain. Under his leadership they ravaged Greece till the minister of Arcadius bought his friendship, giving him an office in Illyricum. In this position he supplied his men with good arms; so that in a few years he was ready for a more important undertaking, — the invasion of Italy. He had some idea of the value of civilization; and it was his wish to find a country in which to settle his followers.

It is a remarkable fact that not only the common soldiers, but even the best generals and ministers of the empire, were now Germans. Such was Stil'i-cho, a fair and stately Vandal, who had married a niece of Theodosius, and was at this time guardian and chief general of the worthless Honorius, emperor in the West. Stilicho and Alaric were well matched. Both were born leaders of men; both were brave and energetic, with equal genius for war. But Stilicho had the advantage of Roman organization. Hastily gathering troops from various quarters, he defeated Alaric at Pol-len'ti-a in northern Italy, and compelled him to return to Illyricum. But Stilicho had a jealous enemy who never ceased whispering in the ears of Honorius his tale, true or false, of the Vandal's plotting. The miserable emperor at length gave way, and ordered his death. The Roman legionaries followed the example of their master by murdering the wives and the children of the Germans in the army. The enraged barbarians, thirty thousand strong, went off to the camp of Alaric, and besought him to take vengeance by invading Italy.

560. Siege and Capture of Rome (410 A.D.). — Alaric again came into Italy with his army, but hesitated to use force. His character was not that of a destroyer; he merely wanted a high office for himself and lands for his followers. For two years he tried by negotiations, threats, and various other means to obtain his object. When all these attempts failed, he besieged Rome, and captured it by surprise. There were some murder and pillaging,

but probably no great damage was done. Alaric respected Rome, and as a Christian he spared the property of the Church.

The capture of Rome astonished mankind; for all had supposed the city inviolable, and in her fall they thought they saw the ruin of the law and order of the world. It discouraged the Christians throughout the empire, that so many holy shrines, so godly a city, should be profaned by those whom they considered pagans. To console them, St. Au-gus'tine wrote his *City of God*, to prove that the community of the Most High would last forever, even though the greatest city of earth had fallen. As the pagans, who were still influential, blamed the misfortune on Christianity, Augustine retorted that the event proved the old gods incompetent to protect the city.

St. Augustine, the most famous of the Christian Fathers, was born in Africa in 354 A.D. After many years of wayward life he joined the heretical sect of Manichaeans, and somewhat later accepted the orthodox Christian faith. Appointed bishop of Hippo, a city near Carthage, he devoted the rest of his life to speaking and writing in defence of orthodox Christianity against both heresy and paganism. By means of his voluminous works on theology he did much toward reducing the teachings of Christians to a consistent philosophic system. He died in Hippo in the seventy-sixth year of his age, while the Vandals were besieging that city; cf. § 562.

The Goths soon left the city and marched southward. At Rhegium Alaric began the preparation of a fleet for transporting his followers to Africa, still a rich country. In the midst of these labors he died — we may suppose from the fever-laden climate — before he could find a home for his people.

561. The Visigothic Kingdom in Spain. — His brother-in-law, Ataulf, succeeded him. This man had once wished to blot the Romans out of existence and to substitute the Goths in their place; but as he saw his followers slow in adapting themselves to settled life, he recognized the value of Rome for order and civilization. Accordingly he became her champion; and taking with him the emperor's sister, Gal'la Pla-cid'i-a, whom he hoped to make his bride, he led his nation from Italy to Gaul and Spain. These countries had already been plundered by Vandals, Sueves, and A'lans, whom the Goths had to subdue in order to found their new

state. When at its height their kingdom extended from the Loire River in Gaul over most of Spain. 'Tou-louse' was their capital. The state continued unimpaired till the Franks seized the Gallic part of it (507).¹ Thereafter internal discord gradually weakened the Goths of Spain. After two centuries of decay the Mo-ham'medans swept over them and destroyed their kingdom.

The Visigoths are especially interesting as the "pioneers of the German invasion"; and for that reason we have dwelt at some length on their wanderings and on their relations with Rome. The movements of the other barbarian races we shall follow more rapidly.

562. The Vandals in the Empire (335-435 A.D.). — The Van'dals, another German race, received permission from Constantine the Great to settle in Pan-no'ni-a, a province on the Danube. Here under the influence of Rome, and of Christianity in its Arian form, they made progress in orderly life. But in the time of Stilicho and Alaric they abandoned their settlements and wandered to the northwest, in the direction of the Rhine, joining to themselves on the way the Germanic Sueves and the Alans, an Asiatic people (406 A.D.). As Stilicho had withdrawn the garrisons from the Rhine, to use against Alaric, they crossed to Gaul and ravaged their way into Spain. Here, as we have seen, the Visigoths under Ataulf found them. The Sueves were gradually pressed by the newcomers into the northwestern corner of the peninsula, where they established a small kingdom. The other two tribes retired southward.

