

and so conducted him to the camp. On the sixth day after his father's death, he was declared lawful emperor, and saluted as Augustus with the usual solemnities.

6. And although at the time many persons thought that Gratian would be indignant that any one else had been appointed emperor without his permission, yet afterwards, when all fear and anxiety was removed, they lived in greater security, because he, wise and kindhearted man as he was, loved his young relative with exceeding affection, and brought him up with great care.

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## BOOK XXXI.

### ARGUMENT.

- I. Omens announcing the death of the Emperor Valens, and a disaster to be inflicted by the Gauls.—II. A description of the abodes and customs of the Huns, the Alani, and other tribes, natives of Asiatic Scythia.—III. The Huns, either by arms or by treaties, unite the Alani on the Don to themselves; invade the Goths, and drive them from their country.—IV. The chief division of the Goths, surnamed the Thuringians, having been expelled from their homes, by permission of Valens are conducted by the Romans into Thrace, on condition of promising obedience and a supply of auxiliary troops. The Gruthungi also, who form the other division of the Goths, secretly cross the Danube by a bridge of boats.—V. The Thuringians being in great distress from hunger and the want of supplies, under the command of their generals Alavivus and Fritigern, revolt from Valens, and defeat Lupicinus and his army.—VI. Why Sueridus and Colias, nobles of the Gothic nation, after having been received in a friendly manner, revolted; and after slaying the people of Hadrianopolis, united themselves to Fritigern, and then turned to ravage Thrace.—VII. Profuturus, Trajan, and Richomeres fought a drawn battle against the Goths.—VIII. The Goths being hemmed in among the defiles at the bottom of the Balkan, after the Romans by returning had let them escape, invaded Thrace, plundering, massacring, ravishing, and burning, and slay Barzimeres, the tribune of the Scutarii.—IX. Frigeridus, Gratian's general, routs Farnobius at the head of a large body of Goths and Taifalæ; sparing the rest, and giving them some lands around the Po.—X. The Lentiensian

Alemanni are defeated in battle by the generals of the emperor Gratian, and their king Priamis is slain. Afterwards, having yielded and furnished Gratian with a body of recruits, they are allowed to return to their own country.—XI. Sebastian surprises the Goths at Beræa as they are returning home loaded with plunder, and defeats them with great slaughter; a few saved themselves by flight. Gratian hastens to his uncle Valens, to carry him aid against the Goths.—XII. Valens, before the arrival of Gratian resolves to fight the Goths.—XIII. All the Goths unite together, that is to say, the Thuringians, under their king Fritigern. The Gruthungi, under their dukes Alatheus and Salaces, encounter the Romans in a pitched battle, rout their cavalry, and then falling on the infantry when deprived of the support of their horse, and huddled together in a dense body, they defeat them with enormous loss, and put them to flight. Valens is slain, but his body cannot be found.—XIV. The virtues and vices of Valens.—XV. The victorious Goths besiege Hadrianopolis, where Valens had left his treasures and his insignia of imperial rank, with the prefect and the members of his council; but after trying every means to take the city, without success, they at last retire.—XVI. The Goths, having by bribes won over the forces of the Huns and of the Alani to join them, make an attack upon Constantinople without success. The device by which Julius, the commander of the forces beyond Mount Taurus, delivered the eastern provinces from the Goths.

## I.

A.D. 375.

§ 1. IN the mean time the swift wheel of Fortune, which continually alternates adversity with prosperity, was giving Bellona the Furies for her allies, and arming her for war; and now transferred our disasters to the East, as many presages and portents foreshowed by undoubted signs.

2. For after many true prophecies uttered by diviners and augurs, dogs were seen to recoil from howling wolves, and the birds of night constantly uttered querulous and mournful cries; and lurid sunrises made the mornings dark. Also, at Antioch, among the tumults and squabbles of the populace, it had come to be a custom for any one who fancied himself ill treated to cry out in a licentious manner, "May Valens be burnt alive!" And the voices of the criers were constantly heard ordering wood to be carried to warm the baths of Valens, which had been built under the superintendence of the emperor himself.

