

Edward Gibbon

THE DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE

Read by

David Timson

VOLUME VI

☐ Chapter 57

2	From the paths of blood, and such is the history of nations	9:14
3	The apprehension of such formidable friendship	10:16
4	With the belief of the Koran, the son of Seljuk	10:13
5	The false or genuine magnanimity of Mahmud the Gaznevide	8:54
6	As long as a hope survived, Romanus attempted to rally	9:59
7	During the life of Alp Arslan	9:45
8	The greatness and unity of the Turkish Empire expired	9:31
	Total time on 0	CD 1: 78:46
	CD 2	
1	On the hard conditions of tribute and servitude	10:26
2	The revolution which transferred the sceptre	11:42
3	Chapter 58	10:13
4	It may occasion some surprise that the Roman pontiff	10:23
	I. The right of a just defence may fairly include	10:19
6	These compensations of the purse and the person	11:00
7	The fifteenth of August had been fixed in the council	8:26
8	None of the great sovereigns of Europe embarked their persons	6:43

Total time on CD 2: 79:18

10:49

☐ III. In the south of France, the command was assumed	9:57
Abroad in enterprise and pilgrimage	11:24
In some Oriental tale I have read the fable	9:23
4 A private letter of Stephen of Chartres	10:57
Had not superstition condemned the sacrilegious prudence	10:23
As long as the horses were fresh	9:32
At the end of seven months, after the ruin of their cavalry	9:28
For their salvation and victory	8:22
Total time of	n CD 3: 79:32
CD 4	
The considerate of the Formula	
☐ The prudence or fortune of the Franks	10:01
2 On the fifth day, the crusaders made a general assault	10:01 10:56
2 On the fifth day, the crusaders made a general assault	10:56
2 On the fifth day, the crusaders made a general assault 3 Without this indulgence, the conqueror would have almost	10:56 11:20
 On the fifth day, the crusaders made a general assault Without this indulgence, the conqueror would have almost The justice and freedom of the constitution were maintained 	10:56 11:20 10:04
 On the fifth day, the crusaders made a general assault Without this indulgence, the conqueror would have almost The justice and freedom of the constitution were maintained Chapter 59 	10:56 11:20 10:04 9:13

Total time on CD 4: 79:34

1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Ascansar, a valiant Turk, had been the favourite The Franks were already at the gates of Cairo During its short existence, the kingdom of Jerusalem After Jerusalem had been delivered from the presence Philip Augustus and Richard the First are the only kings The health both of Richard and Saladin appeared The persons, the families, and estates of the pilgrims In complete armour, the oriflamme waving before him	10:09 11:50 10:35 10:21 9:10 9:30 10:22
	Total ti	me on CD 5: 79:25
	CD 6	
1 2 3	They produce the great charter of their liberties Chapter 60 Bigotry and national aversion are powerful magnifiers The two wives of Manuel Comnenus	7:24 8:43 10:00 10:33

Total time on CD 6: 78:53

1	In relating the invasion of a great empire	9:10
2	In the choice of the attack, the French and Venetians	9:45
3	The mixture of two discordant nations in the same capital	9:08
4	Among the Greeks, all authority and wisdom were overborne	11:55
5	Constantinople had been taken by storm	9:30
6	In the meanwhile, his desolate churches were profaned	12:25
7	Chapter 61	7:40
8	In the division of the Greek provinces	9:01
	Total time on C	D 7: 78:40
	CD 8	
1	CD 8 As the tyrant, pursued by fear or remorse	9:02
1 2		9:02 10:12
\equiv	As the tyrant, pursued by fear or remorse The Latin conquerors had been saluted	
2	As the tyrant, pursued by fear or remorse The Latin conquerors had been saluted	10:12
3	As the tyrant, pursued by fear or remorse The Latin conquerors had been saluted In all civilised hostility, a treaty is established	10:12 10:25
3	As the tyrant, pursued by fear or remorse The Latin conquerors had been saluted In all civilised hostility, a treaty is established The Venetians had engaged to transport Peter	10:12 10:25 10:26
2 3 4 5	As the tyrant, pursued by fear or remorse The Latin conquerors had been saluted In all civilised hostility, a treaty is established The Venetians had engaged to transport Peter In the double victory of John of Brienne	10:12 10:25 10:26 10:14