Thus far the Vandals had been driven about from place to place. Now, however, they found their hero-king in Gai'ser-ic, under whom they, too, were to appear as a conquering nation. In contrast with the majestic type of the German leader, Gaiseric was short and limping. He had, however, a cunning, nimble mind, and he was grasping, persistent, and bold. In addition to his desire to find lands for his men and a kingdom for himself, he sought to humble Rome, and, as an Arian Christian, to destroy the Orthodox church.

The Vandal chief found his opportunity in a quarrel between two Roman officers, A-ë'ti-us and Bon'i-face. At this time Galla Placidia² was regent of the West. She allowed Aëtius to work upon her

¹ § 579.

² § 561.

feelings against his rival, Count¹ Boniface, the commander in Africa. Ordered to Rome on a groundless suspicion of treason, the count turned for revenge to the Vandals, and invited them to invade his provinces. The barbarians accepted the offer. Accordingly, as soon as Gaiseric became chief, he crossed to Africa with the remnant of his nation, numbering perhaps eighty thousand persons, including women and children. In vain the penitent Boniface tried to send him back; Gaiseric was not the man to be swayed by Roman officers. To him Africa was a tempting prize. Its large, fertile estates worked by serfs had long supplied Rome with grain. The richest of its many cities was Carthage. The Vandals desolated the fields and took the fortified places by siege or treachery. Meantime a treaty with Rome recognized their kingdom in Africa. How weak must have been the Roman army when so few invading barbarians could seize the fairest provinces of the empire!

563. Vandalism; The Sack of Rome (455 A.D.). — But Gaiseric's followers were not so peaceful as those of Alaric. No sooner had they gained the seaports than they built ships and took to piracy. Thus they harassed Italy and all the neighboring shores. "Whither shall we sail?" the pilot is said to have asked his chief at the beginning of one of these expeditions. "To the dwellings of those with whom God is angry," Gaiseric replied. From their piracy, but more from their pillage of the Orthodox churches, wherever they found them, the word *vandalism*, derived from the name of their tribe, has come to signify the aimless, wanton destruction of property.

Deprived of her food supply by these pirates, Rome suffered from famine, and was soon to see the destroyers in her own streets. The emperor at this time was a certain Maximus, who had usurped the throne and had forced Eu-dox'i-a, the widow of his predecessor,² to become his wife. She then requested Gaiseric to avenge her wrong by plundering Rome. The Vandals gladly accepted the invitation. For a fortnight they pillaged the city and stored their vessels with valuable property. Their leader, however, had promised Leo, bishop of Rome, to refrain from bloodshed and from burning the

¹ A count was a high military or civil officer; § 538.

² Valentinian III.

houses; and he kept his word. Besides their shiploads of booty, the Vandals carried away many captives into slavery.

For many years Gaiseric ruled successfully, and extended his lordship over the neighboring islands. Though at his death the glory of his kingdom passed away, it maintained its independence for more than a half-century longer, when it fell under the rule of the emperor at Constantinople¹ (534 A.D.).

564. The Burgundians. — Meantime the Bur-gun'di-ans, another German tribe from the country about the Baltic, made their way into Gaul, where they founded a kingdom in the valley of the Rhone and Saone (*Sôn*) rivers. A writer of the fifth century speaks of the "gormandizing sons of Bur'gun-dy who smear their yellow hair with rancid butter." Like other Germans, these greasy giants had a taste for poetry; from an earlier myth their bards elaborated the *Nibelungenlied*, an epic song of their national heroes. Their laws, too, are of interest for the light they throw on the relations between the barbarian invaders and the Romans. Though their kingdom soon fell under the Franks, the name has survived in the modern Burgundy.

565. The Franks and the Huns. — The Franks had crossed the Rhine and had occupied a wide territory on the left bank of the river, extending from Mainz to the sea. Thus by the middle of the fifth century the Germans had come to possess much of the empire in the West, — Africa, Spain, and parts of Gaul. Nominally dependent on the emperor, their kingdoms were virtually free. Central Gaul was still held for Rôme by an able governor, Aëtius. He and The-od'o-ric, king of the West Goths, were enemies, as each tried to extend his territory at the expense of the other. But we shall now see them bring the Germans and the Romans into one army to repel the great enemy of civilization, — At'ti-la the Hun.