3. All which circumstances all but pointed out in express words that the end of the emperor's life was at

land. Besides all these things, the ghost of the king of Armenia, and the miserable shades of those who had lately been put to death in the affair of Theodorus, agitated numbers of people with terrible alarms, appearing to them in their sleep, and shrieking out verses of horrible import.<sup>1</sup>

4. . . . and its death indicated an extensive and general calamity arising from public losses and deaths. Last of all, when the ancient walls of Chalcedon were thrown down in order to build a bath at Constantinople, and the stones were torn asunder, on one squared stone which was hidden in the very centre of the walls these Greek verses were found engraved, which gave a full revelation of what was to happen :—

“ Ἄλλ’ ὅποταν νύμφαι δροσερῇ κατὰ ἄστν χορείῃ  
 Τερπόμεναι στρέψωνται εὐστεέφας κατ’ ἀγνιάς  
 Καὶ τείχος λούτροιο πολύστονον ἔσσεται ἄλικαι  
 Δὴ τότε μύρια φύλα πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων  
 Ἴστρον καλλιρόιο πόρον περάοντα σὺν αἰχμῇ  
 Καὶ Σκυθικὴν ὀλέσει χώραν καὶ Μυσίδα γαῖαν  
 Παιουίης δ’ ἐπιβάντα σὺν σὺν ἐλπίσι μαινομένῃσιν  
 Αὐτῶν καὶ βίότο ο τέλος καὶ δῆρις εφεξει.”

#### TRANSLATION.

“ But when young wives and damsels blithe, in dances that delight,  
 Shall glide along the city streets, with garlands gaily bright;  
 And when these walls, with sad regrets, shall fall to raise a bath,  
 Then shall the Huns in multitude break forth with might and wrath.  
 By force of arms the barrier-stream of Ister they shall cross,  
 O’er Scythic ground and Mœsian lands spreading dismay and loss:  
 They shall Pannonian horsemen brave, and Gallic soldiers slay,  
 And nought but loss of life and breath their course shall ever stay.”

## II.

§ 1. THE following circumstances were the original cause of all the destruction and various calamities which the fury of Mars roused up, throwing everything into confusion by his usual ruinous violence: the people called Huns, slightly mentioned in the ancient records, live beyond the Sea of Azov, on the border of the Frozen Ocean, and are a race savage beyond all parallel.

2. At the very moment of their birth the cheeks of their infant children are deeply marked by an iron, in order

<sup>1</sup> The text is unusually mutilated here. It has been proposed to insert, “ A little goat with its throat cut was found dead in the street.”

that the usual vigour of their hair, instead of growing at the proper season, may be withered by the wrinkled scars; and accordingly they grow up without beards, and consequently without any beauty, like eunuchs, though they all have closely-knit and strong limbs, and plump necks; they are of great size, and low legged, so that you might fancy them two-legged beasts, or the stout figures which are hewn out in a rude manner with an axe on the posts at the end of bridges.

3. They are certainly in the shape of men, however uncouth, but are so hardy that they neither require fire nor well-flavoured food, but live on the roots of such herbs as they get in the fields, or on the half-raw flesh of any animal, which they merely warm rapidly by placing it between their own thighs and the backs of their horses.

4. They never shelter themselves under roofed houses, but avoid them as people ordinarily avoid sepulchres as things not fitted for common use. Nor is there even to be found among them a cabin thatched with reed; but they wander about, roaming over the mountains and the woods, and accustom themselves to bear frost and hunger and thirst from their very cradles. And even when abroad they never enter a house unless under the compulsion of some extreme necessity; nor, indeed, do they think people under roofs as safe as others.

5. They wear linen clothes, or else garments made of the skins of field-mice: nor do they wear a different dress out of doors from that which they wear at home; but after a tunic is once put round their necks, however it becomes worn, it is never taken off or changed till, from long decay, it becomes actually so ragged as to fall to pieces.

6. They cover their heads with round caps, and their shaggy legs with the skins of kids; their shoes are not made on any lasts, but are so unshapely as to hinder them from walking with a free gait. And for this reason they are not well suited to infantry battles, but are nearly always on horseback, their horses being ill-shaped, but hardy; and sometimes they even sit upon them like women if they want to do anything more conveniently. There is not a person in the whole nation who cannot remain on his horse day and night. On horseback they buy and

sell, they take their meat and drink, and there they recline on the narrow neck of their steed, and yield to sleep so deep as to indulge in every variety of dream.

7. And when any deliberation is to take place on any weighty matter, they all hold their common council on horseback. They are not under the authority of a king, but are contented with the irregular government of their nobles, and under their lead they force their way through all obstacles.

8. Sometimes when provoked, they fight; and when they go into battle, they form in a solid body, and utter all kinds of terrific yells. They are very quick in their operations, of exceeding speed, and fond of surprising their enemies. With a view to this, they suddenly disperse, then reunite, and again, after having inflicted vast loss upon the enemy, scatter themselves over the whole plain in irregular formations: always avoiding a fort or an entrenchment.