Total time on CD 8: 79:29

Total time on CD 10: 79:23

1	II. While Joscelin reigned beyond the Euphrates	9:21
2	III. According to the old register of Ford Abbey	9:16
3	Chapter 62	10:20
4	A matron of the family of the Palaeologi	8:24
5	But his innocence had been too unworthily treated	10:43
6	So eager was the impatience of the prince and people	8:25
7	Arsenius was involved in a vague rumour of conspiracy	11:57
8	But they found a country without a friend	10:15
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	CD 10	
1	CD 10 The hostile league against the Greeks	9:21
1 2	The hostile league against the Greeks	9:21 11:24
1 2 3	The hostile league against the Greeks I shall not, I trust, be accused of superstition	
=	The hostile league against the Greeks I shall not, I trust, be accused of superstition	11:24
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3 4 5	The hostile league against the Greeks I shall not, I trust, be accused of superstition After some ages of oblivion, Greece was awakened Chapter 63 But the younger Andronicus was speedily corrupted His calamities were embittered by the gradual extinction	11:24 8:31 9:34 9:57

1	While the regent grasped the sceptre	9:15
2	For the conclusion of this chapter	11:30
3	But the emperor was soon solicited to violate the treaty	5:58
4	Chapter 64	9:31
5	The reason of Zingis was not informed by books	9:12
6	In the West, he touched the dominions of Mohammed	9:37
7	In the attack and defence of places	10:10
	In his rapid progress, he overran the kingdoms	13:38
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	CD 12	
1	CD 12 One hundred and forty years after the death of Zingis	11:50
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3	One hundred and forty years after the death of Zingis From the conquest of Prusa, we may date the true era Before his death, he generously recommended another ally	10:31 10:10
2 3 4 5	One hundred and forty years after the death of Zingis From the conquest of Prusa, we may date the true era Before his death, he generously recommended another ally Such was the origin of these haughty troops	10:31 10:10 8:11
2 3 4 5	One hundred and forty years after the death of Zingis From the conquest of Prusa, we may date the true era Before his death, he generously recommended another ally Such was the origin of these haughty troops Such is the general idea of the Hungarian war	10:31 10:10 8:11 8:46

Total time on CD 12: 79:20

9:26

Total time on CD 14: 79:31

1 On the banks of the Don, or Tanais, he received...

2 Between two jealous and haughty neighbours	10:06
The true succession of the caliphs was a controversy	10:21
4 In that day Bajazet displayed the qualities of a soldier	9:40
II. The name of Poggius the Italian is deservedly famous	10:51
6 The recent expulsion of the house of Zingis was an insult	10:24
The four following observations will serve to appreciate	11:53
In these conflicts, the wisest Turks	6:43
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CD 14	
But the execution of his last testament	8:30
2 From the time of Orchan and the first Amurath	8:28
3 Chapter 66	10:12
	40.50
4 If Clement was ill endowed with the virtues of a priest	10:52
 If Clement was ill endowed with the virtues of a priest A special licence was granted to negotiate with the outlaw 	10:52 10:07
A special licence was granted to negotiate with the outlaw	10:07
A special licence was granted to negotiate with the outlaw During the period of the crusades, the Greeks beheld	10:07 9:03

1 The resolution of Palaeologus was decided...

2	But as soon as festivity and form had given place	11:00
3	While they were lost in a cloud of dust and darkness	10:52
4	The success of the first trial encouraged Eugenius	10:49
5	The most learned Italians of the fifteenth century	9:22
6	The first steps of learning are slow and laborious	9:48
7	I shall not attempt to enumerate the restorers of Grecian	9:41
8	Nicholas the fifth had been the friend of the most eminent	7:17
	Total time on	CD 15: 78:15
	CD 16	
1	Before the revival of classic literature	4:15
2	Chapter 67	8:36
3	The last hope of the falling city and empire	9:15
4	'Sultan Murad, or Amurath, lived forty-nine'	11:02
5	Yet, on this side, the designs of the Roman pontiff	10:59
6	It was on this fatal spot that, instead of finding	12:15
7	In the list of heroes, John Huniades and Scanderberg	11:45
8	Without disparagement to his fame	10:20