Since their victory over the Goths, the Huns had grown formidable.² It is said that Attila, their king, from his log-cabin capital in Hungary, commanded the barbarians of Europe and of Asia, and threatened Persia as well as the Roman empire. After desolating the provinces of the East and terrorizing Constantinople, he

¹ § 571.

² § 557.

brought the storm of his wrath upon Gaul. Wasted fields and ruined cities marked his path. At this trying time, the union of Germans and Romans in defence of their common country was a happy omen for the future of Europe. Theodoric and Aëtius met Attila at some distance from Châ-lons', in one of the fiercest conflicts known to history (451 A.D.). The slaughter was vast. With poetic exaggeration we are told that the blood from the thousands of wounds swelled to a torrent the brook which flowed through the field of battle. Theodoric fell, but the Hun was routed. Had he gained the day, it might have taken years, possibly centuries, to redeem Europe from the desolation and the barbarism which he, as victor, would have spread over the continent. Such was the importance of this battle.¹

Though Attila withdrew from Gaul, the next year he appeared in Italy on his errand of destruction. He visited Aq-ui-lei'a with fire and sword. The miserable remnant of the population, joined by refugees from other ruined towns, fled to a cluster of islands along the Adriatic shore. In time their wretched settlement became the famous city of Ven'ice, which was to help defend Europe against Attila's kinsmen, the Turks. As the Huns threatened Rome, Bishop Leo came to their chief and persuaded him to spare the city.² Such, at least, is the story; and it is difficult to see what else induced the savage to withdraw from Italy. Attila died soon after his departure, and with his death the Hunnish empire broke into pieces.

566. Relation of the German Invaders to the Empire. — For understanding the relation of the "invaders" to the empire we must take into account a great change which had come about in the method of supporting the armies. The system of taxes in kind³ had proved too costly and cumbersome, and had broken down by its own weight. Especially the roads had fallen out of repair, the bridges were in ruins, and wagons and beasts of burden failed through the general impoverishment of the Romans. It was necessary in time of peace to bring the soldiers near to the

¹ Three years afterward Valentinian III, jealous of the fame of Aëtius, invited the great commander into the imperial palace, and killed him there with his own hand.

² This was three years before Gaiseric's plunder of Rome, — which the same Leo tried to prevent, but could only soften.

³ § 549.

source of supply. They were quartered accordingly on the inhabitants. The first step in this process was to assign an army to a province or other district. The soldiers were then distributed among the cities, and in each city among the proprietors of land. Each lord had to give a third, or other specified part, of his shelter to soldiers, and to provide them with food, clothing, and all necessaries from his estate. The family of the soldier was included in this arrangement. The army, thus "quartered" on the inhabitants, had its officers and commander as in war; but for a time the provinces and cities retained their civil authorities as before.

This system was now applied to the Germanic nations which settled in the empire. Each was an army in the service of the emperor, differing little from other Roman armies. The German soldiers did not become owners of the land; they were simply the guests of the proprietor, with a right to shelter and support. It was by bearing this burden that he performed his duty to the state — a substitute for the payment of taxes. The system was oppressive; the German soldiers were often violent and brutal; but they were neither enemies nor conquerors. Their commander was at once "king" of his followers, according to their native custom, and a military officer of the emperor.

Such was now the weakness of the imperial government, however, that these German kings finally acquired the civil power over their districts in addition to their military commands. Taking possession of the public lands, they kept a part for their own use and assigned the rest to their favorites and followers. Private land remained in the hands of former



GERMAN SOLDIER

(With Roman equipment, 6th-12th century; from Kleinpaul, *Mittelalter*)

owners. Though these chiefs were strongly inclined to independence, they continued to regard the emperor as their sovereign, and some of them were still willing at critical times to fight in his cause.

567. The Blending of the Two Races. — Pursuing our study of the relations between the Germans and Romans still further, we find that the natives were not deprived of their property by the Germans, or reduced to slavery, or considered in any way inferior. All alike, without reference to race, paid taxes or gave other support to the state, according to the amount of their land. All were liable to military service, and eligible to office. In fact, as the Germans were for a time unable to read or write, and were ignorant of administration, the German king filled his civil offices with Romans, who in these positions managed most of the business of government. Intermarriages were common, and the two races soon blended into one. German and Roman laws existed side by side for the two races respectively, till the former gave way to the latter. Forgetting their own language, the Germans learned to speak Latin. The religion of the natives also prevailed. It was that of the church of Rome — Roman Catholic — whereas the invaders were either Arians or pagans; but all eventually became Catholic, as will be explained below. The coming of the Germans added greatly to the confusion, violence, and brutality of the time; it hastened the decay of civilization and the reign of ignorance. At the same time it brought a better family life, and infused a new vitality into the population. Much more influence in these directions was exercised, however, by those who had for centuries been coming quietly into the empire, in comparison with whom the “armies” of the Germans here under consideration were a mere handful. For a long time Roman life continued almost untouched by the presence of these foreigners. When we come to the reign of Charlemagne, we find a new life emerging from the old; the Roman world had passed away, the mediæval world was at hand.