9. And in one respect you may pronounce them the most formidable of all warriors, for when at a distance they use missiles of various kinds tipped with sharpened bones instead of the usual points of javelins, and these bones are admirably fastened into the shaft of the javelin or arrow; but when they are at close quarters they fight with the sword, without any regard for their own safety; and often while their antagonists are warding off their blows they entangle them with twisted cords, so that, their hands being fettered, they lose all power of either riding or walking.

10. None of them plough, or even touch a plough-handle: for they have no settled abode, but are homeless and lawless, perpetually wandering with their waggons, which they make their homes; in fact they seem to be people always in flight. Their wives live in these waggons, and there weave their miserable garments; and here too they sleep with their husbands, and bring up their children till they reach the age of puberty; nor, if asked, can any one of them tell you where he was born, as he was conceived in one place, born in another at a great distance, and brought up in another still more remote.

11. *In truces they are treacherous and inconstant, being liable to change their minds at every breeze of every fresh*

hope which presents itself, giving themselves up wholly to the impulse and inclination of the moment; and, like brute beasts, they are utterly ignorant of the distinction between right and wrong. They express themselves with great ambiguity and obscurity; have no respect for any religion or superstition whatever; are immoderately covetous of gold; and are so fickle and irascible, that they very often on the same day that they quarrel with their companions without any provocation, again become reconciled to them without any mediator.

12. This active and indomitable race, being excited by an unrestrainable desire of plundering the possessions of others, went on ravaging and slaughtering all the nations in their neighbourhood till they reached the Alani, who were formerly called the Massagetæ; and from what country these Alani come, or what territories they inhabit (since my subject has led me thus far), it is expedient now to explain: after showing the confusion existing in the accounts of the geographers, who . . . . at last have found out . . . . of truth.

13. The Danube, which is greatly increased by other rivers falling into it, passes through the territory of the Sauromatæ, which extends as far as the river Don, the boundary between Asia and Europe. On the other side of this river the Alani inhabit the enormous deserts of Scythia, deriving their own name from the mountains around: and they, like the Persians, having gradually subdued all the bordering nations by repeated victories, have united them to themselves, and comprehended them under their own name. Of these other tribes the Neuri inhabit the inland districts, being near the highest mountain chains, which are both precipitous and covered with the everlasting frost of the north. Next to them are the Budini and the Geloni, a race of exceeding ferocity, who flay the enemies they have slain in battle, and make of their skins clothes for themselves and trappings for their horses. Next to the Geloni are the Agathyrsi, who dye both their bodies and their hair of a blue colour, the lower classes using spots few in number and small—the nobles broad spots, close and thick, and of a deeper hue.

15. Next to these are the *Melanchlænæ* and the *Anthropophagi*, who roam about upon different tracts of land and

live on human flesh. And these men are so avoided on account of their horrid food, that all the tribes which were their neighbours have removed to a distance from them. And in this way the whole of that region to the north-east, till you come to the Chinese, is uninhabited.

16. On the other side the Alani again extend to the east, near the territories of the Amazons, and are scattered among many populous and wealthy nations, stretching to the parts of Asia which, as I am told, extend up to the Ganges, a river which passes through the country of the Indians, and falls into the Southern Ocean.

17. Then the Alani, being thus divided among the two quarters of the globe (the various tribes which make up the whole nation it is not worth while to enumerate), although widely separated, wander, like the Nomades, over enormous districts. But in the progress of time all these tribes came to be united under one generic appellation, and are called Alani . . . . .

18. They have no cottages, and never use the plough, but live solely on meat and plenty of milk, mounted on their waggons, which they cover with a curved awning made of the bark of trees, and then drive them through their boundless deserts. And when they come to any pasture-land, they pitch their waggons in a circle, and live like a herd of beasts, eating up all the forage—carrying, as it were, their cities with them in their waggons. In them the husbands sleep with their wives—in them their children are born and brought up; these waggons, in short, are their perpetual habitation, and wherever they fix them, that place they look upon as their home.

19. They drive before them their flocks and herds to their pasturage; and, above all other cattle, they are especially careful of their horses. The fields in that country are always green, and are interspersed with patches of fruit trees, so that, wherever they go, there is no dearth either of food for themselves or fodder for their cattle. And this is caused by the moisture of the soil, and the number of the rivers which flow through these districts.

20. All their old people, and especially all the weaker sex, keep close to the waggons, and occupy themselves in the lighter employments. But the young men, who from their earliest childhood are trained to the use of horses,

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