Total time on CD 16: 78:33

9:19

1	On the return of Phranza, the treaty was ratified	3:24
2	Chapter 68	10:31
3	The Mohammedan, and more especially the Turkish casuists	9:01
4	Mohammed himself pressed and directed the work	8:46
5	Among the implements of destruction, he studied	10:36
6	In her last decay, Constantinople was still peopled	10:06
7	Of the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople	11:14
8	Except eighteen galleys of some force	14:37
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1	CD 18 The greatest part of Mohammed's bashaws and Janizaries	9:56
1 2		9:56 9:56
1 2 3	The greatest part of Mohammed's bashaws and Janizaries	
=	The greatest part of Mohammed's bashaws and Janizaries The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed	9:56
3	The greatest part of Mohammed's bashaws and Janizaries The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed While they expected the descent of the tardy angel	9:56 10:25
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3 4 5	The greatest part of Mohammed's bashaws and Janizaries The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed While they expected the descent of the tardy angel From the first hour of the memorable twenty-ninth of May Constantinople no longer appertains to the Roman historian	9:56 10:25 10:35 9:50
3 4 5	The greatest part of Mohammed's bashaws and Janizaries The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed While they expected the descent of the tardy angel From the first hour of the memorable twenty-ninth of May Constantinople no longer appertains to the Roman historian It is not easy to pronounce whether the servitude of Demetrius	9:56 10:25 10:35 9:50 10:58

Total time on CD 18: 78:46

9:39

Total time on CD 20: 78:17

1 The motives of the Pope's election...

3 4 5 6	The Jews had rejected the Christ when he appeared The love of ancient freedom has encouraged a belief The union and vigour of a public council was dissolved In the first moments of rebellion Under the reign of Hadrian, when the empire extended A vacancy of almost three years had preceded After Benedict's decease, the tedious and equal suspense	10:30 12:12 8:34 9:45 9:33 8:49
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_		
1	Clement's summons was obeyed	11:41
2	Boniface proclaimed a crusade against his personal enemies	6:40
3	Chapter 70	9:34
4	In the act or diploma which was presented to Petrarch	12:07
5	But such voluntary obedience evaporates	10:13
6	The deliverance of his country inspired Rienzi	9:15
7	With equal presumption the tribune watched or reposed	10:31
8	The vision and prophecies of St. Martin and Pope Boniface	8:09

After an exile of seven years, the first deliverer	9:18
2 The first and most generous wish of Petrarch	10:26
If superstition will interpret an untimely death	8:59
4 I have not undertaken the ecclesiastical history of the schism	10:35
The royal prerogative of coining money	9:00
6 It is an obvious truth, that the times must be suited	9:33
In the first period of their conquests	9:15
Chapter 71	12:11

Total time on CD 21: 79:25

CD 22

Innumerable buildings, crowded in close and crooked streets	9:55
2 III. The value of any object that supplies the wants	9:51
3 With some slight alterations, a theatre, an amphitheatre	7:40
4 The abolition at Rome of the ancient games	9:07
5 When Petrarch first gratified his eyes with a view	12:13

Total time on CD 22: 48:50 Total time on CDs 1-22: 28:29:00

Edward Gibbon

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

VOLUME VI

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The spread of the Turks • Mahmud I, the first sultan • He encourages the immigration of the Turkmans into his provinces of Persia • Conflict leads to the establishing of the house of Seljuk as leaders • Togrul expands the Turkish empire, adopts the Islamic religion and protects the caliphs, the successors of Mohammed • Alp Arslan attacks the Eastern Empire • Resisted by the Emperor Romanus • Capture of Romanus by the Turks, and his subjection to Arslan • Death of Arslan • Reign of Malek Shah and his conquests • Dispute over the Turkish throne upon the death of Malek • The