568. Dissolution of the Empire in the West. — In the latter half of the fifth century most of the provinces in the West had fallen into the hands of the barbarians. Though in name their chiefs recognized the sovereignty of the emperor, they were really in-

dependent, and gave him almost no support. Little more than Italy, therefore, was left to the Augustus at Rome. Most of his soldiers, from the rank and file up to the commander, were German. Under these circumstances it was easy for the general-in-chief to make himself master of the emperors, and to treat them as his puppets. Such a master was O-res'tes, who commanded the troops and bore the title patrician. This title now applied to a military and civil officer of highest rank. At this time Nepos was emperor in Italy, but Orestes drove him out and gave the office to his own son Romulus, whom the soldiers accordingly nicknamed Augustulus — "little emperor." After the boy had ruled a few months under his father's regency, the latter was killed by the soldiers in a mutiny. O-do-a'cer, leader of these rebellious troops, ousted Romulus from the office, which was not rightfully his (476), and offered submission to Zeno, emperor at Constantinople. While granting Odoacer the title of patrician of Italy, Zeno insisted on recognizing Nepos as Augustus. But Nepos was assassinated in exile, and Odoacer was ruler of Italy under the nominal sovereignty of the emperor at Constantinople. He rewarded his German troops for their support by quartering them on the lands of Italy.¹

With the death of Nepos the line of emperors in the West came to an end, and in theory the Augustus at Constantinople ruled alone over all. No one living at the time saw in the events of 476 anything worthy of notice. In fact, no part of the empire "fell" in that year.² Indeed, the continuance of the emperors in the East satisfied in some degree a want which Rome had left in the hearts of the barbarians as well as of her native citizens, — a longing for a central power which, in the midst of chaos, should stand for law and order throughout the world. Accordingly, most men in the West, whatever their race or condition, thought of the Eastern emperor as their own. The German kings respected him, and gladly received the offices and honors he bestowed. But they limited their obedience by their own interests and pleasures. The

¹ § 579.

² The importance of the year 476 has been greatly exaggerated by modern historians. The dissolution of the western half of the empire had already been accomplished, and the substitution of one emperor for two was by no means a strange event.

cessation of the line of Augusti in Italy points therefore to an accomplished fact — the dissolution of the western half of the empire.

This cessation had an important effect upon the Church. As Italy ceased to be the home of the emperors, the bishop of Rome became the most respected and most influential person in the West, — the pope succeeded to the vacant throne of the Augusti.

Suggestive Questions

1. Write a summary of this chapter like that on p. 444.
2. Contrast Germany (1) with Egypt, (2) with Greece.
3. Compare the early Germans with the North American Indians. Which showed the greater capacity for improvement?
4. Why did the Germans make slower progress in civilization than the Greeks and the Romans?
5. Compare the government of the early Germans with that of the early Greeks.
6. Which was the greater danger to the empire, internal decay or the hostility of the barbarians?
7. Give a history of the German wars from the time of Marius to the year 376 A.D.
8. Was it necessary for Rome to admit the Germans into the empire as colonists and to enlist them in her armies? If so, why?
9. What bad effects, if any, had the colonization of the empire by barbarians?
10. Were the German hordes which entered the empire really invaders?
11. What is the meaning of the term Romance nations? Name them.

Note-book Topics

I. Life of the Primitive Germans. — Tacitus, *Germania*, especially 5-27; Duruy, *History of Rome*, vi. ch. xcv. § 1; Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, ch. v (German contributions to civilization).

II. Sack of Rome by the Goths and Vandals, 410, 455 A.D.— Lanciani, *Destruction of Rome*, chs. v, vi; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. xxxi (by the Goths), xxxvi (by the Vandals), Bury's edition, iii. 323-30, iv. 5-7; Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, i. 792-803; ii. 283-286. Gibbon and Hodgkin have exaggerated the destructiveness especially of the Goths; see Robinson, *Readings*, 39-46.

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