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of the Emperors Manuel Comnenus and Isaac Angelus • Misfortunes of the crusaders against the Turks • St. Bernard of Clairvaux • Discord amongst the Mohammedan powers • Rallied by Mosul and Noureddin to fight the Turks and Franks • Saladin • His character and achievements • His conquest of Jerusalem, his mercy and virtue • He reigns over Egypt and Syria • Richard I of England and his campaigns in the Holy Land • His character and reputation • Death of Saladin • Pope Innocent III raises the fourth and fifth crusades • Led by Frederic II • He recovers Jerusalem and other key cities • Louis IX and the last two unsuccessful crusades • The rise and spread of the Mamalukes of Tartary • The fall of Acre, the Latins' final stronghold, and their expulsion by the Mamalukes

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The dethroning of Isaac Angelus and the elevation of his brother Alexius Angelus (1195–1203) • The origins of the Fourth Crusade • The ambitions of the Venetian Republic • The Crusaders adopt the cause of the dethroned Isaac and his son, the rightful heir, Alexius • The Crusaders besiege and attack Constantinople • Death of the Emperors and usurpation of Mourzoufle • Latin Crusaders take Constantinople • The plundering of the capital

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on the different fortunes of the family of Courtenay

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NERO: 54–68 GALBA: 68–69 OTHO: 69 VITELLIUS: 69

VESPASIAN: 69-79

TITUS: 79-81

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With Gallienus: 253-260

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TACITUS: 275–276 FLORIANUS: 276 PROBUS: 276–282 CARUS: 282–283 CARINI IS: 283–285

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GALERIUS: 305-311

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With Maxentius: 311–312
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CONSTANTINE II, CONSTANTIUS II &

CONSTANS: 337-340

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VALENTINIAN I: 364–375 With Valens: 364–375 With Gratian: 367–375 VALENS: 364–378

With Gratian and Valentinian II:

375-378

THEODOSIUS I: 379–395 With Gratian: 379–383 With Valentinian II: 379–392 With Arcadius: 383–395 With Honorius: 392–395

Emperors of the Western Empire after Theodosius I

HONORIUS: 394–423 VALENTINIAN III: 423–455 PETRONIUS MAXIMUS: 455

AVITUS: 455–456 MAJORIAN: 457–461 LIBIUS SEVERUS: 461–465 (No Emperor: 465–467) ANTHEMIUS: 467–472

OLYBRIUS: 472

GLYCERIUS: 473–474 JULIUS NEPOS: 474–475

ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS: 475–476

End of the Western Empire: Odoacer, King of Italy

EMPERORS OF THE EASTERN ROMAN FMPIRE

CONSTANTINE I: 306–337

CONSTANTIUS II: 337–361 (sole emperor

after 350)

JULIAN: 361–363 (sole emperor)

JOVIAN: 363–364 (sole emperor)

VALENS: 364-378

Dynasty of Theodosius

THEODOSIUS I, the Great: 379–395

(sole emperor after 392) ARCADIUS: 395–408

THEODOSIUS II: 408-450 (Anthemius,

regent: 408-414)

MARCIAN: 450–457 (married to Pulcheria, daughter of Arcadius)

Dynasty of Leo

LEO I, the Thracian: 457–474

LEO II: 474 ZENO: 474-491

ANASTASIUS I, Dicorus: 491-518

Dynasty of Justinian

JUSTIN I: 518-527 JUSTINIAN I: 527-565

JUSTIN II: 565–574 (Sophia, regent) TIBERIUS II, Constantine: 574–582

MAURICE: 582-602 PHOCAS: 602-610

Dynasty of Heraclius

HERACLIUS: 610–641 CONSTANTINE III: 641 CONSTANS II: 641–668 CONSTANTINE IV: 668–685 JUSTINIAN II: 685–695 (banished)

LEONTIUS: 695–698

TIBERIUS III: 698–705

JUSTINIAN II (restored): 705–711

PHILIPPICUS: 711–713 ANASTASIUS II: 713–715 THEODOSIUS III: 715–717

Syrian or Isaurian Dynasty (the Iconoclasts)

LEO III, the Isaurian: 717–741

CONSTANTINE V, Copronymus: 741–775

LEO IV, the Khazar: 775-780

CONSTANTINE VI: 780–797 (blinded and murdered by mother Irene, wife of Leo IV)

IRENE: 797-802

NIKEPHOROS I: 802–811

STAURACIUS: 811

MICHAEL I, Rhangabe: 811–813 LEO V. the Armenian: 813–820

Phrygian or Amorian Dynasty

MICHAEL II, the Amorian: 820-829

THEOPHILUS: 829–842 MICHAEL III: 842–867

Macedonian Dynasty

BASIL I, the Macedonian: 867–886

LEO VI, the Wise: 886–912 ALEXANDER: 912–913

CONSTANTINE VII, Porphyogenitus:

913-959

With Romanus I, Lekapenos: 920–944

ROMANUS II: 959–963 BASIL II: 963–1025

With Nikephoros II: 963–969 With John I Zimiskes: 969–976

CONSTANTINE VIII: 1025–28 ROMANUS III, Argyros: 1028–1034 MICHAEL IV, the Paphlagonian:

1034-1041

MICHAEL V, Kalaphates: 1041–1042 CONSTANTINE IX, Monomachus:

1042-1055

THEODORA: 1055-1056

MICHAEL VI, Bringas: 1056–1057

ISAAC I, Comnenus: 1057-1059

(abdicated)

CONSTANTINE X, Doukas: 1059–1067 ROMANUS IV, Diogenes: 1068–1071 MICHAEL VII, Doukas: 1071–1078

NIKEPHOROS III, Botaneiates: 1078–1081

Dynasty of the Comneni

ALEXIOS I, Komnenos: 1081–1118 JOHN II, Komnenos: 1118–1143 MANUEL I, Komnenos: 1143–1180 ALEXIUS II, Komnenos: 1180–1183 ANDRONICUS I. Komnenos: 1183–1185

Dynasty of the Angeli

ISAAC II, Angelos: 1185–1195

(dethroned)

ALEXIOS III, Angelos: 1195–1203 ISAAC II (restored): 1203–1204

With Alexios IV, Angelos: 1203-1204

ALEXIOS V, Doukas: 1204

Capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade and establishment of Latin emperors in the city

Latin Emperors of the East

BALDWIN I: 1204–1205 HENRY: 1206–1216

PETER OF COURTENAY: 1216-1217

ROBERT: 1221–1228 BALDWIN II: 1228–1261

With John of Brienne: 1229-1237

Eastern Emperors in Nicaea

THEODORE I, Laskaris: 1204–1222 JOHN III, Doukas Vatatzes: 1222–1254 THEODORE II, Laskaris: 1254–1258 JOHN IV, Laskaris: 1258–1261 With Michael VIII, Palaiologos: 1259–1261

Recapture of Constantinople and reestablishment of the Eastern emperors there

Dynasty of the Palaiologoi

(Seven-year civil war: 1390, 1391–1425, 1425–1448, 1449–1453, 1453)

MICHAEL VIII, Palaeologus: 1261–1282 ANDRONIKOS II, Palaeologus: 1282–1328 With Michael IX: 1294-1320

ANDRONICUS III, Palaeologus: 1328–1341

JOHN V, Palaeologus: 1341–1376 With John VI. Kantakouzenos:

1347-1354

With Andronikos IV, Palaeologus:

1354-1373

ANDRONIKOS IV, Palaeologus: 1376–1379

JOHN V. Palaeologus (restored):

1379-1390

JOHN VII, Palaeologus: 1390 JOHN V, Palaeologus (restored): 1391 MANUEL II, Palaeologus: 1391–1425 JOHN VIII, Palaeologus: 1425–1448 CONSTANTINE XI, Palaeologus:

1449-1453

Capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II

End of the Roman Empire

THE LIFE OF EDWARD GIBBON

It was at Rome, on the 15th of October, 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the barefoot friars were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to my mind.

Memoirs of My Life and Writings, 1796

Gibbon was born at Putney, Surrey, on 8 May 1737, into a comfortable, though not particularly wealthy, family. At the age of ten, his mother died and he was brought up by an aunt. During childhood he was always sick and of a weak disposition. This interrupted any regular attendance at school and led to his being privately educated at home, where he had access to his father's extensive library. This developed the natural scholar in Gibbon at an early age.

At age 15, he went to Magdalen College, Oxford, and he 'arrived with a stock of erudition that might have puzzled a doctor' (Gibbon, *Memoirs*).

Ever curious, Gibbon challenged the Anglican clergymen who were his tutors

as to the true faith. His inclination was towards the Roman Catholic faith, and after consultation with a Roman Catholic student, he converted to Catholicism. It was a rash decision, for by English law, Roman Catholics were excluded from public office and ostracised from many rights available to their Anglo-Catholic brethren.

When Gibbon's father learnt of his son's actions he was furious and insisted that his son should be sent to Lausanne, Switzerland, which was a centre of Calvinism, to be re-indoctrinated to the Protestant faith.

Gibbon studied there under the Calvinist minister Daniel Pavilliard for nearly five years (1753–1758). During this time he renounced his conversion, became fluent in French and Latin, had a meeting with Voltaire, and for the one and only time in his life, fell in love, with a beautiful and highly intelligent girl, Suzanne Curchod. Once again, Gibbon was thwarted by his father who would not countenance 'this strange alliance', and Gibbon reluctantly returned to England. Reflecting on this in his *Memoirs*, Gibbon wrote:

'I sighed as a lover, I obeyed as a son.'

With the advent of the Seven Years War in 1760, Gibbon dutifully joined, with his father, the local militia, which was assembled in response to the possibility of a French invasion. He does not seem to have shone as an officer. At the end of his term of service he embarked on a grand tour of Europe, an obligatory experience for educated young men in the 18th century. Arriving in Rome early in October 1764, he was overwhelmed by its magnificence and antiquities, and as he said in his memoirs it was here he first began to conceive his magnum opus, but it would be nine years before he began to write it. The first volume of The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, shortened here to The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, was published in 1776. It was an instant success and quickly ran into three editions. Volumes II and III appeared in 1781, with equivalent success. In the same year, Gibbon was elected as an MP for Lymington, but despite a dead end job in the board of trade in Lord North's declining government, his parliamentary career was uneventful.

Resorting to his true vocation, he moved back to Lausanne and shared accommodation with an old student friend, George Deyverdun, and completed the last three volumes of his *Decline and Fall*, which were all published in 1788, to coincide with his 51st birthday.

In 1793, when the effects of the French Revolution began to intrude on his Swiss idyll, he returned to England. His health had begun to fail, an enlarged scrotum caused him considerable pain and despite several unsuccessful operations, he died in his sleep on 16 January 1794, at the age of 56.

A NOTE ON THE TEXT

The text used in this recording of Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is the standard Everyman edition of 1910. It is a clean text unabridged and unedited, and in six volumes it reflects the division of chapters of the original edition of the 1780s.

Notes by David Timson



David Timson has made over 1,000 broadcasts for BBC Radio Drama. For Naxos AudioBooks he wrote *The History of Theatre*, which won an award for most original production from the Spoken Word Publishers Association in 2001. He has also directed five Shakespeare plays for Naxos AudioBooks, including *King Richard III* (with Kenneth Branagh), which won Best Drama award from the SWPA in 2001. In 2002 he won the Audio of the Year award for his reading of A *Study in Scarlet*. He has read the entire *Sherlock Holmes* canon for Naxos AudioBooks.

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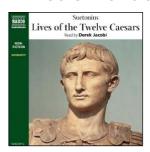
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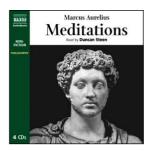
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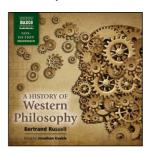
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